

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder: JW Cicconi Memos, Jan - Jun 1983 [9 of 11]

Date: 2/18/98

Cicconi

~~OA 10793~~ *Box 2*

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	JW Cicconi to James A. Baker, III re Resale Price Maintenance, 1p.	5/19/83	P5
2. memo	JW Cicconi to Richard Darman re Working Group Report on Infanticide Regulation, 2p.	5/23/83	P5
3. memo	JW Cicconi to Richard Darman re Women's Issues Meeting, 1p.	5/27/83	P5
4. memo	JW Cicconi to Richard Darman re Comments on Proposed "White House Digest" Papers, 1p.	6/8/83	P5 <i>CC3 10/18/00</i>

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National security classified information [(a)(1) of the PRA].
- P-2 Relating to appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA].
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA].
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA].
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA].
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA].

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA].
- F-2 Release could disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA].
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA].
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA].
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- F-6 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA].

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 17, 1983

TO: RICHARD G. DARMAN

The attached is FYI.

I have sent a copy of this to Duberstein, who will advise when they feel it is appropriate to restate our objections to this bill.

(I do not feel it is necessary at this point to get comments on the bill, since it may never move out of Roth's committee.)

Thanks.


Jim Cicconi

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 12, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi *JC*
SUBJECT: Presidential Libraries Bill

The legislation to which President Ford referred in his call is S. 563 by Chiles (copy attached). It is presently lodged in the Government Affairs Committee, and Senator Roth shows no sign of moving it in the near future.

We have not yet taken a position on S. 563. However, it is nearly identical to last year's version, S. 1325, to which we objected strongly.

Our objections to S. 1325 (and, presumably, to S. 563) are related to several types of legislative veto provisions in the bill. I have made marginal notes beside such "problem sections" in the attached copy of S. 563.

The bill also contains the space limitation on presidential libraries (40,000 square feet) which President Ford felt to be totally inadequate, though the Administration has not taken a position on this point.

Since we will have objections to S. 563, the question is simply when we communicate them to Roth: we can do so immediately, asking his intentions regarding the bill, or we can wait until the bill begins to move. In any event, I feel we should confine our objections to the previously stated legislative veto problems, since our motives would be suspect if we got into the problems raised by President Ford.

5/15
ge
OK -
but lets
get the
word to
Roth when
KS thinks
appropriate. Shouldn't
we move & pay for them
down so we can get
all comments & views?
JAB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
EDWIN MEESE, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi *JWC*
SUBJECT: Meeting on Textiles

As previously discussed, a meeting has been set up at the request of Senators Thurmond and Helms, with representatives of the textile and apparel industries. They will present their concerns regarding the effect of textile imports on domestic manufacturers.

The meeting is scheduled for Thursday, May 19, from 1:30 to 2:00 in the Roosevelt Room. A list of participants is attached, along with a briefing paper on the subject prepared by OPD.

cc: Ed Harper
Craig Fuller
Dick Darman
Lee Atwater
Wendell Gunn
Nancy Risque

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING ON TEXTILES

May 19, 1983

The White House, Roosevelt Room

1:30 p.m.

List of Participants

Members of Congress

Senator Strom Thurmond
Senator Jesse Helms
Senator John P. East

Congressman James T. Broyhill
Congressman Carroll A. Campbell, Jr.
Congressman James G. Martin

Representatives of the Textile Industry

James A. Chapman, Jr.
William Klopman
James Martin, Jr.
Ellison McKissick, Jr.
Roger Milliken
W. Ray Shockley

Representatives of the Apparel Industry

Edward J. Bauman
Stewart Boswell
Leo J. Feuer

White House Participants

Edwin Meese, III, Counselor to the President
James A. Baker, III, Chief of Staff and Assistant to the
President
Edwin Harper, Assistant to the President for Policy Development
Lee Atwater, Deputy Assistant to the President for Political
Affairs
James Cicconi, Special Assistant to the President and Assistant
to the Chief of Staff
Wendell Gunn, Special Assistant to the President for Policy
Development
Nancy Risque, Special Assistant to the President for Legislative
Affairs

Briefing Paper on Textile Industry

Overview

- o The U.S. textile and apparel industry is one of the nation's largest industrial employers. The industry employs almost 1.9 million workers or one out of every ten Americans with manufacturing jobs.
- o The textile and apparel industry should benefit significantly from the recovery. The industry's past and present program of substantial capital investment has resulted in some of the most up-to-date and efficient plants in the world. In the past decade the textile industry spent over \$11 billion on modernization of plant and equipment. The resulting productivity gains have been truly impressive - 50 percent higher than the average for manufacturing.
- o The efficiency and productivity of the textile industry are reflected in its success in contributing to this country's export drive. Despite recent unfavorable exchange rates, the textile industry has had a positive balance of trade since 1978.

Import Growth

- o The textile and apparel industry has been susceptible to disruptive imports. As a result, and in recognition of the U.S. textile industry's unique characteristics, the President has made a special commitment to minimize any disruptive effects from imports. This is the purpose of the President's policy of seeking to relate total import growth to the growth of the domestic market.
- o In pursuit of this objective, the Administration concluded in 1982 new bilateral agreements with our three largest suppliers (Hong Kong, Korea, and Taiwan) that provide for growth rates in specific quota categories consistent with the rate of growth in the U.S. market for six years. These new agreements will hold these three major suppliers close to existing trade levels.
- o In part as a result of these efforts, total imports in 1982 increased only 2.8 percent compared to the 15 percent increase in textile trade in 1981. The long-term agreements negotiated in 1982 should for the first time allow the domestic industry to share in the growth in the recovery process.
- o Senators Helms and Thurmond will point out that based on trade data for the first quarter of 1983, the growth in imports will exceed the projected rate of growth in the U.S. market in a number of categories. USTR believes that imports will flatten out over the course of the year and fall within the negotiated levels.

- o Overall the United States has negotiated bilateral restraint agreements with 25 countries under the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA) and with 8 countries that are not members of the MFA. These agreements cover 74 percent of U.S. textile and apparel imports for the year ending February 1983.

Bilateral Trade With China

- o Greater stability will be provided to the U.S. textile and apparel market with the conclusion of a new bilateral agreement with China. The unilateral measures currently in effect will remain in place until that agreement is concluded.
- o Thus far we have reached agreement with the Chinese on quota levels for 14 categories of textile trade (sweaters, coats, shirts, trousers, among others). Negotiations should continue in early June and we will seek quotas on an additional 20 items including print cloth. (Print cloth is of particular interest to Senator Thurmond.)

Office of Policy Development
May 17, 1983

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR BILL GEMMELL

FROM: Aileen Anderson *AA*

SUBJECT: Place Cards

Jim Baker and Ed Meese are hosting a meeting in the Roosevelt Room on Thursday, May 19, at 1:30 p.m. I would appreciate it if your office would handle making place cards for seventeen individuals, and forward them to me, 1st floor, West Wing, by 11:00 a.m. tomorrow.

Names of individuals in attendance:

1. Mr. Meese
2. Mr. Baker
3. Mr. Harper
4. Mr. Gunn
5. Mr. Atwater
6. Senator Helms
7. Senator Thurmond
8. Senator East
9. Rep. Martin
10. Rep. Campbell
11. Rep. Broyhill
12. Mr. Chapman
13. Mr. Martin
14. Mr. McKissick
15. Mr. Feuer
16. Mr. Bauman
17. Mr. Milliken
18. *Mr. Klapman*

I very much appreciate your time. Please contact me on 2174 if there are any problems.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
EDWIN MEESE, III
ED HARPER

FROM: Jim Cicconi *hc*
SUBJECT: Meeting on Textiles

Attached is an additional paper on the subject of textiles which was prepared by Ambassador Brock. It includes his analysis of the issues that will be raised by textile industry representatives in today's meeting.

cc: Lee Atwater
Wendell Cunn
Nancy Risque

THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

WASHINGTON

20506

May 19, 1983

TO: James A. Baker, III
FROM: William E. Brock
SUBJECT: Your Meeting With Congressional Leaders and Textile Executives

The following is a brief analysis of the textile import situation in the first three months of this year. To the extent feasible I would strongly urge you to avoid going into details. The industry can use figures for presentational purposes better than anyone in government.

The textile industry is most alarmed with the 18% net (258 million sye) increase in imports in the first three months of 1983 over the same period of 1982. They certainly call into question our desire to meet the President's commitment to relate total imports to the rate of growth in the domestic market.

Although in the past we have avoided being pinned down to a specific target growth rate in imports, we have taken action to slow the growth in imports and are continuing in our efforts to meet the commitment. At the same time, however, we must continue to meet our international commitments, which call for, at a minimum, a threat of market disruption before action is taken.

The breakdown of the increase is as follows:

Total gross increase - 351 million square yards equivalent (sye) (i.e., counting only those categories that increased)
Total net increase - 258 million sye (also adding the categories that decreased.)

(A) 47% of the gross increase or 165 million sye in major supplier agreements and from China where there are already agreed or unilateral quotas. It is typical for the first quarter imports to be higher than the annual level, because the annual quota ceilings are not reached until the latter part of the year. The quotas that we negotiated last year provide for 1% growth with the major suppliers and are better than any previously negotiated agreements. Also, as

an indication of our efforts to meet the President's commitment we have held six rounds of negotiations with the Chinese without reaching an agreement, despite strong pressure from the Chinese and retaliation in the agricultural sector.

(B) 25% of the gross increase in imports is from developed countries where we do not have agreements because they are not low-cost countries. The industry, therefore, is less concerned with this increase.

(C) 13% of the gross increase is in so-called basket categories. These are the miscellaneous categories that contain the less-sensitive products. We are currently conducting an investigation of these categories.

(D) Concerning the remaining 15% of the increase, the Administration has already taken considerably more action this year than at the same time last year and will continue to do so as appropriate. We have requested consultations on 14 categories compared to 4 last year and 5 or so more requests are likely in the next few weeks.

In summation, I would hope you would hear them out, emphasize the positive steps we have taken in the past, and assure them that I am determined to continue to take the necessary steps to relate total imports to the rate of growth in the domestic market.

8

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR EDWIN MEESE, III
MICHAEL K. DEEVER
WILLIAM P. CLARK

FROM: JAMES A. BAKER, III

SUBJECT: Weekly Breakfast Meeting

Following up on our discussion at Blair House and my subsequent conversations with each of you, let's plan to meet for breakfast every Wednesday at 7:30 a.m. in the Executive Mess starting next week (Wednesday, May 25).

Please let me know if this time is inconvenient for any of you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG FULLER

FROM: Jim Cicconi *JC*
SUBJECT: News Story on AIDS

It is possible that the Press Office might be questioned regarding today's news story on AIDS. The story is based on a report in the New England Journal of Medicine which states that the disease is not necessarily confined to drug users, homosexuals and Haitians as was previously thought. The implication is that the bulk of the adult population may be vulnerable to AIDS.

If questioned, we could point out that the President was briefed on the subject several months ago in a Cabinet meeting. My recollection is that he encouraged HHS (and through them, the Center for Disease Control) to continue maximum efforts to isolate the cause of the disease and devise a treatment.

It is important that it not appear we are only now becoming concerned about AIDS.

cc: Dave Gergen
Larry Speakes

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi

SUBJECT: Resale Price Maintenance

I thought you should take a look at the attached letter from Senator Warren Rudman on the subject of resale price maintenance. In particular, please note his postscript and the article authored by the President in 1975.

In the meeting that Ed Meese chaired to reconsider this issue, the only support I had was from Sherm Unger on behalf of Commerce. Stockman and Baxter made very strong arguments, and Ed Meese decided there was no reason to "adjust" the President's decision (though it at least became clear that Baxter's presentation of the issue to the President had been misleading).

I am reasonably confident that Congress will cause us problems on this, and Rudman's threatened resolution (also attached) could prove particularly embarrassing if it draws any degree of public attention.

From a policy standpoint, both Baxter and Niskanen conceded to me that, at best, abandonment of the per se rule would likely cause little change. However, I might add that, at worst, it could lead to higher consumer prices across the board. From a political standpoint, though, the situation seems even worse: it will appear that we are allowing manufacturers to dictate higher retail prices simply to satisfy "Chicago School" economic theory.

At this point, it seems little can be done except wait for Congress to complain as they begin to perceive (as Rudman has) the effect of Justice's policy change. In that eventuality, I would suggest that the WH maintain a low profile and let Baxter handle justification for this policy. Along those lines, I talked with Nancy Risque, and she will arrange for Baxter to talk with Rudman (alone) and see if he can persuade the Senator.

I can brief you further on this should developments warrant it.

WARREN B. RUDMAN
NEW HAMPSHIRE

COMMITTEES:
APPROPRIATIONS
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 21, 1983

OFFICES:
HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
205-224-3374
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510
125 NORTH MAIN STREET
603-225-7115
CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03301
NORRIS COTTON FEDERAL BUILDING
603-666-7591
MANCHESTER, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03103
THOMAS J. MCINTYRE FEDERAL BUILDING
603-431-5900
PORTSMOUTH, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03801
157 MAIN STREET
603-752-2604
BERLIN, NEW HAMPSHIRE 03570

Mr. Edwin Harper
Assistant to the President for
Policy Development
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. ^{Ed} Harper:

Enclosed is a copy of a Joint Resolution I have drafted for possible introduction in the Senate. The resolution would respond to what I perceive to be inadequate federal enforcement of U.S. antitrust laws (specifically the law prohibiting resale price maintenance) and present efforts of the Department of Justice to change the status of this law as interpreted by the Supreme Court. Current DOJ plans call for the filing of an amicus brief in the case of Monsanto Co. v. Spray-Rite Service Corp., now pending before the Supreme Court.

The law is irrebuttably clear on the issue of resale price maintenance. The Supreme Court has consistently held the resale price maintenance is a per se violation of the Sherman Act. Congress reaffirmed this position in 1975 when laws permitting so-called "fair trade" restrictions were repealed. To my knowledge, the Administration to date has taken no formal position on the issue. Therefore, it appears that the Department of Justice position is wholly unjustified, disregarding the roles of both the Judiciary and the Congress in the formulation and interpretation of antitrust laws.

Because resale price maintenance inevitably results in higher retail prices, there is substantial consumer opposition to current DOJ policies. There is also substantial, bipartisan opposition in Congress as well. Nevertheless, I am hesitant to introduce the resolution since the debate on the resolution would have a substantial negative impact on the President. A far better solution would entail a limitation of the Department of Justice brief in the Monsanto case to those issues other than resale price maintenance and active enforcement of the law as envisaged by Congress and interpreted by the Supreme Court. This position would be consistent with the enclosed statement made in 1975 by then Governor Reagan regarding the "fair trade" restrictions mentioned above.

Mr. Edwin Harper
April 21, 1983
Page 2

Since there are obviously time constraints imposed on me due to the filing deadlines of the Supreme Court, I would appreciate a timely response to this proposal.

Sincerely,



Warren B. Rudman
United States Senator

WBR/pw

Enclosures

cc: The Honorable Malcolm Baldrige
James A. Baker III

P.S. In reviewing this letter for signature, I found it to be a lawyer-like and logical presentation of the facts. Let me depart from that scholarly form. Frankly, Ed, this is the dumbest political move I've seen in a long time -- what the President doesn't need are headlines saying that his Administration is seeking to allow price conspiracies to the detriment of consumers. But then, nobody ever accused Bill Baxter of being a politician.

Joint Resolution

Whereas the Congress in 1890 enacted the Sherman Act to prohibit "Every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations . . . ;"

Whereas the United States Supreme Court has consistently held that vertical price restraints are per se violations of the Sherman Act;

Whereas the Congress upheld the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Sherman Act prohibiting vertical price restrictions when in 1975 portions of the Miller-Tydings Act and the McGuire Act authorizing state laws permitting "fair-trade" restrictions were repealed;

Whereas consumers benefit from vigorous price competition at the retail level and are hurt by the imposition of price restraints which raise consumer prices and infringe upon retailers' rights to free trade;

Whereas the United States Department of Justice is charged with instituting proceedings to prevent and restrain violations of the antitrust laws;

Whereas the United States Department of Justice, in contravention of the law regarding vertical price restraints is not actively enforcing the law; and

Whereas the Solicitor General of the United States Department of Justice has filed an amicus curiae brief with the Supreme Court which, in part, advocates weakening the law regarding vertical price restraints;

Now, therefore be it Resolved, That --

The United States Department of Justice and all other appropriate agencies shall faithfully and vigorously enforce the federal antitrust laws, including the prohibition against resale price maintenance, and shall cease propounding arguments, whether in court or without, designed to weaken the law prohibiting vertical price fixing conspiracies.

has moved; evidently she must be finding things a little difficult in the new place, what with her two children and elderly mother. I ask that they should give her their care; please ask some one of them to tell me of how she is settling down there.

Next day: am going on. What shall I tell you about myself? As I have already written you, my way of life is somewhat different now. Which has its disadvantages—or else they would not put people here. But there are some positive aspects. The chief one is a possibility to read much, and I am fully using it. Of late I have incidentally received a number of books through the "Book by Mail" service, so I have enough reading matter. I am also studying the language, though my progress is as modest as it used to be. But my word stock is nevertheless growing. It may be a good idea to learn with greater intensity now—all of a sudden we may be released, and I am still unable to talk properly. But that is something we can survive all right. I don't mind.

At the same time I am ready (as I was before) to be kept here to the end. But let us trust the better thing will come, and then whatever will be, will be.

As for my health, it is generally fine. Suffice it to say I have never been laid with high fever all these years. Some trifling things may sometimes happen—but then they can happen to anyone and under very different conditions, too, there is no insurance against that. Otherwise all is quite normal, when I come you will see with your own eyes.

I have several times asked Phyllis about how he feels, but he writes nothing about that. Mama, please let me know about it.

In my June letter to Sara I asked her a lot of questions, but no answers have come back to any one of them. She may not deserve the reproach, and in her letter (No. 25, confiscated) she may have answered the questions. However that may be, I have not heard her answers to a number of questions that interest me. Let me repeat some. How many settlements are there in the Golans, and how many have sprung up after October? What is the population of the area? How is the construction of the new town going on? And where is it situated? The same about the Rafakh area? But it must be easier for her to look into my earlier letter, after all.

I have re-read the letter and noticed I am repeating myself towards the end. It means I'd better wind up. It has suddenly become very late these latest days, winter has set in; it has been overdue from the local viewpoint: it is the second part of October. . . . Once again, Mama, please send me stereo—and picture postcards too. How is Dad's health? Is he happy about the change of the residence? . . .

My best wishes to our friends, and in the first place to those who keep writing, who still remember me, too. Mummy dear, don't worry for me. I am being in a "chamber" ("cell") room right now, and that seems to be the reason why the letter is what it is. But, generally speaking, everything is O.K. and even better. I am eager to believe this will be all over soon. Mummy dear, have the best of treatment, get well and keep writing.

Au revoir—Kiss—Yours,

ARL

FAIR TRADE LAWS DUE FOR HARD
LOOK

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IMAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California is now writ-

ing a column that is syndicated by the Copley News Service. I am very pleased to see Governor Reagan continuing to express his view that the answers to today's problems will be found by reducing government rather than by increasing it.

Ronald Reagan is one of the few leaders in the country that still champions individual freedom and the free market economy—something that once was the cornerstone of the Republican Party.

Following is one of his latest commentaries that points out how government regulations hurt not help the consumer in America. I am pleased to commend the following article to my colleagues in Congress:

SO-CALLED "FAIR TRADE" LAWS OVERDOX FOR
HARD LOOK

(By Ronald Reagan)

One of the old-time ventriloquist tricks in vaudeville was done by the fellow who would sing a chorus of "Yankee Doodle Dandy" while drinking a glass of water.

Another version is even trickier: a business or industry argues for free enterprise on the one hand—free, that is, from government regulation—at the same time it asks government to make laws setting minimum prices on the product it sells. This trick is called "fair trade."

Though such laws date back to the turn of the century, federal courts knocked them out in 1911.

They came back 20 years later when California retail druggists were worried about price wars and sought minimum-price legislation to prevent them. Soon after, 43 other states enacted so-called "fair trade" laws.

More recently there have been indications that this trick may be going the way of the vaudeville act. It is estimated that only about 20 large companies use the laws extensively today. Several states have done away with them entirely.

Just the same, 14 states, representing nearly half the nation's retail sales, still have tough, enforceable fair trade laws. This means that a retailer who wants to sell a fair trade item below the minimum price may risk heavy fines or even a jail sentence for cutting his price to the consumer.

Big discount chains usually won't sign fair trade agreements, but small retailers may fear being cut off from supplies of popular brands if they don't observe the fair trade agreements they are asked to sign.

It used to be argued that fair trade laws helped small retailers, such as the corner grocer, from being severely undercut by big chains with superior buying power. It's more likely that independent neighborhood retailers are surviving today because they are convenient than because of a few cents difference in a price on a brand of liquor or lipstick or water glasses.

Pro-fair trade forces argue that the higher margins provided the retailer by fair trade laws result in more retailers carrying the line, and with a broader selection at that.

That may be true, but in an age when advertising has effectively presold so many brand names, is the retailer really providing any extra useful service to the consumer in exchange for that higher margin? It's nice to know that he carries a broad selection, but without fair trade, wouldn't an enterprising merchant carry as broad a line of, say cosmetics as his customers demand?

Former Atty. Gen. William Saxbe said in a recent speech to a grocery manufacturing group, "Whatever feeble justification may have once existed for fair trade, there is today no reason to place such heavy burdens on the consuming public."

Lately, there has been a lot of talk about taking a "hard look" at government regula-

tion in order to weed out those regulations which stifle competition. Good. Let's include the fair trade laws in that review.

Once you invite government to regulate you, in order to protect your economic interests, you're asking for a lot more regulation down the line.

We live in a time when the barnacles of government regulation have added measurably to the cost of goods we buy. Let's rethink the fair trade laws altogether. Eliminate them and some prices should begin going down as a result. That may not "lick" inflation, but it would help.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH PRO-LIFE COALITION

HON. HAMILTON FISH, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition is an organization of students and other young Americans who are deeply troubled by what they perceive as the willingness of our society to adopt "expedient rather than just solutions to complex human problems." The following statement is an adapted version of an article about the coalition by Dr. Thomas Hilgers, a co-founder and member of the Advisory Board, from the November 1974 issue of *Linacre Quarterly*:

STATEMENT

A little more than two years ago, 60 young people from nearly 23 states met in Chicago, Illinois, with a common interest in human life. The abortion issue was the main item of concern at the first conference, but it didn't take long to recognize that those in attendance had a great concern for human life at all stages of development and in all strata of social existence. From the first meeting, the first national youth pro-life organization was conceived. At that time, this organization, the National Youth Pro-Life Coalition (NYPLC), adopted three fundamental tenets to its existence; it would be non-violent in its activities; it would espouse that human life was a continuum from conception to natural death; it would promote the concept that "there is no human life not worth living" (taken from the writings of Dr. Viktor Frankl, an Austrian psychiatrist who spent three years in the Auschwitz death camp).

The concern of the NYPLC, which now has chartered groups and affiliate members throughout the United States, lies in the issue of life itself. Dismayed by the inconsistent way human life is valued in our society, the Coalition speaks out for consistency. The membership is aware of the prevailing attitude among young people, especially on college campuses, that ties anti-war pro-civil rights, and pro-abortion feelings all into a tightly knit, supposedly "liberal" bag. Equally discouraging has been the anti-abortion, pro-war, pro-capital punishment attitudes of yet another segment of the population.

In the "respect for life" movement, the Coalition believes that only a real revolution in the value and dignity of every human life will produce constructive social and human reform. If human life is to be respected, then all human life is to be respected and arbitrarily eliminating anyone from this respect produces inconsistencies which undermine the basic ground-structure from which true reform emanates.

Recognizing that humanity encounters enormous problems, many of which do not

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 19, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi

SUBJECT: Toxic Torts

The "toxic torts" issue, which will be discussed during today's CCLP meeting with the President, involves harm to individuals caused by exposure to dangerous substances such as asbestos, cotton dust, chemical waste, radiation, and Agent Orange. An increasing number of lawsuits are seeking to establish federal responsibility for such toxic torts, and a number of bills have been filed in Congress that would set up generous federal compensation along the lines of the Black Lung compensation program (which currently pays out \$2B per year).

Both Justice and OMB agree that it is premature to take a position on toxic tort legislation. Justice argues that the two existing working groups dealing with the issue should more closely coordinate their efforts to develop reliable data (which will be needed to counter ill-considered compensation proposals), monitor developments, and coordinate Administration policy. OMB, for the most part, agrees, arguing in a separate paper that present policy-making in the toxic tort area has been uncoordinated and ad hoc. Stockman goes on to advocate creation of a higher level working group which would, presumably, supercede the two existing groups. This suggestion will probably be approved by the CCLP. →

This was done.

A coordinated policy on toxic tort legislative proposals is essential, if only on the basis of potential cost (which OMB estimates at between \$4B and \$60B per year). As with the various bailout proposals, such bills may not be seen as onerous burdens on the budget when considered individually. However, it is likely that if one passes it will become increasingly difficult to stop the passage of others. Thus, the cumulative impact of all such proposals on the budget is the best weapon against individual bills, and this type of strategy will require high level policy coordination.

cc: Richard Darman
Ken Duberstein

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 20, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG FULLER

FROM:

Jim Cicconi 

SUBJECT:

Working Group on Southwestern Border States

At the first meeting of this group on May 18, a question was raised as to whether the 45-day report deadline began running on May 5, the day of the President's announcement, or on May 18, the date of the first organizational meeting (after all members had been named).

 Given the short period of time within which the group must work, these two weeks are of some importance. It would help if you could advise on how this should be interpreted.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR FRED RYAN

FROM: Jim Cicconi

SUBJECT: American G.I. Forum Event

It has been suggested that the President address the annual convention of the American G.I. Forum, which is scheduled for August 9-13 in El Paso. I would like to add my endorsement to that suggestion.

This would be an excellent event, and is in keeping with the overall thrust of our Hispanic strategy. The G.I. Forum is, for the most part, a moderate organization, and has been supportive on a number of our policies. A Presidential speech to such a group would not only be unprecedented (and thus, somewhat dramatic), but would have a ripple effect among all Hispanic groups.

I might add that Senator John Tower has phoned Jim Baker to strongly urge that the President accept the G.I. Forum's invitation.

cc: James A. Baker, III
Lee Atwater

f

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



May 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi 

SUBJECT: President's Commission on Industrial
Competitiveness

For your information:

The President will soon sign an executive order creating the President's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness. This has been recommended by CCEA without objection from any agency.

It would consist of 15 members appointed by the President to advise him and the Department of Commerce on ways to increase the long-term competitiveness of U.S. industry, both at home and abroad. The membership will include representatives of those industries and colleges which are most involved in, or affected by, high technology.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 23, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD DARMAN

FROM: Jim Cicconi

SUBJECT: Working Group Report on Infanticide Regulation

While we should, I feel, come forward as soon as possible with a revised regulation dealing with the infanticide problem, the report of the working group raises several concerns:

1. The proposed HHS rule still fails to reconcile a basic problem: on the one hand, we argue that any hospital receiving Medicare or Medicaid payments must comply with a federal infanticide regulation, while, on the other hand, arguing that federal regulations such as Title IX can be applied only to the specific programs receiving federal aid. This, of course, does not even consider the legal difficulty of distinguishing Medicare/Medicaid benefits from food stamps or various types of student loans. In essence, our argument for a federal regulation in this circumstance undermines our arguments against broad federal regulatory powers over a wide range of institutions, both public and private, which benefit in some way from federal assistance.
2. It is probably unwise and unnecessary for DOJ to notify U.S. Attorneys that life-threatening violations of Section 504 may also constitute a federal criminal violation under 18 U.S.C. 241. This implies a federal willingness to prosecute such cases without regard to state remedies which may be available. Prosecutions under Section 241 have traditionally been initiated only when a state's judicial machinery has, for some reason, failed to function.
3. The recommendation regarding possible use of 18 U.S.C. 241 would also raise unrealistic expectations on the part of pro-life groups. Section 241, in truth, is not a meaningful way to get at the problem of infanticide, since the prospect of a conviction under the section must be judged as extremely remote.
4. I would suggest that recommendation A(2) is probably sufficient for our purposes since it requires state child

Memorandum for Richard Darman
May 23, 1983
Page 2 of 2

welfare agencies to prevent infanticide as part of their responsibilities as recipients of federal 504 assistance. It also provides for ongoing federal assistance to the states in implementing this policy. In short, we would enforce our infanticide policies through the appropriate state agencies rather than by direct federal intervention. In the long run, this would probably prove more effective than requiring a notice to be posted.

It is my understanding that the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department has expressed concerns similar to several of those above, though their views are not fully represented in the working group's report.

cc: James A. Baker, III

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



May 24, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi 
SUBJECT: Fair Housing Legislation

As you know, the President promised, in his State of the Union speech, to strengthen the fair housing laws. This was felt to be necessary due to weaknesses in the present law, which was enacted in 1968.

Current Law

At present, the process relies on conciliation efforts by HUD to handle most complaints of housing discrimination. However, HUD has little power to back up conciliation. If it fails, the only cases referred to the Justice Department for prosecution are those where a pattern or practice of discrimination is shown. Justice cannot go to court on individual complaints. In all other cases where conciliation is unsuccessful, the complainant must then file a civil action. If he prevails there, the complainant is limited to actual damages, costs, and a maximum of \$1,000 in punitive damages. It might be added that the current Fair Housing Act does not prohibit discrimination against the handicapped.

Administration Proposal

The bill we have proposed would strengthen the law in the following ways:

1. HUD can refer cases to the Attorney General for equitable relief or civil penalty if conciliation efforts fail or drag on without agreement.
2. The civil penalty for violations would be raised to a maximum of \$50,000 for an initial violation, and up to \$100,000 for repeated violations. This provides a more credible deterrent than the present \$1,000 penalty.
3. The Attorney General could intervene in private fair housing suits "of general public importance."

Memorandum for James A. Baker, III
May 24, 1983
Page 2 of 2

4. The protections of the Fair Housing Act would be extended to the handicapped.

Other Legislative Proposals

Senator Mathias and forty co-sponsors have introduced a bill which is also supported by the civil rights community. It would not only strengthen the AG's enforcement powers, but would set up a system of administrative law judges (ALJs) to be selected by a three-member Fair Housing Review Commission appointed by the President. The Secretary of HUD would decide whether to refer a case to Justice or to an ALJ. Decisions of an ALJ would be subject to review by both the Fair Housing Review Commission and a U.S. Court of Appeals under a substantial evidence rule. The Mathias bill would raise the civil penalty (through the ALJ system) to \$10,000, and would also extend coverage to the handicapped. In addition, it would prevent discrimination against families with children (which our bill does not do).

We oppose the system set up by the Mathias bill as being slow and unwieldy.

Senator Hatch has also introduced a bill that is very different from our proposal: a violation would require intent to discriminate; conciliation authority would be transferred to DOJ from HUD; "handicap" would be defined only as physical (not mental) impairment; and would require more fair housing complaints to be referred to state or local agencies.

Conclusion

Our proposed legislation places us between the two extremes on the fair housing issue. While supporters of the Mathias bill will argue that it is more effective, the only basis for such a position is mistrust of the Justice Department. In contrast, we can argue that our proposal is more effective because it is quicker and has more deterrent value (due to higher penalties).

cc: Richard Darman

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON



May 25, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM:

Jim Cicconi 

SUBJECT:

Infanticide Regulations

For your information:

Following the conversations I had with Brad Reynolds on the proposed infanticide regulations, the AG called Ed Meese and indicated that Justice wanted a chance to register its objections before any final decisions are reached. It is my understanding that DOJ will express strong disagreement along the lines of the comments memo I submitted the other day. (Brad argues that we enforce any infanticide policy through the appropriate state agencies--which receive federal funds under Section 504--instead of by direct federal intervention.)

One other point: Justice says that, by law, it must approve any new regulation in this area.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR SENIOR STAFF

FROM: Jim Cicconi *jc*
SUBJECT: Senior Staff Meetings

There will be no senior staff meetings on Monday and Tuesday, May 30 and 31, due to the Economic Summit.

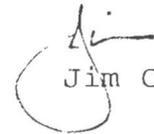
Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1983

TO: LEE ATWATER

Attached is some material that presents a different picture on Hispanic attitudes toward the immigration issue. While it is interesting, I tend to think the reactions we heard in San Antonio are closer to the mark.


Jim Cicconi

Rest of package sent to Atwater



FEDERATION for AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM

2028 P Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036 (202) 785-3474

May 23, 1983

Mr. Jim Cicconi
Special Assistant to the President
1st Floor, West Wing
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

To follow up on our conversation today regarding available data on the attitudes of hispanic Americans toward immigration issues and employer sanctions in particular, I'm enclosing the following items:

- (1) A FAIR handout sheet that summarizes some of the results of all the polls of American hispanics on immigration issues that we have ever seen.
- (2) Copies of each of the polls and surveys cited in the foregoing handout except for those quoted from the Washington Post article. For the latter I'm enclosing a copy of the Washington Post article that was our source.
- (3) A copy of a letter to the editor of The Rocky Mountain News by Maria Gomez of Denver, published March 6, 1983, that eloquently conveys the frustration of many American hispanics at the grass roots level over current immigration policies.
- (4) An article by Governor Tony Anaya, newly elected Governor of New Mexico, published in the Denver Post February 11, 1983, that is frank in welcoming ever increasing immigration as a means of gaining political power for hispanic leaders favoring a particular political point of view.

I think FAIR would agree that at present there is very inadequate data on the attitudes of both hispanic Americans and black Americans regarding immigration policies, and more research is badly needed. We do think however, that only the views of U.S. citizens and legal residents should be considered in formulating immigration policy, and that there is strong evidence to suggest that some self-appointed spokesmen for the hispanic community do not accurately reflect the feelings of American hispanics at the grass roots level.

Yours truly,

R.C. McAlpin

Southwest Regional Director/FAIR



FEDERATION for AMERICAN IMMIGRATION REFORM

2028 P Street, NW
Washington, DC 20036 (202) 785-3474

THE VIEWS OF HISPANIC AMERICANS ON IMMIGRATION ISSUES

In March, 1978, Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) sent a detailed questionnaire to 114,000 randomly selected Spanish surname Texans asking a number of questions on immigration issues. 3,500 were returned and tabulated for a 3.2% return - considered a credible ratio by professional pollsters. Following are some of the questions and responses as summarized by the poll:

a) Should there be civil penalties for employers who knowingly hire undocumented alien workers?

Yes 73% No 19% No opinion 8%

b) Should there be a forgery-proof Social Security card that would be shown to an employer by all prospective employees?

Yes 81% No 13% No opinion 6%

c) Should there be increased personnel to enforce immigration laws along the U.S.-Mexico border?

Yes 80% No 16% No opinion 4%

d) Would you favor or oppose a blanket amnesty for all aliens currently in the United States illegally?

Favor 16% Oppose 73% No opinion 11%

A statewide opinion poll of Californians conducted by the Field Institute and published in June, 1982, showed the following results for hispanic citizens:

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
a) Impose severe penalties on employers hiring illegal immigrants	71%	24%
b) Illegal immigrants have an unfavorable effect on California	64%	26%
c) U.S. should do more to discourage illegal entry	60%	17%

Another poll on the opinion of hispanic Americans toward illegal immigration is "Attitudes Toward International Migration Among Texans" by Guillermina Jasso, dated February 4, 1979. This telephone poll covering 800 Spanish surname households was conducted for the Immigration and Naturalization Service in late summer 1978. Some of the responses were:

(continued on back)

a) Do you agree or disagree that a law should be passed to stop people from hiring undocumented aliens?

	Near the border	Central Texas	Northern Texas
Agree:	69%	63%	53%

b) Should the U.S. increase, decrease, or maintain the same expenditure level on law enforcement to prevent illegal aliens from entering the U.S.?

	Near the border	Central Texas	Northern Texas
Increase:	53%	43%	43%
Same:	31%	38%	37%
Decrease:	12%	11%	12%

"A survey of Texas attitudes taken by the University of Texas's Institute for Constructive Capitalism found that among various demographic groups, Mexican Americans were the most likely to believe that illegal immigration was the most important problem facing Texas."

Washington Post, July 19, 1982

"According to a poll by Southwest Polymetrics of Austin, Texas, 58% of those surveyed in (State Senator) Uribe's South Texas district opposed the right of a free education to such (illegal alien) children, and the percentage of Mexican-American respondents was even higher."

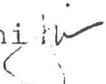
Washington Post, July 19, 1982

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR CRAIG FULLER

FROM: Jim Cicconi 
SUBJECT: Follow-up on Textiles Meeting

Since you are handling follow-up to the May 19 meeting with representatives of the textile industry, I wanted to be sure you had copies of the relevant papers.

Attached is a memo prepared for the meeting by OPD (a copy of which was sent to you prior to the meeting), along with a memo sent to JAB by Ambassador Brock (which arrived too late to circulate). Also attached is a fact sheet, letter, and news article distributed at the meeting by the industry representatives.

As I recall, the major points for follow-up are:

1. The need to designate one specific person at the WH to deal with the textile problem (and, presumably, as a contact point for industry complaints);
2. The need to respond to a list of specific actions requested by the industry (they were to provide this paper at Ed Meese's request); and
3. To look into the role of the Committee to Enforce Textile Agreements, chaired by Walter Lenahan of Commerce, which monitors imports (and which the industry argues has not been strict enough in enforcing import restrictions), and assess how it might be made more effective.

You might verify the above with Ed Harper or Wendell Gunn, who took notes at the meeting for follow-up actions.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL K. DEEVER

FROM: Jim Cicconi
SUBJECT: Women's Issues Meeting

Since I will be gone next week, I wanted to offer a few thoughts in connection with the meeting you have scheduled:

1. Equal Pay for Equal Work is an issue where we can make some easy points. DOL studies have consistently shown that there is a disparity between men and women within the same professions (let me stress that this is different from comparable worth, which involves comparisons between professions that are felt to be "comparable").

Suggest that the President be given some figures on the subject, and that we look for an opportunity to make some sort of statement of concern (in the context of the Federal Equal Pay Act). Then, a group of CEO's could be invited in for a visible "jawboning" session, with the President asking their cooperation in identifying and dealing with such problems. The President could also lobby for more private sector action in setting up day care centers for employees' children.

The President might also set up an advisory committee to report on how well the federal government is implementing the Equal Pay Act. This is a more limited form of the commission suggested by GOP congresswomen. The CEA study, which has been proposed as an alternative, will have little political value. and would probably tend more toward an economic instead of a social analysis.

2. The poll data conflict must be resolved. Wirthlin might be asked to personally do so at the meeting.
3. Suggest that Gergen ask Baroody to be the focal point for accumulating data on the Administration's record re women's issues. As soon as we announce our "women's equity package", we should be prepared to follow-up with other facts re our record. The latter is necessary, though it is defensive-- that is why it should probably be done as follow-up to an Administration initiative.

cc: James A. Baker, III

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 6, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL DEEVER

FROM: Jim Cicconi *JAC*

SUBJECT: Women's Issues

After a recent Cabinet meeting on women's issues, I had a conversation with Elizabeth Dole. At that time she expressed a willingness to sit down privately with the President on the subject and offer him the perspectives she has gained from talking with women around the country.

I mentioned the above to JAB, and he asked that I pass it on to you along with his thought that it was probably a good idea.

Thanks.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



June 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi 
SUBJECT: Agriculture Summit Meeting

For your information:

The USDA plans to hold a "summit meeting" with "key agricultural leaders and policy makers." This will be held in Washington on July 12-13.

The purpose of the meeting is to discuss the future of American agriculture, and to exchange ideas on the problems it faces. Background papers on various issues are being prepared by USDA, and will be circulated to attendees in advance. (I have suggested to Dick Darman that we clear such papers; see attached.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 7, 1983

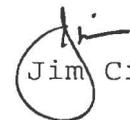
TO: DICK DARMAN

RE: Agriculture Summit

In the attached package, there is a sample letter from Block that says background papers are being prepared and will be distributed to invitees.

Unless such papers are very carefully worded, there might be problems given the touchy nature of some of the subjects. For example, one subject, food safety, involves regulation of possible cancer-causing agents in food. (As you know, there has been a recurring effort by FDA to loosen up such regs.) Any paper discussing international trade issues might also be touchy.

I would suggest there be some review and clearance of such papers before they are sent out to public invitees. (Perhaps Craig has already arranged for this.) Thanks.


Jim Cicconi

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



June 7, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi 
SUBJECT: Call from Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler

While you were in a meeting yesterday, I talked with Congresswoman Bobbi Fiedler on your behalf. The main reason she called was to suggest a strategy for handling possible vetos of appropriations bills. In short, she suggested we constantly allude to the deficit, cumulating the "over-budget" amounts of such bills to build a case that the Democrats have tried to add x billion to the deficit. I told her it was a good idea, and that I'd pass it on (though we would obviously do something along these lines, and have in the past).

On the subject of women's issues, she expressed concern about the public discussion of the "gender gap." Fiedler feels that we exacerbate the gap with "fence-sitters" by referring to it in print. Instead, she argues that we should focus on some high profile initiatives.

cc: Ken Duberstein

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN F.W. ROGERS

FROM: Jim Cicconi 
SUBJECT: Virginia Knauer's Transfer

As you know, Virginia Knauer will shortly be relocating to HHS in order to be closer to the staff of the U.S. Office of Consumer Affairs, which she directs.

JAB would appreciate your assistance in ironing out the details of her transfer from the WH payroll to a slot at HHS at a comparable salary (he has already cleared this with Secretary Heckler). Also, since Virginia will retain the title of Special Adviser to the President for Consumer Affairs (copy of President's letter attached), JAB has told her she can keep her WH pass, mess privileges, and access to WH/EOB meeting rooms.

One other point: on JAB's behalf, I asked Virginia for her full cooperation in vacating her offices as soon as possible. She said she would, and that it was simply a matter of getting the movers scheduled.

Thanks.

f se memo

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

JAB--

John Lofton is doing a Whittlesey story, mainly about the attacks on her.

He says you hired her, but haven't been quoted as leaping to her defense in any of the recent stories.

His question:

Are you standing by her?

Or are you letting her twist slowly in the wind?

(Frankly, I could probably give him a supportive quote from you and it would be a good chance to be somewhat off the hook on this. Whatever you want though...)

JC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RE FAITH W.

You're damn right I am.

*and I called her several
times in Switzerland
to ask her to take it.*

"I recommended her to the President
for the job she holds, ~~and~~ I have
no reason to doubt her ability to
handle it." *do a good job for the President.*

"I definitely stand by Faith. She's
got one of the toughest jobs in the
WH... she's still learning some of
the ropes, but I have no reason to
doubt her ability to do a good job
for the President."

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 8, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR RICHARD G. DARMAN

FROM: Jim Cicconi 

SUBJECT: Comments on Proposed "White House Digest"
Papers

On the whole, the proposed "White House Digest" material seems totally inappropriate as policy statements of the United States Government. To be more specific:

1. The paper on liberation theology is more appropriate to an opinion column in a newspaper. While many of its arguments are, no doubt, accurate, it stakes out on behalf of the government an uncompromising stance on a theological dispute which is, at best, tangential to the thrust of US policy in the region. At worst, it is a contradiction of that policy: we have argued that the main cause of unrest in Central America is Soviet/Cuban intervention, not leftist church influences. In short, I can see no policy aim which is furthered by the US Government making this argument.

2. The paper on the Soviet/Cuban threat is, I feel, inferior to material on the subject already released by DOD and State (though I recognize that a DOD appointee assisted in its production). First, I would question whether some of the facts strewn through the paper are not still classified. Second, the facts often jump toward rather menacing conclusions that are either unsupported conjecture, or conclusions that this government has preferred to keep implicit in the past. Third, the paper seems designed to scare people into supporting our Central American policies, but it is so heavy-handed that it is likely to have the opposite effect and might even become the object of ridicule.

The "White House Digest" would be far better if it concentrated on being precisely what it purports to be: a compendium or summary of existing government material on the subject of Central America, most of which, such as the Pentagon's "Soviet Threat" book, is far superior. Attempts at originality, while commendable, are more likely to be the subject of policy disputes given the official imprimatur provided by government publication.

cc: James A. Baker, III

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: June 6, 1983 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ASAP

SUBJECT: POTENTIAL COMMUNICATIONS RELEASE RE: CENTRAL AMERICA

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	HARPER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
MEESE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HERRINGTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BAKER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	JENKINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEAVER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	McMANUS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
STOCKMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MURPHY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CLARK	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/> P	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SS	ROLLINS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DUBERSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERSTANDIG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FELDSTEIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	WHITTLESEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FIELDING	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	BRADY/SPEAKES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FULLER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GERGEN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

The attached two papers have been forwarded to my office this evening for clearances prior to their possible release. Would you please examine them this evening. Tomorrow morning we may wish to discuss the timing of their review and possible clearance.

RESPONSE:

Richard G. Darman
Assistant to the President
Ext. 2702

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
June 2, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Second White House Digest Paper

You will recall that Ambassador Middendorf urged that we issue a paper on "Libertion Theology." He volunteered to generate the piece.

Here is the draft by his Senior Policy Advisor, Alberto M. Piedra. I suggest that you forward it to Dick Darman for clearances so that it can be our second "White House Digest" paper.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

Some Observations on Liberation Theology

Liberation theology, which blossomed in Latin America soon after the end of World War II, has shaken the very foundations of the Catholic Church. However, in spite of its Latin American growth, the first seeds of liberation theology appeared in Europe, in particular at the University of Louvain in Belgium, where many Latin American priests and nuns received their more advanced graduate education.

Even though Camilo Torres, the Colombian revolutionary cleric killed in his native country in 1965, was one of the first apostles of liberation theology, the Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutierrez can be considered the founder of the liberationist movement in Latin America. His book, (A Theology of Liberation, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1973) is well known in left wing Catholic intellectual circles. Other Latin American liberation theologians are the Argentine Jose Miguez-Bonino (Christians and Marxists, Grand Rapids:Erdmans, 1976), the Uruguayan Juan Luis Segundo S.J., (A Theology for the Artisans of a New Humanity, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1974, 5 Volumes), Hugo Assman, (Theology for a Nomad Church, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1975) and Enrique Dussel, (History and Theology of Liberation: A Latin American Perspective, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1976).

As already indicated, liberation theology has its roots in Europe, in spite of its wide diffusion in Latin America. The Belgian priest Joseph Comblin is one of the most fervent advocates of liberation theology (The Church and the National Security State, Maryknoll:Orbis, 1979). Comblin's influence in Latin American Catholic circles has been significant. He is responsible for introducing the so called "national security doctrine". According to this doctrine, military regimes are largely responsible for the political repression being practiced in Latin America and the brunt of the blame should fall on the United States. Comblin claims that the "national security ideology system" can be traced to the National Security Council and the Central Intelligence Agency of the United States, under the National Security Act of 1947.

Catholic and Protestant German theologians have contributed also to the development of liberation theology. J.B. Metz, R. Bultmann, J. Moltmann and Dorothy Solle are among the better known theologians who have developed a formal "political theology". As Father James V. Schall has stated, "such political theology tends to stress not how difficult it is to live in and support any existing society, but concentrates on all the defects and imperfections in the light of some utopian or future norm".

It is often claimed that the theological bases of liberation theology can be traced to the writings of the Roman

Pontiffs, to the Second Vatican Council and, in particular, to some of the conclusions reached during the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held in Medellin, Colombia in 1968 (CELAM II). It is true that the encyclicals Mater et Magistra and Pacem en Terris of John XXIII had a profound influence on Catholic social teachings. The same can be said of Paul VI's encyclical Populorum Progressio, in which the Pope came out strongly in defense of human rights and stressed the need to remedy the imbalance between the rich and the poor nations. It is also true that CELAM II, held in Medellin in 1968, called for social activism and indicated that the Church could not stand idly by in the face of the extreme inequities that prevailed in Latin American society. Terms such as "dependency" and "economic colonialism" were used widely. It was even said that institutional violence generated oppression by the ruling power groups and this was often done under the guise of maintaining peace and order. This state of affairs only brought about the continuous and inevitable seed of rebellion and war.

The growth of liberationism has been great in Latin America. Using mainly the writings of Gustavo Gutierrez, Juan Luis Segundo, Jose Miguez-Bonino and Hugo Assman, the proponents of liberation theology have been able to influence large sectors of Catholic thought, including the ideas of bishops and cardinals.

In essence, liberation theology maintains the following points:

1. Sin is identified with unjust social structures, namely capitalism. Salvation, or deliverance from sin, can be achieved by armed revolution. The revolutionary cadre, or the party, acts as the messiah that will lead the people out of misery into the true kingdom of socialism.
2. Jesus sided with the poor and, as a result, he clashed with the Roman authorities who were in favor of intolerance, the status quo and out-moded social and political institutions. The Christians of today must also side with the poor against the intolerance and abuses of an unequal and decadent capitalist structure.
3. Following the example of God who incarnated himself in a fleshy condition, the Christians of our modern era must also incarnate themselves in a concrete, even temporal, political project: the Marxist revolution.
4. The Church must, therefore, take up the cause of the oppressed people against the oppressor, sensitize the common people of the less developed countries to the social injustices which surround them and strive to change - even through violent means - the prevailing economic and social system (capitalism). Only this way will people be permitted to develop fully their spiritual and secular

potentials. Thus, the liberationists believe in the validity of Marxist analysis - including class struggle and historical determinism - and justify the use of violence to reach their proposed ends.

Opposition to liberation theology, as originally propounded by its founders, is developing slowly within Catholic circles. It is realized increasingly that liberation theology provides the radical left with a valuable asset which is often utilized to criticize the institutional Church. It is a well known fact that, oftentimes, Spanish, French and American priests have helped the guerrillas with food, funds and propaganda support through various charitable and relief organizations. There are also reports of active collaboration between certain priests and members of the Communist Party, especially in El Salvador.

To counteract any possible deviation from traditional Catholic doctrine, resulting from false interpretations of the Gospel, Pope John Paul II has stated repeatedly the Church's position on the role of priesthood in political, social and economic matters. The Pontiff is very much aware of the dangers to the faithful resulting from doctrinal deviations which attempt to interpret the gospel in a way which casts serious doubts on the divinity of the man Christ. Perhaps, the address of John Paul II given at Puebla, Mexico, on occasion of the Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops in 1979 (CELAM III), expresses better than any other document, the Pontiff's concern about the implications of liberation theology. If any doubts remain about the Church's position vis a vis liberation theology, they should be discarded after a careful analysis of the Papal address at Puebla. The Pope specifically stresses the need to correct whatever misinterpretations have sometimes resulted from CELAM II.

The major doctrinal beliefs spelled out by the Pope and his principal objections to the so-called theology of liberation can be reduced to the following:

1. "The primary and irreplaceable duty of the pastor, as the teacher of faith, is to carefully watch over the purity of doctrine of the Gospel. This is basic in building up the Christian community."
2. "The preacher of the Gospel never betrays or misrepresents the truth out of a desire to please people, to astonish or shock people, to display originality or to strike a pose."
3. "... today we find in many places a phenomenon that is not new. We find re-readings of the Gospel that are the product of theoretical speculation rather than of authentic mediation of the Word of God and genuine evangelical commitment. They cause confusion insofar as they depart

from the central criteria of the Church's faith, and people have the temerity to pass them on as catechesis to Christian communities."

4. "Christ is alleged to be only a prophet, a proclaimer of God's Kingdom and love, but not the true Son of God. Hence, he allegedly is not the center and object of the gospel message itself."

"In other cases people purport to depict Jesus as a political activist, as a fighter against Roman domination and the authorities, and even as someone involved in the class struggle. This conception of Christ as a political figure, a revolutionary, as the subversive from Nazareth does not tally with the Church's catechesis. Confusing the insidious pretext of Jesus' accusers with the attitude of Jesus himself - which was very different - people claim that the cause of his death was the result of a political conflict; they say nothing about the Lord's willing self-surrender or even his awareness of his redemptive mission. The Gospels show clearly that, for Jesus, anything that would alter his mission, as the Servant of Yahweh, was a temptation (Matt. 4:8; Luke 4:5). He does not accept the position of those who mixed the things of God with merely political attitudes (Matt. 22:21; Mark 12:17; John 18:36). He unequivocally rejects recourse to violence. He opens his message of conversion to all, and he does not exclude even the politicians. The perspective of his mission goes much deeper. It has to do with complete and integral salvation through a love that brings transformation, peace, pardon and reconciliation."

5. "Against such re-readings (of the Gospels), therefore, and against the perhaps brilliant but fragile and inconsistent hypothesis growing from them, evangelization in Latin America's present and future, cannot cease to affirm the Church's faith: Jesus Christ, the Word and Son of God, becomes human to draw close to human beings and to offer them, through the power of his mystery, the free gift of God that is salvation."

6. "... evangelizing is the essential mission, the specific vocation, the innermost identity of the Church, which has been evangelicalized in turn. Sent out by the Lord, the Church in turn sends out evangelizers to preach not themselves or their personal ideas, but a Gospel that neither they nor the Church own as their own absolute property, to dispose of as they see fit."

7. "How could there be any authentic evangelization in the absence of prompt, sincere respect for the sacred magisterium, a respect based on the clear realization that in submitting to it, the People of God are not accepting

the word of human beings but the authentic Word of God. The objective importance of the magisterium must be kept in mind and defended against the insidious attacks that now appear here and there against some of the solid truths of our Catholic faith."

8. "Allusion is made, for example, to the separation that some set up between the Church and the Kingdom of God. Emptied of its full content, the Kingdom of God is understood in a rather secularist sense: i.e., we do not arrive at the kingdom through faith and membership in the Church but rather merely by structural change and socio-political involvement. Where there is a certain kind of commitment and praxis for justice, there the Kingdom is already present. This view forgets that the Church ... receives the mission to proclaim and to establish among all peoples the Kingdom of Christ and of God. She becomes on earth the initial budding forth of that kingdom."

9. "... it is a mistake to state that political, economic and social liberation coincide with salvation in Jesus Christ; that the regnum Dei is identified with the regnum hominis."

10. "In some instances an attitude of mistrust is fostered toward the institutional or official Church which is described as alienating. Over against it is set another, people's Church, one which is born of the people and is fleshed out in the poor. These positions could contain varying and not always easily measurable degrees of familiar ideological forms of conditioning."

The Pope's opening address at Puebla should convince all those who are still doubting the Church's position with respect to liberation theology. John Paul II continuously stresses that "whatever the miseries or sufferings that afflict human beings, it is not through violence, power plays, or political systems but through the truth about human beings that they will find their way to a better future". And this is precisely the opposite of what many liberation theologians are preaching in Latin America.

With reference to the term liberation, the Pontiff clearly states that the Christian concept of liberation means "liberation from everything that oppresses human beings, but especially liberation from sin and the evil one, in the joy of knowing God and being known by him". He goes on to say "it is a liberation that, in the framework of the Church's specific mission, cannot be reduced simply to the restricted domain of economics, politics, society or culture, ... can never be sacrificed to the requirements of some particular strategy, some short term praxis or gain".

Finally, John Paul II, to make sure no one misunderstands the message he is trying to convey, specifically alerts the Christian community against the danger of misinterpreting the Christian concept of liberation which basically means liberation from sin and death. He points out that the Church must safeguard the originality of the Christian meaning of liberation. Otherwise, the Church's message of liberation would have nothing original, and it would lend itself to ready manipulation and expropriation by ideological systems and political parties. "There are many signs", he goes on to say, "that help us to distinguish when the liberation in question is Christian and when, on the other hand, it is based on ideologies that make it inconsistent with an evangelical view of humanity, of things and of events. These signs derive from the content that the evangelizers proclaim or from the concrete attitudes that they adopt. At the level of content, one must consider how faithful they are to the Word of God, to the Church's living tradition and to its magisterum. As for attitudes, one must consider what sense of communion they feel, with the bishops first of all, and then with the other sectors of God's People".

Pope John Paul II's statement at Puebla reaffirms the Church's position on the role of Christ and how it is only from a solid Christology that light is shed on doctrinal and pastoral themes. The Pope is very critical of theological interpretations of the Gospel which deviate from the magisterum. He rejects Marxism and alerts Christians against false theologians who try to interpret the Gospel according to the Marxian categories of class struggle and economic determinism. The Pontiff falls short of an outright condemnation of liberation theology but he does say, in no uncertain terms, that the economic and social analysis of this type of theology is extremely dangerous and often times distorted. It is a well known fact that liberation theology accepts all or part of Marxist analysis and considers it scientifically true. Once this premise is accepted, it is easy to conclude that there is no distinction between Christianity and Marxism. It is obvious, that in the light of present and past papal documents, this position cannot be accepted by the Catholic Church.

During the Pope's recent visit to Central America, the Pontiff once again warns the Christian community about the dangers of using the Christian faith for temporal political ends (Marxist ones). The purity of the Gospel must not be subverted or distorted to serve the needs of Marxist theory. When in Nicaragua, the head of the Catholic Church insisted that it was wrong to attempt to distort the faith through "earthly considerations, unacceptable ideological compromises and temporal options, including a conception of the Church that replaces the true one".

Hopefully, the Pope's visit to Nicaragua has eliminated much

of the confusion that existed among the Sandinista supporters who tried to link the Gospel with Marxist ideology. The presence of several priests in the government of Nicaragua and the fact that liberation theology was widely accepted in certain radical Catholic circles did not constitute an impediment for the Pope to speak out openly and with clarity about the dangers of trying to equate the Kingdom of God with Nicaragua's Marxist-Leninist regime. After the Pope's numerous and categorical statements in Central America and elsewhere, it is very difficult, even for lukewarm Catholics, to follow the dictates of those "liberation theologians" who apparently have forgotten that God's Kingdom is not of this world. As Christopher Dawson said some years ago: "We have no right to expect that Christian principles will work in practice in the simple way that a political system may work. The Christian order is a supernatural order. It has its own principles and its laws which are not those of the visible world..."

SECRET
1983 JUN -7 PM 6:29

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 3, 1983

MEMORANDUM TO: Faith Ryan Whittlesey
THROUGH: Jonathan Vipond
FROM: Morton C. Blackwell
SUBJECT: Third White House Digest Paper

Attached is my suggested third White House Digest paper. It was prepared in the office of Nestor Sanchez and outlines the Soviet/Cuban Threat to the Caribbean. I suggest that you forward it to Dick Darman for clearances so that it can be our third "White House Digest" paper.

MCB:jet

1 Attachment a/s

Soviet/Cuban Threat and Buildup in the Caribbean

Since 1978 we have seen an ever increasing Soviet presence in the Caribbean Region. The USSR through its surrogate--Cuba--has been able to establish a permanent presence in the Western Hemisphere.

The Characteristics of the Soviet/Cuban Build-up: Men, Money, Materiel

- The Soviet Union maintains and reinforces its presence by:
 - Deploying its long range Bear Bombers to the region on an almost back-to-back basis.
 - Deploying its naval combatants for joint training exercises with Cuba.
 - Providing a palace guard of approximately 3,000 men of its Soviet Brigade near Havana and an additional presence of 2,500 military advisors.
 - Providing Cuba with 8,000 civilian advisors.
- In 1982, the Soviets and Cubans had 50 times as many military advisors in Latin America as did the US. Last year the Soviets increased their military advisors in Cuba by 500.
- The USSR has also provided a steady stream of military equipment to Cuba. In 1981 alone, Moscow provided 66,000 metric tons in military assistance valued at \$600 million. Deliveries in 1982 exceeded 1981 by 2,000 metric tons and amounted to over \$1 billion in military assistance in the last two years.
- Cuban armed forces have grown to a size disproportionate for defensive needs:
 - Cuba possesses an Army of over 225,000; a Navy of 11,000 and air and air defense forces of 16,000 not including hundreds of thousands of paramilitary.
 - Cubans have well over 200 MIG fighter aircraft.
 - Castro has about 65,000 Cubans serving overseas, 40,000 military (25,000 troops in Angola, about 12,000 in Ethiopia) and 25,000 civilian technicians.
 - Cuba has 2.3% of its population in the regular armed forces, one of every 20 Cubans participates in some security mission.
- Moscow underwrites the activities of its Cuban surrogate at a cost exceeding \$4 billion annually (1/4 of Cuba's GNP) and supports efforts to collect funds, arms, and supplies from the communist bloc for guerrilla activities in Central America and the Caribbean.
- The number of Soviet Bloc academic grants offered annually to Latin American students jumped from 400 in the 1960's to about 7,000 now. In 1979 Moscow admitted to sponsoring 7,000 Cubans for studies in the Soviet Union. Last year 700 Nicaraguans were reported studying there and an additional 300 scholarships were being provided. Scholarships include free room, board, tuition, transportation, medical care and a small stipend.
- About 3,000 Latin American students, including 1,600 Nicaraguans are studying in Cuba. Cuba has constructed 17 schools for foreigners each costing about \$2 million to build and \$600,000 to operate annually.

SOVIET MILITARY DELIVERIES TO CUBA



Spreading Soviet/Cuban Intervention Throughout The Region

- The implication of the Soviet/Cuban buildup is that it provides a platform for spreading subversion and supporting guerrillas throughout the region.

- It was Cuba that acted as the catalyst to organize and unify the far-left groups in El Salvador, assisted in developing the military strategy and encouraged the guerrillas to launch the ill-fated "final" offensive in January 1981. Cuba continues to be vital in training and supporting continuing offensives in El Salvador by funneling weapons and supplies via Nicaragua to rebel forces in El Salvador.

- Castro is actively engaged in converting Nicaragua into another Cuba. There are approximately 5,500 Cuban civilian advisors and more than 2,000 Cuban military and security advisors in Nicaragua.

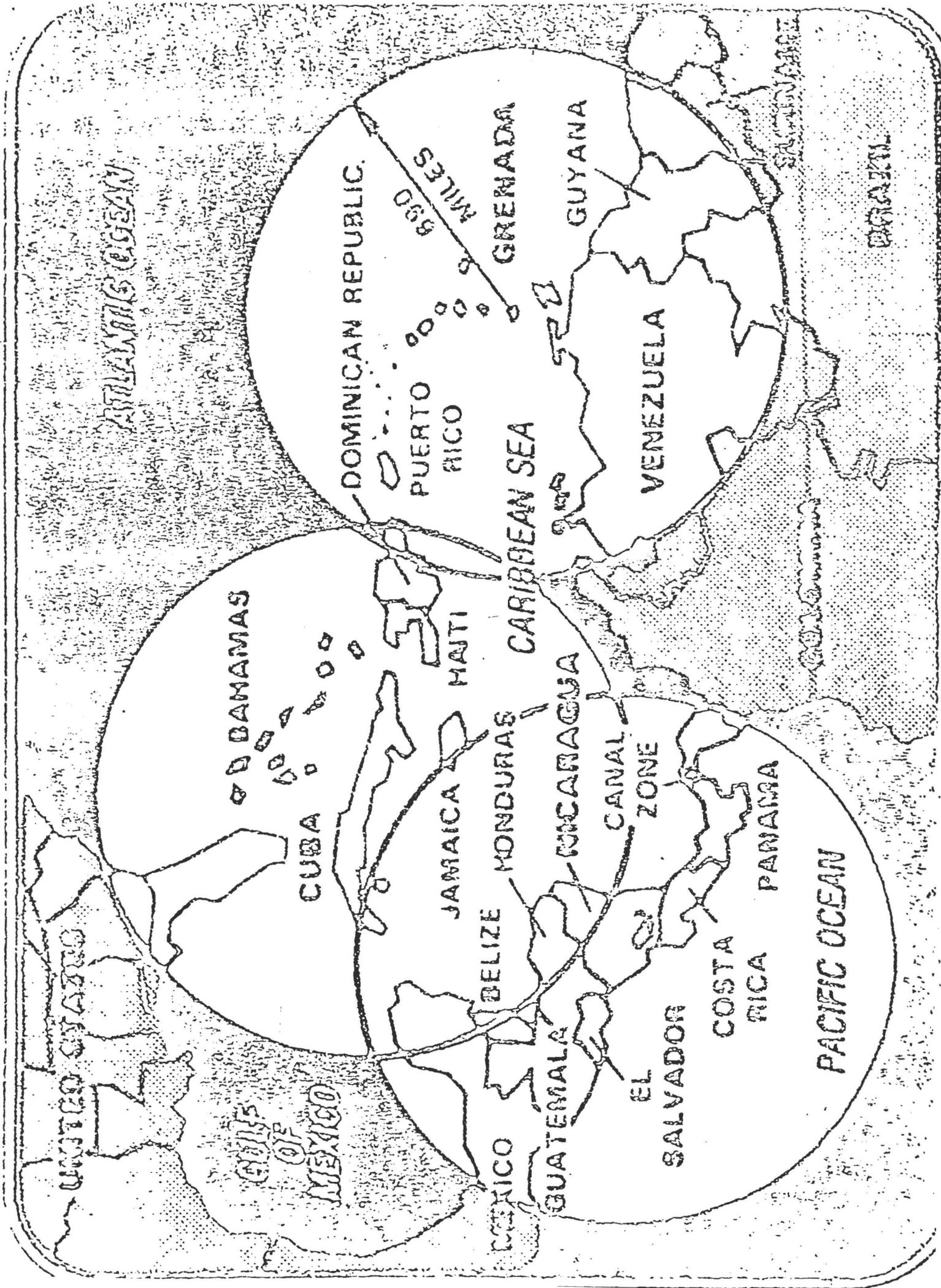
- The Sandinistas themselves have boasted they have 138,000 men under arms in their active armed forces, reserves, militia, police and security forces. At its present strength the Sandinista Army represents the largest military force in the history of Central America. The Sandinistas have built 36 new military garrisons since Somoza's downfall.

- Approximately 70 Nicaraguans were sent to Bulgaria for training as pilots and mechanics. Existing landing strips in Nicaragua are being lengthened and will be able to accommodate the most sophisticated Soviet jet aircraft. MIGs could be flown in quickly from Cuba.

- In Grenada, the Cubans are constructing air facilities that exceed the requirements of that tiny island. The Grenadian Minister of Mobilization, Selwyn Strachan, has boasted publicly that Cuba will eventually use the new airport to supply troops in Angola, and because of its strategic location it will also be used by the Soviet Union. Over the past 2 years, Cuba's presence has been aimed at ensuring the viability of the Bishop government. Cuba has constructed a battalion size military base, including barracks and training areas; and it is building additional training facilities at Calivigny Point and Point Egmont.

- In Suriname, the Cuban Ambassador is a senior intelligence officer who was formerly Chief of the Caribbean Section of the Americas Department of the Cuban Communist Party. The Americas department is responsible for Cuban covert activities. The Cuban Ambassador maintains a very close relationship with LTC Desire Bouterse, Suriname's military leader, and has continuous access to key leaders.

RADIUS OF ACTION FOR MIG AIRCRAFT STATIONED IN CUBA, NICARAGUA AND GRENADA



The Threat Posed by Soviet Expansionism

- Such communist expansion could lead to an extensive and permanent Soviet presence, and an increased Soviet strategic capability in the region which would create significant military consequences for the US.
- It could place hostile forces and weapons systems within striking distance of targets in the US.
- It could provide air and naval bases, such as those in Nicaragua and Grenada, for recovery of Soviet aircraft after strategic missions.
- It would furnish missile sites for launching attacks against the US with short and intermediate range missiles.
- It could provide bases for use in covert operations against the US and our neighbors.
- It could provide for prepositioning of Soviet equipment, supplies and ammunition in our hemisphere.
- It could allow the Soviet Pacific and Atlantic fleets to operate near our shores without having to return to the USSR for maintenance.
- It could threaten our Caribbean Sea Lines of Communication through which a large volume of our goods pass; thus endangering the economic well-being of our nation.
- And finally, it could cause the US to divert scarce resources in manpower and materiel from other areas of the world to protect an area previously considered militarily secure.

SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO LATIN AMERICA

(\$ IN MILLIONS)

MILLIONS OF
U.S. DOLLARS

1000
1100

600

500

400

300

200

100

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USSR

U.S.

1962

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YEAR

