

WITHDRAWAL SHEET

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File Folder: JW Cicconi Memos to Mr. Baker, Jul-Dec 1984[2 of 3]

Date: 2/17/98

~~OA-10792~~ Box 4

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. memo	James W. Cicconi to James A. Baker III re Hispanic Outreach Staffing, 1p.	8/15/84	P5 B6 CCS 10/18/00

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].
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA].
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA].
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA].
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

28 August 84



TO: Mr. Baker

RE: Hispanic Outreach Staffing

Frank Donatelli informed me that a decision might be made today on the replacement for Jose Velasco in Cathi Villalpando's office.

Jim drafted the attached memo and asked that I hold it indefinitely.

In view of a pending decision, and in Jim's absence, I thought that you might want to review his memo.

Please advise if you should need further information.

Andrea

11:25 am

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

FROM: JIM CICCONI *JC*
SUBJECT: Polish, Refugee Situation

Attached is a memo from Frank Donatelli about the status of Polish refugees in the U.S. You may recall that this subject was discussed briefly prior to the Convention.

As Frank's memo points out, I have made a purely informational inquiry with Justice on this matter. I have been told that the Department has a policy review underway, in large part due to questions raised on the Hill. In addition, there is apparently some question as to whether the State Department provided DOJ with the complete information necessary for INS to grant Extended Voluntary Departure (EVD) status to Poles who arrived in the U.S. after December 1981. The Justice Department is working with State regarding the further information they feel is necessary to meet the technical requirements of the law.

I have additional information on this issue, and would be happy to go over it in more detail if you desire.

Thanks.

cc: Frank Donatelli

9/6

JC:
This appears to be a policy
dispute between DOS + DOJ
and would best be resolved
by Mexico office working
with Bud MCF to extent
necessary. *JAB*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 31, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES BAKER, CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: FRANK DONATELLI, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE
PRESIDENT FOR PUBLIC LIAISON

SUBJECT: Status of Polish Refugees in U.S.

Background: Since 1980 political asylum cases have been handled by the INS on a case-by-case basis. Previously, nationals from specified countries, such as communist countries, were automatically granted political asylum. Unfortunately, the case-by-case process is a slow and inexact one, and Polish-American community has been concerned that legitimate claims for political asylum are being delayed and denied, leading to great apprehension for the applicants, their friends and families.

Today's piece by Evans and Novak is only the most recent public criticism of the INS and, indirectly, the Administration by Congress and the major and ethnic press for bureaucratic bungling and delays. (Tab C -- Statement by Senator Baker, Tab D -- Statement by Rep. Solarz, Tab E -- Article in NYT, December 1983 and Washington Post, August 1984, Tab F -- Article in Am-Pol Eagle (Buffalo, NY), January 1984.)

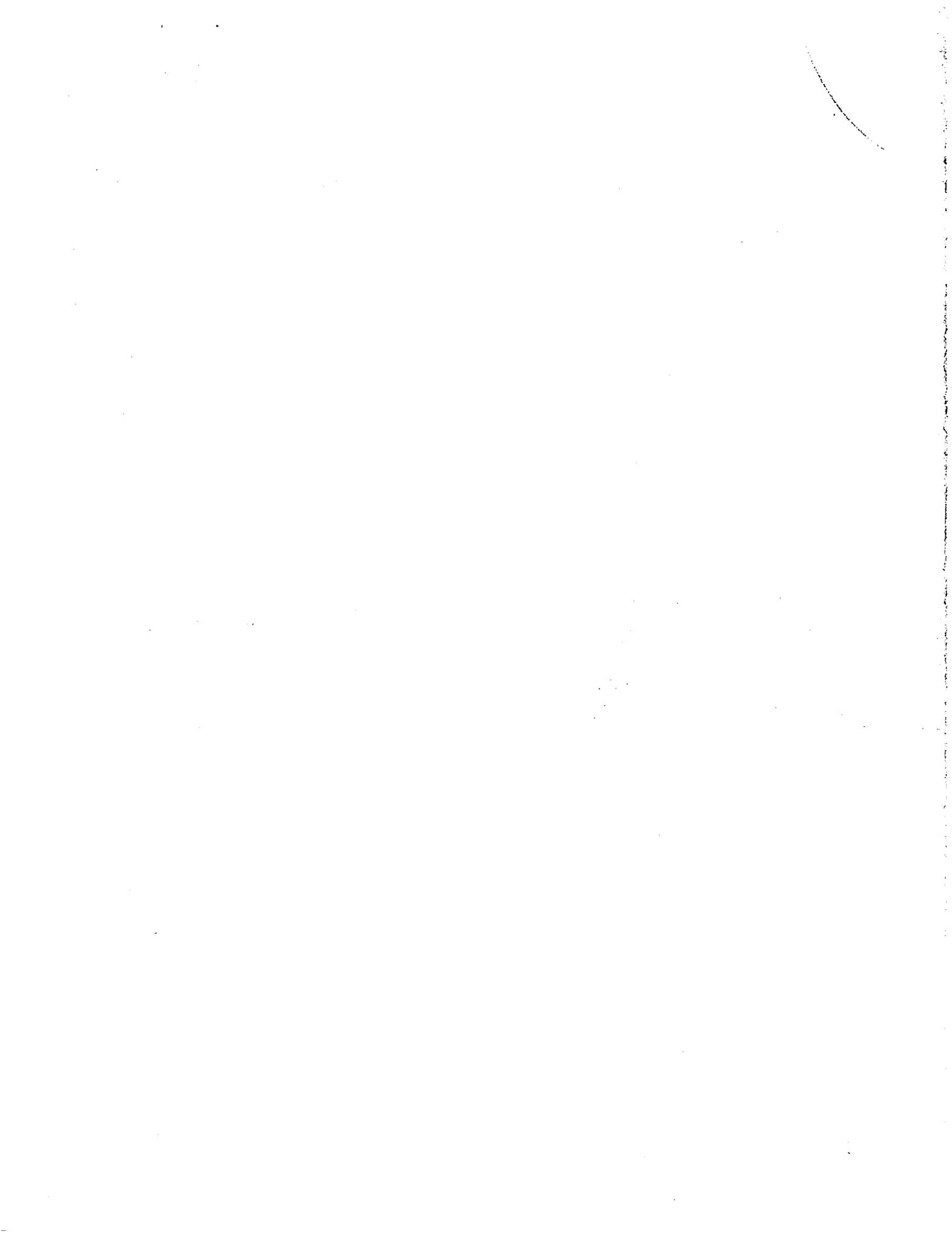
Since May, OPL (Kojelis) and NSC (Dobriansky) have headed an informal working group to try to resolve this problem. A series of meetings was held with Polish-American, State and INS representatives to work out a solution to the problem.

Extended Voluntary Departure (EVD): As part of the solution, it was proposed that the EVD status granted to Polish nationals on December 23, 1981 be revised to include all Poles in the U.S. since August 17, 1984. EVD is a provision by which the Justice Department refrains from initiating deportation proceedings against foreign nationals residing in the U.S. due to conditions in the country of their origin.

On August 14, Secretary Shultz sent a recommendation to the Attorney General to implement this proposal. The AG, however, is balking at agreeing to the Secretary's recommendation. (AG concerns at Tab B.)

INS Deportation Letters to Polish Nationals: As the Evans and Novak article points out, a second part of the problem deals with the tone of letter received by Polish nationals from INS. The letters are known to be insensitive in tone and unhelpful in suggesting options which the recipient should consider. In light of the fact that, to date, no Polish nationals have been deported, the letters have done little more than cause panic and despair among Polish nationals and their Polish-American friends and relatives.

Note: Linas Kojelis of our staff has briefed Jim Cicconi on this issue, and Jim has been in touch with Justice. I recommend you discuss this issue with Jim before any future contacts to Justice are made.



CONCERNS REGARDING EXTENSION OF EVD
TO POLISH NATIONALS

1. The Justice Department is in litigation with Salvadoran nationals who are seeking EVD status. Favorable action toward Polish nationals would set an unfavorable precedent for the Salvadoran case.

Response:

- a. EVD has already been granted to the Polish nationals. At informal meetings, State Department stated that there is no logical reason for not revising the December 1981 date and that, in fact, it is the result of bureaucratic oversight.

- b. Extension of EVD to August 1984 does not affect Justice Department's goal of establishing "objective standard criteria" for all refugees (ex. Cuban, Southeast Asian, Central American, Haitian, etc.), because the policy is already in place.

2. Extension of EVD to Polish nationals would send a wrong signal to Poland, now that they are easing domestic restrictions.

Response:

- a. While cosmetic improvements have been announced by Warsaw, in reality, political conditions in Poland have not changed. No real movement toward national reconciliation has taken place.

- b. This is State Department's call, not AG's. State Department, with NSC concurrence, has determined that it would be in the interest of U.S. policy objectives toward Poland that this be done.



...neve I have been notified in advance when there would be recess appointments. In this case, I will make inquiry and see what I can find out.

Mr. BYRD. There certainly is no implied criticism in my statement with respect to the majority leader, but there is implied criticism with respect to the administration. If there is to be an appointment, it should be offered for confirmation prior to the recess. And if an emergency exists or is likely to exist that would make necessary any appointment during the recess, I think we should know about it now.

What the majority leader has said is satisfactory as far as I am concerned at this time.

My last question as of now is this: the distinguished majority leader has indicated that there will not likely be an effort to call up the foreign assistance bill today or tomorrow. Does he see the possibility of such action next week?

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I do not know yet. I have to find some way to make sure that certain provisions are made for some elements within that bill, or perhaps in an appropriations bill. I make no bones about it. I feel it is urgently necessary that we find a way to provide funding for the programs in Central America.

Maybe we can do that in one measure or the other. That would have a bearing on whether the leadership on this side intends to take up the foreign assistance authorization bill next week.

I will say to the minority leader that time is passing by. I had slotted time for the foreign assistance authorization bill and I believe we are almost certainly not going to be able to put that bill in its original slot. So that would diminish the likelihood that we would have time to take it up before September. It does not, of course, eliminate that possibility altogether. What we can do with certain "must" aspects of that measure in some other manner will have a bearing on when we schedule it or if we schedule it.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader, who characteristically speaks with candor insofar as he is informed.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I thank the minority leader.

* POLISH REFUGEE SITUATION

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, I had the opportunity the other day to meet Zbigniew Brzezinski, the distinguished National Security Adviser to President Carter. We spoke of many things, but one element of that conversation seemed particularly worth sharing with my colleagues.

Mr. President, one of the most discouraging events since the beginning of the Cold War occurred on December 13, 1981, with the imposition of martial law in Poland. The extremely encouraging dialog between Polish workers, the Catholic Church, and the

government was severed abruptly. Solidarity's leadership thrown into prison, and the Polish citizenry was served unambiguous notice that even constructive dissent would not be tolerated. Since then, Poland's martial law regime has been guilty of countless human rights violations, and the "most Western" state of Eastern Europe has been reined firmly back into the Soviet camp.

The lifting of martial law in 1983 and the announcement earlier this week of a limited amnesty is no panacea. The Polish regime has not fundamentally changed its aims or policies, and its apparent reforms are probably more tactical than substantive—an attempt to trade off political prisoners for major Western economic assistance. Nevertheless, I understand that the President has decided to respond appropriately to this measure and I commend the decision.

Serious problems remain, however, for which the United States and the West must continue to seek redress. One of the most pressing of these is our treatment of Poland's freedom fighters, to whom President Reagan has repeatedly offered assistance. The President has consistently maintained a courageous and forthright stand regarding the Soviet-sponsored martial law regime in Poland. He has provided an important example to other states in both adopting firm sanctions and denouncing the Soviets for the sponsorship of the dictatorship. Despite the President's sharp criticism of the regime's repressive policies and significant human rights violations, our bureaucracy has not kept pace in its treatment of Polish refugees seeking asylum in the United States.

I am told, for instance, that between 1982 and 1984, the INS routinely denied between 71 and 91 percent of Polish asylum requests nationwide. Moreover, it has been inconsistent in its standards for asylum approval and excessive processing delays and difficulties in the reunification of families have occurred. In short, through these and other practices, the bureaucracy has lagged well behind the intent of the President in dealing with the many Poles who have sought refuge here from a brutal dictatorship.

Mr. President, I am, of course, aware that President Reagan established in May a special task force to deal with this problem. I understand that the deliberations of the task force are drawing to a close and that its recommendations will be soon forthcoming. In light of the importance of this matter, particularly in light of the President's strong and consistent stance on Poland, I look forward to these recommendations and trust that their implementation will greatly improve the plight of the Poles in this country.

RECOGNITION OF THE MINORITY LEADER

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MATTINGLY). The minority leader is recognized.

AFGHANISTAN AND SOVIET DEFECTIONS

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, in this morning's Washington Post there appeared a remarkable account as to why four Soviet soldiers defected from their army units in Afghanistan. Interviews with these four soldiers have shed additional light on the brutality of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

The soldiers gave as their reasons for defecting, the wanton killing and plundering of civilians, widespread sickness, drug use, savage discipline, and confusion about why they were fighting in Afghanistan. All of these elements have combined to sap the morale of Soviet combat troops. So say the defectors.

As the Washington Post pointed out:

A steady stream of reports from Afghan freedom fighters and Western correspondents accuse the Soviets of systematically slaughtering civilians during pacification programs.

However, now we have firsthand accounts from Soviet soldiers themselves who could no longer stomach the atrocities and brutality of the senior officers in the Russian Army.

The four soldiers also cited cases of grenades being thrown at—

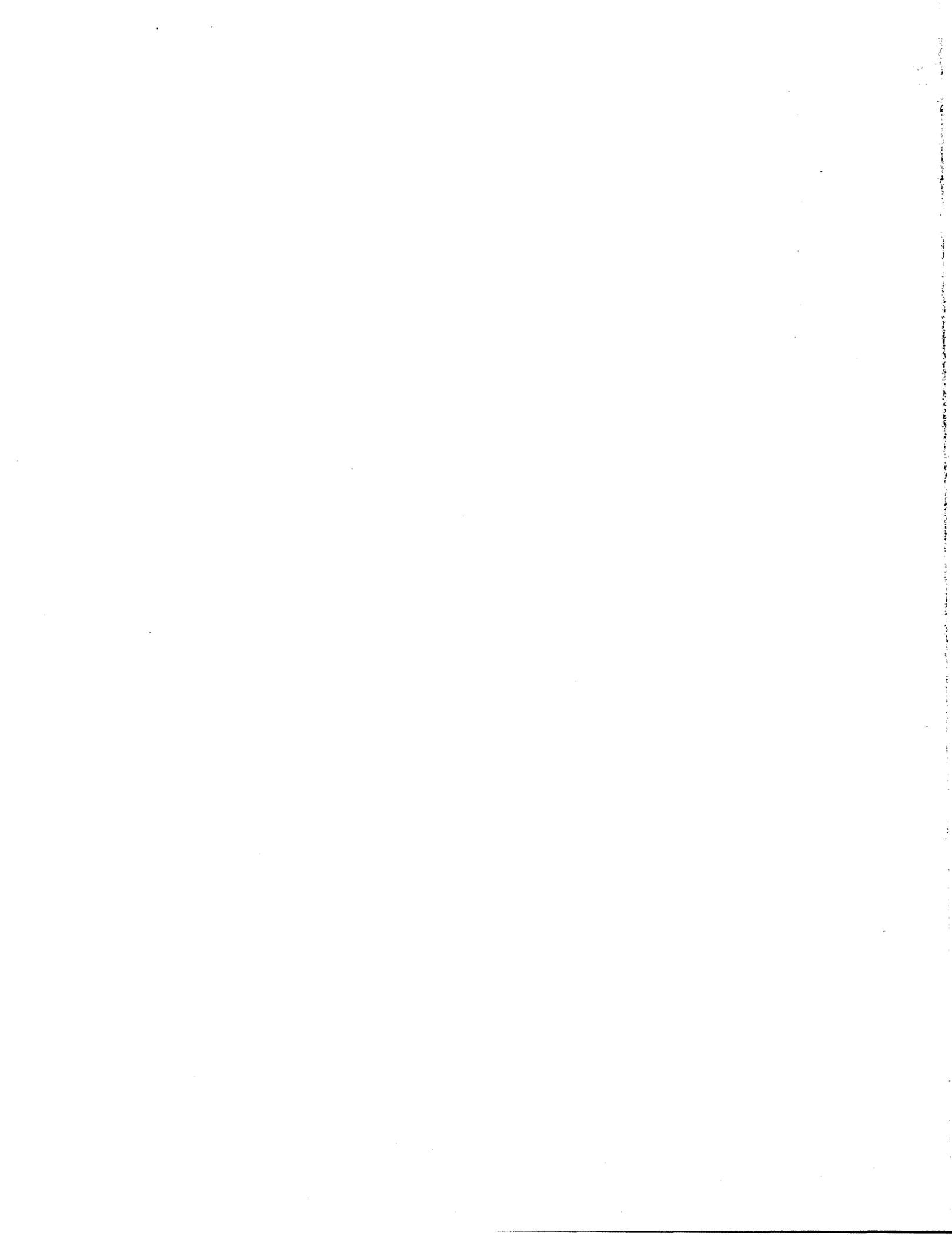
hated senior enlisted men by young conscripts, brutal punishments of troopers in the field by senior noncommissioned officers, and suicides and murders in the ranks that are covered up by commanders.

The Soviet defectors also stated that drug use was so widespread among the Russian troops that it was unusually tolerated by commanders and fellow soldiers.

Yet, despite this reality in Afghanistan, the Soviet propaganda machinery portrays Russian troops spending their time building schools, clinics, and sanitary facilities to the delight of the Afghans.

Mr. President, the picture these defectors paint of Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is one of repeated atrocities against the civilian population of that country; strong doubts among Soviet draftees as to why they are fighting in Afghanistan; strict censorship by Soviet authorities as to what the Russian people know about the war in Afghanistan; and a decadent, demoralized Soviet Army whose ranks are rife with drug use, insubordination, and disease.

This story should send a strong signal to the world community and to the people of the Soviet Union—especially, should I say, to the Islamic people, not only in the Soviet Union but elsewhere—that the Soviet leadership is one which demonstrates a callous and brutal disregard not only for



STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ

No struggle by citizens living in a totalitarian state to foster freedom and democracy in their own country has completely captured the hearts and imaginations of the people of the United States as the struggle which has been taking place in Poland.

From the enclaves of Polish-American citizens, such as the Greenpoint community which I represent in Brooklyn, up to and including the President of the United States, Americans have been speaking with one voice. We opposed martial law. We opposed the Jaruzelski regime when it cruelly crushed the trade union, Solidarity. And we continue to oppose the pernicious and persistent violations of the fundamental human rights of all the Polish people by the Communist authorities in that country.

As recently as a few months ago, President Reagan condemned the Polish government stating "the imposition of martial law stripped away all vestiges of the newborn freedom. Polish authorities resorted to arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and the use of force...A darkened cloud (has) descended in Poland."

In view of the dire and desperate situation in which many Poles find themselves, the people of our country have encouraged Polish citizens to come to our shores and seek safe haven -- some permanently, others temporarily -- if they faced oppression, prosecution or death at the hands of the Polish authorities. This is our policy. It is the policy of Congress. It certainly represents the feelings of the Polish-American community. It is supposed to be the policy of this Administration.

In public, the President continues to decry the repression and significant human rights violations of the Polish regime. At the same time, however, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has treated Polish refugees seeking asylum in the United States in a discriminatory fashion. Some Poles are still waiting for a decision on asylum claims that were submitted over two years ago, while others have been summarily denied. Based on my analysis of data collected from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and discussions with people within the Administration, we are failing the Poles who are seeking refuge in the United States in three fundamental ways.

First, Polish refugees are being denied political asylum at rates which exceed other national groups, including those from Soviet bloc states. In the fiscal year ending September 30, 1982, INS denied 92% of Polish asylum petitions. During the first half of the 1984 reporting period, asylum claims brought by Polish nationals were still being denied at a rate of 72%. Despite repeated efforts on our part to find out the basis on which the administration is making these important decisions, the INS and the State Department refuse to explain the criteria and methodology used in rejecting these petitions. It is inconceivable to me that a fair and equitable asylum process would not result in the elimination of excessive delays and the awarding of political asylum to a substantially higher percentage of Polish refugees.

Second, Immigration Service officials in clear violation of INS policy not to deport Polish citizens now in the United States, have harassed Polish refugees by issuing thousands of "imminent departure letters" demanding that the recipients of these letters leave the country within 15 days. In March, 1982, for example, INS mailed several thousand deportation letters to Polish nationals in the U.S., demanding that the Poles leave the United States within a

short period of time, even though the temporary protection afforded these nationals under the extended voluntary departure (or EVD) program was to be extended. Once the INS granted the extension, the letters were never cancelled. In June, 1982, several thousand additional letters were sent, despite the existence of the "no deportation policy" to Polish nationals, demanding the Poles leave the United States. Another extension of e.v.d. was granted, and these letters were never rescinded, nor has INS ever clearly explained that those in "voluntary departure status" under an e.v.d. must register with INS and obtain permission to work. These activities do little except incite feelings of near panic in the Polish refugee communities. And no one really knows how many Poles may have fled the country to an uncertain fate in their homeland. Along the same lines, agents working with the Chicago bureau of INS have repeatedly apprehended citizens walking on the streets, simply because they were speaking Polish. Actions like these are needless, cruel, and capricious. And they are totally inconsistent with a policy that is supposed to be dedicated to providing a safe and free haven for people who have fled persecution.

Third, and finally, according to the data we've collected some INS district directors are routinely and arbitrarily denying work permits to Polish refugees in the United States. Asylum applicants or those in e.v.d. status are clearly and legally entitled to work authorization where there is any economic need. Obviously, it is impossible for these refugees to survive mentally and physically if they are denied the right to work.

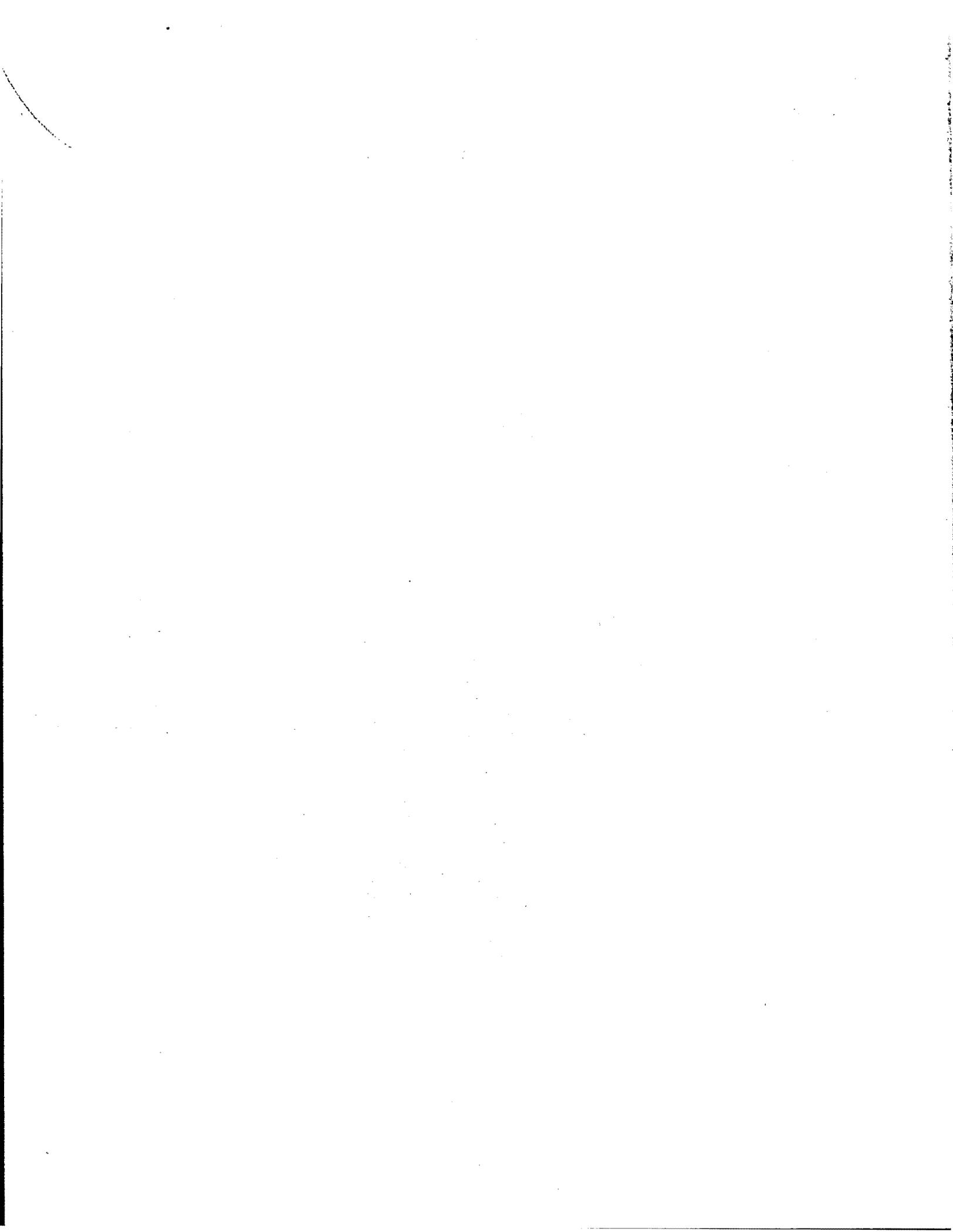
Make no mistake, the conditions in Poland are still extremely difficult. Hundreds of political prisoners are still being detained.

Thousands more are questioned, harassed and subjected to repressive treatment -- including the loss of permission to work, eviction from an apartment, or denial of their children's rights to study. In spite of these difficult and dangerous conditions, INS personnel are acting under the impression that Polish activists will be held harmless if they are forced to return to Poland. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In sum, there is a gap the size of the Grand Canyon between the Administration's rhetoric on behalf of Polish refugees and the performance of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in responding to their needs. All Polish nationals who have a legitimate claim to political asylum in this country should be granted this protection. To address the situation I have a series of recommendations which, I hope, the Administration will consider.

1. INS and the State Department with the assistance of the Polish community should develop criteria, similar to those developed for processing South East Asian refugees, which would demonstrate clearly that any individual whose background and experiences match these criteria would be clearly eligible for asylum.

I would like to demonstrate how important such criteria are to a fair and equitable asylum process by describing the cases of several Polish refugees, whom to date, despite clear evidence of a well founded fear of persecution if forced to return to Poland, have not been granted political asylum.



*Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak*

Rounding Up Poles In America

Belying Ronald Reagan's impassioned praise for the bravery of Poland's outlawed Solidarity movement, his administration has scoured ethnic Polish communities from Newark to Los Angeles to round up and deport emigres to a frightening fate in Poland's police state.

The latest roundup occurred in a factory on Chicago's Northwest side during an Immigration and Naturalization Service raid directed mainly at Hispanic immigrants. Polish immigrants, including victims of Poland's anti-Solidarity drive, were singled out because they could speak Polish.

The gap between Reagan's undoubtedly sincere rhetoric and raids ordered by INS district directors is not easily explained. Without precisely saying so, he has strongly implied that no Polish emigre who finds his way to the United States in search of political asylum will ever be deported.

But INS bureaucrats pursue suspected "illegals" from Poland's political wasteland with the same fervor that they go after Mexican immigrants fleeing poverty. The mindless harassment of political refugees points to the danger of a political mindset intent on controlling borders. What ultimately may save the situation is the election-year importance to a Republican administration of the big, conservative Polish-American vote.

Leaders of the Polish-American community have made repeated efforts to convince the White House of dangerous political repercussions. That warning may penetrate next week if Aloysius Mazewski, president of the Polish-American Congress, gets the meeting he has been promised at the White House with James A. Baker III, chief of staff, and Robert D. McFarlane, national security assistant.

Political emigres from Poland are covered by a presidential policy called Extended Voluntary Departure, automatically protecting them from premature deportation by overzealous

INS agents. Asylum is automatic if deportation to Poland would result in any form of persecution.

But INS agents, with excessive devotion to perceived duty and in ignorance of the administration's true intent, routinely warn Polish emigres seeking asylum that they have failed to establish "a well-founded fear of persecution" if sent back to Poland.

The INS form letter sent to hundreds of political emigres is Kafkaesque: "Although the present condition in your homeland may be unsuitable, causing strife to the population in general, you have failed to establish that . . . you would be persecuted on account of your . . . membership in a particular social group or political opinion."

Photographs of Polish emigres demonstrating against the military dictatorship that quashed Solidarity are regularly dispatched to Warsaw by the Polish Embassy here. The easy identification of any Polish emigre sent home by the INS would mean automatic arrest in Poland.

That seems irrelevant to the INS. On Aug. 1, one request for asylum was rejected in these chilling words: "You are granted until Aug. 24, 1984, to depart the United States voluntarily, at your own expense. If you do not, deportation proceedings will be instituted." Not a word about Extended Voluntary Departure, which supersedes all other regulations.

The potential political losses in this, while only barely glimpsed inside the White House, could be severe if the president's policy cannot be imposed on the bureaucracy—millions of voters otherwise committed to the Reagan-Bush ticket. The nearly 13 million ethnic Polish citizens are concentrated in the battleground states of New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan and New Jersey. Substantial numbers also vote in Wisconsin, Ohio, Massachusetts, California, Texas and Florida.

What infuriates Polish-American leaders is that INS agents systematically employ the same weapons of fear against Polish patriots driven out of their native land as they do against Hispanic and other illegal aliens who come here for jobs, not to escape political persecution. Yet, it is all of the same pattern. When a nation embarks on police-state raids to guard its borders, it is not easy to limit the victims.

MANY POLES LOSE BIDS FOR ASYLUM

U.S. Turning Down Hundreds Who Fear to Return Home

By WAYNE KING

The applications of hundreds of Polish nationals for political asylum in the United States have been rejected by Federal authorities trying to clear a backlog of applicants.

Most of the Polish nationals have claimed an association with the Solidarity union movement and contend

Polish policemen acted to block protests marking the 1970 shootings of workers in Gdansk. Page 5.

they would face persecution if they were sent back to their homeland.

The immigration authorities say there are no statistics at the State Department, the Justice Department or the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service on the exact number of rejections. However, applicants in several parts of the country reported a flurry of recent rejections.

In New York City, for example, Lydia Savoyka of the United States Catholic Conference, which helps exiles of all nationalities in this country, said that "85 percent of our applications for asylum are being denied." She said the applications of 300 to 400 of the 1,500 Poles with applications for asylum pending were denied in recent months.

Some private agencies in the United States that help refugees say the rejection rate seems to be more stringent

than it was two or three years ago, before the applications of Polish exiles were essentially postponed because of the chaotic political situation in their home country.

Poles have been excluded from deportation proceedings since 1981 under a six-month Immigration Service directive that has since been renewed every six months. Verne Jervis, chief spokesman for the Immigration Service, said there was no indication yet whether the directive would be renewed again when it expires at the end of this month.

Poles whose asylum petitions have been initially rejected and wish to stay in this country may file appeals. It can take two or more years for an applicant to exhaust all appeals.

Although none of the applicants will be required to leave the country immediately, the rash of denials has sent shock waves through Polish exile communities around the country. Some say they perceive a tougher United States attitude toward exiles seeking asylum from Communist countries for political reasons.

Mr. Jervis said in a telephone interview, "There was no policy change to be tougher." However, he added, "We are trying to reduce the backlog by accelerated processing of the cases."

"I'm aware only that it is to reduce the backlog," he said, adding that each case was decided on individual merit.

Mr. Jervis said that at the end of October of this year there were 1,822 applications from Polish nationals for political asylum in the United States. However, the actual number of individuals involved is far higher, perhaps more than double, because many applications are for families. In September 1982, the last time individual applicants were counted, 4,906 Poles had asked for asylum.

Typical is the case of Jerry W., a man in his late thirties who friends say was a "notorious" trade unionist in his home town in Poland. He now lives in Texas. He came to the United States on a visitor's visa in mid-1982, bringing

with him his wife and one child, but forced to leave another child behind.

He asked not to be identified, as have other Poles seeking asylum here, either because they have relatives still in Poland or because they fear retribution if they are forced to return.

His lawyer, Jonathan Lamb, of Houston, said Jerry W. had been warned by other dissidents allied with Solidarity that he might face reprisals for sponsoring union meetings at his place of business and supporting a strike at a local mill.

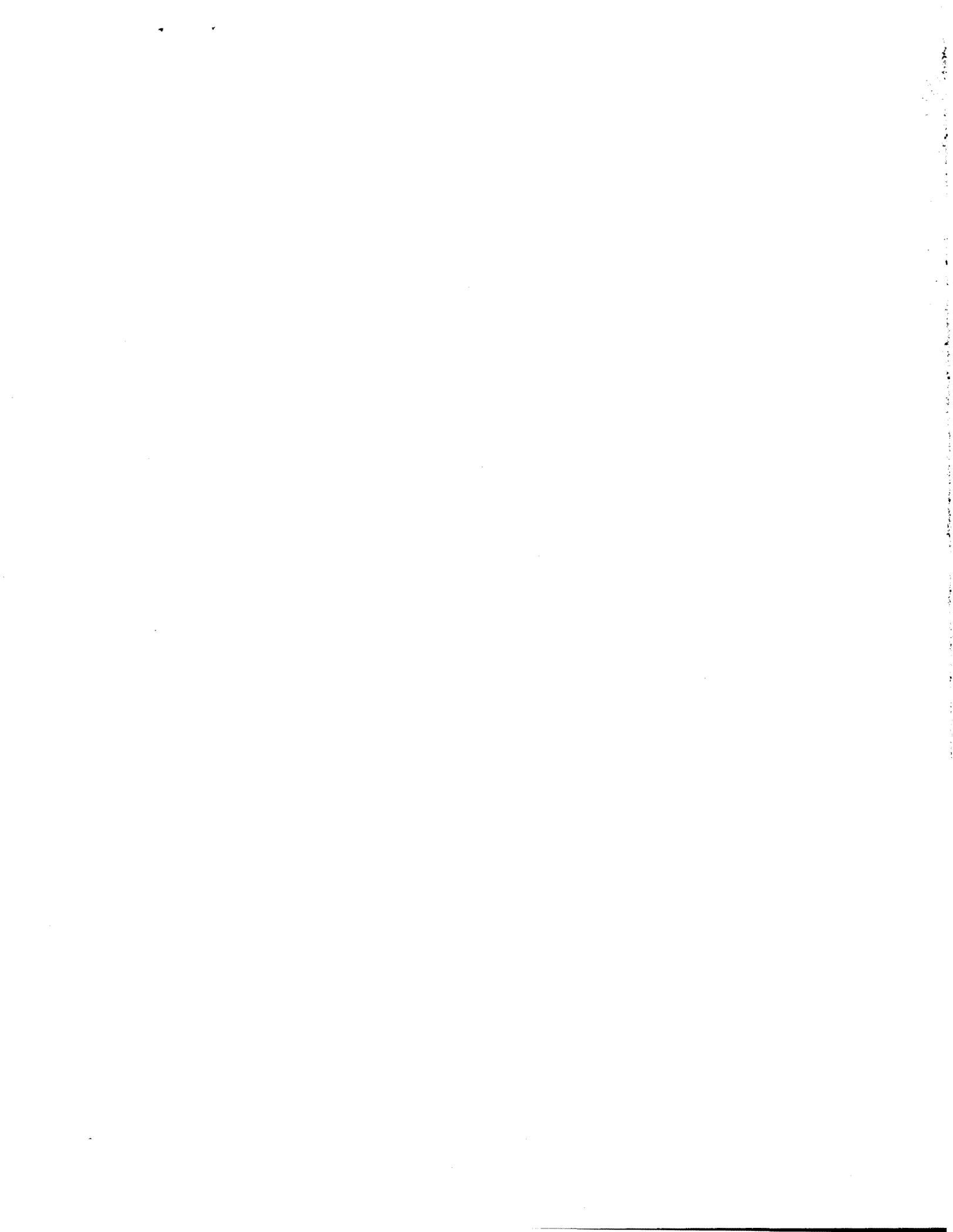
In September 1982, after six weeks in this country, Jerry W. filed for political asylum. His application joined a backlog of pleas for asylum from 170,000 other aliens, 115,000 of them Cubans and 5,500 Haitians, who have filed similar petitions with the Department of Immigration and Naturalization. For eight months he heard nothing.

Finally, after the intervention by Representative Bill Archer, Republican of Texas, his hearing was held. Although Jerry W. had no card proving his membership in Solidarity — he said he feared trying to leave Poland with it in his possession — he presented affidavits from two men who swore to his membership in Solidarity and his activities in its behalf.

Economic Factors Discounted

About two weeks ago, he received a letter that said his application for asylum had been denied. It gave him 15 days to return to Poland voluntarily or face deportation proceedings.

In considering applications for asylum, the United States does not take into account economic conditions in the applicant's home country, only the possibility of political persecution.



EDITORIAL COMMENTS

UNFAIR IMMIGRATION LAWS

Polish communities across the nation are still in shock after revelations last week that nearly 2,000 applications from Polish nationals for political assylum in the U.S. have been turned down in recent months. Unless there is a major policy change handed down, all of these Poles currently living in the U.S. could face deportation to Poland.

Most of the applications claimed an association with the Solidarity Union movement and contended that persecution would be faced if forced to return to their homeland. While the State Department, Justice Department and Immigration and Naturalization Service all say that statistics on exact rejections are not available, it is known that since September, 1982 more than 7,000 applications for assylum have been made.

While none of those who have been refused assylum will be forced to leave the U.S. immediately since appeals are permitted, the denials do seem to signify a tougher position by the U.S. on Polish exiles. Brooklyn Congressman Stephen Solarz has asked President Reagan to investigate the rejections and to change immigration policies to ensure that the U.S. continues to be "a champion of democracy."

What we are disturbed about is that we are witnessing a tough stance against less than 10,000 politically persecuted, generally well-educated, potentially productive Poles while at the same time we have permitted hundreds of thousands of Cubans, Haitians and Mexicans into this country over the past few years without any outcry from the government. Moreover, we have illegal aliens in this country - perhaps as many as 1 million - about which we are doing nothing.

Congress is currently studying an immigration Reform Bill, the Smith-Mazzoli measure, which is designed to end inconsistent U.S policies. Unless however, this bill also considers how to make U.S. Immigration Policy fair for all, it will hav achieved nothing. X/

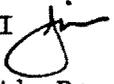
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 4, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

FROM:

JIM CICCONI 

SUBJECT:

Meeting with Reverend Tim LaHaye

As I understand it, Tim LaHaye requested a meeting with you last week to discuss the idea of the President and Walter Mondale participating in a series of interviews on religious issues. Apparently, Mondale has accepted contingent on the President also appearing.

In the wake of your meeting, LaHaye is giving the impression that he has a commitment of sorts for the President to participate in the interviews. While I am sure you gave him no such commitment, I do need guidance as to how you would like this handled. (My suggestion would be that we have Doug Holladay work with Falwell and others to pour cold water on the idea.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sept 6, 1984

TO: JAB III

Regarding the attached, I made a purely informational inquiry thru Presidential Personnel. I was informed that the transfer of Sevier had already been rescinded as result of the heat it drew from locals.

In short, the problem has been taken care of, and the White House had no role in its resolution-- HUD took the action well before Personnel's informational inquiry occurred.

As for Mr. Painter's letter, I do not think a response is necessary. If you agree, we'll simply file this.

Thanks.

9/6

JC:

I do.

JC

Pranks

JAB III



HOUSING CONSULTANTS, INC. 11999 KATY FREEWAY, SUITE 340 HOUSTON, TEXAS 77079
(713) 497-5614

August 8, 1984

Mr. James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

R.F. -
DO YOU WANT CICCONE
TO GET INVOLVED?
8/15 J.C. You - but,
J.C., please
don't do any-
thing but
decisions
w/ me.
Is this a
proper merit
Systems
Protest.
Ad.
math?
JAB

Dear Jim:

I earnestly solicit your assistance in a matter of great moment to me.

A dear friend of mine, of the Houston HUD Office, and of the real estate profession in general, Walter Sevier, deputy Regional Administrator, HUD, Region VI has received notice of intent to transfer him to Atlanta, GA, Region IV.

Walter is a long time Republican, an extremely competent administrator who for some reason has aroused the ire of one Gordon D. Walker, Under Secretary for Field Coordination. This has resulted in Walker's taking vindictive action for purely personal reasons unrelated to job performance or any other appropriate standard.

Jim, I have been an active, working, voting, contributing Republican for 50 years and this type of thing completely disgusts me. A very capable person is being attacked for no reason relating to performance. It makes me sick to see this kind of thing being done in a Republican Administration. The caliber of appointments to politically sensitive jobs in HUD leaves much to be desired.

I ask that you check into this matter for me as I feel this transfer would mean a great loss for this Region of HUD.

I hate to infringe upon your hectic work schedule, but hope you will be able to reverse this action.

The campaign seems to be doing well. We will need to get all our votes out to win.

Cordially,

William A. Painter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 6, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI 
SUBJECT: Auto Industry Contract Negotiations

In today's CCEA meeting, Don Regan strongly argued that the White House should avoid any and all comment on the auto industry's contract negotiations with the UAW. As the September 14 contract expiration with Ford and GM draws near, we can expect further pressure for comment (especially given the previous remark about the need for restraint).

Our analysts feel that, at this point, the signs are positive for an agreement. Both sides seem serious, and have avoided controversial public statements. Any White House comments, though, would be unwise, and perhaps harmful, for the following reasons:

1. There is almost no likelihood of the type of inflationary agreement that would harm the economy. Thus, there is not a strong national interest argument to justify comment;
2. The new union leadership cannot afford to look like it is bending to pressure. Thus, any appearance of leaning toward the companies would probably cause the UAW to dig in; and
3. The union itself is in a delicate position, because their active support of Mondale might cause a strike to be viewed as politically motivated. Any public comment by the Administration could take them off the hook.

A strike would occur only in the unlikely event that the GM and Ford contracts expire on September 14 without an agreement. However, the impact of a strike would not be severe. For one thing, any strike would probably be relatively short (2 to 4 weeks) before an agreement was reached. Also, a strike would be selective (i.e. targeted on a specific unit of the company's overall operation, such as a GM large car assembly plant).

All of the above, of course, reinforces Regan's argument for strict neutrality in the auto talks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 13, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: James Cicconi 

SUBJECT: Civil Rights Meeting in Nashville

For your information:

By coincidence, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission will be holding a meeting today in Nashville with representatives of their regional advisory councils. These councils have, for the most part, been critical of the Administration's civil rights policies.

There is only a small chance that the press will ask the President about criticism from this meeting, but thought you should at least be forewarned. (Pendleton and Chavez had no idea the President would be in Nashville when they set up this meeting. In fact, they may have scheduled it there to minimize the negative press such a session would have drawn if held in Washington.)

cc: Larry Speakes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 14, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI 

SUBJECT: Steel Decision

Lee Verstandig mentioned today that he has stayed in close touch with several governors, particularly Jim Thompson and Dick Thornburgh, regarding the pending steel decision.

Lee says the governors are prepared to help convey the positive aspects of any decision we make, provided they get the necessary information in time. We could, of course, get them talking points by phone if necessary.

According to Lee, Thornburgh is especially willing to assist-- and as you know, the reaction in Pennsylvania will be extremely important.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 20, 1984



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JIM CICCONI *✓*
SUBJECT: Telephone Call from Senator John Chafee

Senator Chafee called you this afternoon and, in your absence, asked for me.

Chafee wanted to strongly recommend Judge Bruce Selya for appointment to the First Circuit. As you know, recent legislation added two judgeships to the First Circuit and, as Chafee pointed out, Rhode Island is not now represented on the Court.

Selya is a Reagan-appointed district judge and, according to Chafee, has done a "super job" in his current post. He is confident the appointment of Selya to the Circuit would be very well-received in the state.

cc: Fred Fielding

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 21, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI

SUBJECT: Presidential Phone Call to the Hispanic
Chamber of Commerce Convention

Reaction to the President's phone call was very good. The Chamber piped the call into the room, and had a photo of the President projected on a screen during the conversation. Though there was a mild amount of static at first, it cleared up quickly, and the President's remarks drew a good deal of applause.

San Antonio newspapers featured stories about the call, and several radio stations taped it for re-broadcast. According to Hispanic Chamber officials, the President's call "really made the dinner and excited the crowd."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 26, 1984

JAB: _____

If we were to veto these, all we'd do is buy ourselves a nasty story on the Evening News.

Jim
9/26

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI *JW*

SUBJECT: Private Relief Bills Awaiting Presidential Decision

At this time, two private relief bills are before the President which merit a careful look. The last day for action is Friday, September 28.

Relief of Benjamin Doeh: This bill would give Mr. Doeh, a California developer, \$102,435 in compensation for losses allegedly suffered in building an FmHA-financed housing project. (Mr. Doeh has been seeking relief since 1974, and has asked for a much higher amount.) USDA has consistently opposed relief on the grounds that Mr. Doeh's losses resulted from his own poor planning (and, in my opinion, the evidence supports this view).

Now, however, USDA states that the bill should be approved for "humanitarian reasons." OMB agrees, saying that Mr. Doeh is "old, poor, and ill," and argues that the President should allow the bill to become law without signature.

Relief of Theda Davis: This bill would award Ms. Davis \$35,449 for a court judgment of sex discrimination. Ms. Davis won her judgment in 1976 against SER, a non-profit job training group funded by DOL. She was unable to collect her money, though, because federal funds cannot be used to pay costs resulting from a grantee's violation of law, and SER has no non-federal money. The committee reports agree with federal policy in this area, but approved relief because of the "unique circumstances" of Ms. Davis' case.

Justice and Labor have recommended a veto, arguing that such relief would set an unwise precedent, and that grantees should instead be held accountable in such cases. OMB, however, agrees with the congressional committees' conclusion, saying that this case "is most unusual, if not unique," and that approval would be unlikely to set a costly precedent. (OMB also notes that Ms. Davis is in her late 60's, and is caring for a mother in her 90's.) As with the relief bill for Mr. Doeh, OMB recommends that the President allow this bill to become law without signature.

Recommendation: I concur with OMB's recommendation that these bills become law without signature, and have submitted comments to that effect.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 27, 1984



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI *JW*
SUBJECT: Nomination of Edith Jones

Per your request, I checked into the difficulties that Edith Jones reportedly had in yesterday's hearing.

Her main problem stemmed from her written response to one of the standard questions asked by the Judiciary Committee, which concerns the candidate attitude toward "judicial activism." Edith's answer said that judicial activism is "nothing but a scapegoat phrase." Thurmond understandably questioned her on this response during yesterday's hearing and, after beating around the bush, Edith explained that she felt the phrase judicial activism was "just a sop for lawyers who lose cases." This answer did not go over well with Thurmond and the committee staff, who were also concerned about her lack of experience. They did not feel that she adequately laid to rest such questions during her hearing.

Following normal procedure, Edith was not briefed by the Justice Department prior to her hearing. Thurmond was the only committee member in attendance.

Since Edith will probably not be on the Senate list for confirmation prior to adjournment, her name will, in all probability, have to be re-submitted next year. That will trigger another hearing, and a chance to re-coup from yesterday's performance.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

27 Sept 1984

TO: JAB III

Please see the attached memo from Lee.

The waste dump will probably not be located in Mississippi-- it is very low on EPA's list-- but we can't say that yet. No final decision has been made.

We cannot give Allain a veto over location of the site. Since he would use a meeting with the President to press this issue, and to contrast our refusal with Mondale's agreement, we should avoid him.

If you concur, Lee will tell Allain that the schedule is too tight (which is what we said the last time he asked for such a meeting).

JC

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 26, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER III

FROM: LEE L. VERSTANDIG *lee*
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: Follow-Up Regarding Mississippi Nuclear
Waste Disposal System

Mississippi Governor Allain requests a commitment from the President during his visit to the State on October 1, for veto assurance over any siting of a nuclear waste dump within the state.

The Governor sent a mailgram to the President, received today, seeking both a meeting and a veto commitment. It would be our recommendation that the President not meet with the Governor during his forthcoming visit on this issue. See attached correspondence.

This information should complement my earlier memo regarding the subject.

50

PO BOX 139
JACKSON MS 39205 24PM

*Pls. to meet with
O.P.*



1-0601175268 09/24/84 ICS IPMBNOZ CSP WHSC
6013593111 MGM9 TDBN JACKSON MS 174 09-24 0806P EST 248338

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN
WHITE HOUSE DC 20500

*Scheduling
cc: Andy Card*

DEAR MR PRESIDENT,

IT HAS COME TO MY ATTENTION THAT YOU HAVE SCHEDULED A VISIT TO THE MISSISSIPPI GULF COAST ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 1. IT IS MY HOPE AND THAT OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF MISSISSIPPI THAT YOU ARE COMING HERE TO TELL US THAT YOU ARE GIVING MISSISSIPPI THE SAME ABSOLUTE VETO OVER NUCLEAR WASTE DISPOSAL THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO THE PEOPLE OF LOUISIANA. IF NOT, I RESPECTFULLY REQUEST A MEETING WITH YOU AND YOUR ISSUES STAFF TO DISCUSS THE SERIOUS PROBLEM OF NUCLEAR WASTE DISPOSAL IN SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI, JUST A FEW MILES NORTH OF WHERE YOU'LL BE APPEARING, YOU MIGHT RECALL THAT I REQUESTED A SIMILAR MEETING DURING YOUR LAST VISIT HERE. AT THAT TIME, YOUR STAFF SAID YOUR SCHEDULE WOULD NOT PERMIT SUCH A MEETING. I HOPE THAT IS NOT THE CASE ON THIS OCCASION. WITH JUST A FEW MINUTES OF YOUR TIME, I BELIEVE WE CAN CONVINCE YOU WHY MISSISSIPPI SHOULD NOT BE SELECTED AS A NUCLEAR WASTE DUMPING GROUND. THANK YOU FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION IN THIS MATTER.

RESPECTFULLY

BILL ALLAIN, GOVERNOR OF MS
PO BOX 139
JACKSON MS 39205

20:18 EST

MGMCOMP

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 21, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III
JACK SVAHN ✓

FROM: LEE L. VERSTANDIG *lee*
SUBJECT: NUCLEAR DEPOSITORY SITES

In view of the President's upcoming visits to the South, I call your interest to the issue of high-level nuclear waste dump siting which has received prominent media attention in the region. Mississippi Governor Bill Allain has pushed for a promise that he would have veto assurances over any proposed siting within his state. Two salt domes in south Mississippi are among nine sites in six states being considered for the nation's first nuclear waste repository.

Governor Allain claimed in a press report, September 19, 1984 that he "will mail a letter to President Reagan today for the same nuclear waste veto that Walter Mondale already has promised to give Mississippi." As of today, I am not aware of any letter from Governor Allain received at the White House regarding nuclear waste.

Governor Allain also claims to have documentation of veto assurances given to Louisiana, first by President Carter and then by President Reagan. (The assurance may have been given by President Reagan when he was a candidate in 1980.) Governor Allain's action prompted Congressman Lott and Senator Cochran to publicly state that they too desire not to have a nuclear waste dump sited in Mississippi.

Other Governors are likely to make similar demands for assurances of dump site veto authority. The states considered for high-level nuclear waste dump sites are: Louisiana, Mississippi, Nevada, Texas, Utah and Washington. While the President will designate a site, the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1981 does grant a veto power to each state that can only be overridden by both Houses of Congress.

The Department of Energy has suggested that any correspondence sent to the White House on this subject be referred to them for response.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 27, 1984



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI *JW*
SUBJECT: California Wilderness Legislation

This bill, which designates 3.2 million acres in California as wilderness, has reached the President for decision by next Tuesday, October 2. It was passed by both houses overwhelmingly.

USDA has urged that the legislation be vetoed, while Interior and OMB recommend approval.

USDA's main objection is that the bill designates 1.8 million acres of Forest Service land as wilderness, an amount they feel is excessive. They also point out receipts from timber sales might drop by as much as \$10 million.

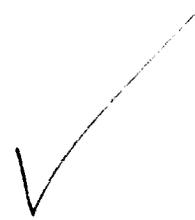
OMB counters that the Administration is already on record as supporting wilderness designation for two-thirds of the 1.8 million acres in Forest Service land. They also point out that the percentage increase over the Administration's recommendation is favorable when compared with previous wilderness bills we have signed. OMB's final argument is that a veto simply could not be sustained.

(I submitted comments in support of signing the bill.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1984



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI 

SUBJECT: Civil Aeronautics Board Sunset Act

This legislation clarifies the transfer of CAB functions once the board expires. The main dispute involves the antitrust function, by which airlines can be given immunity upon a decision by the CAB.

Current law provides that the CAB's antitrust authority will be transferred to the Department of Justice upon sunset. This bill instead gives that authority to DOT, a change we opposed largely because they have no special expertise in antitrust. Also, we saw no reason to treat airlines different from other industries which are subject to Justice's antitrust authority. All agencies agree that placing the function in DOT is undesirable, but only the Federal Trade Commission suggests that the bill be vetoed because of this transfer.

The antitrust immunity provisions, which are the heart of this dispute, expire in 1989, regardless of which agency has the function. Thus, it makes little sense to veto this legislation based on a vesting of such authority in DOT rather than DOJ (especially when the two agencies directly affected are recommending approval).

The last day for action is Monday, October 8.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 8, 1984



MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: Jim Cicconi 
SUBJECT: Older Americans Act Amendments

This legislation, which would amend and reauthorize programs of the Older Americans Act through FY 1987, has reached the White House for a decision. A ceremony has been scheduled for tomorrow in which it will be signed.

I wanted to be sure you were aware of concerns raised by Justice in their statement of views. In short, DOJ objects to a provision of the bill that would allow the Speaker and the President pro tem of the Senate to appoint two-thirds of the members of the Federal Council on Aging after a three year transition period. Justice feels this is unconstitutional because the Council is an executive branch agency which advises and assists the President, as well as the Secretary of HHS.

Justice's concerns will be handled in a signing statement which calls on Congress to repeal the offending section. OMB felt that a veto would be misunderstood by the elderly, especially since the bill "makes no particularly adverse changes in Older Americans Act programs" (per OMB).

(The President's remarks at the signing ceremony itself will make no reference to the DOJ objections-- they will be strictly positive.)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES A. BAKER, III

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI 

SUBJECT: Defense Authorization Bill

As you know, the DOD Authorization Bill has passed at a level of \$219 billion. This is only \$880.7 million less than our revised May request. Among the bill's key points are these:

MX: \$2.5 billion was authorized for 21 missiles (versus our request of \$3.2 billion for 40 missiles). Of that amount, \$1 billion is to be spent to complete 21 missiles authorized previously. The \$1.5 billion for new missiles can only be spent following a report by the President in March on the continued need for the MX, and joint resolutions by Congress approving the obligation and release of such funds.

DIVAD: The Army is barred from awarding a contract for production of this weapon until tests have been completed (this may be moot in light of Weinberger's recent decision).

ASAT: DOD is restricted to two successful ASAT tests in 1985. However, the President must first certify that we are attempting to negotiate ASAT limits; that testing is necessary and will not "gravely impair" prospects for negotiation; and that testing does not violate the ABM treaty.

SDI: The bill authorizes \$1.6 billion for the Strategic Defense Initiative, which is only slightly less than our request.

Military Pay: A 4% pay raise is authorized. We had requested 5.5%.

Merchant Marine: The bill sets up a "Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense" to recommend actions that would strengthen the U.S. merchant marine. The Administration opposed this provision as unnecessary.

Educational Benefits: A new benefits option was added that provides up to \$10,800 in education costs upon completion of 3 years service, though servicemen opting for this benefit must contribute up to \$1,200 from their pay while still in the military. The Administration opposed any expansion of education benefits, but considered this better than the non-contributory version passed by the House.

NATO: The bill places a ceiling on U.S. troop levels in Europe. While we opposed this, State does not feel the ceiling is harmful enough to warrant a veto.

Procurement: Policy changes to increase competition and improve spare parts acquisition are included in the bill.

Naval Petroleum Reserves: The bill earmarks 30% of the revenue from NPR production to DOD's Stockpile Transaction Fund, which is used to acquire needed stockpile materials. OMB strongly opposed this amendment, largely because it diverts \$400 million from deficit reduction to a stockpiling program where priority needs are already being met. OMB indicates, though, that this provision may not be self-enacting.

Peace Institute: The bill sets up a U.S. Institute of Peace, a goal long sought by retiring Senator Randolph. The board of directors is appointed by the President and subject to Senate confirmation, though Justice feels a statement should be issued clarifying the President's power to remove appointees. The idea of a Peace Institute has been opposed by this Administration and previous ones as unnecessary.

I have attached a copy of the signing remarks proposed for the President, with my comments penciled in. I hope you can take a moment to review them.

Proposed Presidential Remarks for the Signing of
the FY 85 Defense Authorization Bill

~~I am signing this bill, even though it is substantially below my budget request, because I feel the real growth in defense spending it represents can wait no longer for implementation. I would have preferred a larger defense bill, but not at the expense of further delay.~~ ^{This} bill ^{that I am signing today} continues the job we began three years ago of rebuilding America's previously neglected defenses. That rebuilding effort is a commitment I intend to keep, because it is essential to maintaining the peace. (Insert A)

In fact,

The major elements of our program have consistently received bipartisan support in the Congress. The B-1B program is on schedule and under cost. The ICBM modernization program is also on schedule. We've had six perfect Peacekeeper launches; the Congress has given us the funds we need to become operational in just two years, and we are working hard on the new small missile. ~~Those who say Peacekeeper has no future are wrong, because Peacekeeper is important to all our futures.~~ Peacekeeper is essential to our national security and to the achievement of real arms control. For that reason, I'm confident that the Congress next year will act to keep this program on track. Our dialogue with the Soviets on arms control will also continue, and with the support of the American people and bipartisan support in the Congress next year, I'm confident

INSERT A

The funding authorized by this bill is substantially below my original February request and even slightly below my reduced May request which I submitted as part of our Deficit Reduction Package, but I recognize it is the most we can expect from the current Congress. It allows us to continue our efforts, but at a reduced pace.

Handwritten note:
This is the most necessary in our...
language...
J

that we will see progress toward negotiated reductions in nuclear arms which will lead to a lasting and more stable peace in the world.

This bill also ensures that our men and women who are on the frontiers of freedom's defense today earn a fair and honorable living as they serve. We must not return to the days when our young men and women in the Service had to wonder from day to day if they could make ends meet. This bill also contains a significant new program for educational benefits for our military people, and this Administration is now committed to the supplemental funding necessary to carry it out. (U)

Finally, it is important to note that this bill continues our efforts to modernize our conventional forces throughout the world. In fact, the vast majority of the funds in this bill are devoted to our conventional forces. Today's Army, Navy and Air Force are better equipped and better trained than ever before. America can be justly proud of the young men and women who defend peace in the world today by serving in our armed forces.

Much of the credit for the final passage of this bill goes to the Congressional leadership who worked diligently to craft an acceptable compromise. While Howard Baker worked with Tip O'Neill on the broad outlines of the agreement, many of the issues were left to tough bargaining among people like Mel Price, Sam Nunn, and Bill Dickinson. As much as these legislators have contributed to our future security in the

crafting of this bill, there is one Senator here today whose contribution to national defense over the years has been especially unique and enduring.

That Senator is John Tower. The final passage of this Defense Authorization Bill marks one of the last milestones in a legislative career spanning nearly 24 years in the Senate. His extraordinary contributions over the years, and especially during his last four years as Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, bear the mark of a true statesman. We can only hope that he will not consider his retirement from the Senate to be a retirement from public life. Thank you, John.