

9/22/80 [1]

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memo	From Schultze to The President (2 pp.) re:Economic Report/enclosed in Schultze to The President 9/22/80	9/22/80	A
memo w/att	From Press to The President (38 pp.) re:Assessment of Consequences and Preparations for a Major California Earthquake /enclosed in Hutcheson to Press 9/22/80 <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-22-26-2-7 1/10/14</i>	9/18/80	A
memo	From Brzezinski to The President (2 pp.) re:The Future of Puerto Rico/enclosed in Hutcheson to Brzezinski 9/22/80 <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-22-26-3-6 1/10/14</i>	9/18/80	A
memo w/att	From Owen to The President (8 pp.) re: Oil Supply Agreement with Israel/enclosed in Hutcheson to Brzezinski 9/22/80	9/18/80	A
memo w/att.	From Brzezinski to The President (2 pp.) re:Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-22-26-4-5 1/10/14</i>	9/18/80	A
memo	From Brown to The President (2 pp.) re:Weekly Activities of the Sec. of Defense/enclosed in Hutcheson to Brzezinski	9/19/80	A
memo	From Duncan to The President (11pp.) re:Meeting With Oil Minister Yamani	9/19/80	A

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers- Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec.- Pres. Hand-writing File 9/22/80 [1] BOX 206

RESTRICTION CODES

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- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

September 19, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Jack Kaplan

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks:
Introductory Remarks
for Tacoma Fundraiser

Scheduled delivery:
Tue, Sept 23
Tacoma, Wash.

Your opening remarks for this fundraiser are attached.

Copies have been sent to Pat Caddell and Jerry Rafshoon. Jody will write his comments on this original before giving it to you.

[Salutations will be
provided by Advance]

Jack Kaplan
B-1, 9/19/80
For Delivery:
Tues., Sept. 23, 6 PM

Jokes - Tacoma Fundraiser

1. [Salutations]

2. Jokes

I UNDERSTAND THAT IT HAS BEEN SEVENTEEN YEARS SINCE THE
LAST PRESIDENT CAME TO TACOMA. PERHAPS IT'S BECAUSE IT
TAKES THAT LONG TO DRY OFF.

BEING HERE REMINDS ME OF HOW EXTREME SOME OF THE
DOOMSAYERS IN OUR COUNTRY CAN BE. ONE POLITICAL OBSERVER
RECENTLY SAID THAT IF THE ECONOMY IS INDEED TURNING
AROUND - AND THERE IS NO MORE RECESSION OR DEPRESSION - THEN
HOW COME THE STATE OF WASHINGTON IS STILL SELLING APPLES?

(Pick up core speech)

September 19, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Chris Matthews

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks:
Tacoma Grain Export
Terminal

Scheduled delivery:
Tue, Sept 23
Tacoma, Wash.

Your remarks for this event are attached.

Copies have been sent to Pat Caddell and Jerry Rafshoon. Jody will write his comments on this original before giving it to you.

Clearances

David Rubenstein
NSC
DPS (Agriculture)

NEEDS BEEFING UP!
JSP

[Salutations will be updated by Advance.]

Chris Matthews
Draft A-1; 9/19/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Tue, Sept 23, 5 p.m.
Tacoma, WA

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Continental Grain Terminal

C
Cards

It is great to be in Washington -- the real Washington,
that is.

I am happy to come today to join Jim McDermott, your
next governor. I am happy to salute two of Washington State's
most important exports -- grain and Warren Magnuson. Maggie
and the nation
has done a lot for this state, and he has now gained the

power and influence to do a lot more. *The appropriation legislation*
~~I ought to know.~~

*To finance the ^{all} entire federal government operations is
I have to deal with him, now being debated. Sen Magnuson
is in charge. He and I agreed yesterday that he should
stay in the Senate -- not just for this crucial week, but for
six more years.*

When Maggie first got elected to the Congress, as you
all know, he was on the same Democratic ticket with Franklin
D. Roosevelt. Like me, FDR was running for a second term.
Maggie, I hope your coattails are still as long in 1980 as
they were in 1936.

I am here today to call attention to what has truly become the great wonder of the world -- American agriculture.

It is a wonder of Providence, of what God has given us. It is a wonder of what man's hard work can produce. It is a wonder of American industry, ^{experience} and ~~know-how~~. *knowledge.*

Since I became President, U.S. farm exports have set new records -- every year. ~~1980 is going to be the greatest year of all.~~

This year we are going to break every record that has ever been set in American agriculture. ^{In 1980} ~~This year~~ U.S. farm exports will reach \$40 billion, ~~the highest level in history.~~ ~~This year~~ ^{next} our farm exports will ^{also} score the greatest one-year increase in history, ^{and} This year we will have the largest grain exports ever.

Today, American agricultural strength is unsurpassed.

We account for half the world's agricultural trade, 60 percent of world grain exports, 80 percent of soybean exports.

These startling figures continue to improve.

~~The enormous bounty of American agriculture is unprecedented.~~

To paraphrase Winston Churchill, never in history have so many been fed by so few.

Our success in exporting U.S. ^{farm products} ~~agriculture~~ is the direct result of aggressive ^{sales and} ~~export~~ promotion.

¶ We have completed the multilateral trade negotiations.

¶ We have opened the China market. As one of the benefits of normalized relations, China is now buying nearly \$1 billion worth of U.S. farm products a year.

¶ We have opened trade offices in importing countries, increased export credits, improved grain inspections.

Sometimes we Americans take our abundance for granted.

We also take our basic rights for granted. Events in Poland -- and our response to these events -- have helped to remind us of both.

Recently I directed the U.S. Department of Agriculture to extend \$670 million in new agricultural credit guarantees to Poland. This is the largest such assistance in history. It means that America farmers will provide some four million tons of grain and other farm products to the people of Poland. It demonstrates not just the power of our agriculture but the power of our commitment to human rights around the world. *I am determined That*
As long as I am President, the United States will remain the world's leading *producer and* exporter of agricultural products, and the world's foremost defender of human rights.

#

September 19, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald
Gordon Stewart

SUBJECT: Presidential Talking
Points: San Jose
Energy Technology
Expo

Scheduled delivery:
Tue, Sept 23
San Jose, Calif.

Your talking points for this event are attached.

Copies have been sent to Pat Caddell and Jerry Rafshoon. Jody will write his comments on this original before giving it to you.

Clearances

Frank Press
DOE
DPS

[Salutations to be provided by Advance.]

Stewart/Simons
A-1; 9/19/20
Scheduled Delivery:
Tues, Sept 23, 10 a.m.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

San Jose Energy Technology Expo

9
Cards

1. THIS VALLEY IS ^{a fine} ~~AN~~ ^{for} EXAMPLE ~~TO~~ US ALL. YOUR TECHNOLOGY IS ON THE CUTTING EDGE OF OUR ECONOMIC PROGRESS. YOUR ENERGY IDEAS POINT THE WAY TO A FUTURE OF SOUND GROWTH FOR OUR NATION.
2. INDUSTRIAL CHANGE AND NEW ENERGY ARE TWO ESSENTIAL KEYS TO VICTORY IN OUR FIGHT FOR ECONOMIC HEALTH AND NATIONAL SECURITY -- AND FROM WHAT I HAVE JUST SEEN THEY ARE THE KEYS TO ^{the future in} YOUR CITY AS WELL. TO REVITALIZE OUR NATION'S INDUSTRIES WE NEED THE KIND OF TALENT AND DETERMINATION THAT HAVE MADE THIS VALLEY HUM WITH CREATIVITY.
3. THE SAME STATE-OF-THE-ART COMPUTER THAT WOULD HAVE FILLED ^{a file cabinet or} AN ENTIRE ROOM JUST TWO DECADES AGO IS NOW A SHIRT-POCKET CALCULATOR. AND TODAY'S COMPUTERS DO FAR MORE THAN COMPLEX MATHEMATICS. COMPUTERS ARE USED TO CONTROL THE SO-CALLED "SMART" MANUFACTURING EQUIPMENT WHICH INCREASES OUR PRODUCTIVITY. THEY ARE ALSO USED TO CONTROL CAR ENGINES FOR IMPROVED ENERGY EFFICIENCY AND REDUCED POLLUTION.
4. ^{This is} ~~THESE ARE~~ THE KIND OF ^{progress} ~~ADVANCES~~ WE NEED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES. TECHNOLOGY IS ^{the} ~~A~~ KEY IF WE ARE TO FREE OURSELVES FROM OUR DEPENDENCE OF FOREIGN OIL.
5. ONE OF OUR GOALS FOR THE NEXT TWO DECADES IS TO DRAW 20 PERCENT OF OUR ENERGY FROM THE SUN -- ENERGY THAT IS RENEWABLE, NON-POLLUTING, AND CAN NEVER BE EMBARGOED. IF WE APPLY

OURSELVES TO THAT GOAL THE WAY YOU DID TWENTY YEARS AGO IN MICROELECTRONICS, I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT WE WILL SUCCEED.

6. WE ARE TRAPPING BOTH LIGHT AND HEAT FROM OUR OLDEST AND MOST FAITHFUL RESOURCE -- THE SUN. WE ARE USING SOLAR CELLS TO CONVERT LIGHT INTO ELECTRICITY, AND INTENSIVE RESEARCH IS UNDERWAY TO IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY AND LOWER THE COST OF ~~THESE~~ *The* PHOTOVOLTAIC DEVICES. WE ARE USING THE SUN'S ~~ENERGY~~ TO HEAT OUR HOMES AND INDUSTRIES, WE ARE TAPPING THE SOLAR HEAT ~~THAT IS~~ STORED IN OUR OCEANS, AND THE WIND THAT SWEEPS ACROSS OUR LAND. NEXT YEAR WE WILL SPEND ABOUT ONE BILLION DOLLARS ON SOLAR ENERGY. IN 1975 THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION SPENT ONLY \$54 MILLION.

7. WE HAVE MORE OIL LOCKED UP IN OUR SHALE THAN THREE SAUDI ARABIAS, AND THROUGH OUR NEW SYTHETIC FUELS INDUSTRY WE WILL TAP THAT RESOURCE. THIS YEAR WE ARE MINING AMERICAN COAL IN RECORD QUANTITIES, AND ARE FINDING WAYS TO BURN IT CLEANLY.

4 { 5 8. WE ARE USING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS TO CREATE GASOHOL AND OTHER FUELS. 18 MONTHS AGO WE PRODUCED VIRTUALLY NONE. TODAY WE HAVE THE CAPACITY TO PRODUCE 135 MILLION GALLONS OF ETHANOL, AND BY 1981 SHOULD REACH 500 MILLION GALLONS. MY GOAL IS THAT BY THE END OF 1990 ~~we~~ WE WILL PRODUCE ENOUGH ALCOHOL FUEL TO REPLACE 10 PERCENT OF AMERICA'S GASOLINE.

9. ENERGY INNOVATION AND BASIC RESEARCH GO HAND-IN-HAND -- AND I AM DEEPLY COMMITTED TO BOTH. *↑* IN FY 81 WE WILL SPEND OVER \$5 BILLION ON ENERGY RESEARCH. *↑* FROM FY 78 TO FY 81 WE HAVE

*move
sentence
up.*

INCREASED BASIC DEFENSE RESEARCH BY 65 PERCENT.)

10. ~~BUT~~ THE ESSENCE OF ~~FAITH IN~~ INNOVATION IS NOT FOUND IN NUMBERS -- BUT IN OUR COMMITMENT TO THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION. AMERICA IS AT THE THRESHOLD OF GREAT CHANGE. WE ARE REVITALIZING AMERICAN INDUSTRIES, AND DEVELOPING NEW AMERICAN ENERGY SOURCES. WE ARE ALSO DISCOVERING NEW HORIZONS ++ IN MICRO ELECTRONICS, IN SOLAR AND BIOMASS AND SYNTHETIC FUELS PRODUCTION, AND IN OUR DAILY LIVES.

11. THE STAKES ARE NOTHING LESS THAN OUR LIVES AS INDIVIDUALS AND OUR FUTURE AS A NATION. THE CHOICE IS STARK: WILL AMERICA HAVE A SECURE FUTURE OF ABUNDANT ENERGY FROM SOURCES AS OLD AS THE SUN AND AS NEW AS SYNTHETIC FUELS -- OR WILL IT FACE A DANGEROUS FUTURE AT THE MERCY OF OPEC AND THE OIL COMPANIES?

12. I AM DEEPLY PROUD THAT AFTER THREE AND ONE HALF YEARS OF HARD, DAY-IN-DAY-OUT WORK, AMERICANS ALL ACROSS THIS LAND ARE REALIZING -- AS YOU HAVE HERE -- THAT EACH OF US CAN TAKE PART IN THIS GREAT VENTURE -- THAT WE CAN CREATE AND CONSERVE ENERGY -- THAT WE CAN JOIN OUR INDIVIDUAL VITALITY WITH THE GREATNESS OF THIS NATION -- AND TOGETHER WE CAN MAKE IT EVEN GREATER IN THE FUTURE.

September 19, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Jack Kaplan

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks:
Introductory Remarks
for Portland Fundraiser

Scheduled delivery:
Tue, Sept 23
Portland, Oregon

Your opening remarks for this fundraiser are attached.

Copies have been sent to Pat Caddell and Jerry Rafshoon. Jody will write his comments on this original before giving it to you.

[Salutations will be
provided by Advance]

Jack Kaplan
A-1, 9/19/80
For delivery:
Tues., Sept. 23, 2:30 PM

Jokes -- Portland Fundraiser

0

1. [Salutations]

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for Preservation Purposes**

2. Jokes

IT'S GOOD TO SEE NEIL BACK IN HIS NATIVE HABITAT. HE
HAS HAD A HARD TIME ADJUSTING TO WASHINGTON WEATHER.

IN FACT, I'VE HEARD THAT WHENEVER HE GETS HOMESICK FOR
PORTLAND, HE PUTS ON A RAINCOAT AND STANDS UNDER THE SHOWER.

I CERTAINLY APPRECIATE THE WARM WELCOME I RECEIVED HERE
TODAY. BUT YOU OREGONIANS AREN'T EASY TO IMPRESS. AS I
PASSED THROUGH THE CROWD, I OVERHEARD SOMEONE SAY, "ISN'T
IT EXCITING TO BE SO CLOSE TO A POWERFUL, WORLD-FAMOUS
CELEBRITY?"

AND THE LADY NEXT TO HIM SAID "YOU MEAN THAT'S PHIL
DONAHUE?" *is BACK?*

(Note: The Phil Donahue Show visited Oregon last week
and was the focal point of excited local media coverage.)

[Pick up core speech]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

22 sep 80

Stu Eizenstat
Jim McIntyre

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

Rick Hutcheson

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
/	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
	NO DEADLINE
	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ACTION
FYI

	ADMIN CONFID
	CONFIDENTIAL
	SECRET
	EYES ONLY

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIDENBERG
/	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
/	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	HUFSTEDLER
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	MUSKIE
	AIELLO
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	MOSES
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	RECORDS
	SANDERS
	SHEPPARD
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 19, 1980

ok
J

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STUART E. EIZENSTAT *Stu*
JAMES T. MCINTYRE, JR. *Jim*
SUBJECT: Orange Coast - Your Trip to California

Congressman Jerry Patterson, Democrat, Los Angeles County, has been pressing for Administration support for his House passed bill, the Orange Coast National Urban Park.

The bill would authorize \$38 million to acquire 3,600 acres of watershed property adjacent to a State beach park area. The Administration, with Interior's full agreement, has opposed the bill because: (1) the most significant resources are owned by the State or are planned for State purchase; (2) the area is included under the regulatory authority of the California Coastal Commission; and (3) the bill's intent is for the federally purchased lands to be turned over to the State, essentially as a mechanism for circumventing the matching requirement of the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

The area, one of the few undeveloped pieces of ocean side property in the fastest growing area of Southern California, has high public visibility and Patterson's bill has received much media attention.

We understand from congressional staff that Senate passage of the bill this Congress is unlikely. (It has already passed the House.) Because Congressman Patterson will continue to promote the bill's passage, we have agreed that if he manages to get congressional enactment, you will not veto the legislation.

This issue is likely to come up on your trip to California. Although we do not endorse the legislation, giving credit to Patterson for his efforts and agreeing to sign the bill if he is successful will be very well received.

Talking points outlining how you should handle any questions on the Orange Coast are included in your briefing materials for the town hall meeting.

NOTE: We are advised by the campaign in California that this is absolutely critical.

1. { I WANT TO WELCOME YOU ALL HERE --
2. { ESPECIALLY THE MEMBERS OF CONG., WHO WORKED HARD TO PASS THIS LEGISLATION:
3. { JOHN CULVER, NEAL SMITH, GAYLORD NELSON, & ANDY IRELAND, /
4. { IN A FEW MOMENTS I WILL SIGN INTO LAW
5. { AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF MY PROGRAM TO CUT BACK EXCESSIVE REGULATIONS --
6. { THE SMALL BUSINESS "REGULATORY FLEXIBILITY ACT". /
7. { THIS LAW RECOGNIZES THE FACT
8. { THAT SMALL BUSINESSES ARE VITAL TO THE GROWTH & FUTURE OF AMERICA.
9. { IT RECOGNIZES THAT GOVT. REGULATION
10. { CAN IMPOSE A DISPROPORTIONATE & UNFAIR BURDEN ON SMALL BUSINESSES. /

(=OVER=) (THIS LAW.....)
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for Preservation Purposes**

1. THIS LAW REQUIRES AGENCIES TO TAILOR THEIR REGULATIONS
2. { TO THE SIZE & RESOURCES OF THE AFFECTED BUSINESS
3. { WITHOUT SACRIFICING REGULATORY GOALS. /
4. POLITICIANS HAVE TALKED ABOUT REGULATORY REFORM FOR DECADES.
5. WE HAVE ACTED. /
6. THIS IS THE 5TH MAJOR REGULATORY REFORM BILL I HAVE SIGNED --
7. THE BROADEST REFORM PROGRAM IN HISTORY.
8. { WE HAVE DEREGULATED AIRLINES, TRUCKING, BANKING, & FOSSIL FUELS,
9. { AND I HOPE TO SIGN A RAILROAD DEREGULATION BILL SOON. //
10. { I HAVE ORDERED FEDERAL AGENCIES TO ANALYZE COSTS & BENEFITS
11. { AND CHOOSE THE LEAST BURDENSOME WAYS TO MEET THEIR GOALS. /

(=NEW CARD=) (THESE MEASURES.....)

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1. { THESE MEASURES ARE INCREASING COMPETITION & HELPING US FIGHT INFLATION --
2. { WITHOUT SACRIFICING ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY,
 { WORKER HEALTH & SAFETY,
 { OR OTHER VITAL PUBLIC INTERESTS. /
3. { THESE STEPS RESPOND TO THE MAJOR REGULATORY CONCERNS
4. { OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON SMALL BUSINESS.
5. { IN MAY, CHAIRMAN ARTHUR LEVITT
6. { PRESENTED ME WITH THE CONFERENCE COMMISSION'S REPORT.
7. SINCE THAT TIME MY ADMINISTRATION HAS ACTED ON MANY OF ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.
 (=OVER=) (LET ME TELL.....)

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for Preservation Purposes**

1. LET ME TELL YOU HOW WE'VE FOLLOWED OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.
2. A MAJOR CONCERN WAS CAPITAL FORMATION & RETENTION.
3. { THE ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION PROGRAM I ANNOUNCED AUGUST 28
4. { DIRECTLY ADDRESSES THE MOST IMPORTANT RECOMMENDATIONS.
5. { MY PROGRAM WILL HELP CREATE A MILLION NEW JOBS IN 2 YEARS,
6. { AND WILL INCREASE PRODUCTIVITY WITHOUT REKINDLING INFLATION. /
7. { ONE-HALF OF THE BENEFITS OF THE PROGRAM
8. { ARE INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESS INVESTMENT,
9. { ESPECIALLY HELPFUL TO SMALL BUSINESSES. //
10. LET ME DESCRIBE SOME OF THEM. /

(=NEW CARD=) (WE WILL MAKE.....)

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1. { WE WILL MAKE ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION OF CAPITAL GOODS
2. { AVAILABLE TO MANY MORE SMALL BUSINESSES
3. { BY SIMPLIFYING & LIBERALIZING EXISTING RULES. /
4. { UNDER CONSTANT RATE DEPRECIATION,
5. { SMALL BUSINESSES CAN USE THE SAME DEPRECIATION METHODS AS LARGE BUSINESSES--
6. { WITHOUT HAVING TO HIRE AN ARMY OF ACCOUNTANTS. /
7. { THE INVESTMENT TAX CREDIT WILL BE PARTIALLY REFUNDABLE FOR THE 1ST TIME
8. { PROVIDING IMMEDIATE HELP TO NEW & STRUGGLING SMALL BUSINESSES. /
9. { NEW BUSINESSES WOULD BE ASSISTED WITH IMPROVED CASH FLOW
10. { BY MY PROPOSAL TO DEDUCT START-UP COSTS OVER NOT LESS THAN 5 YEARS. /

(=OVER=) (OFFSETTING SOCIAL SECURITY...)

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1. { OFFSETTING SOCIAL SECURITY TAX INCREASES WITH REFUNDABLE TAX CREDITS
 2. { WILL INCREASE THE ABILITY OF SMALL BUSINESS
 3. { TO KEEP CURRENT WORKERS & HIRE NEW ONES. //
 4. { AT THE URGING OF SEN. SAM NUNN & OTHERS,
 5. { I AM DIRECTING THAT "OMB" & "SBA" STUDY THE USE OF LOAN GUARANTEES,
 6. { IN CONJUNCTION WITH LOCAL DEVELOPMENT COMPANIES & PRIVATE LENDERS,
 7. { TO FINANCE PLANT EXPANSION & RENOVATION. /
 8. { WE ARE INCREASING THE SHARE OF FEDERAL PROCUREMENT
 9. { GOING TO SMALL BUSINESS -- ESPECIALLY THOSE OWNED BY MINORITIES & WOMEN. /
- (=NEW CARD=) (PURCHASING FROM.....)

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for Preservation Purposes**

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1. { PURCHASING FROM MINORITY-OWNED FIRMS
2. { WAS ONLY ABOUT \$1 BILLION WHEN I TOOK OFFICE IN 1977
3. { WE EXPECT TO REACH MY GOAL
4. { OF TRIPLING THAT AMOUNT BY THE END OF THIS FISCAL YEAR,
5. { AND WE HOPE TO TRIPLE AGAIN THE DOLLAR VOLUME OF MINORITY PROCUREMENTS.
6. { FURTHER, I HAVE ACCEPTED THE COMMISSION'S GOAL
7. { THAT CONTRACTS & SUBCONTRACTS TO MINORITY FIRMS
8. { ACCOUNT FOR 10% OF ALL GOVT. PROCUREMENTS BY THE END OF THE DECADE. //
9. { WE EXPECT TO DOUBLE
10. { THE CURRENT LEVEL OF \$200 MILLION IN PURCHASES FROM WOMEN-OWNED FIRMS
11. { BY THE END OF FISCAL YEAR 1981,
12. { AND MY GOAL IS THAT FEDERAL PROCUREMENT FROM WOMEN-OWNED FIRMS
13. { WILL REACH \$600 MILLION IN FISCAL 1982. //

(=OVER=) (THE SAME.....)

1. THE SAME WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
2. ENCOURAGED THE "SBA" TO EXPAND ITS \$3 BILLION-A-YEAR LOAN GUARANTEE PROGRAM,
3. ESTABLISHING TARGETS FOR MINORITY-OWNED & WOMEN-OWNED FIRMS.
4. WE HAVE ALREADY MORE THAN DOUBLED FUNDING FOR SMALL BUSINESS PROGRAMS
5. AND WILL PROPOSE FURTHER EXPANSION. //
6. WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ACT QUICKLY WHEN NECESSARY.
7. TO HELP REVITALIZE THE AUTO INDUSTRY,
8. THE "SBA" WORKED CLOSELY WITH BANKS THIS SUMMER
9. TO LEND OVER \$100 MILLION TO MORE THAN 500 AUTO DEALERS
10. SO THEY COULD STAY IN BUSINESS. /

(=NEW CARD=) (THE OFFICE OF.....)

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for Preservation Purposes**

1. { THE OFFICE OF ADVOCACY OF THE "SBA" HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED,
2. { AND ITS MISSION HAS BEEN BROADENED. /
3. { YOU CAN SEE
4. { THAT WE HAVE BEGUN TO IMPLEMENT MANY OF THE CONFERENCE RECOMMENDATIONS,
5. { AND WE ARE NOT THROUGH YET.
6. { I INTEND TO RECONVENE THE CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP IN 1982
7. { ° TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS MADE BY THAT TIME,
8. { ° TO REASSESS PRIORITIES SET THIS YEAR,
9. { ° AND TO ESTABLISH NEW GOALS. /

(=OVER=) (THE ECONOMIC INITIATIVES.....)

*Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes*

1. { THE ECONOMIC INITIATIVES I HAVE OUTLINED
2. { CAN HELP REVITALIZE OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY,
3. { WHICH IS SO RELIANT ON THE VITALITY OF SMALL BUSINESS.
4. I CALL ON YOU TO HELP PUT THIS AMBITIOUS PROGRAM IN ACTION NEXT YEAR.
5. { JOHN CULVER & ANDY IRELAND INVENTED THE REGULATORY FLEXIBILITY CONCEPT
6. { AND WORKED LONG & HARD TO REACH THIS DAY.
7. I WANT NOW TO CALL ON THEM TO SAY A FEW WORDS. */*

#

*VERNON
WEAVER*

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for Preservation Purposes**

22sep 80

Frank Press:

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

Rick Hutcheson

Please notify others involved.

ACTION
FYI

*letter to
stippling, w/
copy to boss*

*note to
Frank: please
notify others
involved*

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
	NO DEADLINE
	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

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

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIDENBERG
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	HUFSTEDLER
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	MUSKIE
	AIELLO
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	MOSES
	PETERSON
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PRESS
	RECORDS
	SANDERS
	SHEPPARD
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

DECLASSIFIED
Per, Rac Project
ESDN: NLC-126-22-26-2-7
BY LS NARA DATE 1/2/14

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 19, 1980

To Governor Jerry Brown

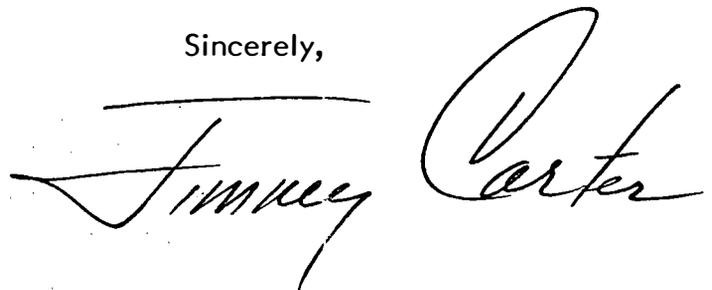
As you know, following my trip to view the destructive impacts of the volcanic eruption of Mt. St. Helens in the State of Washington, I directed that an assessment be undertaken of the consequences and state of preparedness for a major earthquake in California. This review, chaired by my Science and Technology Advisor, Frank Press, is now complete. We are grateful for the assistance provided by your staff and the other State, and local officials in this effort.

Although current response plans are generally adequate for moderate earthquakes, Federal, State, and local officials agree that additional preparation is required to cope with a major earthquake. Prudence requires, therefore, that we take steps to improve our preparedness.

While the primary responsibility for preparedness rests with the State of California, its local governments and its people, the magnitude of human suffering and loss of life that might occur and the importance of California to the rest of the Nation require increased Federal attention to this important issue. Accordingly, I have directed that the Federal government increase its work with you to supplement your efforts. The Federal efforts will be led by the Federal Emergency Management Agency and include the Department of Defense and other Departments and agencies as appropriate.

As a Nation, we must reduce the adverse impacts of a catastrophic earthquake to the extent humanly possible by increasing our preparedness for this potential eventuality.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Edmund G. Brown, Jr.
Governor of California
Sacramento, California 95814

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/18/80

Mr. President:

Frank Press reports that NSC, OMB, DPS and Gene Eidenberg concur with these recommendations.

Frank Press recommends that you read this memo before your California trip.

Rick

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Per, Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-22-26-2-7

BY 155 NARA, DATE 1/2/14

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1980

Frank

*All the
recommendations seem
to be ok. Proceed*

J.C.

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Frank Press *FP*

SUBJECT: Assessment of Consequences and Preparations for a
Major California Earthquake

An ad hoc Committee of the National Security Council has reviewed the consequences and state of preparations for a major California earthquake and presents the following findings and recommended actions for your review and approval. The full report is attached. A classified analysis of the potential impacts on national security, together with recommendations for national security, is at Tab B.

Findings

The Nation is essentially unprepared for the catastrophic earthquake in California which must be expected with a probability greater than 50% in the next three decades. Although current response plans and preparedness are generally adequate for moderate earthquakes, Federal, State, and local officials agree that preparations are woefully inadequate to cope with the damage, casualties, and the disruptions in communications and the governmental and civil infrastructure which will follow a major earthquake.

Owing to the gradual movement of the Pacific plate relative to the North American plate along the San Andreas and related fault systems, earth scientists agree unanimously that major earthquakes are inevitable near the heavily populated areas of California. Along the southern San Andreas fault, 50 miles north of Los Angeles, for example, geologists can demonstrate that at least eight major earthquakes have occurred in the past 1200 years with an average spacing in time of 140 ± 30 years. The last such event occurred in 1857. Based on these statistics and geophysical observations, geologists estimate that the probability for the recurrence of a similar earthquake is currently about 2-5% per year and greater than 50% in the next three decades. Such an earthquake would generate strong ground shaking -- above the threshold for damage -- over an area of as much as 25,000 square miles. Damage for such an event could reach about \$15 billion to buildings and contents. Fatalities could range from 3,000, at night when the population is in the relative safety of its homes, to more than 13,000 on a weekday afternoon, when much of the population is either in office buildings or on the streets. Injuries serious enough to require hospitalization under normal circumstances are estimated to be about four times as large. Other events are possible e.g., a magnitude 7.5 earthquake on the Newport-Inglewood fault in the immediate Los Angeles area, could cause about \$70 billion property loss and between 4,000 to 23,000 fatalities. Such an earthquake, despite its smaller magnitude and probability of occurrence, would be more destructive because of its relative proximity to heavily developed, populated regions.

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This memorandum is unclassified when detached from classified attachment.

Deaths and injuries are caused by the collapse of man-made structures and aggregate estimates are subject to considerable uncertainty. The most serious hazards are from older, multi-story and unreinforced masonry buildings. Building codes have improved continually. Current structures are much more resistant in general, but some buildings built as recently as the late 1960's have suffered serious damage in recent moderate earthquakes. The total number of deaths and injuries will be strongly influenced by the number of high occupancy buildings, or critical structures such as dams, which fail. Quantitative estimates of damage and casualties could be too large by a factor of two to three. Even at the low end of this range, however, the current capacity to respond would be greatly exceeded.

Extensive consideration has been given to earthquake hazards in the design, construction and licensing of nuclear power plants in California. The plants are engineered to withstand maximum events; a similarly designed plant in Japan did not fail in a recent severe earthquake. However, improvements are needed in preparing utility personnel for problems at plants caused by the general disruption of services such as transportation and communications following an earthquake. This review did not attempt to examine the issues of the engineering adequacy of the Diablo Canyon power plant; these are now before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for a ruling.

The problem of emergency preparedness is severely complicated because responsibilities for preparedness and response cut across normal lines of governmental authority. In addition, because of the large areal extent of a major earthquake, literally dozens of government entities will be affected. Therefore, a catastrophic earthquake will require an integrated response of local, State and Federal agencies, including the Department of Defense. FEMA and its State counterpart, the California Office of Emergency Services, have developed some response plans, and some additional planning has been undertaken recently. However, officials at all levels believe that current plans and preparedness are inadequate to cope with the effects of a major earthquake. State and Federal initial deployment of response personnel will take a minimum of 6 to 8 hours and could take longer, e.g., on a weekend when national guard reservists might be dispersed. Although there is a recognition that the population will have to rely on its own resources for medical help for the first several hours after an earthquake, public preparation for this has been minimal. Some earthquake response exercises have been carried out, and these have revealed substantial shortcomings, for example, with local emergency communications.

Many policy aspects of a catastrophic earthquake and its impacts require further analysis and planning, including the growing prospects for accurate (or incorrect) predictions, the actual response of the population in terms of community self-help or civil disorder among some population sectors, and the hazards posed by the widely dispersed storage of radioactive, chemical, petroleum and other hazardous materials.

Recommended actions

The ad hoc Committee makes nine recommendations for actions that will improve the Federal and State preparedness for a major earthquake in California.

The State of California participated in several aspects of this study and has been kept informed of its progress. Two meetings have been held with Governor Brown or his staff. He is in agreement with the recommended actions.

Recommendations #1-7 below, have been agreed to by your advisors (Secretaries Brown, Andrus, Goldschmidt, John Macy, National Security Council, Office of Management and Budget, Domestic Policy Staff, and Office of Science and Technology Policy) and with your approval, will be undertaken.

Recommendation #1: Effective leadership at all political levels is the single most important factor needed to improve the Nation's preparedness for a catastrophic earthquake in California. Officials at all levels of government indicated a lack of sustained interest in preparedness by their political leaders. While the Federal role in preparing for a major earthquake is to support and supplement State, local and private efforts, there is a clear need for Federal leadership to overturn apathy and to make preparations for reducing the impacts of a major earthquake.

The NSC ad hoc Committee recommends that you personally communicate with Governor Brown by letter to express your strong personal intent to work with the State of California and local governments in increasing the cooperative effort to prepare for a catastrophic earthquake. John Macy will act in your behalf to implement better leadership at the Federal level. A letter to Governor Brown is at Tab A.

Recommendation #2: The high level of probability with which California faces a major earthquake requires the accelerated development and implementation of a comprehensive and detailed preparedness strategy. FEMA will strengthen significantly its efforts and lead other agencies in developing such a strategy. This will be carried out through reprogramming in current appropriations and the normal budget process.

Recommendation #3: It is important to avoid unnecessary delays in the initiation of Federal assistance for lifesaving actions following a major earthquake, when time is of the essence. Therefore, FEMA will develop a prenegotiated agreement with the State of California which will enable the President to declare a major disaster and initiate full-scale Federal support for lifesaving and humanitarian action within minutes of a request from the Governor following a catastrophic earthquake. The agreement will defer resolution of issues relating to longer term restoration and recovery, and similar questions with large budgetary implications, until adequate damage estimates are available, thus enabling the Executive Branch to arrive at an informed decision. The agreement will be reviewed by OMB.

Recommendation #4: Federal-State cooperation in emergency planning and response to a major earthquake requires improvement. FEMA will establish a small dedicated staff in California to concentrate on earthquake preparedness and work with appropriate Federal and non-Federal agencies to complete integrated plans for responding to major earthquakes in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas and to conduct large-scale practice response exercises.

Recommendation #5: The public will have to rely largely upon its own resources in the first several hours immediately following a major earthquake, requiring that basic knowledge about lifesaving measures be very widely disseminated through public education. FEMA will work with the State of California to develop and publicize appropriate self-help and lifesaving information.

Recommendation #6: Continued earthquake research will increase the capability for prediction. Any scientifically credible, specific prediction, even with a significant level of uncertainty, will require very difficult decisions on the part of elected officials at all levels of government. The Department of the Interior will maintain a sound and well-balanced program of research in earthquake hazards assessment and prediction and the Department and FEMA will work with State officials to develop improved mechanisms for the transmission of earthquake predictions and related information.

Recommendation #7: Earthquake preparedness will require higher attention in Fiscal Years 1981 and 1982. FEMA will reassess priorities and allocate resources to increase the staffing, funding and management attention focused on earthquake hazards mitigation and preparations for a catastrophic earthquake in California. Resource needs that cannot be fully met by reallocation for Fiscal Year 1981 will be identified and justified along with needs for Fiscal Year 1982. FEMA will also provide timely guidance to other agencies on specific priorities for this effort in relation to other major preparedness goals. OMB and OSTP will work together to develop a cross agency ranking of budgetary resources for earthquake preparedness in the Fiscal Year 1982 budget.

Recommendations 8 and 9 on national security issues at Tab B will be implemented as discussed.

Public Release of this Assessment

Your advisors believe that the attached report would make a useful contribution to public understanding and that an edited version, together with the recommendations, should be made available to Federal, State and local officials, industry, and the public. The White House would issue a brief statement noting the completion of the assessment. FEMA and California officials would release the report.

TAB B

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Frank Press *FP.*

SUBJECT: National Security Implications of a Major California Earthquake (U)

A report analyzing the implications for the national security of a major California earthquake, prepared by the Department of Defense, is attached. The principal conclusions of the report are as follows: (U)

A major earthquake would have significant, although manageable, implications for national security. Strategic warning command and control systems could be severely degraded, particularly if the satellite control facility at Sunnyvale were damaged. However, the Consolidated Space Operations Center, planned for completion in Colorado Springs in 1986, will reduce the possibility of degradation owing to earthquake damage at Sunnyvale. Force readiness could be impacted by temporary blockages at Department of Defense port and terminal areas such as Oakland or San Diego. The most important long-term impact of a major earthquake would be its effect on defense industry and defense production. (S)

About 10% of the Nation's industrial capacity is located in earthquake prone regions of California. But there are significantly higher concentrations in electronics and aerospace. The capability to mobilize industrial resources in times of national emergency -- the subject of Presidential Directive NSC 57 -- requires understanding of the stresses in the economy which will result from higher demands caused by either the loss of California industries or by general mobilization during national emergency. Therefore, analysis of the industrial and economic impact of a major earthquake is similar, in significant ways, to the analysis required in PD/NSC 57. Adequate analysis of these issues is just getting underway; this review has highlighted the need to pursue PD 57 objectives with greater aggressiveness. (S)

The recommendations of the ad hoc Committee of the National Security Council and the Department of Defense are as follows: (U)

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Recommendation #8: In many respects, the damage to industrial capability and economic impacts of a catastrophic earthquake in California would be very similar to those which would be experienced from a limited or accidental nuclear attack -- analysis of which was assigned under Presidential Directive NSC 57. The Department of Defense, and FEMA will accelerate the PD 57 review of adverse damage on California industries and develop detailed estimates of the impacts on production, the economy of the region and the Nation, and on the procurement of critical weapons and defense systems. (S)

Recommendation #9: A destructive earthquake could seriously degrade the national security strategic warning system at the Sunnyvale Air Force Station, or disrupt force readiness at several Department of Defense port or land staging areas. Department of Defense will implement actions to upgrade its preparedness for a major earthquake. (S)

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NATIONAL SECURITY IMPACT ASSESSMENT

● Our national security assessment is based on the California earthquake scenarios identified in the recent U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) Study.

● Our study focused on potential earthquakes in the three critical areas--San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego--and the 21 surrounding counties as identified by FEMA.

● The translation of earthquake effects into specific damage assessments, and evaluation of their overall impact on our national security posture, does not lend itself to precise analytical techniques. Much depends on specifics such as (1) likelihood, magnitude, and location of the earthquake, (2) degree of damage and expected repair or work-around times, (3) locations of mobile systems like ships and even satellites, and (4) level and accessibility of critical resources and supplies.

● We have addressed a wide range of possible adverse earthquake effects, examining each in view of the likelihood of occurrence of such events. The estimates we used for "likelihood" cover the next 20 year period and are described on the low-moderate-high ordinal scale provided by USGS. More exact probability statements would certainly be helpful, but earthquake phenomena are not easily represented by well-defined probability distributions.

- The significant observations that have emerged from our study are, therefore, necessarily characterized in very general terms of expectation.

FINDINGS:

● Strategic warning, Command, Control and Communications systems could be severely degraded, although at no time would either strategic warning or communications be totally lost. The Sunnyvale Air Force Station (35 miles southeast of San Francisco), which is responsible for tracking and controlling reconnaissance, warning, navigation and communications satellites, could expect damage in the event of a major earthquake along the northern San Andreas or Hayward faults--events which have a moderate likelihood of occurrence during the next 20 years. Incapacitation of this facility would severely affect up to fifty spacecraft, with very limited backup available.

- The strategic warning mission would be degraded if Sunnyvale could not provide tracking data. Although missile launches would still be detected, confidence in the location and direction of the launches diminishes over time if the precise position of the warning satellite is not available.

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- In terms of communications network degradations, the effects are serious, but not severe. DoD would not lose communications with major commands and headquarters, but message traffic would be rerouted and slowed.

- Mission interruption would occur for those satellites that require sensor pointing or data collection through Sunnyvale. For example, data from the nuclear event detection satellites could not be collected. This mission interruption would continue for as long as the Sunnyvale facility were disabled with only a very limited backup available.

- If the Sunnyvale satellite control operation were disrupted for an extended period (days to weeks), there would be an increasing likelihood that uncorrected satellite failures would cause irretrievable loss of mission capability and, in some cases, destruction of the satellite.

- The duration of such a disruption is dependent on the extent of physical damage and thus difficult to estimate. But the longer the outage the more serious the event, since there are cumulative effects.

● Regarding force readiness, the most serious military degradation would affect the Navy, with the possibility that our ability to deploy ships to the Pacific (except aircraft carriers) could be significantly reduced. This reduction would result from ships being locked in port by the possible collapse of the Coronado Bridge in San Diego, due to a major earthquake along the Newport-Inglewood fault. Should the earthquake occur and the bridge collapse, up to one-third of the ships in the Pacific Fleet could be affected (about 40 ships) prior to a channel being cleared. This event is given a low-moderate likelihood of occurrence during the next 20 years.

- Other military forces are not expected to be severely affected by earthquake damage, regardless of location or intensity of the earthquake(s). Air Force aircraft flight operations should experience only minimal disruption, including both runways and base support facilities. This is due to the location of these installations, as well as the Air Force's earthquake hazard reduction efforts. It should be noted, however, that military units would be engaged in disaster relief operations, and to the extent they are so employed, they would not be available for other military missions.

- In terms of strategic mobility, our ability to execute and support strategic deployments by air--primarily through Travis Air Force Base--would be essentially unimpaired. However, our ability to deploy or support deployments by surface means could be affected. There could be significant losses in seaport operational effectiveness. The normal port functions of ingress, egress, loading, and servicing could be severely hampered. Further, Oakland Army Terminal, our principal military traffic control facility for the Western U.S., would suffer considerable damage from an earthquake along either the northern San Andreas or Hayward faults, events with a moderate likelihood of occurrence during the next 20 years. These combined effects--reduced seaport operational effectiveness and disruption of the Oakland Terminal--would impair our overall ability to support strategic troop deployments.

- If all three of the major areas were affected by earthquake activity--a very unlikely event--up to 25% of DoD supplies of aviation and marine diesel fuel could be disrupted. In addition, approximately 20% of the fuel stored for DoD CONUS operations would be lost or its delivery disrupted.

- There is no possibility of a nuclear accident (detonation) resulting from abrupt movements or physical shock of nuclear weapons stockpiled in California. Minor physical damage to the weapons could occur, but it is unlikely to cause even localized (in storage facilities) radiation effects. There are no chemical weapons stored in the State.

- While Vandenberg Air Force Base would be expected to receive some minimal damage--given its location near the Southern San Andreas--the Space Shuttle facilities have been designed and are being constructed to withstand even greater earthquake effects than the present satellite launch facilities. The potential earthquake magnitudes, as postulated by the USGS scenarios, would not exceed the design standards of either present or future launch facilities.

- Finally, defense-related industries could be affected, with both short and long-term impacts. Current producers for forty-seven of the seventy-eight programs classified by DoD as having the highest national priority are located in the earthquake hazard area. While the size and complexity of the problem necessitate further detailed study, the effect on defense-related industry is potentially the most serious long-term impact of a major California earthquake.

Conclusions:

● Our assessment leads us to the conclusion that, while there is cause for concern and further examination, there is no cause for alarm about the potential impact of California earthquake activity on the national security. No vital defense function would be totally disrupted.

● A major earthquake along the one fault area having a high likelihood of such an event within the next 20 years--the Southern San Andreas--would have only minimal effects on Defense forces and facilities. The most serious effect would be loss of a portion of the DoD fuel supply and storage, which could be tolerated given timely reallocation and resupply.

● A major earthquake in the San Francisco area--along the Northern San Andreas or Hayward faults (events with a moderate likelihood of occurrence)--would adversely affect Sunnyvale Air Force Station. The most serious immediate result would be loss of the satellite control function located at Sunnyvale. However, neither strategic warning nor communications would be totally interrupted. In the longer term, extended disruption of Sunnyvale could result in the loss of many satellites supporting a wide range of Defense missions. The Consolidated Space Operations Center, planned for construction in Colorado Springs with an operational date in 1986, will mitigate the potential loss of Sunnyvale by providing the capability to serve as back-up for all of the functions then remaining at Sunnyvale. Possible interim measures to diminish the operational impact of severe damage to the Sunnyvale facility will be further studied by DoD.

● Also affected by a major earthquake in the San Francisco area would be the Oakland Army Terminal, our principal land traffic management center in the area. It is anticipated this facility could be fully operational within one week following a severe earthquake. Emergency measures and alternatives will be examined by DoD.

● The San Diego area, potentially affected by an earthquake along the Newport-Inglewood fault, contains many Navy facilities. A major earthquake along this fault--a low-moderate likelihood event over the next 20 years--which resulted in the collapse of the Coronado Bridge could lock as many as 40 Navy ships in port (none aircraft carriers) and disrupt normal port operations. A channel to allow access to open water could be cleared in one to two days. The risks inherent in this situation will be further evaluated by DoD.

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- There is considerable potential for disruption of defense-related industry, based solely on the large number of producers located in the vulnerable areas. A confident answer as to the degree of disruption and specific programs affected requires further analysis on an interagency basis. Such an analysis should be undertaken as a matter of high priority.

- Decisions resulting from further studies and analyses, as indicated above, will be implemented to insure the continued ability of DoD to provide for the national defense in the event of a major California earthquake.

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Attachment

Q

Report of
National Security Council
ad hoc Committee on Assessment of Consequences
and Preparations for a Major
California Earthquake

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Appendices

Tab I - Geologic Earthquake Scenarios

Tab II - Assessment of Losses for Selected Potential
California Earthquakes

Tab III - An Assessment of the Current State of Readiness
and Capability of Local, State and Federal
Governments for Response

Tab IV - An Assessment of the Socio Economic Impacts

NSC ad hoc Committee on Consequences
and Preparations for a Major California Earthquake

Dr. Frank Press, Chairman
Director
Office of Science and Technology Policy, and
Science and Technology Advisor to the President

Honorable Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Secretary of the Army

Honorable Cecil Andrus
Secretary
Department of the Interior

Mr. W. Bowman Cutter
Deputy Associate Director of Budget
Office of Management and Budget

Mr. Lynn Daft
Associate Director
Domestic Policy Staff

Honorable Neil Goldschmidt
Secretary
Department of Transportation

Mr. Peter Hamilton
The Special Assistant to the Secretary of
Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense

Mr. Ted Hodkowski
Intergovernment Assistant to the
President

Mr. John Macy Director
Federal Emergency Management Agency

General William Odom
National Security Council

Mr. Robert B. Pirie, Jr.
Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower,
Reserve Affairs and Logistics
Department of Defense

Report of
National Security Council
ad hoc Committee on Assessment of Consequences
and Preparations for a Major
California Earthquake

Nation unprepared

The Nation is essentially unprepared for the catastrophic earthquake in California which must be expected with a probability greater than 50% in the next three decades. While current response plans and preparedness may be adequate for moderate earthquakes, Federal, State, and local officials agree that preparations are woefully inadequate to cope, not only with the damage and casualties from a major earthquake, but with the disruptions in communications and social and governmental infrastructure which may follow. The Nation has not suffered the impact of a natural disaster of this magnitude in the past, nor has it suffered any disaster of this magnitude on its own territory since the Civil War.

Likelihood of Earthquakes

Earth scientists unanimously agree about the inevitability of major earthquakes in California (Tab I). The gradual movement of the Pacific Plate relative to the North American plate leads to the inexorable concentration of strain along the San Andreas and related fault systems. While some of this strain is released by moderate and smaller earthquakes and by slippage without earthquakes, geologic studies indicate that the vast bulk of the strain is released through the occurrence of major earthquakes -- that is earthquakes with magnitudes of 7.0 and larger and capable of widespread damage in a developed region. Along the southern San Andreas fault, 50 miles north of Los Angeles, for example, geologists can demonstrate that at least eight major earthquakes have occurred in the past 1200 years with an average spacing in time of 140 ± 30 years. The last such event occurred in 1857. Based on these statistics and other geophysical observations, geologists estimate that the probability for the recurrence of a similar earthquake is currently about 2 to 5% per year and greater than 50% in the next 30 years. Ample geologic evidence indicates other faults capable of generating major earthquakes in other locations near urban centers in California including San Francisco-Oakland, the immediate Los Angeles region, and San Diego. Estimates of the current probability for a major earthquake in these other locations indicate smaller, but significant probabilities. Thus, the aggregate probability for a major earthquake in California as a whole in the next three decades is well in excess of 50%.

Damage and Casualties

The damage and casualties have been estimated for the most expectable major earthquakes as a basis for emergency preparedness and response planning (Tab II). For the most probable, catastrophic earthquake -- a magnitude 8+ earthquake similar to that of 1857 which occurred along the southern San Andreas fault -- damage to buildings and contents is estimated to be about \$15 billion. Estimates of fatalities range from about 3,000 if the earthquake were to occur at 2:30 a.m. when the population is in the relative safety of its homes to more than 13,000 if the earthquake were to

occur at 4:30 p.m. on a weekday when much of the population is either in office buildings or on the streets. Injuries serious enough to require hospitalization under normal circumstances are estimated to be about four times as large. For the less likely prospect of a magnitude 7.5 earthquake on the Newport-Inglewood fault in the immediate Los Angeles area, damage is estimated to be about \$70 billion and fatalities are estimated to be about 4,000 to 23,000. Such an earthquake, despite its smaller magnitude, would be more destructive because of its relative proximity to the most heavily developed regions; however, the probability of this event is estimated to be only about 0.1% per year. Smaller magnitude -- and consequently less damaging -- earthquakes are anticipated with greater frequency on a number of fault systems.

Substantial uncertainty exists in estimates of damage and casualties. Estimates are based on experience with only moderate earthquakes in the United States, such as the 1971 San Fernando earthquake, and experience in other countries where buildings are generally less resistant to damage. The uncertainty is probably at least a factor of two to three, either too high or too low. However, even if the estimates were too large by a factor of two to three, the conclusions discussed in this report about preparedness and the capability to respond to the disaster would be substantially unchanged.

Deaths and injuries estimated for these earthquakes would occur principally due to the failure of man-made structures, such as buildings, particularly older, multi-story and unreinforced brick masonry buildings built before the institution of earthquake-resistant building codes. Experience has shown that some modern multi-story buildings -- constructed as recently as the late 1960's but not adequately designed or constructed to meet the current understanding of requirements for seismic resistance -- are also subject to failure. Strong ground shaking, the primary cause of damage during earthquakes, will extend over vast areas. For example, in an earthquake similar to that which occurred in 1857, strong ground shaking -- above the threshold for damage -- would extend in a broad stripe along the San Andreas fault, about 250 miles long and 100 miles wide, including almost all of the Los Angeles - San Bernadino metropolitan area, and all of Ventura, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, and Bakersfield.

Search and rescue operations -- requiring heavy equipment to move debris -- will be needed to free people trapped in collapsed buildings. It is likely that injuries, particularly immediately after the event, will overwhelm medical capabilities -- necessitating a system of allocating medical resources to those who will be the most helped. Numerous local fires must be expected, however, it is considered unlikely that a conflagration such as those which followed the Tokyo earthquake of 1923 or San Francisco earthquake of 1906 is probable, unless a "Santa Anna type" wind pattern is in effect. Since the nearly catastrophic failure of a dam in the San Fernando, California, earthquake of 1971 -- a moderate shock -- substantial progress has been made in California to reduce the hazard from dams, in some cases through reconstruction. However, for planning purposes, experts believe that the failure of at least one dam should be anticipated during a major earthquake in either the Los Angeles or San Francisco regions.

The impacts -- to be expected from a major California earthquake -- far exceed previous natural disasters in the United States. The previous largest loss of life in a natural disaster was in the hurricane and flood which struck the Galveston region of the Texas coast in 1900 killing more than 5,000 people. Owing to the capability for prediction, the lives lost during hurricanes in the United States has dropped from thousands per decade in the early 1900's to a few hundred or less per decade today. At the same time, the economic losses have soared to more than \$3.5 billion (in 1972 dollars) for tropical storm Agnes, the largest economic loss in a natural disaster in the United States to date.

Those regions of the United States most susceptible to major earthquakes have been extensively developed only in the last several decades. Since the last major earthquake in the United States (outside Alaska) occurred in 1906, we have not experienced previously the kind and magnitude of effects which must be anticipated. Earthquakes in San Francisco in 1906, when the city was considerably less developed, in Alaska in 1964, in a sparsely populated and developed region, and in San Fernando in 1971, a moderate sized event on the fringe of an urban area, each caused damage estimated at about \$0.5 billion in the then current dollars. The highest loss of life occurred in San Francisco in 1906 with 700 people killed. Despite contrasts in building construction and social and economic systems, the devastating impact of the 1976 Tangshan earthquake in China should give us pause to examine our own vulnerability. Estimates of the fatalities from this earthquake range from the official Chinese government figure of 242,000 to unofficial estimates as high as 700,000. Fortunately, building practices in the United States preclude such a massive loss of life.

Most systems for communications, transportation and water and power generation and distribution are as a whole resistant to failure, despite potentially severe local damage, because of their network-like character. These systems would suffer serious local outages, particularly in the first several days after the event, but would resume service over a few weeks to months. The principal difficulty will be the need for these systems in the first few days after the event when life-saving activities will be paramount.

Experience in past earthquakes, particularly the 1971 San Fernando earthquake, has demonstrated the potential vulnerability of commercial telephone service to earthquakes, including the possibility of damage to switching facilities from ground shaking and rupturing underground cables which cross faults. In addition, immediately following earthquakes, public demand for telephone services increases drastically. This increased demand overloads the capability of the system, even without damage, requiring management action to reduce the availability of service and to accommodate emergency calls. Radio-based communication systems, particularly those not requiring commercial power, are relatively resistant although some damage must be anticipated. The redundancy of existing communication systems, including those designed for emergency use, gives assurance at a very high level of probability that some capability will be available for communicating with the affected region from the outside. Restoration of service by the commercial carriers should begin within 24 to 72 hours as a result of maintenance and management actions, however, total restoration of service will take significantly longer.

The communications problem is made even more serious because, while numerous agencies have the capability for emergency communication within themselves, provision for non-telephonic communication between entities and agencies in the affected area is minimal. This is true for Federal, State and local agencies. This weakness has been pointed out repeatedly by earthquake response exercises and the problem is raised by almost every emergency preparedness official at every level of government. Consequently, a major problem for resolution is the operational integration and technical interoperability of systems and networks among the necessary Federal, State and local agencies.

Impact on National Security

Possible impacts of such a catastrophic earthquake on national security are reviewed in a classified annex.

Capability for Response

State, local and Federal emergency response capabilities are judged to be adequate for moderate earthquakes -- those of less than about \$2 billion in damage. However, State, local and Federal officials are quick to point out serious shortcomings in their ability to respond to a major earthquake. An analysis of the preparedness posture of 60 local and 34 California State organizations and 17 Federal agencies, carried out by the California Office of Emergency Services and the Federal Emergency Management Agency, indicates that response to a catastrophic earthquake will become disorganized and largely ineffective (Tab III). Many governmental units have generalized earthquake response plans, some have tailored earthquake plans, and several plans are regularly exercised. The coordination of these plans, however, among jurisdictions, agencies and levels of government is inadequate. There are also several additional generic deficiencies in these plans: the potential for prediction is not incorporated; long-term recovery issues are not considered; and communications problems as discussed above.

An overall evaluation indicates Federal preparedness to be deficient at this time. Early reaction to a catastrophic event would likely be characterized by delays, ineffective response and ineffectively coordinated delivery of support.

FEMA Region IX has developed a draft Earthquake Response Plan for the San Francisco Bay area. This is a site specific plan for response to potential catastrophic earthquake occurrences. The emergency response portion relies upon a decentralized approach which provides for Federal disaster support activities to be tasked to selected Federal agencies by mission assignment letters. No specific plans have been prepared for other risk areas. However, it is expected that the Bay Area plan can be easily adapted to other areas. The overall response plan and the emergency portion are still in draft. With the exception of the Department of Defense and the Department of Transportation, the tasked Federal agencies have been slow to develop detailed earthquake plans that would insure a well organized and adequate response to mission assignments for a catastrophic earthquake.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency has recently entered into a cooperative effort with California State and local governmental units to prepare an integrated prototype preparedness plan to respond to a catastrophic earthquake in southern California. Its completion in late 1981 promises to substantially improve the state-of-readiness for the prediction and/or occurrence in that area and to provide a model which can be applied to other earthquake prone regions of the country.

Very significant capabilities to assist in the emergency response exist within the California National Guard and the Department of Defense (Tab III). Capabilities exist for aerial reconnaissance, search and rescue, medical services, emergency construction and repair, communications, emergency housing and food, emergency law enforcement, etc. However, current estimates by officials of the California National Guard and the Department of Defense indicate that at least six to eight hours will be required before personnel and equipment can be mobilized and begin initial deployments to the affected area. During the period before the arrival of significant outside resources -- critical to the saving of the lives of those trapped in collapsed buildings -- the public will be forced to rely largely upon its own resources for search and rescue, first aid, and general life saving action. The current level of preparation of the public for this critical phase of response can only be described as minimal. Much of the current state of preparedness arises from past programs aimed at a wide spectrum of emergencies, particularly civil defense. These programs have been assigned relatively low priority in recent years and the level of Federal support is perceived to be declining.

Areas of remaining concern

About 10% of the population and industrial resources of the Nation are located in California. Over 85% of these resources (or about 8.5% of the Nation's total) are located in 21 counties in northern and southern California which are subject to the possibility of damage from a major earthquake. Much of the aerospace and electronics industry is centered in California. For example, about 56% of the guided missiles and space vehicles, 40% of the semi-conductors, 25% of the electronic computer equipment and about 21% of the optical instruments and lenses manufactured in the Nation are manufactured in these 21 counties. Of course, the probability that all of these counties would be affected by one earthquake is vanishingly remote, however, significant concentrations do exist. For example, about 25% of the Nation's semi-conductors are manufactured in Santa Clara County, an area which suffered very heavy damage in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake along the northern San Andreas fault. Estimates of damage to these industrial facilities and the resulting loss of production have not been made. The resulting impacts of possible damage to national production has not been analyzed adequately.

Since we have yet to experience a catastrophic earthquake in the United States, there are many unknowns which must be estimated with best judgment. This is true particularly for the response of individuals and governmental and other institutions (Tab IV). Common assumptions of post-disaster behavior include antisocial behavior and the need for martial law, the breakdown of government institutions and the requirement for the quick assertion of outside leadership and control. However, practical experience

and field studies of disasters indicate that these assumptions are not necessarily correct. The impacts of the disaster commonly produce a sense of solidarity and cooperativeness among the survivors. However, the perception remains among emergency response officials that there will be an increased need for law enforcement following the event. Some officials believe other factors, e.g., economic conditions, would influence response in some segments of the population.

Another major unknown involves whether a medium or short-term warning of the event will be possible and how such a warning can be utilized most effectively. The technology for earthquake prediction is in an extremely early stage of development. Researchers are focussing considerable attention on California. However, because of lack of experience, it is problematical whether they will succeed in issuing a short-term warning before a major earthquake, should the event occur in the next few years. At the same time scientifically based, intermediate term warnings which might be issued based on current research instrumentation and observation networks, while certainly possible, will be subject to a high degree of uncertainty. Indeed, the capability for prediction is growing as research progresses. Consequently, both the case of an earthquake without warning, and the case of a short or intermediate term warning, albeit with a significant level of uncertainty, must be considered.

Other unknowns remain about the impacts of a future catastrophic earthquake. Governor Brown, for example, has indicated particular concern about safety of unlicensed nuclear facilities such as the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, where plutonium is used in weapons-related research.

Issues and Recommended Actions

I. Leadership

Effective leadership at all political levels is the single most important factor needed to improve the Nation's preparedness for a catastrophic earthquake in California. The problem of emergency preparedness is severely complicated because responsibilities for preparation and response cut across normal lines of authority. This problem is further complicated because of the large areal extent of the impacts expected from a major earthquake, affecting literally dozens of government entities. The emergency services coordinator at any level of government is only effective to the extent he or she is backed by the political leadership from above. This is especially true when preparedness activities must be done, for the most part, within existing resources. City and county officials increasingly must accept their share of the responsibility for preparedness, but commitment by State or Federal leaders is also prerequisite. The general tendency among elected officials and the public is to ignore the problem. However, experience teaches that effective response mechanisms must be in place before the disaster; they cannot be developed in the time of crisis. Overturning this apathy and developing the infrastructure among Federal, State and local government and volunteer agencies -- together with the private sector and the general public -- will require, above all, leadership.

Issue #1: What leadership role should the Federal Government assume in preparing for a major California earthquake and how should this leadership role be exerted?

Recommended Action:

The President or a high government official should communicate with the Governor of California to indicate the results of this review, to express concern about the need for cooperative leadership to prepare for the event, and to offer to increase its effort with the State of California and local governments in the cooperative effort to prepare for a catastrophic earthquake. It should be clearly understood that the Federal role is to supplement the effort and resources of the State, and that commitment of significant Federal resources would be contingent upon the application of significant State resources.

II. Management of Preparedness and Response Activities

This review identified six issues to improve the management and coordination of efforts to prepare for and respond to a catastrophic earthquake. Preparedness must be developed as a partnership between Federal, State and local government -- with improvements at all levels -- as none have the resources or authorities to solve the problem alone.

Issue #2: Since the Nation faces a major earthquake in California at a significant level of probability, FEMA should provide the necessary leadership, management and coordination required to strengthen planning and preparedness within the Federal Government as delegated under the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program and the Disaster Relief Act. In this effort, FEMA will require the support and assistance of numerous other Federal agencies.

Recommended Action:

FEMA should:

- strengthen significantly its management, research, application and coordination functions as delegated under the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program and Disaster Relief Act.
- lead other agencies in the development of a comprehensive preparedness strategy detailing specific objectives and assignments and periodically monitor accomplishments in meeting assigned responsibilities.

Departments and agencies with appropriate capabilities should provide needed support to FEMA in strengthening Federal preparedness and hazard mitigation programs.

Issue #3: A major identified deficiency is the potential for delay following a catastrophic earthquake which may be required for the application and processing of a request for a Presidential declaration of a major disaster, and the subsequent initiation of full-scale Federal support for lifesaving actions. The first few hours are critical in saving the lives of people trapped in collapsed buildings, consequently, this is when Federal support is needed most. Decisions on post event recovery aspects of applications for Federal assistance for recovery can be deferred until lifesaving operations are underway and sufficient information about damage is in hand.

Recommended Action:

FEMA should develop a prenegotiated agreement with the State of California which will enable the President to declare a major disaster and initiate full-scale Federal support for lifesaving and humanitarian action within minutes of a catastrophic earthquake. The agreement will defer resolution of issues relating to longer term restoration and recovery, and similar questions with large budgetary implications, until adequate damage estimates are available, thus enabling the Executive Branch to arrive at an informed decision. The agreement will be reviewed by OMB.

Issue #4: Significant improvements in the Federal, State and local capability for and coordination of operational response to a major earthquake are needed.

Recommended Action:

FEMA, the Department of Defense, and other appropriate Federal agencies should increase their efforts with appropriate State and local agencies and volunteer and private sector organizations in a partnership to:

- Complete development and agreement on fully integrated earthquake response plans for both the San Francisco and Los Angeles regions, including provision for predicted as well as unpredicted earthquakes building upon the existing draft plan for San Francisco.
- Establish a small dedicated FEMA staff in California to coordinate earthquake preparedness planning and implementation.
- Develop improved mechanisms for the coordination of medical and mortuary activities following a catastrophic earthquake.
- Identify and document the critical requirements for emergency communications -- particularly non-telephonic communications -- among Federal, State and local agencies. Shortfalls between critical requirements and current capabilities as well as

remedial actions or recommended solutions for each should be identified in accord with the National Plan for Communications Support in Emergencies and Major Disasters. This review should include consideration of using existing satellite communications or a dedicated system should it be found necessary.

- Cooperatively with State and local officials conduct practice response exercises that will prepare officials and the public for conditions that might be encountered in a catastrophic earthquake and that would reveal deficiencies in planning.

Issue #5: Improving currently inadequate preparedness of the public for a catastrophic earthquake requires a substantial increase in public information and public awareness. Although this is primarily a State, local and private sector responsibility, the Federal Government has a role as well. Because the public will have no choice but to rely largely upon its own resources in the first several hours immediately following a major earthquake, it is important that certain basic knowledge about lifesaving measures be very widely disseminated.

Recommended Action:

FEMA should stimulate and work with the State of California and other appropriate groups to develop and publicize earthquake awareness, hazard mitigation techniques, specific post-earthquake actions to be taken, first aid and other pertinent information.

Issue #6: The possibility of a credible, scientifically based prediction of a major earthquake poses serious challenges to government and our society. The current level of understanding of earthquake prediction and available resources are such that present instrumentation efforts are directed toward research rather than maintaining extensive monitoring networks for real-time prediction purposes. The transition from research to fully operational capability will require additional scientific understanding as well as resources. However, earthquake predictions are possible, perhaps likely, from the current research effort. Even with a significant level of uncertainty, any scientifically credible prediction that indicates a major earthquake is expected within about one year or less will require very difficult and consequential decisions on the part of elected officials at all levels of government. Decisions may include such possibilities as the mobilization of National Guard and Department of Defense resources prior to the event, the imposition of special procedures or drills at potentially hazardous facilities such as nuclear reactors or dams, the condemnation or evacuation of particularly unsafe buildings with the subsequent need for temporary housing, and the reduction of special protection of fragile inventories. If the prediction is correct and appropriate actions are taken, thousands of lives and significant economic losses can be saved. However, the costs of responding to a prediction may be substantial, and the commitment of resources undoubtedly will have to be made in the face of considerable uncertainty. Indeed, the possibility of an inaccurate prediction must be faced squarely.

Recommended Action:

FEMA, in conjunction with other appropriate Federal agencies, State and local governments and volunteer and private sector organizations, should increase its actions to develop procedures for responding to a credible, scientific earthquake prediction, including:

- identification of constructive and prudent actions to be taken;
- analysis of the costs and benefits of various actions;
- identification of roles and responsibilities in deciding which actions should be implemented and by whom; and
- criteria for evaluating circumstances when the provision of Federal assistance would be appropriate.

The Geological Survey of the Department of the Interior should:

- Maintain a sound and well-balanced program of research in earthquake prediction and hazards assessment based upon a carefully considered strategic plan.
- Work with State officials and FEMA to develop improved mechanisms for the transmission of earthquake predictions and related information, and to plan for the utilization of the capability for earthquake prediction.

III. Resources

While leadership and management are necessary to effect an adequate earthquake preparedness posture, the availability of adequate staffing and resources at all levels of government determines the efficacy of agency programs and initiatives. In many agencies earthquake preparedness has been accorded a low priority in their programs. This is a manifestation of a more general problem of minimal agency resource allocation to emergency preparedness. The Actions identified in Issues #2 through 7 will be limited unless additional resources are made available.

Issue #7: FEMA has not provided the resources necessary for the emphasis on hazard mitigation and preparedness intended by the President in the reorganization of the emergency-related agencies, and the FEMA responsibility for the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program. Reallocation of existing resources has been influenced by the inherited structure, the historic interests of Congressional authorization and appropriation committees and the overall tight fiscal climate.

Recommended Action:

FEMA should reassess priorities and allocate resources to increase the staffing, funding and management attention and

direction focused on earthquake hazards mitigation, including preparations for a catastrophic earthquake in California. This should include the increase of staff resources in FEMA Region IX for Federal, State, and local coordination of planning, preparedness and mitigation. Resource needs that cannot be fully met by the reassessment and reallocation for Fiscal Year 1981 should be identified and justified along with needs for Fiscal Year 1982 in the course of the budget submission to OMB for Fiscal Year 1982. To facilitate an adequate and balanced response of other Federal agencies, FEMA should also provide timely guidance to other agencies on specific priorities for this effort in relation to other major preparedness goals. OSTP and OMB will work together to develop a cross agency ranking of budgetary resources for earthquake preparedness in the Fiscal Year 1982 budget.

GEOLOGIC EARTHQUAKE SCENARIOS

For purposes of assessing the consequences of a major California earthquake, scenarios for seven large earthquakes were developed. The scenarios were selected on the basis that the earthquakes were reasonable, expectable events that would severely impact the major population centers of California. The potential earthquakes are:

<u>Region</u>	<u>Fault System</u>	<u>Magnitude</u>	<u>Current annual probability of occurrence</u>	<u>Likelihood of occurrence in next 20 years</u>
Major Regional Events				
Los Angeles - San Bernadino	Southern San Andreas	8.3	2-5%	High
San Francisco Bay Area	Northern San Andreas	8.3	1%	Moderate
San Francisco Bay Area	Hayward	7.4	1%	Moderate
Los Angeles	Newport - Inglewood	7.5	0.1%	Moderate-Low
San Diego	Rose Canyon	7.0	0.01%	Low
Illustrations of other possible large events				
Riverside - San Bernadino	Cucamonga	6.8	0.1%	Moderate-Low
Los Angeles	Santa Monica	6.7	0.01%	

Detailed maps were prepared showing qualitative estimates of ground shaking intensity resulting from each earthquake. These estimates can be used for assessing losses and the general severity of damage to structures. Quantitative estimates of peak ground motion at various distances from the postulated earthquakes can be made using empirical formulae. These estimates can be used to evaluate the effects of severe ground shaking on an individual structure or critical facilities. Because of important localized effects such as liquefaction (the complete failure, or loss of strength, of a saturated soil due to shaking), landslides, and fault rupture, the intensity of ground shaking and maximum ground motion values can only be used to approximate the effects of an actual earthquake. Detailed results are available only from a pilot program in the San Francisco Bay area that is attempting to integrate a variety of geologic and land use data on a detailed scale.

Geologic Evidence

Some of the earthquakes listed are repeat occurrences of historical events, other are not, but geologic evidence indicates that earthquakes occurred on these faults before settlement of the region. The postulated earthquake magnitudes are intended to be the largest events which can be expected at a reasonable level of probability based on available data. These earthquakes represent a selection of events useful for planning purposes, but are by no means the only such events likely to occur.

The historic record of seismicity in California is too short to determine confidently the repeat time of large earthquakes, information on past earthquakes must be gleaned from the geologic record. The geologic record presents a picture of past seismicity which is incomplete and not yet deciphered fully. Current knowledge about the recurrence of large earthquakes on specific faults is rudimentary. The estimated probabilities are order-of-magnitude estimates and subject to considerable uncertainty.

The major regional events shown involve large segments of the dominant regional fault systems, and therefore are relatively well defined events. In contrast, the illustrative events indicate other events which could generate quite significant damage. Such events could occur in various parts of a large number of such zones. Consequently the general likelihood of occurrence shown for these events in the table, is not meant to illustrate the probability of only the specific events on the specific fault zones shown, but is intended to be the general likelihood for this "type" of event, which might occur at numerous other locations in the region.

Events

Los Angeles-San Bernadino/Southern San Andreas Fault (Magnitude 8.3)

For the past several thousand years, great earthquakes have been occurring over a 300 km length of the San Andreas fault about every 100-200 years, 140 years on the average. The last such event took place in 1857. Thus, the next great earthquake is much more likely to occur in the next few decades than in the past century. It is expected that in the weeks following the main earthquake, many large aftershocks will occur, themselves capable of producing significant damage and hampering disaster relief operations.

San Francisco Bay Area/Northern San Andreas Fault (Magnitude 8.3)

A repeat occurrence of the 1906 earthquake, in which the San Andreas fault broke over 400 km of its length, would cause severe damage to structures throughout the Bay Area and adjacent regions. The extensive urban development on lowlands and fill all around San Francisco Bay will be especially hard hit and liquefaction in many of these areas will intensify the damage.

San Francisco Bay Area/Hayward Fault (Magnitude 7.4)

This earthquake is estimated to have a recurrence interval comparable to that of a 1906-type event on the northern San Andreas.

Los Angeles/Newport-Inglewood Fault (Magnitude 7.5)

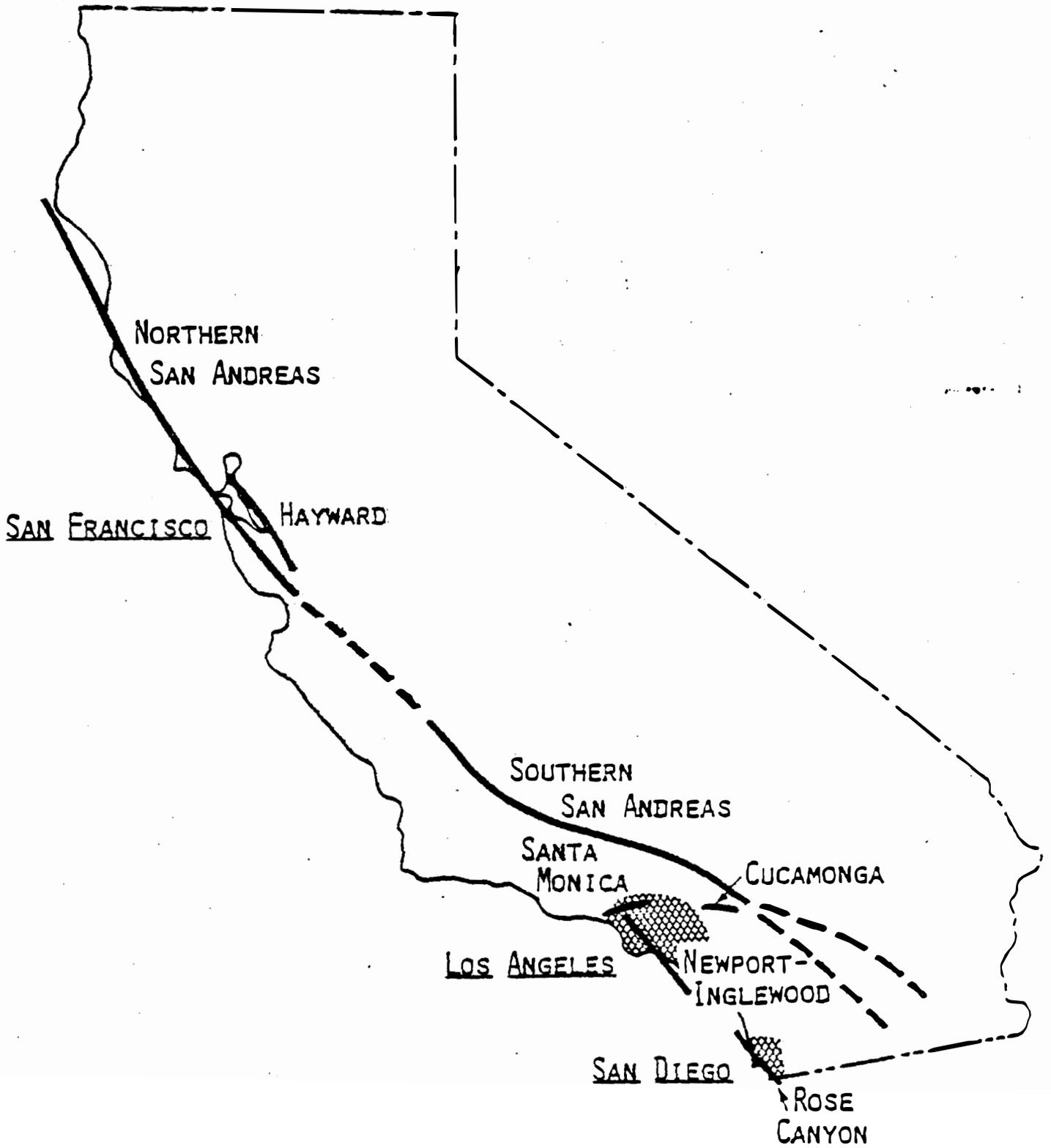
The proximity of this earthquake to the densely populated areas of Los Angeles makes it especially threatening. Shaking will cause extensive structural damage throughout the Los Angeles Basin, and this will be intensified in areas of potential liquefaction near the coast. Because of unstable sea-bed sediments in the offshore area, local tsunamis (tidal waves) are possible.

San Diego Area/Rose Canyon Fault (Magnitude 7.0)

This fault, a segment of an active zone of faults that extends from the Newport-Inglewood fault to northern Mexico, represents the greatest earthquake risk to the San Diego area. Severe damage due to shaking and liquefaction is to be expected in the coastal areas. Because of unstable sea-bed sediments in the offshore area, local tsunamis (tidal waves) are possible.

Los Angeles/Santa Monica Fault (Magnitude 6.7) and
Riverside/San Bernadino/Cucamonga Fault (Magnitude 6.8)

These faults are part of a system of east-west trending faults bordering the northern edge of the Los Angeles basin. This fault system gave rise to the 1971 San Fernando earthquake. Although smaller in magnitude than the earthquakes previously described, the location of these events, near high population densities in southern California, makes them potentially quite dangerous. Under some conditions, one of these earthquakes could cause as much or more damage than a southern San Andreas earthquake.



ASSESSMENT OF LOSSES FOR SELECTED
POTENTIAL CALIFORNIA EARTHQUAKES

Loss and casualty estimates have been prepared in the past as a basis for preparing preparedness plans. These estimates have been reviewed and revised as part of this assessment. The earthquake scenarios selected are: North San Andreas (Magnitude 8+), Hayward (M 7.4), South San Andreas (M 8.3), and Newport-Inglewood (M 7.5).

Estimates of dollar loss and casualties are based on the expected type and distribution of damage for each postulated earthquake as determined by the size and location of the earthquake and the distribution and character of the buildings and structures within the affected area. Substantial uncertainty exists in estimates of damage and casualties because of a number of imponderable factors. Deaths and injuries estimated for these earthquakes would occur principally due to the failure of man-made structures, particularly older, multi-story and unreinforced brick masonry buildings built before the institution of earthquake-resistant building codes (Figure 1). Experience has shown that some modern multi-story buildings -- constructed as recently as the late 1960's but not adequately designed or constructed to meet the current understanding of requirements for seismic resistance -- are also subject to failure. Consequently, the number of fatalities will be strongly influenced by the number of high occupancy buildings which collapse, or by failure of other critical facilities such as dams. Additional imponderables are the degree of saturation of the ground at the time of the event and the possibility of weather conditions conducive to the spread of fire. The quantitative estimates could be too large by a factor of two or three, but even so, the conclusions of this report about the inability to respond to the disaster would be substantially unchanged. Methodologies for estimates of this type are approximate at best, and the figures given may be too large or too small by as much as a factor of two or three.

Estimated losses and casualties are:

DOLLAR LOSS DUE TO DAMAGE*

	<u>Loss to Building</u> <u>(\$ Billions)</u>	<u>Loss of Contents</u> <u>(\$ Billions)</u>	<u>Total Loss</u> <u>(\$ Billions)</u>
Northern San Andreas	25	15	40
Hayward	30	15	45
Newport-Inglewood	45	25	70
Southern San Andreas	10	5	15

*Excludes transportation, communications, dams, military, non-buildings. Estimates rounded to nearest \$5 billion and uncertain by at least a factor of two or three.

CASUALTY ESTIMATES**

	<u>Time</u>	<u>Deaths (Number of Individuals)</u>	<u>Hospitalized Injury (Number of Individuals)***</u>
Northern San Andreas	early morning (e.g., 2:30 a.m.)	3,000	12,000
	afternoon	11,000	44,000
Hayward	early morning	3,000	13,000
	afternoon	8,000	30,000
Southern San Andreas	early morning	3,000	12,000
	afternoon	14,000	55,000
Newport-Inglewood	early morning	4,000	18,000
	afternoon	23,000	91,000

**Estimates of casualties rounded to nearest thousand and are uncertain by at least a factor of two or three.

***Injuries not requiring hospitalization are estimated to be about 15 to 30 times deaths.

Throughout, costs have been assessed on the same basis as an insurance company would bear the cost of a claim, not as an individual might repair damage himself.

The loss estimates were obtained by first estimating the total replacement value of buildings and of contents, by multiplying by percentage loss factors inferred from the anticipated strength of shaking for each county, and then summing to obtain the aggregate loss. The total estimated replacement value of buildings includes private as well as Federal, State and local buildings, insured and uninsured. Excluded from consideration in these estimates is damage to transportation, dam, military and non-building facilities. These estimates do not indicate the potential damage resulting from a major dam failure or similar type event. They similarly do not include consequential losses such as unemployment, loss in tax revenue, lost revenue from factories, etc. Experience suggests that such losses are approximately equal in total to the building and contents damage figures. As large as these figures are, it must be noted that the maximum percentages of loss in the total risk area is 12.7% for the Hayward fault.

The estimation of casualties presents very different problems for analysis. The variations with time of day can be very large. Figures are given for the early morning (e.g., 2:30 a.m.) representing a time when most people are at their homes, by far the safest environment

during a seismic emergency; the afternoon, e.g., 2:00 p.m. when the majority of people are at the place of their employment and represent the largest concentration of population away from households; and 4:30 p.m. the time when the most people are in the streets and thus subject to injury due to falling debris and failure of transportation systems. The factor of five between early morning and late afternoon casualties characterizes the great difficulty in preparing casualty estimates. Generally, injuries which would normally require hospitalization are approximately four times the number of deaths, and non-hospitalized injuries are 15 to 30 times the number of deaths.

Estimates have been made for expected damage and loss of services to hospitals, health manpower, medical supplies, blood banks, clinical services, nursing homes, schools, homeless and the expectation for fire as a basis for emergency response. In the last ten years there has been substantial improvement in the expected earthquake performance of dams and reservoirs. In spite of this substantial improvement, on a contingency basis, one dam failure must be assumed for each scenario. Although new hospitals in California have been subjected to substantial improved seismic construction standards, performance of older hospitals is expected to be poor. Schools are judged to be among the safest facilities at risk. A conflagration such as occurred in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake is not considered likely to occur in any of the analyzed events because improvements in fire resistance of construction and fire fighting techniques. However, numerous smaller fires must be anticipated to reoccur in any of the analyzed events and a "Santa Anna type" wind pattern could cause serious problems.

Anticipated damage from a catastrophic earthquake of this type will include the widespread collapse of older buildings and the collapse or significant structural damage to some newer buildings, not properly constructed to resist strong ground shaking. Non-structural damage, including cracking of walls, breaking of glass, collapse of false ceilings and light fixtures, and damage to elevators will be very widespread. While damage in single family homes will be largely limited to non-structural damage and damage to contents, damage to multi-family dwellings, particularly older buildings, will be extensive. Temporary housing for as many as 200,000 families may be required.

Business and industry will be affected by damage to office buildings, plants and other facilities, such as refineries and factories. Although the 1971 San Fernando earthquake occurred on the margin of a largely suburban area, industrial facilities incurred significant damage. For example, several "tilt up" buildings of the kind commonly used for light industry or warehouses suffered from collapsed roofs or walls. Generally, building codes do not apply to special industrial facilities and the ability of these structures to resist earthquake shaking will depend largely on the foresight of the design engineer and chance. For example, a major electrical power switching yard and a water filtration plant were seriously damaged in the 1971 San Fernando earthquake.

Eighty four key communications facilities, earth stations, Department of Defense voice and data switches, commercial transoceanic cable heads,

Federal Telecommunications System switches, and major direct distance dial switches, exist within 55 miles of either Los Angeles or San Francisco. Some damage must be expected at these facilities, but restoration priorities have been assigned to all critical circuits transiting the key facilities based on established criteria to rank/order criticality of service continuity. National warning systems circuitry, command and control circuits, and circuits supporting diplomatic negotiations are examples of those circuits carrying high restoration priority assignments of which a high concentration exists in the State of California.

In the civil sector there would be 24-72 hours of minimal communications with a possible communications blackout of telephonic communications immediately following the event in the affected area. The commercial carriers would implement network control procedures to regain control of the situation. In the four hypothesized maximum intensity events, the transportation impact in both the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas would be massive and catastrophic. The magnitude and severity of either major event would be unprecedented and thus finite conclusions regarding losses must be treated with some caution.

All major transportation modal systems will be affected: highways, streets, and bridges, mass transit systems, railroads, airports, pipelines and ocean terminals. There will, however, be major variances in losses among the modes. From a purely structural standpoint the more rigid and/or elevated systems such as railroads and pipelines which cross major faults on an east-west axis will incur the most extreme damage with initial losses approaching 100%. Other major systems such as highways, airports and pile supported piers at water terminals with better survivability characteristics will fare much better with damage generally in the moderate range of 15%-30%. During the 1971 San Fernando earthquake, numerous freeway overpasses collapsed. Improvements in design for new overpasses and a program of retrofitting for older overpasses have moderated this problem, but significant damage must be anticipated to unmodified structures. These transportation facility loss estimates are stated in terms of immediate post-quake effects. They do not reflect the impact of priority emergency recovery efforts or the inherently significant degree of redundancy and flexibility in the transportation system. Consequently, there will remain an unquantified but significant movement capability. Finally, these loss estimates, do not take into account the question of availability of essential supporting resources, particularly petroleum fuels, electricity and communications. In the initial response phase, these could prove to be the most limiting factors in the capability of the transportation system.

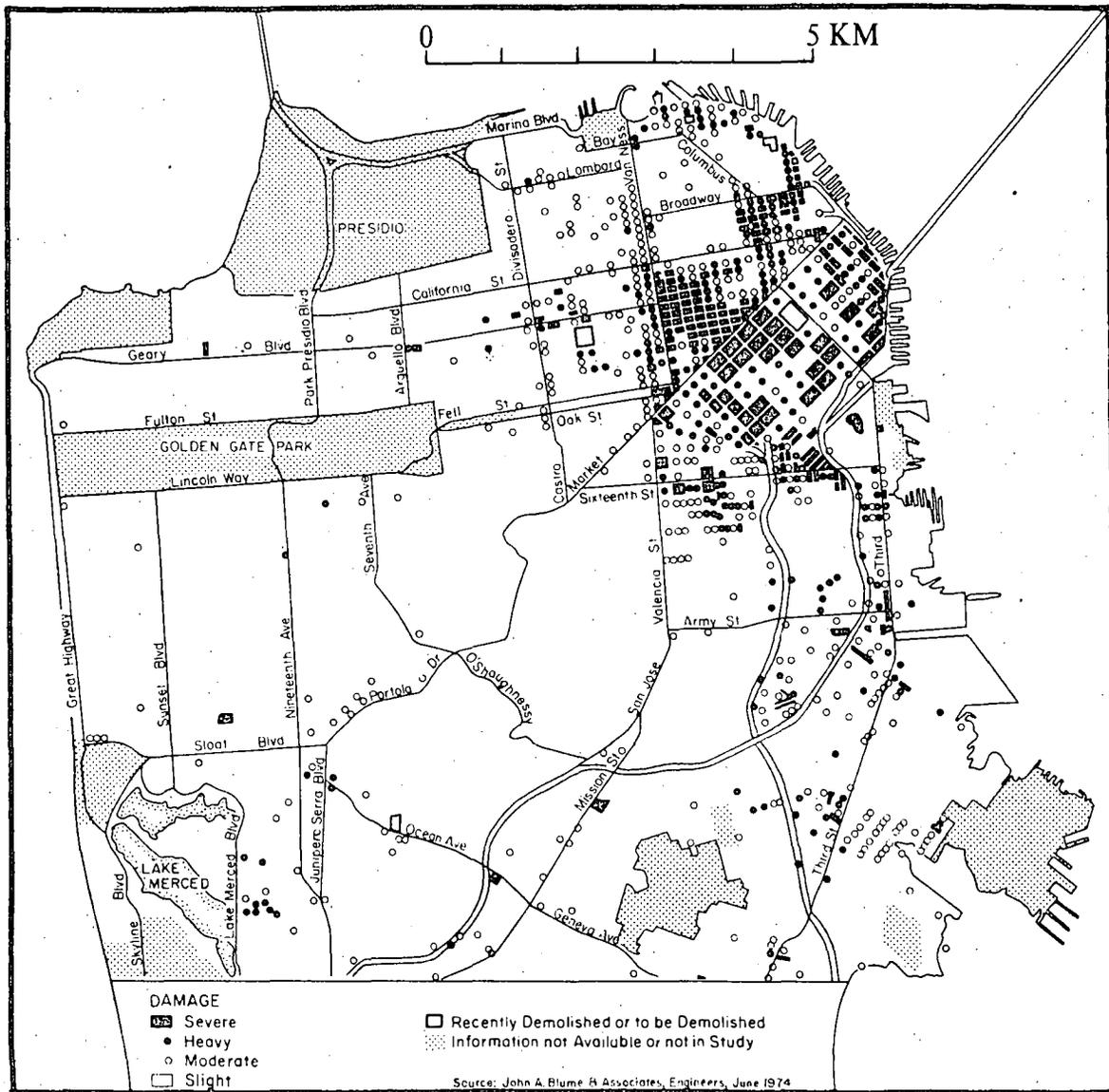


Figure 1 --Estimated building damage for a severe earthquake in the San Francisco area.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT STATE OF READINESS AND CAPABILITY OF LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS FOR RESPONSE

An analysis has been made of the readiness capability for potential catastrophic California earthquakes at the State (34 agencies plans reviewed and evaluated) and local levels (22 counties and 38 cities) of government and of the Federal government (17 agencies). The analysis was not critical of what has or has not been accomplished but examined the situation to identify opportunities for improvement and provides a basis for making decisions which strengthen program direction and planning efforts, and to identify potential legislative and resource needs.

Current plans and preparedness are judged to be adequate for the moderate earthquakes most likely to occur frequently in California, that is, an event with property damage of the order of \$1-2 billion. Such an event, however, will severely tax existing resources and provide a major test of management relationship among different governmental jurisdictions and levels. For a catastrophic earthquake, current plans and preparedness are clearly inadequate, leading to a high likelihood that local, State and Federal response activities will become disoriented and largely fail to perform effectively for an extended period of time.

Local and State emergency response capabilities -- headed by the California Office of Emergency Services -- include, for example, the fire departments, police and sheriff departments, engineering and highway departments, forestry and land management agencies and the California National Guard (CANG), which will be called to state active duty in the event of a major earthquake. The CANG has developed regional/ district level response organizations which would be tailored to the nature and magnitude of the event.

Federal Response

The principal Federal capability for operational response to a major earthquake will be FEMA, supported by DOD and other Federal agencies. FEMA has developed a basic plan for preparedness response and assistance for a major earthquake in the San Francisco Bay area. DOD response to a major earthquake in California would be incremental and designed to supplement state and other federal agency responses, and would depend upon the severity of damage, residual civil capabilities and the amount of support being provided by State and other Federal agencies. Initially, local military commanders may provide necessary support to save lives, alleviate suffering or mitigate great property damage. Normally, additional DOD resources will not be committed until Presidential declaration of a major emergency or disaster. When this occurs, DOD requirements will be coordinated by FEMA. The Secretary of the Army is DOD Executive Agent for military support. The Commander, Sixth U.S. Army at the Presidio, San Francisco has been further delegated to coordinate disaster relief operations in the western portion of the U.S. Extensive planning and coordination have taken place between Sixth Army and FEMA Region IX. DOD emergency functions include: damage reconnaissance, search and recover, emergency medical care, identification and disposition of dead, emergency debris clearance (Corps of Engineers), emergency roads, airfields, bridges (Corps of Engineers), and emergency demolition (Corps

of Engineers). Installations and type units have been prioritized to respond to an earthquake in any of the major population centers. For example, the following type units would be prepared to begin mobilization and initial deployment within 8 hours after the disaster is declared:

6 Medical units	0	1320 bed capacity
7 Helicopter units	0	90 utility helicopters
	0	36 medium helicopters
1 Infantry brigade	0	1500 personnel
2 Engineer units	0	78 pieces heavy equipment
2 Transportation units	0	124 cargo trucks and trailers

Additional DOD assets would be available as required.

Senior commanders of military installations in proximity to each of the major urban centers will function as Military Natural Disaster Relief Coordinators. Commanders of medical facilities coordinate emergency medical support. They will make recommendations on requirements for DOD resources and coordinate assets once committed to the disaster area.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineer districts maintain in-being contracts and lists of civilian firms who would be contracted for debris removal and emergency repairs. The Corps of Engineers would also conduct damage surveys, identify and mark unsafe structures and conduct necessary demolitions using in-house and contracted personnel.

National Communications System planning provides for planning and using national telecommunications assets and resources during Presidentially declared emergencies and major disasters. The plan, which has been exercised repeatedly in past disasters, provides the management structure and the communications staff to support FEMA. Restoration priorities have been assigned to all the critical circuits transiting the exposed key facilities based on established criteria to rank/ order criticality of service continuity. National warning systems circuitry, command and control circuits, and circuits supporting diplomatic negotiations are examples of those circuits carrying high restoration priority assignments of which a high concentration exists in the State of California.

In the civil sector there would be 24-72 hours of minimal communications with a possible communications blackout immediately following the event in the affected area. The commercial carriers would implement network control procedures to regain control of the situation. Restoration of federal government critical circuitry will be heavily dependent on the location of the major devastation. Alternate routing of critical circuits will be implemented to assure maximum continuity of service. The California Public Utility Commission in the exercise of its assigned roles could directly influence the timeliness of restoral actions. The state of preparedness of the major commercial carriers varies with location depending on the life cycle of existing facilities and the status of

various retrofit programs underway as a result of experience gained during previous earthquakes. These must be pursued to gain a better level of preparedness. Coordination of State and Federal communications plans and programmed use of assets is required to eliminate unnecessary competition for assets and to assure that the management structures mesh properly.

In addition to DOD, other major Departments have responsibilities for emergency response. To fulfill its statutory and delegated preparedness tasks, the Department of Transportation has established an Office of Emergency Transportation. This office has developed and maintains comprehensive emergency plans and procedural manuals for natural disasters and other civil crises. It constantly monitors the civil transportation system for indications of potential adverse impacts from all hazards. It conducts scheduled periodic training and readiness exercises for DOT emergency personnel. It maintains quick response cells and emergency operating facilities at DOT headquarters and in the field to provide an immediate reaction capability. The system has been activated several times in the recent past (e.g., Three Mile Island, 1979 Energy/Fuel Crisis, Independent Truckers' Strike, and the Mt. St. Helens eruption).

Considerations for Improving Response Capability

In general, there is widespread public support for government action to prepare for earthquakes. Most people have some ideas about what they think government should be doing, and -- at least in the abstract -- are willing to have government funds for hazard reduction as well as emergency response planning. Neither the public nor the government officials are satisfied with the current state of preparedness planning.

Earthquake prediction has not been incorporated into existing plans. Response to predictions, if given, in current environment would be ad hoc. The State has only a rudimentary plan. The City of Los Angeles has examined the problem extensively, but it only considers its own jurisdiction and has not produced an actionable plan. Current planning for the recovery period is incomplete, uncoordinated and not functional. State and local governments have done little to plan for the recovery period when following the emergency lifesaving phase, effort and resources are concentrated on restoring the functioning of the community, presuming that the Federal government will "step in." The Federal government has an untested draft plan that is not coordinated with the limited State plans. Current Federal plans are geared to the provision of relatively limited, locally available assistance on the order of a few hundred million dollars. Thus, there is little confidence that they will function under the requirements for tens of billions of dollars and concomitant service requirements.

Both Federal and State agencies have failed to commit the augmented financial resources and assignment of personnel to maintain, much less

enhance, earthquake plans and preparedness. Earthquake preparedness, although responding to high damage expectation, is still based upon a relatively low probability occurrence. When it is in competition for a portion of limited resources with those of pressing social needs, all levels of government tend to respond to the immediate social need. Without a clear commitment, future development of earthquake preparedness, as in the past, is problematic and future application is in considerable doubt. A systematic weakness in Federal earthquake preparedness is the lack of a clear direction to supporting agencies to focus management attention and agency resources to a state of readiness.

History in the areas of natural hazard mitigation suggests that assignment of responsibility, even by the President, when not followed by leadership, and regular and oversight the allocation of financial resources seldom leads to programs which can be expected to function. The same weakness is evidenced at the State and local government levels with few exceptions. The stresses likely to occur in emergency response programs after a catastrophic earthquake will be such that effective response will require a cooperative, integrated effort among different jurisdictions and levels of government.

Experience in other areas of planning and preparedness, particularly for civil defense, indicate that damage to existing programs occurs when the Federal Government raises expectations of the public and other levels of government and then fails to follow through with action to implement. It is better to maintain the status quo with minor changes at the margin than to announce substantial program initiatives and not meet their requirements.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIO ECONOMIC IMPACTS

Often, it is assumed that disasters leave masses of the population in the impacted areas dazed and helpless--unable to cope with the new conditions, or that those not so immobilized panic, or display antisocial behavior. Another common assumption is that local communities and organizations are rendered ineffective to handle the many problems, leading to further disorganization, loss of morale, and requiring the quick assertion of "strong" outside leadership and control.

Practical experience and field studies of disasters indicate that these assumptions are not necessarily correct. Commonly, the impacts of the disaster produce a sense of solidarity and cooperativeness among the survivors. Communities experiencing a disaster commonly are more efficient and rational than they are in "normal" circumstances. Normal (predisaster) community life traditionally operates at a very low level of effectiveness and efficiency. Activities are directed toward a very diffuse set of goals, and human resources are inadequately utilized. Upon the impact of a disaster, certain community goals--care for victims and the restoration of essential services--become all important, and the entire range of surviving community resources, can be allocated to their accomplishment. Many women, older persons, younger persons, and members of minorities become "productive" and contribute more effectively than under normal conditions. Disasters create the conditions for the more efficient utilization of material and human resources.

The normal modifications required for the society to utilize these resources, sometimes appear to outsiders as disorganized, chaotic, and needing the imposition of some strong outside authority, but commonly these modifications lead to levels of integration, productivity and growth capacity far beyond the predisaster state.

California represents roughly ten percent of the total U.S. economy, as measured by such aggregations as total population (10.6%), personal income (11.6%), GNP (11.6%) and value added by manufacturing (9.1%). Substantial concentrations of manufacturing capacity include: guided missiles and space vehicles, semiconductors, aircraft parts, electronic computing equipment and airframes. In the event of major damage to industrial and manufacturing facilities, impacts on the national economy may be mitigated somewhat by such measures as use of excess capacity located elsewhere, substitution of capacity from other industries, imports, substitution of other products and drawing down of inventories.

In so far as we are able to estimate, large magnitude earthquakes pose no significant or unanticipated problems of solvency and liquidity for Federally regulated financial institutions. The Federal Reserve System and other regulatory entities have procedures in place that are designed--and have been tested--specifically to provide for the continued operation of financial institutions immediately following an earthquake or any other emergency.

In sum then, the picture drawn points to the capacity of individuals and institutions to deal with difficult problems created by disaster impact. It also points to the adaptive capacity of social organization within American communities to deal with unique and dramatic problems. These findings are not an argument against planning nor against "outside" assistance, but they should condition both the nature of planning and the direction of assistance.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

22 sep 80

Zbig Brzezinski:

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

Rick Hutcheson

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-22-26-3-6

BY 153 NARA DATE 1/2/14

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
/	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
	NO DEADLINE
	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

	ADMIN CONFID
	CONFIDENTIAL
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	EYES ONLY

ACTION
FYI

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIDENBERG
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
/	BRZEZINSKI <i>orig</i>
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	HUFSTEDLER
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	MUSKIE
	AIELLO
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	MOSES
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	RECORDS
	SANDERS
	SHEPPARD
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 18, 1980

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *25*
 STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
 EUGENE EIDENBERG *Gene*

SUBJECT: The Future of Puerto Rico (C)

The political status of Puerto Rico will be one of the most difficult and important issues that the American people will face in the 1980's. One only has to think of Northern Ireland or Quebec to appreciate the potentially explosive implications. Already there may be as many as a dozen terrorist groups seeking independence for Puerto Rico, and as the decision on status comes closer, the Independenistas will become more desperate. In the absence of a compelling mandate from the Puerto Rican people, and perhaps even if there is such a mandate, there will be many in Puerto Rico who consider the status issue unresolved until their preference prevails. (C)

Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo, a statehood advocate, has already announced that if he is reelected Governor in November, Puerto Rico will have a status plebiscite in 1981 or 1982. His chief opponent and predecessor, Rafael Hernandez Colon, however, would delay the plebiscite pending discussions between the United States and the Commonwealth on elements of the existing federal-territorial relationship. A plebiscite will raise two key issues immediately:

-- The Question. How should the question of status be posed precisely? How should the middle position between statehood and independence be defined? The existing status, a modification of that, or both? Should the plebiscite be a single vote, or should it be phased? For example, the Puerto Rican people could be asked first if they want to make a decision to change their status. Then, after the middle position is better defined, the status question could be addressed in terms of appointing delegates to negotiate a new relationship with the U.S. (This is similar to the question in the Quebec plebiscite.) After negotiations, the result could be put to a vote. Obviously, there are many variations. (C)

-- A Mandate. It is important that one of the options obtains a clear majority of the Puerto Rican electorate. What constitutes a compelling mandate for a change in status or preservation of the status quo? How should the plebiscite be organized and what should the timing be to increase the likelihood of such an outcome? (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review on 9/8/86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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 ESDN: NLC-126-22-26-3-F
 BY *KS* NARA DATE 1/2/14

There are many other difficult questions which the American people will have to face -- including English language requirements, payment of the public debt, federal taxation and economic aid -- but there is no compelling reason to face these questions now. Indeed, the only reason we need to think about the first two sets of questions now -- i.e., before the election in the U.S. or in Puerto Rico -- is to help us deal with the status questions which will surface if Romero is reelected November 4. The U.S. does not want to find itself in a position on November 4th of trying to delay the process of a plebiscite, but that is the way it will look unless we do some homework before the elections. (C)

Governor Romero has his own schedule for moving Puerto Rico toward statehood rapidly. Although he wants an unchallengably free election, he has a large stake in the statehood option. In view of your commitment to support whatever status option is freely chosen by the people of the island, our interest is solely that the choice be a free and fair one. After November we will have to play an active role to ensure this. We have many questions, however, that need to be addressed first, and we intend to do that in as low-key a way as possible in order to avoid this becoming an election issue. We will report to you on the results of our staff study by the end of October. (C)

During the campaign, if the issue is raised, we recommend that you adhere closely to your self-determination policy without specifically committing yourself to a plebiscite (as opposed to a referendum) or to any schedule. Rather you might just want to repeat your commitment to support whatever status the people of Puerto Rico choose. (In contrast, the Republican Party platform vigorously supports statehood as "the only logical solution.")

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

22 sep 80

Zbig Brzezinski:

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

Rick Hutcheson

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Per, Rac Project

ESDN; NLC- 126-22-26-4-5

BY 165 NARA DATE 1/2/14

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 18, 1980

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/

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

ZB.

SUBJECT:

Non-Proliferation Treaty Review
Conference (U)

Attached is a report from Ralph Earle, who headed our delegation to the recent NPT Review Conference. It is a balanced assessment, noting that support for the NPT itself remains strong and there were no calls for amending it or threats of withdrawal, but recognizing that deep discontent and resentment over the slow pace of nuclear arms control could jeopardize the NPT regime if we cannot achieve a significant reduction in nuclear testing in the next few years. (C)

Attachment
a/s

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Per: Rac Project
ESDN: NLC-126-22-26-4-5
BY: KS NARA DATE 1/2/14

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Review 9/16/86

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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5123

UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
WASHINGTON

September 12, 1980

C

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)
Review Conference

The NPT Review Conference completed Sunday was a difficult, contentious process, and it was not possible to reach agreement on a substantive declaration satisfactory to all participants.

I agree } There was no controversy over the NPT itself--which was supported by all speakers (with no suggestions for amendments or protocols and no withdrawals from the Treaty). There was, however, widespread resentment on the part of many of the non-nuclear weapon parties at the disparity between their self-denial and the dearth of concrete achievement by the nuclear weapon states in limiting their nuclear armaments.

Most participants made clear that they considered greater progress by the nuclear weapon states on nuclear arms control--as contemplated by Article VI of the Treaty and consistently advocated by you--to be basic to the NPT bargain. This led to strong pleas from all quarters for prompt ratification of SALT II and early initiation of SALT III. But it also led to bitter denunciations of the failure to have achieved a comprehensive test ban--which was the step most clearly desired--not only by the neutrals and non-aligned but also by a number of our allies.

Your approval of a contingent offer by the U.S. to establish a CTB working group in the CD--even though it was not successful in achieving a consensus document--helped to head off an acrimonious ending of this particular Conference. But the underlying discontent and resentment still remain. Unless we succeed in achieving significant limitations on nuclear testing in the next few years it is clear from this Conference that the NPT, and the non-proliferation regime of which it is the principal pillar, will be in serious jeopardy.



Ralph Earle II

cc: The Secretary of State

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Per: Pac Project

ESDN: NLC-136-22-204-5

BY: 125 NARA DATE 1/2/19

THE WHITE HOUSE

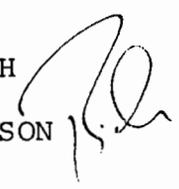
WASHINGTON

done
J

20 September 1980

TO: SUSAN CLOUGH

FROM: RICK HUTCHESON



Action by the President on the top 4 items before he leaves for California would be desirable:

- Maine disaster declaration (a copy of which was dexed to Phil yesterday) ✓
- UNGA nomination documents for signature ✓
- two memos from Stu Eizenstat relating to the California trip. Stu would like to have these announced either Saturday or Sunday -- so if the President acts on them, please call me or David Rubenstein ✓
- Executive Order on Armed Forces promotions which DOD is anxious to have signed ✓

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C

THE UNITED STATES
ADVISORY COMMISSION
ON
PUBLIC DIPLOMACY



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REPORT
1980

1. PRES. AL MAZEWSKI (MAZEFFSKI), MAYOR BYRNE, GOV. THOMPSON,
2. { MAYOR (NICHOLAS) BLAZE, CONGRESSMEN DAN ROSTENKOWSKI & JOHN FARY,
3. { FORMER CONG. ROMAN PUCINSKI (POOCHINSKI),
4. { FRANCIS MEEHAN, OUR NEW AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO POLAND, LADIES & GENTLEMEN: /
5. I WANT TO THANK AL MAZEWSKI (MAZEFFSKI) FOR THAT FINE INTRODUCTION.
6. { IN HIS CAPACITY AS PRES. OF BOTH { THE POLISH NATIONAL ALLIANCE
7. { & THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONGRESS --
8. { AL IS A FREQUENT VISITOR AT THE WHITE HOUSE.
9. HE KNOWS HOW TO GET THINGS DONE.
10. HE ALSO KNOWS HOW TO GET RE-ELECTED.
11. SO FAR, HE'S IN HIS 4TH TERM.
12. MYSELF -- I'LL SETTLE FOR 2. //

1. { IT IS GOOD TO SEE HIM AGAIN,
2. { AND ALSO SO MANY ~~OF HIS COLLEAGUES~~ OTHER
3. { ~~IN THE~~ LEADERSHIP OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY.
4. { I CANNOT NAME YOU ALL, ~~TANTO~~ RECOGNIZE YOU ALL, BUT TONIGHT
5. { ~~BUT~~ I DO WANT ESPECIALLY TO RECOGNIZE RECOGNIZE
6. • THE NATIONAL PRES. OF THE POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION --
JOSEPH DROBOT (DROE-BUT),
7. • THE PRES. OF THE FALCONS -- BERNARD ROGALSKI (ROGOLLSKI),
8. • THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF ALLIANCE COLLEGE --
HILARY CZAPLICKI (CHOPLICKI),
9. • THE VICE PRES. IN CHARGE OF THE WOMEN'S DIVISION
10. { OF THE POLISH NATL. ALLIANCE -- MRS. HELEN SZYMANOWICZ (SHIMANOVICH),
11. • AND THE PRES. OF THE POLISH WOMEN'S ALLIANCE --
MRS. HELEN ZIELINSKI (ZHALINSKI),
12. { THE MOTTO OF HER ORGANIZATION IS
13. { "THE IDEALS OF HER WOMEN ARE THE STRENGTH OF A NATION" -- & I AGREE.

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1. SOMEONE ELSE WHO WOULD AGREE WITH THAT
2. { IS THE MAYOR OF THIS GREAT CITY OF CHICAGO,
3. { THE 2ND LARGEST POLISH CITY IN THE WORLD -- MAYOR JANE BYRNE. #
4. CHICAGO IS ALSO KNOWN AS THE "CITY OF THE BIG SHOULDERS".
5. { DURING THE EARLY YEARS -- THE TOUGH YEARS OF BUILDING --
6. { THOSE WERE POLISH SHOULDERS -- HERE & IN MANY OTHER CITIES.
7. { NOR SHOULD WE FORGET THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF ARTISTS & THINKERS
8. { SUCH AS NOBEL LAUREATES, HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ (HENRIK SHYENKEEVICH)
& MADAME CURIE, ...
 { JOSEPH CONRAD,
 { ARTHUR RUBENSTEIN (STINE),
 { IGNACY PADEREWSKI (IGNATSEE PADEREFFSKI),
 { HYMAN RICKOVER,
 & I MIGHT ADD, *Sec of State Ed Muskie*
 # DR. ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI (ZBIGNYEF BZHEZINSKI). /

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1. { WITH ZBIG IN THE WHITE HOUSE & ED MUSKIE AT THE HELM OF THE STATE DEPT.,
2. { I AM GETTING USED TO HEARING ABOUT OUR "BIPOLAR" FOREIGN POLICY,
3. { BUT WITH CLEM ZABLOCKI
4. { SERVING AS CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE,
5. { WHAT WE ACTUALLY HAVE IS A TRI-POLAR FOREIGN POLICY. // *PANNY
ROSENKOWSKI*
6. THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO OUR COUNTRY HAS ENRICHED ALL OUR LIVES,
7. { IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT ABOUT 30% OF ALL AMERICANS
8. { CAN TRACE AT LEAST 1 OF THEIR ANCESTRAL LINES TO POLAND,
9. { AND FOR GENERATIONS, THE POLISH NATL. ALLIANCE
10. { HAS BEEN THE MORTAR THAT HAS HELD THE POLISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY TOGETHER.
11. I AM HONORED TO JOIN YOU IN CELEBRATING YOUR 100TH BIRTHDAY. *1ST MTG IN
CHICAGO*
12. I AM SURE YOUR 2ND CENTURY WILL BE AS SUCCESSFUL AS YOUR 1ST. //

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1. AS AL MENTIONED, I AM ONLY THE 2ND PRES. IN HISTORY TO APPEAR BEFORE YOU.
2. THE 1st -- WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT -- WAS A REPUBLICAN.
3. I'M PROUD TO BE THE DEMOCRAT WHO HAS EVENED THE SCORE. //
4. { I'M NOT GOING TO TALK POLITICS TONIGHT,
5. { BUT I CAN'T HELP NOTICING AN INTERESTING COINCIDENCE.
6. WHEN PRES. TAFT SPOKE TO YOU, IT WAS ALSO AN ELECTION YEAR -- 1912.
7. THERE WAS 1 DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE & 2 REPUBLICANS -- JUST LIKE THIS YEAR.
8. HERE'S THE PART I LIKE: THE DEMOCRAT WON. //

1. I LIKE THIS PART, TOO:
2. { THE WINNER OF THAT ELECTION -- PRES. WOODROW WILSON --
3. { PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE HISTORY OF POLAND.
4. HE MADE POLAND'S FREEDOM ONE OF HIS FAMOUS 14 POINTS --
5. { AND BECAUSE OF THAT, AFTER MORE THAN A CENTURY OF FOREIGN OPPRESSION,
6. { POLAND'S EXISTENCE AS A STATE WAS RESTORED. #
7. I HAVE A SPECIAL FEELING FOR THE SONS & DAUGHTERS OF POLAND.
8. POLAND WAS THE 1ST FOREIGN COUNTRY I VISITED AS PRES. OF THE U.S.
9. { AND THE POLISH PEOPLE
10. { HAVE BEEN AMONG THE EARLIEST & MOST CONSISTENT FIGHTERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS -- #
11. { NOT JUST FOR A YEAR,
12. { NOT JUST FOR A HUNDRED YEARS --
13. { BUT FOR A THOUSAND YEARS. #

1. { ALL OF US WERE REMINDED AGAIN OF THAT HERITAGE LAST YEAR --
2. { WHEN "POPE JOHN PAUL II" VISITED OUR COUNTRY. //
3. WHAT AN IMPACT THIS GOOD & HOLY MAN HAD ON OUR PEOPLE!
4. HIS SPIRIT, HIS KINDNESS, HIS RADIANCE CONQUERED OUR HEARTS. /
5. THAT WAS A PROUD & SPECIAL MOMENT FOR ALL AMERICANS.
6. IT WAS DOUBLY SO FOR POLISH-AMERICANS.
7. { "POPE JOHN PAUL II" -- A FAITHFUL SON OF HIS NATION & HIS CHURCH --
8. { BECAME A LIVING SYMBOL OF POLISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR COMMON VALUES. //

1. { THE POPE IS ONLY THE LATEST OF THE MILLIONS OF POLES WHO HAVE COME TO AMERICA
2. { -- AS VISITORS & AS IMMIGRANTS --
3. { BRINGING WITH THEM A LOVE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. / *COUNT CASIMIR PULASKI*
4. { EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO (TADAYOOSH KOSHCHOOshko) *ALSO*
5. { HELPED AMERICA WIN HER INDEPENDENCE.
6. { WHAT MOST PEOPLE DO NOT KNOW IS WHAT KOSCIUSZKO (koshCHOOshko) DID
7. { JUST BEFORE HE RETURNED TO POLAND TO FIGHT FOR POLISH FREEDOM.
8. HE HAD A LARGE SUM OF MONEY COMING TO HIM FROM THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.
9. { HE LEFT THAT MONEY IN THE CARE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON --
10. { WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO HIM
11. { TO PURCHASE THE FREEDOM OF AS MANY BLACK SLAVES AS POSSIBLE.
12. { THE GREAT POLISH GENERAL VERY SIMPLY BELIEVED
13. { THAT SLAVERY WAS AS REPUGNANT HERE IN AMERICA AS IN HIS OWN COUNTRY. //

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1. { LET ME REMIND YOU OF 1 MORE INCIDENT
2. { IN THE LONG HISTORY OF POLISH-AMERICANS & HUMAN RIGHTS.
3. { IT GOES BACK A LONG TIME -- MORE THAN 350 YEARS --
4. { YET IT IS AS FRESH AS TODAY'S NEWSPAPER. /
5. { IN 1608, IN WHAT IS NOW VIRGINIA,
6. { CAPT. JOHN SMITH BROUGHT A SMALL GROUP OF POLISH GLASSMAKERS TO JAMESTOWN
7. { TO SET UP THE 1ST FACTORY IN AMERICA.
8. { BUT THE POLONIANS -- AS THEY WERE THEN CALLED --
9. { WERE DENIED THE RIGHTS OF FREE CITIZENS. /

AS A SOUTHERNER, I KNOW HOW IT
FEELS TO BE THE BUTT OF JOKE.
IT IS ESPECIALLY ^{REVOLTING} ~~DISGUSTING~~ AMONG
GREAT & PROUD PEOPLE, AND I KNOW
YOU SHARE MY DISGUST WITH THIS
ILL CONSIDERED HABIT.

FOR SUCH REMARKS TO BE MADE
ABOUT THE HOME OF A POPE - THE
HOME OF MODERN AND ANCIENT
FREEDOM FIGHTERS - ^{THE HOME OF} NOBEL SCIENTISTS - ^{THE}
^{HOME OF} THE WORLD'S GREATEST MUSICIANS. THE
HOME OF GREAT STATESMEN AND OF
HEROES WHO HELPED TO GIVE BIRTH
TO OUR NATION IS ESPECIALLY
INCOMPREHENSIBLE. THE JOKE IS ON
THOSE WHO ARE CRUDE & IGNORANT
ENOUGH TO INDULGE IN SUCH SLANDER.

1. THE EVENTS OF RECENT WEEKS IN POLAND HAVE INSPIRED THE WORLD.
2. DURING THIS PERIOD OF EXCITING CHANGE IN POLAND,
3. { THE U.S. GOVT. HAS PURSUED A CAREFUL POLICY --
4. { A POLICY BASED ON THE NEED FOR A CALM ATMOSPHERE, FREE FROM OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE.
5. WE WILL NOT INTERFERE IN POLAND'S AFFAIRS --
6. { AND WE EXPECT THAT OTHERS
7. { WILL SIMILARLY RESPECT THE RIGHT OF THE POLSH NATION
8. { TO RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS ON ITS OWN. //

1. { IT NOW APPEARS
2. { THAT THE CRISIS MAY BE ON ITS WAY TO A PEACEFUL & CONSTRUCTIVE RESOLUTION.
3. BUT POLAND'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REMAIN VERY SEVERE.
4. BESIDES THE DISLOCATIONS, THERE HAVE BEEN TERRIBLE FLOODS.
5. POLAND NEEDS FOOD. /
6. { THAT IS WHY I ORDERED QUICK APPROVAL
7. { OF POLAND'S FULL REQUEST FOR \$670 MILLION IN NEW CREDIT GUARANTEES
8. { FOR 4 MILLION TONS OF AMERICAN GRAIN & OTHER FARM PRODUCTS -- #
9. { THE LARGEST SUCH GUARANTEE WE HAVE EVER MADE.
10. { WE HAVE ALSO SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED
11. { PACIFIC COAST ALLOCATIONS OF FISH TO POLAND. #

1. { THESE STEPS -- URGED BY MANY OF YOU HERE TONIGHT --
2. { ARE INTENDED TO MEET AN URGENT & BASIC NEED FOR FOOD, /
3. { THEY ARE ALSO INTENDED TO SHOW OUR ADMIRATION
4. { FOR THE DIGNIFIED MANNER IN WHICH THE ENTIRE POLISH NATION IS CONDUCTING ITSELF
5. { IN THIS TIME OF WRENCHING & POSITIVE CHANGE. /
6. { AND THEY ARE INTENDED TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF POLAND
7. { OUR DESIRE FOR BETTER RELATIONS.
8. WE WANT TO STRENGTHEN EVEN FURTHER THE HUMAN TIES BETWEEN OUR 2 COUNTRIES. /

1. • THE SHIPYARD WORKERS IN GDANSK,
2. • THE COAL MINERS IN SILESIA,
3. • THE STORE CLERKS & WORKERS IN WARSAW,
4. • & THE AUTHORITIES IN POLAND WHO RESPONDED TO THEM
5. • HAVE SENT A POWERFUL MESSAGE AROUND THE WORLD. /
6. { POLAND HAS REMINDED US
7. { THAT THE DESIRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS & HUMAN DIGNITY IS UNIVERSAL. /
8. • FREEDOM OF THOUGHT & EXPRESSION,
9. • FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY VIOLENCE,
10. • FREEDOM FROM VIOLATIONS OF PERSONAL INTEGRITY,
11. • DUE PROCESS,
12. • PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT,
13. • CIVIL & POLITICAL & ECONOMIC RIGHTS.
14. THESE ARE THE VERY STUFF OF HUMAN RIGHTS. /

1. { WE CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT --
2. { AND WE WILL NOT RETREAT 1 STEP FROM OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. /
3. { HUMAN RIGHTS IS THE VERY SOUL OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY --
4. { BECAUSE IT IS THE SOUL OF OUR IDENTITY AS A NATION.
5. WE SUPPORT HUMAN RIGHTS BECAUSE OUR CONSCIENCE COMMANDS IT.
6. { BUT THE FACT IS THAT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY -- IN GENERAL --
7. { ALSO PRAGMATICALLY SERVES OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. /
8. { BOTH OUR NATION & THE WORLD
9. { ARE MORE SECURE WHEN BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED. /

1. OUR WORDS & OUR ACTIONS HAVE LEFT THEIR MARK. /
2. ● GOVERNMENTS HAVE RELEASED POLITICAL PRISONERS,
LESSEned POLITICAL REPRESSION & ECONOMIC MISERY.
3. ● HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE HAVE EMIGRATED TO FREEDOM FROM THE SOVIET UNION,
CUBA,
& ELSEWHERE.
4. ● INCREASED TRADE WITH AFRICAN & THIRD WORLD NATIONS HAS RESULTED
5. IN PART FROM THE GROWING TRUST GENERATED BY AMERICA'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.

1. THE SOVIET UNION MAY NOT LIKE OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY.
2. THE { GENERALS,
 { COLONELS, *IN OTHER COUNTRIES*
 & DICTATORS MAY NOT LIKE IT.
3. { THOSE WHO TYRANNIZE OTHERS
4. { WILL ALWAYS FEAR THE IDEAS OF FREEDOM & HUMAN DIGNITY.
5. { BUT { THE PEOPLE IN THE VILLAGES,
 { THE FACTORY WORKERS,
 { THOSE WHO FARM THE LAND & POPULATE THE CITIES --
6. { THEY CARE & THEY APPLAUD & THEY PRAY THAT AMERICANS WILL NEVER ABANDON THEM.

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1. ~~I SAY TO THEM: • WE ARE ONE,~~
~~• WE ARE TOGETHER.~~
~~• WE WILL NOT ABANDON YOU. //~~
2. { HERE AT HOME, OUR NATION'S COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL VALUES
3. { IS STRENGTHENED BY ADVANCING HUMAN RIGHTS --
4. { THE RIGHTS OF ALL AMERICANS,
5. { REGARDLESS OF COLOR
 { OR NATIONAL ORIGIN
 { OR ACCENT NATIVE LANGUAGE
 { OR SEX.
6. THAT COMMITMENT MAKES US PROUD TO BE AMERICANS.
7. { AND IT MAKES US REALIZE
8. { THAT AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1980s
9. { MUST ALWAYS EMANATE FROM THOSE VALUES. /

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1. { WE CANNOT RETURN TO THE DAYS
2. { WHEN WE TOO OFTEN GAVE UNQUESTIONING SUPPORT TO REPRESSIVE REGIMES. /
3. { WE CANNOT RETURN TO THE DAYS
4. { WHEN SECRECY IN FOREIGN POLICY
5. { WAS USED TO HIDE POLICIES & ACTS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD NEVER SUPPORT. /
6. { WE MUST CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN OUR DEFENSES --
7. { AS I HAVE DONE EVERY YEAR SINCE I BECAME PRESIDENT,
8. { AS I WILL CONTINUE TO DO IN THE FUTURE.
9. { BUT WE CANNOT SAP OUR STRENGTH
10. { BY RETURNING TO THE DAYS
11. { WHEN SOME WOULD ADVOCATE A MILITARY SOLUTION
12. { FOR EVERY INTERNATIONAL DISTURBANCE. /

1. WE HAVE LEARNED TOO MUCH FROM THE PAST 20 YEARS.
2. { TOO MANY AMERICAN FAMILIES HAVE MADE TOO MANY SACRIFICES
3. { FOR THEIR LEADERS TO HAVE THEIR VISION BLURRED
4. { BY NOSTALGIA FOR A WORLD THAT NO LONGER EXISTS. /
5. { I SAY TO YOU THAT AMERICA'S MILITARY MIGHT
6. { SHOULD BE USED TO SEEK PEACE & AVOID WAR. /
7. { AND I SAY TO YOU THAT AMERICA'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY
8. { SHOULD BE USED TO PIERCE THE CURTAIN OF OPPRESSION --
 { TO THROW THE SEARCHLIGHT OF WORLD CONSCIENCE ↗
 ON THOSE WHO SMOTHER THE WINDS OF FREEDOM. /

1. THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS A SLOW PROCESS.
2. RESULTS ARE NOT ALWAYS IMMEDIATELY EVIDENT.
3. PROGRESS IS OFTEN PAINFULLY SLOW.
4. SOMETIMES THERE ARE REVERSES. /
5. { BUT WHEN THE CAUSE TRIUMPHS & THE WINDS OF FREEDOM BLOW,
6. { NO POWER ON EARTH CAN WITHSTAND THEIR FORCE. /

1. WE WILL STAND UP FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
2. IN MADRID AT THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE --
3. AND AL MAZEWSKI (MAZEFFSKI)
4. WILL BE THERE AS A MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION. //
5. ~~WILL THIS NATION ABANDON ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY?~~
6. ~~I ANSWER -- NEVER. /~~
7. I PLEDGE TO YOU
8. THAT AS LONG AS AMERICA STANDS TRUE TO ITSELF
9. AND AS LONG AS I AM PRESIDENT --
10. OUR VOICE OF LIBERTY WILL NOT BE STILLED. //

1. AMERICA IS HUMAN RIGHTS.

2. THAT IS WHAT AMERICA HAS MEANT TO THE RURAL PEOPLE OF POLAND,
THE POTATO FARMERS OF IRELAND,
THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE,
ALL THE OPPRESSED ↘
WHO BUILT & PEOPLED OUR COUNTRY. ✓

3. THOSE INALIENABLE HUMAN RIGHTS -- OF LIFE,
LIBERTY,
& THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS --

4. SO ELOQUENTLY PENNED BY THOMAS JEFFERSON, *HONORED BY KOSCIUSKO & PULASKI,*
5. SO PROFOUNDLY DEMONSTRATED BY THE POLISH WORKERS --

6. WILL ENDURE, *KOS-CHOOSE-HO*

7. AND WILL PROSPER

8. AND WILL THRIVE. / *THEY WILL ENDURE FOREVER.*

9. THANK YOU. //

#

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

September 19, 1980

Rob info
[Signature]
R

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: James T. McIntyre, Director *JM*

SUBJECT: Further Analysis of the Budgetary Effects
of Governor Reagan's Proposals

Following the recent announcement by Governor Reagan of his modified tax and budget proposals, we have updated our earlier analysis to show the revised budgetary effects of these proposals.

The attached paper shows that his spending cuts would have significant effects in 1981 as well as in later years, even on his own very optimistic estimates and assumptions, which do not fully accord with his policy positions. Our calculations show that by the time a new Congress could enact the 2 to 3 percent spending cuts he proposes for 1981 (and protecting defense, interest, entitlements and some prior spending from cuts), the level of cuts in the remaining programs would be from 21 to 31 percent in the second half of the fiscal year. By 1985, such cuts would come to 46 to 66 percent.

Attachment

cc: Jody Powell

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Update of Implications of Republican
Proposals for the 1985 Budget

This is an update of the analysis of the budgetary impacts of the economic proposals supported by many key legislators and advocated by Governor Reagan. The update results from several changes in that program which have been announced since the original analysis was done. The latest proposal by Governor Reagan calls for Federal spending cuts of 2% - 3% in 1981, rising to 7% - 10% in 1985. Based on the Senate Budget Committee (SBC) recommendations, which Governor Reagan uses in his proposal, this means cuts of \$13 - 19 billion in ~~1985~~, 1981.

Those programs that would probably have to be cut can be seen by first setting aside those that the proposal protects from cuts. All the remaining programs would be subject to cuts.

First, Governor Reagan has pledged to increase defense spending above the level proposed by the President. He uses in his proposal the SBC recommendations of defense outlays of \$159 billion in 1981, growing to \$270 billion in 1985. These figures are taken as extremely conservative estimates of the Republican defense budget. In 1985, they fall far short of the amount needed to fund the additional defense program outlined in the Republican party platform. Supporters of this proposal have indicated that the \$270 billion amount would probably have to be increased to fund his 1985 defense program.

Second, interest on the national debt must be paid. The SBC estimates of net interest are \$57 billion in 1981 and \$65 billion in 1985.

Finally, Governor Reagan has said that his budget strategy "does not require altering or taking back necessary entitlements already granted to the American people." He does not specify which entitlement programs providing payments for individuals he considers "necessary." However, it is reasonable to assume that the major programs of this type, such as social security, Federal employee retirement, unemployment compensation, medicare and medicaid, would not be cut. The total of such major entitlement programs, using a relatively conservative list, would cost about \$295 billion in 1981 and \$445 billion in 1985, (based on the SBC estimates.)

The total for these commitments for defense, net interest and major entitlements is about \$511 billion in 1981, growing to about \$780 billion by 1985. This leaves about \$122 billion in 1981 and \$140 billion in 1985 to fund all other programs, from which the cuts of \$13 - 19 billion in 1981 and \$64 - 92 billion in 1985 would have to be taken. (See Table 1, attached)

In 1981, by the time a new administration could submit its new budget to the Congress -- in addition to the time Congress would need to enact it -- roughly half of the \$122 billion would already have been spent, even under the most favorable circumstances. (After all, one-third of the fiscal year is already over by Inauguration Day.)

To cut \$13 - 19 billion from these non-entitlement programs, then, would require cuts of 21% to 31% in the second half of the fiscal year.

Programs subject to these deep cuts would include agricultural research, the extension service and farm price supports; energy research, development and conservation programs; the national park and forest flood control programs; sewage treatment grants; interstate highways, railroads and mass transit; Head Start and all elementary and secondary education programs; meals for the aged and foster care for children; most jobs and training programs; community development grants; health training and research programs; various criminal and legal programs, including narcotics investigation; and medical care programs for veterans. (The full list of program areas potentially subject to cuts is attached as Table 2.)

But even a 21% - 31% range of cuts probably understates the problem for 1981. By the time the year is half over, spending for the full fiscal year in many of these programs, such as energy, railroads and mass transit, is committed by prior contracts. As a result, other programs would have to be cut much more deeply.

In addition, it is very unlikely that the necessary Congressional action could be completed soon enough to affect the remaining half-year, even if Congress were sympathetic. Many appropriations laws with specific formula grants would have to be amended. In some cases authorizing legislation would have to be modified; in all others, deferral or rescission reports would have to be submitted to the Congress.

In 1985, the feasibility of cutting \$64 - 92 billion from a total of \$140 billion for these same non-entitlement programs appears equally questionable.

First, the \$140 billion total for 1985 itself assumes very austere budgeting. The 1985 total assumes no new initiatives and excludes the President's proposals for national health insurance and welfare reform. It also reflects significant reductions in real program levels before any cuts are taken, because the estimates for most of these programs are not adjusted fully, if at all, for inflation. (In nominal dollar terms, the total grows by only 14.5%, or at an average of 3.4% per year, from 1981 to 1985. This assumes virtually no increases in outlays for railroads or mass transit, veterans' hospital and medical care, international affairs programs, and many other discretionary programs.)

Second, even if the austere \$140 billion 1985 total for these non-entitlement programs were feasible, cutting \$64 - 92 billion would mean additional program reductions, on average, of 46% to 66%. Again, the cuts would be made in the same list of programs.

TABLE 1
 SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS
 FOR OUTLAYS FOR 1981 and 1985
 (in billions of dollars)

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1985</u>
Selected major entitlements <u>1/</u> :		
General retirement and disability (subfunction -- mostly social security and railroad retirement).....	145.8	228.5
Federal employee retirement and disability....	16.8	27.5
Unemployment compensation.....	24.5	19.1
Medicare and medicaid.....	54.5	96.4
Assistance to students (subfunction -- veterans education, training and rehabili- tation).....	1.8	1.5
Housing (existing commitments).....	6.5	9.5
Nutrition (excluding food stamps).....	4.8	6.6
Public assistance (including food stamps)....	26.9	35.7
Veterans income security (subfunction).....	<u>13.2</u>	<u>20.0</u>
Subtotal, selected major entitlements <u>1/</u>	294.8	444.8
Net interest.....	56.8	65.3
Defense.....	<u>159.4</u>	<u>270.4</u>
Subtotal, "protected programs" <u>2/</u>	511.0	780.5
All Other ("unprotected")*.....	<u>122.0</u>	<u>139.6</u>
Total, Outlays.....	<u>633.0</u>	<u>920.1</u>
	=====	=====

*See attached for details

1/ These are the relatively uncontrollable programs that provide payments for individuals. The estimates shown include savings of about \$4-1/2 billion in 1981 and over \$2 billion in 1985.

2/ Reflects an estimate of the programs which Governor Reagan says his strategy will not "alter or take back."

TABLE 2
 SENATE BUDGET COMMITTEE OUTLAYS FOR "ALL OTHER"
 1981 and 1985
 (in billions of dollars)

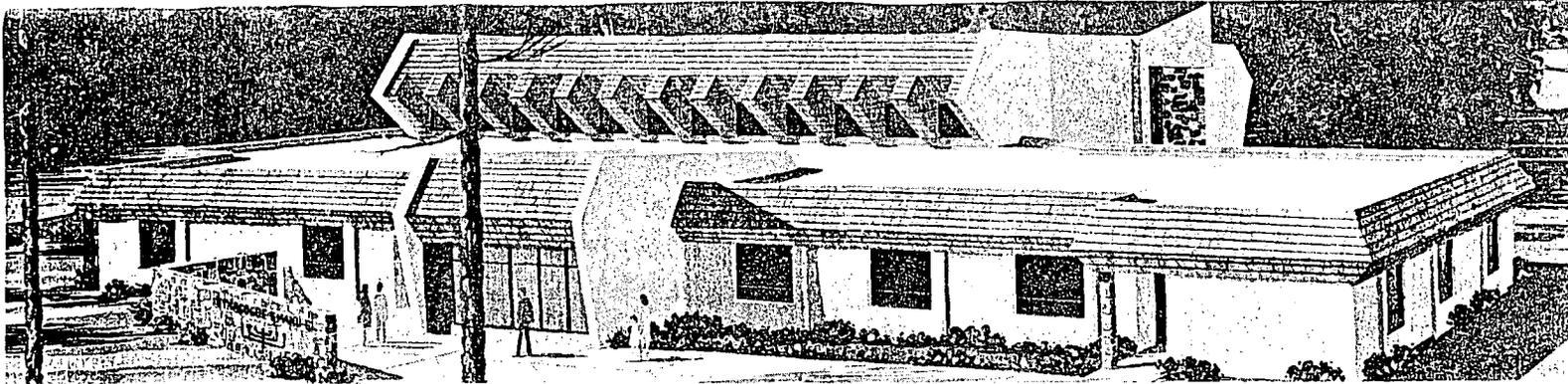
	<u>1981</u>	<u>1985</u>
All Other:		
International affairs.....	10.6	11.2
General science, space and technology.....	6.2	6.7
Energy.....	7.4	9.3
Natural resources and environment.....	13.1	13.6
Agriculture.....	2.2	5.2
Commerce and housing credit.....	0.5	2.3
Transportation:		
Railroads and mass transit.....	4.5	4.6
Other.....	<u>14.8</u>	<u>17.2</u>
Subtotal, transportation.....	19.3	21.8
Community and regional development:		
Disaster relief.....	1.5	0.7
Other.....	<u>8.2</u>	<u>8.1</u>
Subtotal, community and regional development.....	9.7	8.8
Education, training, employment and social services:		
Education.....	14.4	17.3
Training and other labor services.....	9.4	10.7
Social services.....	<u>5.55</u>	<u>6.8</u>
Subtotal, education, training, employment and social services.....	29.4	34.8
Health function (excluding medicare and medicaid).....	9.1	11.5
Housing (increase above existing commitments)..	---	3.0
Other income security (refugees and low-income energy assistance).....	3.0	2.9
Veterans benefits and services (excluding income security and education, training and rehabilitation).....	7.0	8.2
Administration of justice.....	4.6	5.2
General government.....	4.5	5.6
General purpose fiscal assistance.....	6.7	6.7
OCS receipts.....	-5.2	-8.5
Employer share, employee retirement.....	<u>-6.2</u>	<u>-8.6</u>
Total, All Other.....	122.0	139.6

22 sep 80

Al Moses:

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

Rick Hutcheson



FOUNDED IN 1947 • AFFILIATED WITH THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

THE NEW SYNAGOGUE EMANU-EL

#5 WINDSOR DRIVE, CHARLESTON, S. C. 29407

803/571-3264

September 19, 1980

ALAN L. COHEN
RABBI

EDWARD BERKOVITS
CANTOR

BURNET MENDELSON
PRESIDENT

MITCHELL R. FISCHBEIN
PRESIDENT ELECT

DAVID L. COHEN
DR. LEE HERSHON
VICE PRESIDENTS

CHARLES S. ALTMAN
TREASURER

MAX HELLMAN
FINANCIAL SECRETARY

ANNE HERMAN
RECORDING SECRETARY

LINDA SCHLANGER
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

IVAN NOSSOKOFF
PARLIAMENTARIAN

SALLY FISCHBEIN
SISTERHOOD PRESIDENT

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C.

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*To Al Moscovitz -
Prepare brief
response
J*

Dear Mr. President:

I must first thank you and your gracious wife for the opportunity of meeting with her this afternoon (Friday, September 19, 1980) enroute to the Charleston Airport. I attempted very briefly during our conversation to express some of the concerns of our Jewish community. I certainly do not perceive myself as a spokesman for the Jewish community here or elsewhere. However, I am certain that many issues important to me are those also of the Jews of Charleston and, indeed, throughout our great land.

This past spring I had an opportunity along with several others from our community to speak briefly with Vice President Mondale. The Vice President emphasized a point which is irrefutable and for which the Jewish community must be very grateful and appreciative. He spoke of the enormous amount of aid that your administration has given to Israel. But even with this fact, I, for one, still have a "knot" in my stomach over what I perceive as a deteriorating world situation. The diplomatic rug is being yanked out from Israel in an apparent attempt to deligitimize her rights as a sovereign nation. The radical nations each day find out that they do not have to negotiate with Israel or anyone else for that matter because they get what they want through sheer intimidation.

It appears as if our government policy including our actions at the U.N. have contributed to this scenario. Beginning with the controversy over Andrew Young's overtures to the P.L.O., including the March U.N. vote and subsequent retraction, and now the most recent U.N. matter and our abstention following Secretary Muskie's address, signals are being sent to these radical, obstructionist nations. We appear to be saying that we will not stand up to their terrorism.

Mr. President, I know that you are a student of history. Certainly you are aware of how generally conscious the Jews also are of history.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/22/80

Rick --

Presume attached came in
from First Lady or East Wing;
there is no accompanying
envelope.

Thanks -- Susan

To Mrs

Many are beginning to make disturbing comparisons between the treatment of Israel today and that of Czechoslovakia in the late 1930's. While I tend not to be an alarmist, that "knot" of which I earlier spoke concerns me. Those signals are being received by our "non-friends" and solidifying their stand against Israel and against us as well.

At the same time, signals are being sent to the American Jewish community. Many of us are uncertain of the prospects for the future. I perceive the possibility that your courting of the Arab nations will further increase Israel's isolation in addition to causing great pressure to be brought upon her. Certainly the tank sale to Jordan appears as such. While American interests must take into account the Arab world, I think that we may be doing this at Israel's expense. Neither Saudi Arabia nor Jordan, for example, have shown any inclination to recognize let alone negotiate with Israel. If our intention is to ease these nations into more receptive positions, it does not appear to be succeeding. On the contrary, these nations have become vehement in their anti-Israel, anti-peace and even anti-Egyptian stands. Only in Israel is there a Peace Now movement. No other Arab nation (with the exception of Egypt) and certainly not the P.L.O. have given any indication of moderation. Therefore, the signals appear to be growing within the Jewish community that matters for Israel will get worse. While you have often stated that your administration would not undertake the kind of "reassessment" that your predecessor did, I fear that the pressures upon Israel will only increase. I especially feel that your second term would see this occur.

I feel that these concerns are the single most contributing factor to the erosion of Jewish support from you. I, like many others, grew up in the tradition of the Democratic Party. My allegiance is still primarily there. But that base has been greatly weakened because of these questions regarding U.S. policy toward Israel and our concomitant actions in the U.N. This could conceivably cause great defections from you. I feel that you must be aware of this and respond accordingly not only to reassure the Jewish community but because Israel's interests and America's by definition are mutual.

Please be aware that as the Jewish community begins the solemn day of Yom Kippur, we will include within our prayers (as we do regularly) a prayer for our country and our government. I, for one, am deeply grateful for your efforts and sacrifices in arriving at the Camp David Accord. It has certainly been a milestone of modern history. May God grant you continued strength and wisdom as you handle the weighty affairs of State.

I look forward to your response on these matters. And again, I thank you for the opportunity to have expressed myself.

Sincerely,



Alan L. Cohen, Rabbi

ALC/ct

encl: (1)

September 6 & 13, 1980



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Jerusalem Moving and Unmoving

There is a lynch mob in New York. It is called the United Nations, and Israel is the intended victim. Israel is practically the UN's sole business. The resolutions of support for the Palestinians long ago dispensed with those gracious little provisos about Israel's security; the Palestinians may now play for the whole thing. How sad for the Basques that they are not Moslems, and for the Kurds that their bit of desert is dry, and for the Afghans that their opponents are not Americans or Jews. They, too, might have rights on the East River.

The resolutions at the United Nations have done much to create the new political climate in which the wickedness of Zionism has become mere commonplace, but they are only words. The Israelis know that, and have found some comfort in the fact, while they go about their search for an un suicidal policy on Palestinian nationalism. But the Palestinians, too, know that the resolutions are only words, and they have lost patience. Israel has been scolded enough; now it must be made to pay. Not words, but sanctions, is the new PLO demand. When the Israeli Knesset passed its ill-advised Jerusalem law two weeks ago, the PLO's UN representative made his move. It quickly emerged, however, that the votes for economic sanctions could not be found in the Security Council. The PLO agreed to make do with a resolution instructing member nations with embassies in Jerusalem to remove them to Tel Aviv. The resolution passed, as will the next one, and the one after that.

But the moderation of this resolution, like all Palestinian moderation to date, was a ruse. The resolution

called not for attitudes but for actions; which is to say, it was not words, it was sanctions. The Netherlands, Costa Rica, Guatemala, El Salvador, and the few other nations with embassies in Jerusalem were urged not to make representations to the government of Israel, but to take measures to punish it. And the United States, which is pledged to veto sanctions against Israel, did not even vote against. It abstained. Secretary Muskie appeared in the hall on behalf of the Democratic candidate and did his best to save the Jewish vote. He admonished the delegates that they were damaging Camp David, which of course they knew, and then he raised his hand in abstention and damaged it some more. Muskie was not troubled that the resolution failed to distinguish East Jerusalem from West, or that the new Israeli law did no more than describe, however provocatively, a political reality that has existed for over a decade. The Saudis were calling for holy war, the Iraqis were getting the bomb, but what the secretary had to stop were the movers who might appear for Begin's office furniture.

The shuttle diplomacy of Henry Kissinger made at least one lasting contribution to the peace process in the Middle East: it established as an axiom of all subsequent negotiations that Jerusalem comes last. The scuttle diplomacy of Edmund Muskie has changed that, with lots of help from Menahem Begin. Jerusalem now comes first—and so the talks may never get to last. This may be a way of getting them back to Geneva, where the State Department left its heart in 1977. The decision of the American government to permit Jerusalem to be restored so early to the agenda

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represents nothing less than a return to the policy of a comprehensive settlement, a chimera to which the present administration has always been committed. This policy can undo all that Anwar Sadat started. Sadat, no doubt, was delighted to be free for a while from Islam's wrath, but he must see that his way lies great danger to his designs as well.

This smooth bit of American treachery at the UN was not entirely a surprise. The United States, after 31 years, has not even recognized West Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Moreover, the abstention was a perfect expression of Jimmy Carter's plan for Jerusalem. The plans had become plain only a few days earlier at Carter's convention. The platform adopted by the Democrats forthrightly supported "the established status of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel," and pledged that the United States would move its embassy there. The president could not live with this plank. The memorandum he sent to the Garden conceded no more than an "undivided Jerusalem" and concluded that "it has been and it must remain our policy that the ultimate status of Jerusalem should be a matter of negotiation between parties."

Carter's statement about "negotiations between the parties" is another version of the more common coinage employed by the abstaining Muskie: "We have encouraged all parties to refrain from unilateral actions which seek to change the character and status of Jerusalem." There have been several such unilateral actions to change Jerusalem's status. The first came in 1948, when Jordan failed to destroy Israel but won the old city. The second came in 1967, when Jordan failed to destroy Israel but lost the old city. The Zionists had agreed that in the partition of Palestine, Jerusalem would be an international zone, and never in the period between 1948 and 1967 did the Israelis attempt to unify the city, to open its holy places to Jews, to act upon their historical rights. (And never in that period was the United Nations or the State Department enraged by the Jordanian occupation.) The Jews eventually seized Jerusalem only to save their lives. They never have denied its mosques to Moslems. But if the Arabs wanted so desperately to be sovereign over East Jerusalem, they should never have started the Six Day War. They should have quit while they were ahead.

Carter and his diplomats are indifferent to all this history. They do not, therefore, comprehend the concessions that Israel already has made, and will continue to make. Israel is returning the Sinai and will return most of the West Bank, but not because the territories were seized in a war of conquest, or because the Israelis have no rights. The Israeli occupation is owed entirely to the Arab aggression. But the Israelis will exchange what they won but never wanted for what they wanted but never won. They will exchange the territories for peace, and only their own desire for peace will coerce them to do so.

The Israelis have chosen not to return Jerusalem. That is the privilege of victors, as Jordanians and Rus-

sians can testify. Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem has violated not a single human or religious right. Access to the city's holy places, which the president and the pope insist must be free, has never been freer. Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem is the only price the Arabs have paid for their failure, the sole spoils the Jewish state will have gained for successfully refusing to be destroyed. The Jewish passion for Jerusalem, the Jewish right, the Jewish cause, is a fact of life. The sooner the Arabs and we Americans recognize that fact the better.

White House Watch Debate and Switch

At a White House meeting the morning of August 25, Press Secretary Jody Powell and several other Carter assistants agreed with each other that they and their President were in a mess and that their task was to figure how to get out of it. The mess was the controversy that the President and his people had stirred up over whether and on what terms Jimmy Carter should participate in televised debates with other candidates for the presidency.

A review of how Carter and his people got themselves into the mess takes us back to May 5 and an exchange between Carter and Edith Bornn, a delegate from the Virgin Islands to the League of Women Voters's biennial convention in Washington, DC. Bornn asked Carter if he'd "give your promise to us today to participate in the League-sponsored presidential debate this fall, if you are the nominee of the Democratic party." The transcript records "laughter at the notion that Carter might not be the nominee and has him replying: "Yes, I will be glad to participate this fall, if I am the nominee (Laughter). It will be great pleasure to be the nominee and to debate (Laughter)."

Since the first one between Richard Nixon and John Kennedy in 1960, quadrennial televised presidential debates have come to be regarded by masses of citizens as their right and by the principal candidates as the inescapable peril, opportunity, and duty. The League sponsored the 1976 debates between Carter and Gerald Ford and expected a 1980 series of three between presidential candidates and a fourth between the candidates for vice president to occur with no more than the usual preliminary hassles over sites, timing and format. Ruth Hinerfeld, president of the League and "chair" of its education fund, which technically sponsors the debates, said August 25 that Carter's May 5 promise was considered to be "a broad statement of intention" but not a binding commitment to advance of detailed discussions.

(continued on page 8)

September 19, 1980

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR CIRCULATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT

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SUBJECT: Campaign

1. I am personally concerned about the direction which the campaign is taking. Because of the non-debate decision and the interpretation of your Ebenezer Baptist Church remarks about Reagan, the tone of the campaign is being interpreted by the press as negative and "mean". The Washington Post editorial of today summarizes this feeling, which I am hearing from a number of people who are your supporters and are concerned about it. The tone of the press inference reflects this.

I think that every effort must be made to avoid giving the press any opportunity to interpret what you say as overly negative and biting because it diminishes your stature as President and is contrary to the correct image that the American people have of you as a fair and sensitive person. Obviously, where Reagan's record is directly involved it should be pointed out, without embellishment (e.g., opposition to Medicare and to 1964 Civil Rights Act). But I think that the thrust of the campaign must be you as President performing your duties, achieving results and speaking to the hopes of the American people for the future.

Your economic revitalization program is the centerpiece of this on the economic side and the peace theme seems to me to be the thrust on the foreign policy side. One of the reasons I have been so strongly urging a series of radio speeches is because it would elevate the campaign and give a Presidential tone to it.

I believe that there will be such a public revulsion at the negativism of the Reagan campaign (as has already been demonstrated). By taking the high and positive road you will contrast sharply with Reagan and it will redound to your benefit.

I urge you to direct that one major positive, substantive speech per week be provided for you. It need not make new news. Just talking seriously about serious problems would itself be beneficial.

**"DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
CANCELLED PER E.O. SEC. 1.3 AND
ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 18, 1985"**

2. I have discussed the Jewish vote with a very wide range of people. I do not think we will get the percentage that you need and that you deserve absent some positive steps between now and the election in the Middle East or some other dramatic step. In the latter regard, I have talked to Al Moses and he agrees with the following idea: you would duplicate the drama of John Kennedy's meeting with the Baptist ministers in Texas by accepting an already outstanding invitation from the New York rabbis, representing the widest range of religious positions, and making an appearance before their group. I think this would be perceived as a "gutsy" decision and it would give you a chance to restate your commitment to Israel and would reassure people there is no "secret deal" with the Arabs which would be instituted after the election (which, believe it or not, is a frequently expressed fear). It would also give you an opportunity to make some real points on Reagan's attempt to breach the separation of church and state by his position on school prayers and the teaching of the biblical story of creation. I am convinced these are very potent arguments to use with both Catholics and Jews.

3. It is important that people have a sense of the real chances (the "two futures") in this election. This obviously simplistic chart to me sets these differences out clearly and may be of use to you in your speeches and remarks:

President

Pro-consumer (deregulation to free up competition, with health and safety protection)

Favors social progress (education, health care) and stronger civil rights enforcement (Fair Housing)

Favors targeted pro-investment economic policy

Cautious, prudent foreign policy

Reagan

Pro big business

Opposed major social and civil rights progress (Medicare, National Health Insurance, 1964 Civil Rights Act, OSHA, Department of Education)

Favors Kemp-Roth

Confrontational foreign policy

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: FRANK MOORE FM/DT
SUBJECT: Calls on Senate Tax Bill and Tarapur

You will be travelling early next week when the Senate votes on Tarapur (Tuesday) and when the fate of the Tax Cut Bill will be decided. Our vote count shows that Tarapur will be extremely difficult so we need your help in the ways of calls to problem Senators. Several of these Senators are also problems with respect to the tax bill. One call from you could deal with both subjects. A few other calls to other Senators on taxes are necessary as well. We can win both but only with your intervention.

Talking points on Tarapur are attached at Tab A.

The strategy on the Tax Cut Bill is as follows. Senator Long now is saying that he is not going to bring the tax bill up before the election himself. However, the Republicans intend to attempt to attach either the entire bill or attractive provisions thereof to other bills which come to the Senate Floor (unemployment compensation, countercyclical, the Continuing Resolution, etc.) and Long says he will support their effort and he believes the Finance Committee Democrats will too. The Majority Leader has asked our help in peeling off as many Finance Committee Democrats as possible. If we are successful, and only if we are successful in attaining this, can we hope to avoid Senate passage of the bill or significant portions thereof. The Leader has asked for as much help as we can give; he continues to work the issue hard himself and you may want to give him a call to bolster his effort.

Talking points on the tax bill are attached at Tab B.

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for Preservation Purposes



TALKING POINTS ON TARAPUR

On Tuesday you will be voting on a resolution of disapproval on my decision to export nuclear fuel to India. It is going to be a close vote and I need your support in opposing the resolution.

- Our country has a solemn commitment to ship this fuel under a 1963 agreement which calls upon us to furnish fuel for India's Tarapur reactor. In return the Indians agreed to maintain international safeguards over our fuel and to obtain our consent before transferring it to third countries or reprocessing it to extract plutonium.
- I continue to be totally committed to my policy of nuclear non-proliferation and I am convinced that that policy would be seriously damaged if we renege on our agreement. We must maintain our reputation as a reliable supplier and not give those with whom we deal any excuse for backing down on obligations to uphold safeguards.
 - India might consider itself free to reprocess our spent fuel, thereby producing U.S. origin plutonium which could be used to make the equivalent of 300 atomic bombs.
 - It is true that India has not agreed to safeguards on other facilities, but we do not gain a non-proliferation advantage by forcing the removal of safeguards from Tarapur.
 - These shipments for Tarapur fall within the grace period provisions of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act. They do not constitute a precedent for the future applicability of the Act's full-scope safeguards provision. Any subsequent shipments for Tarapur would be subject to those provisions.
- I am concerned that if we fail to live up to our contractual obligation the Indians might turn to the Soviets as an alternate supplier for fuel for Tarapur. This will increase Soviet influence at a time when that country's invasion of Afghanistan has raised serious questions in India about their relations with the Soviet Union.
- India is the strongest and most stable country in South Asia. We do not always agree with India's foreign policy, but it is essential that we keep India in the non-aligned camp and that we have some ability to influence India's policies.
- We have absolutely no information that suggests that India is preparing for a nuclear explosion of the type which occurred in 1974. If such information becomes available, I will discontinue shipments to Tarapur, including two shipments now being considered by the Senate.

- This is a vital national security issue which goes to the heart of our reliability as a nation. I need your support.



TALKING POINTS ON TAX BILL

As you know, I am opposed to Congressional passage of a tax cut before the election. Senator Long and I disagree on the virtues of such a bill both economically and politically. For a while he was determined to bring up the Finance Committee bill himself before the Senate goes out for the election break, but now it appears that he will not do so. Instead, the Republicans intend to offer all or part of the Finance Committee bill as amendments to bills coming to the Senate Floor (such as the Continuing Resolution). Chairman Long will probably support these efforts. We simply cannot let this happen. If the Republicans are successful, they will escape from the corner they painted themselves into with Kemp-Roth -- a key element in our campaign against Reagan and Republican Congressional candidates. It is bad economics and bad politics, in my view. I need your help in defeating efforts to get the Senate to vote on the tax cut before adjournment.

(revised edition)

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Bumpers
Byrd, H.
Cannon
Cohen
Cranston
Dole
Ford
Glenn
Goldwater
Hart
Hatch
Hayakawa
Heflin
Heinz
Helms
Humphrey
Laxalt
Lugar
McGovern
Melcher
Pell
Proxmire
Ribicoff
Schmitt
*Stone
Thurmond
Tsongas
Weicker

Armstrong
*Bayh
Bentsen
Danforth
Hatfield
Kennedy
Leahy
Matsunaga
Metzenbaum
Pryor
Riegle
Stafford

Bradley
Burdick
Culver
DeConcini
Durenberger
Durkin
Exon
Garn
Jepsen
Kassebaum
Long
Morgan
Nelson
Pressler
Schweiker
*Stewart
Talmadge

Baucus
Boren
Byrd, R.
Hollings
Johnston
Levin
Mitchell
Nunn
Roth
Simpson
Stevens
Tower

Baker
Bellmon
Biden
Chafee
Chiles
Church
Cochran
Domenici
Eagleton
Gravel
Huddleston
Inouye
Jackson
Javits
Magnuson
Mathias
McClure
Moynihan
Packwood
Percy
Randolph
Sarbanes
Sasser
Stennis
Stevenson
Wallop
Warner
Williams
Young
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*Expected to be absent

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