

FOIA MARKER

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Folder Title: Chron File - March 1993 #1 [1]				
Staff Office-Individual: Defense Policy-Bell, Robert				
Original OA/ID Number: 43				
Row: 31	Section: 3	Shelf: 1	Position: 2	Stack: v

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] (2 pages)	03/01/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 43

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - March 1993 #1 [1]

2016-0152-F

vz4360

RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 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.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0914

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RGB*
FROM: KEITH HAHN *KH*
SUBJECT: Vessel War Risk Insurance

At Tab I is a memorandum to the President requesting that he authorize the procurement of war risk insurance for privately owned ships, operating under charter to the Navy, which carry supplies to Somalia in support of Operation Restore Hope.

With Presidential authorization, the Department of Transportation can provide war risk insurance to the Department of Defense for commercial ships chartered to go into areas designated "war zones" by commercial insurers. The U.S. saved over \$100 million in Desert Storm and Desert Shield by using this type of "self-insurance." To date, this procedure has saved over \$5 million in insurance fees for U.S.-chartered commercial shipping into Somalia. However, Presidential authorization was limited to 60-days in order to bring this issue to the attention of the new Administration.

The 60-day authorization expired on February 17 and requires an extension in order to maintain resupply and relief to Somalia. When asked why this authorization was allowed to lapse, Defense replied that the cognizant agency, the Maritime Sealift Command, had been hoping that civilian insurers would drop their premiums on vessels operating near Somalia since hostilities have not involved maritime shipping. While the insurance rates have dropped significantly, commercial insurers still charge higher premiums for ships operating in the area.

RECOMMENDATION

Since U.S. forces and relief efforts in Somalia will continue for an indefinite time, we feel that the authorization requested by the Secretary of Defense is appropriate and will produce important savings. We recommend that you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I recommending that he authorize the Secretaries of Defense and Transportation to continue this program.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President

Tab A Memorandum to the Secretary of Defense and
Secretary of Transportation from the President

Tab B Secretary of Defense Memorandum, February 23, 1993

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
SUBJECT: Vessel War Risk Insurance

Purpose

The memorandum at Tab A authorizes the Secretary of Defense and Secretary of Transportation to provide war risk insurance to privately owned ships under contract or charter to the Department of Defense in support of relief and humanitarian assistance operations in Somalia.

Background

With Presidential authorization, the Department of Transportation can provide war risk insurance to the Department of Defense for commercial ships chartered to go into areas designated "war zones" by commercial insurers. The U.S. saved over \$100 million in Desert Storm and Desert Shield by using this type of "self-insurance." To date, this procedure has saved over \$5 million in insurance fees for U.S.-chartered commercial shipping in Operation Restore Hope. Presidential approval for this insurance was limited by the previous Administration to a 60-day effective period, which ended on February 17. Since February 17, Defense has been providing insurance under an interim authorization from Transportation and is now asking for Presidential authorization to continue with this insurance "for so long as the Secretary of Defense determines such insurance to be necessary."

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab A authorizing the Secretary of Transportation and Secretary of Defense to provide war risk insurance to U.S.-chartered commercial vessels supporting Operation Restore Hope.

Attachments

Tab A Memorandum to the Secretary of Defense and the
Secretary of Transportation
Tab B Secretary of Defense Memorandum, February 23, 1993

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

SUBJECT: Insurance Under Title XII of the Merchant
Marine Act, 1935

By virtue of the authority vested in me by section 1205 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended (46 U.S.C. App. 1285), I hereby approve the procurement of any insurance within the scope of section 1205 from the Secretary of Transportation by the Department of Defense for vessels entering the territorial waters and coastal areas of Somalia excluded under commercial war risk trading warranties, for so long as the Secretary of Defense determines such insurance to be necessary.



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

23 FEB 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Vessel War Risk Insurance

Title XII of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, 46 App. U.S.C. section 1281 et seq. authorizes the Secretary of Transportation, with the approval of the President, to provide war risk and marine risk and liability insurance. Section 1205 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, 46 App. U.S.C. section 1285, authorizes any department or agency of the United States, with the approval of the President, to procure such insurance from the Secretary of Transportation. Said section 1205 also authorizes the Secretary of Transportation, with the approval of the President, to provide such insurance without premium to the Department of Defense and such other agencies as the President may prescribe, in consideration of the Secretary of Defense or such agency indemnification of the Secretary of Transportation against all losses covered by such insurance, and authorizes the Secretary of Defense and such other agencies to make such indemnity agreements. These insurance programs are administered by the Maritime Administration, Department of Transportation.

This non-premium war risk insurance was recently used by the Department of Defense in connection with privately owned ships under contract or charter to the Department of the Navy in support of military operations in the Middle East war. Without Government provided insurance, the Government is liable for any increases in commercial insurance premia that result from ordering the ships into areas of the world which are designated "war zones" by commercial insurers.

In connection with operations in Somalia, it is anticipated that privately owned ships under charter or contract to the Navy, and ships operated for the Navy by contractors, will be ordered into areas classified as "war zones" for purposes of commercial war risk coverage. The use of Government provided war risk insurance in the Middle East resulted in direct savings to the Government of over \$100 million. Presidential approval for Government war risk insurance for Operation Restore Hope was obtained by the Secretary of Defense on December 19, 1992, and was limited by the President to a 60-day effective period, which ended on 17 February 1993. Since operations in Somalia are continuing, additional insurance approval is requested.

128-24-93 WED 10:24 P.03

The authority of the Secretary of Defense to act under section 1205 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended, 46 App. U.S.C. section 1285, has been delegated to the Secretary of the Navy.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of an "Agreement of Indemnity Between the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation," providing for the Secretary of the Navy's indemnification of the Secretary of Transportation and the Secretary of Transportation's agreement to provide insurance. In light of the foregoing, request that the subject Government provided vessel war risk insurance be approved for so long as the Secretary of Defense determines such insurance to be necessary.

Also enclosed for your signature is a memorandum for the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of Transportation evidencing your approval of this request.

Very respectfully,



Enclosures

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

1040

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

FROM:

ROBERT BELL *RB*

SUBJECT:

Invitation to Senate Arms Control Observer Group
to Travel to Moscow on START II Mission

Embassy Moscow has reported that the Russian Foreign Ministry and the leadership of key Supreme Soviet committees have proposed an unprecedented degree of U.S./Russian interparliamentary cooperation during each state's respective START II ratification proceedings. This proposal was reinforced during a visit to my office last month by Alexander Churilin, a Counselor in the Russian Embassy.

Embassy Moscow and Churilin both suggested joint hearings between the relevant Senate committees and their Russian counterparts. As I explained to Churilin, this idea is impractical, since Senate committees rarely travel abroad en mass and have traditionally eschewed joint hearings, even with their House counterparts. In addition, I pointed out that it would be awkward for a Senate committee to go to Moscow to argue the mutual benefits of START II before it had received testimony on the Treaty here. The committees might well feel an obligation to maintain their "neutrality" until they have reviewed START II formally.

Not wanting to risk offending the Russians by turning them down flat, I suggested to Churilin the possibility of engaging the Senate Arms Control Observer Group (SACOG) in "joint meetings" with equivalent Supreme Soviet bodies or committees. The Observer Group routinely travels abroad (including numerous visits to Geneva during the negotiation of START I) and is better informed at this stage about the negotiation of START II than the three Senate committees of jurisdiction and expertise (Foreign Relations, Armed Services, and Intelligence). Indeed, one of the functions of the SACOG is to educate the Senate as to the negotiating history of pending arms control treaties. Since

1985, the SACOG has also met regularly with Former Soviet Union (FSU) arms control negotiating teams and met with FSU parliamentarians. On some occasions, the Supreme Soviet's "arms control observer group" made it a point to visit Geneva when the SACOG was there.

During the Interagency Working Group meetings on PRD-4, my suggestion for engaging the SACOG in this undertaking was enthusiastically received by all agencies and has been included in the final document and in the draft PDD. On February 19, I met with the SACOG staff informally to sound out the Group's interest in possibly making such a trip. In light of past instances in which the SACOG scheduled a trip, only to cancel at the last minute, I emphasized that if we told the Russians the SACOG was coming on this mission, the Group would have to deliver.

After consulting with their Senators (including Senators Mitchell and Dole), the SACOG staff advised me late last week that the Group readily agreed this would be an important mission. Several Senators are apparently willing to make the trip between March 11-15. To facilitate maximum participation among SACOG members, Senators Mitchell and Dole have agreed to protect votes during the period of the trip. The SACOG has suggested that a letter from the President formally asking the Group to undertake this important mission would also help ensure a high turnout.

Concurrence: ^{RG} Rose Gottemoeller, Don Gross 

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I forwarding the letters (Tab A) for his signature inviting the Senate Leadership to authorize the Observer Group trip.

Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President

Tab A Proposed Letters to the Senate Leadership

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1040

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Invitation to Senate Arms Control Observer Group
to Travel to Moscow on START II Mission

Purpose

To extend a formal invitation to the Senate Arms Control Observer Group (SACOG) to travel to Moscow for joint discussions with Russian parliamentarians on the mutual benefits of the START II Treaty.

Background

Our Embassy in Moscow has advised that the Russian Foreign Ministry and the leadership of key Supreme Soviet committees have proposed that U.S. Senate committees and their Russian counterparts cooperate closely during the START II ratification proceedings in each country. We believe such activities are especially important in light of some assessments suggesting that START II may face a stiff challenge from conservative forces in the Supreme Soviet.

We have consulted informally with the Senate Leadership and the Co-Chairmen of the SACOG and confirmed that the Group would be willing to travel to Moscow this month for joint discussions on the treaty. To encourage maximum participation by SACOG members in this trip, the Observer Group has suggested it would be helpful if you formally invited the Group to undertake this important mission.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letters to Senators Mitchell and Dole asking the Senate Leadership to authorize the Observer Group trip.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Letters to the Senators Mitchell and Dole

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Mitchell:

As the United States and Russia continue to move from confrontation to cooperation, one of the most important tasks our two nations face is bringing the recently-concluded START II Treaty into force. Doing so will set us on a course toward enhanced stability at dramatically reduced levels of strategic forces. I strongly support the START II Treaty, and hope that both the United States Senate and the Russian Supreme Soviet will act promptly to approve it.

Over the past month, Russian legislators and Russian government officials have called for unusually close consultation between the Senate and the Supreme Soviet in the consideration of START II. These calls, which include requests by the leadership of the Supreme Soviet and its International Affairs and Defense Committees, reflect the evolving state of our relationship in which we increasingly value dialogue and cooperation. While I have directed the Executive Branch to support the Supreme Soviet's requests for information to the maximum extent possible, Russian parliamentarians particularly desire direct dialogue with their American counterparts.

The Senate Arms Control Observer Group offers a perfect vehicle for undertaking such consultation and dialogue. As you know, the Observer Group has played an important role in the success of U.S. arms control initiatives in recent years. I believe that the experience of the Observer Group could be immensely valuable to your Russian counterparts as they take up consideration of the START II Treaty.

Accordingly, I would request that you and Senator Dole consider asking the Observer Group to undertake a visit to Moscow in order to discuss START II with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, especially its Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties and its Committee on Defense and Security Issues. Since the Russian government hopes for early consideration of START II, such a visit would be of greatest benefit if it were to occur this month.

Should the Observer Group undertake such a trip, I hope it would convey to your Russian counterparts my strong personal support for prompt ratification and early entry into force of START II. Doing so will put the last legacy of the Cold War firmly behind us and allow the United States and Russia to concentrate on forging a new relationship based on economic and political cooperation and common interests.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to consider this request. Undertaking this important mission would reaffirm the enduring value of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group and underscore the close cooperation between our two branches which I hope will be the hallmark of the next four years.

Sincerely,

The Honorable George J. Mitchell
Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Dole:

As the United States and Russia continue to move from confrontation to cooperation, one of the most important tasks our two nations face is bringing the recently-concluded START II Treaty into force. Doing so will set us on a course toward enhanced stability at dramatically reduced levels of strategic forces. I strongly support the START II Treaty, and hope that both the United States Senate and the Russian Supreme Soviet will act promptly to approve it.

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United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

1040

March 1, 1993

ACTION

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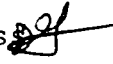
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RECOMMENDATION

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Attachments

Tab I Memo to the President
 Tab A Proposed Letters to the Senate Leadership

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1040

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

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HOWARD PASTER

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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The Senate Arms Control Observer Group offers a perfect vehicle for undertaking such consultation and dialogue. As you know, the Observer Group has played an important role in the success of U.S. arms control initiatives in recent years. I believe that the experience of the Observer Group could be immensely valuable to your Russian counterparts as they take up consideration of the START II Treaty.

Accordingly, I would request that you and Senator Dole consider asking the Observer Group to undertake a visit to Moscow in order to discuss START II with the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, especially its Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Ties and its Committee on Defense and Security Issues. Since the Russian government hopes for early consideration of START II, such a visit would be of greatest benefit if it were to occur this month.

Should the Observer Group undertake such a trip, I hope it would convey to your Russian counterparts my strong personal support for prompt ratification and early entry into force of START II. Doing so will put the last legacy of the Cold War firmly behind us and allow the United States and Russia to concentrate on forging a new relationship based on economic and political cooperation and common interests.

Thank you in advance for your willingness to consider this request. Undertaking this important mission would reaffirm the enduring value of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group and underscore the close cooperation between our two branches which I hope will be the hallmark of the next four years.

Sincerely,

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Majority Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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Sincerely,

The Honorable Robert J. Dole
Republican Leader
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL

FROM: JONATHAN SPALTER

SUBJECT: Thank You Letter for Recommendation of Michael
Finley

At Tab I is a letter for your signature thanking Senator Bob Graham for his recommendation of Michael Finley for a subcabinet position or ambassadorship.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

*Sandy
Quinn
M.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Graham:

Thank you for your letter of
recommendation for Michael Finley.

You have my assurance that I will forward
your comments to the appropriate officers
in the Administration, and Mr. Finley will
be given full consideration for an
appointment in this government.

Again, thank you very much for your
letter, and please do not hesitate to
contact me if I can be of further
assistance.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Bob Graham
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0903

January 20, 1993

The Honorable Sandy Berger
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Sandy:

As the new administration puts together its foreign policy team, I would like to recommend that you consider Michael Finely for a subcabinet position or ambassadorship.

Mike has a remarkable combination of qualifications that would make him a real asset to the administration. He has compiled an outstanding record as one of former Chairman Dante Fascell's key staff members on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. His well rounded background also includes extensive management and private sector experience.

Mike is a life-long democrat who has a long record of actively supporting democrats in Florida. I am confident that he would be an outstanding addition to your team.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bob Graham", written in a cursive style.

United States Senator

BG:anc

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON D.C. 20506

0207

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RBB*
FROM: JONATHAN SPALTER *JS*
SUBJECT: Thank You Letter for Recommendation of Eric Biel

At Tab I is a letter for your signature thanking Senator David Boren for his recommendation of Eric Biel for a senior policy position in the Administration.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Boren:

Thank you for your letter of recommendation for Eric Biel.

You have my assurance that I will forward your comments to the appropriate officers in the Administration, and Mr. Biel will be given full consideration for an appointment in this government.

Again, thank you very much for your letter, and please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable David L. Boren
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

DAVID BOREN

OKLAHOMA

RUSSELL BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

621 NORTH ROBINSON
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73102

409 S BOSTON
TULSA, OK 74103

211 EAST OAK
SEMINOLE, OK 74868

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3601

January 29, 1992

0207
CHAIRMAN
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
TAXATION
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MARKETING
AND PRODUCT PROMOTION

The Honorable Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President for National Security
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Tony:

I am writing to recommend Eric Biel, who currently serves as Trade Counsel with the Senate Finance Committee, for a senior policy position in the new Administration.

For the past two and a half years, Eric has worked closely with my staff on a broad range of international trade matters. In particular, he worked ably on an initiative I led with Lloyd Bentsen to make our foreign aid programs more responsive to the needs of American businesses and workers. Eric has consistently demonstrated a valuable combination of substantive knowledge, sound judgement, reliability, and diligence which would make him an outstanding part of the Administration's economic team.

As his enclosed resume indicates, Eric's professional and academic background is impressive and varied. While his work on the Finance Committee has centered around trade issues, he also has significant knowledge on subjects that include export controls, foreign investment, immigration, and human rights. I believe his experience would serve him and the Administration well in any position that requires an understanding of diverse policy issues and objectives.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,



David L. Boren
U.S. Senator

dlb/el

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] (2 pages)	03/01/1993	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
National Security Council
Defense Policy and Arms Control (Robert Bell)
OA/Box Number: 43

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron File - March 1993 #1 [1]

2016-0152-F

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RESTRICTION CODES

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 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.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

0208

WASHINGTON, D C 20506

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL 

FROM: JONATHAN SPALTER 

SUBJECT: Thank You Letter for Recommendation of Dr. John
Hardt

At Tab I is a letter for your signature thanking Senator Joseph Lieberman for his recommendation of Dr. John Hardt for a position with the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature

Tab II Incoming Correspondence

JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN
CONNECTICUT

COMMITTEES:
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

SENATE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20510
(202) 224-4041
STATE OFFICE
ONE COMMERCIAL PLAZA
21ST FLOOR
HARTFORD, CT 06103
203-240-3566
TOLL FREE 1-800-225-5605

January 28, 1993

The Honorable Anthony Lake
National Security Adviser
National Security Council
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Tony:

I am writing to strongly recommend that Dr. John Hardt of the Congressional Research Service be included as a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (PFIAB), which I understand that Admiral Crowe has agreed to head.

I have known and worked with John since coming to the Senate and have always found his advice to be both insightful and practical. John has the rare ability to understand both politics and policy and to be able to meld the two in an effective manner. His extensive contacts on the Hill, in the government, and with the business, diplomatic, and academic communities make him an invaluable resource. John has been working on U.S.-Soviet (now Russian) relations and international economic issues for over four decades. He clearly has the experience to make a valuable contribution to the White House national security team.

I can think of no one more qualified to serve the President than John Hardt. He will be a real asset to the PFIAB.

Sincerely,

Joseph I. Lieberman

cc: Admiral William Crowe

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Lieberman:

Thank you for your letter of
recommendation for Dr. John Hardt.

You have my assurance that I will forward
your comments to the appropriate officers
in the Administration, and Dr. Hardt will
be given full consideration for an
appointment in this government.

Again, thank you very much for your
letter, and please do not hesitate to
contact me if I can be of further
assistance.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Joseph Lieberman
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

0204

WASHINGTON D C 20506

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL 

FROM: JONATHAN SPALTER 

SUBJECT: Thank You Letter for Recommendation of Bruce Berkowitz

At Tab I is a letter for your signature thanking Senator Bob Graham for his recommendation of Bruce Berkowitz for a position with the National Security Council.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Graham:

Thank you for your letter of recommendation for Bruce Berkowitz. You have my assurance that we will give him full consideration for a position here at the NSC, or elsewhere in the government.

Again, thank you very much for your letter, and please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Bob Graham
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0903

January 25, 1993

Honorable Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Tony:

As the new Administration puts together its national security team, I would like to recommend that you consider Bruce Berkowitz for a position on the NSC staff or similar position to support the Administration's policies in the areas of intelligence, defense, and related areas of national security.

Dr. Berkowitz has a remarkable combination of qualifications that would make him a true asset to the Administration. He has produced an outstanding body of scholarship on intelligence, defense, and other national security issues. In addition, Dr. Berkowitz has had first-hand experience working at both the Senate Intelligence Committee and the Central Intelligence Agency, so he is familiar with the workings of both Congress and Executive Branch agencies. Dr. Berkowitz also worked actively for our party's candidates in the 1992 and 1988 presidential campaigns.

Beginning this year I will be serving on the Intelligence and Armed Services Committees and will be taking a special interest in how the country will prepare for the new range of national security issues that it will face in the years ahead. I think the President and the country would be well-served by Dr. Berkowitz's understanding of these issues and strongly recommend him to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bob Graham", written in a cursive style.

United States Senator

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D C. 20506

0205

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL 

FROM: JONATHAN SPALTER 

SUBJECT: Thank You Letter for Recommendation of Dr. Philip Bobbitt

At Tab I is a letter for your signature thanking Senator Charles Robb for his recommendation of Dr. Philip Bobbitt for Legal Advisor at the National Security Council.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature

Tab II Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Robb:

Thank you for forwarding to me your letter of recommendation for Dr. Philip C. Bobbitt. You have my assurance that we will give Dr. Bobbitt full consideration for a position in this Administration.

Again, thank you so much for your letter, and please do not hesitate to contact me if I can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Charles Robb
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

CHARLES S. ROBB
VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
Russell Senate Office Building
First and Constitution Avenue, NE Room 493
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-4024

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4603

COMMITTEES
COMMERCE SCIENCE
AND TRANSPORTATION
FOREIGN RELATIONS

January 22, 1993

Honorable W. Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Tony:

As you continue to examine the credentials of individuals who wish to serve in the Clinton-Gore Administration, I am writing to urge the appointment of Dr. Philip C. Bobbitt as Legal Adviser to the National Security Council. You may already know of Dr. Bobbitt--I believe Madeleine Albright and the NSC Transition Team interviewed him and recommended him for this position.

Philip took his bachelor's degree at Princeton, where he serves on the Board of Trustees, his Ph.D. at Oxford, and his law degree at Yale. He next clerked for Judge Henry Friendly of the Second Circuit, a particularly distinguished jurist. He then returned to Austin, Texas to teach at the University of Texas Law School, and became a full professor at age 30.

He worked for Lloyd Cutler in the White House and, following that service, he was a Fellow of an Oxford College from 1983 to 1990, where he taught Strategic Studies and specialized in the history of nuclear strategy. During this period, he also taught constitutional law each year at Texas and served as the Legal Counsel to the Senate Iran-Contra Committee. In 1990, he came to the State Department as the Counselor on International Law.

While at the White House, he was Associate Counsel for intelligence and national security affairs. He was a principal participant in the drafting of the Intelligence Oversight Act. At the Senate, he was the author of "Covert Action & a Democratic Society," the Committee's report.

State Office:

Old City Hall
1001 East Broad Street
Richmond, VA 23219
(804) 771-2221

Regional Offices:

Dominion Towers, Suite 107
999 Waterside Drive
Norfolk, VA 23510
(804) 441-3124

1 Court Square
Suite 340
Harrisonburg, VA 22801
(703) 432-1551

Dominion Bank Building
Main Street
Clintwood, VA 24288
(703) 928-4104

Signet Bank Building
530 Main Street
Danville, VA 24541
(804) 791-0330

Crestar Bank Building
310 First Street SW, Suite 102
Roanoke, VA 24011
(703) 985-0103

Honorable W. Anthony Lake

2.

January 22, 1993

I believe Philip is virtually unique in having specialized, separately, in both constitutional law and strategic studies and intelligence.

I hope you will be able to interview him personally. I believe he has the ability to deal, in a practical way, with the difficult legal issues arising in national security affairs. He is 44 years old and a Democrat. Of course, Lloyd Cutler knows him, as do Madeleine Albright, Senators Paul Simon and Paul Sarbanes. Bobby Inman, in particular, will give you a thorough reading on him.

Best wishes for every success as you pull together the best and most capable men and women to serve the Nation for the next four years.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Chuck", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Charles S. Robb

Enclosure

cc: Dr. Philip C. Bobbitt
Apartment C-927
2400 Virginia Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

February, 1992

Philip C. Bobbitt

Dr. Philip Bobbitt is the Counselor on International Law at the United States Department of State. Prior to his appointment he was concurrently Baker & Botts Professor of Law at the University of Texas and Anderson Senior Research Fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford where he was a member of the Oxford University Modern History Faculty.

Dr. Bobbitt has previously served in the government as Legal Counsel to the Senate Select Committee on the Iran-Contra Affair (1987); Associate Counsel to the President for national security and intelligence (1980-81); and as law clerk to the distinguished jurist, the late Henry Friendly, Judge of the Second Circuit Court of Appeals for the United States (1975-76).

He is a native of Austin, Texas, where he was born on July 22, 1948. He was educated at Princeton University (A.B., 1971), the Yale Law School (J.D., 1975) and Oxford University (M.A., Ph.D., 1983). He is a member of the Board of Trustees of Princeton University, and is a member of the American Law Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (where he was a Fellow in 1981-82). He has been admitted to the Texas State Bar and the Bar of the United States Supreme Court.

His books include Tragic Choices (with Guido Calabresi). Constitutional Fate, Democracy & Deterrence. Nuclear Strategy (with Lawrence Freedman and Gregory Trevorton), and Constitutional Interpretation (just published).

Iran-Contra Isn't Difficult: Just Color It Crooked

By Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

WASHINGTON — There are so many special investigators and grand juries peering into so many shady corners these days that Judge Lawrence Walsh's examination of the Iran-contra affair had nearly sunk from sight.

It was a footnote to the secret history of the Reagan administration when Judge Walsh momentarily appeared at the federal courthouse in Washington on May 14 to dismiss his grand jury with thanks.

Former cabinet members are still being questioned and the "final report" is still pending; but the main investigation seems to be winding down.

Fortunately, we needn't await Judge Walsh's report, though it may be helpful, to grasp the larger significance of this scandal. Indeed, treating the Iran-contra matter primarily as a criminal conspiracy, rather than as a major constitutional infraction, has more clouded than illuminated what was most ominous about it.

The conventional view grew up around the famous description by Attorney General Edwin Meese, who first announced the discovery of a "diversion" of arms sale profits to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, the contras. The word "diversion" colored and, to a degree, distorted the reality, which was less a single "affair" than a linked series of them.

The parts were brilliantly put together for me in Philip Bobbitt's new book, "Constitutional Interpretation," published

by Blackwell's in America and in England. The book is not primarily about Iran-contra, but includes a fascinating chapter on the subject. Mr. Bobbitt, former legal counsel to the Senate Select Committee, worked with Arthur

Investigating for years at the toothpick and splinter level, Walsh has lost the contours of the forest in legalistic detail, making fuzzy what should be clear.

Liman in the joint congressional investigation. His encyclopedic knowledge of the affair, and his ability to frame it in constitutional context, has been an eye-opener.

The "affair," Mr. Bobbitt writes, really began not in 1985 but in 1983, when the Reagan administration began turning to friendly countries to solicit funds that Congress was unwilling to appropriate. Secretary of State George Shultz obtained \$10 million from the sultan of Brunei. That was the origin of what came to be known as the "enterprise," a "secret infrastructure," Mr. Bobbitt calls it, with an "informal board of directors" (the director of central intelligence, Bill Casey, and two

White House national security advisers, Robert McFarlane and John Poindexter); and a "chief executive officer" (Oliver North).

The sultan's donation was augmented by arms sales — not only those to Iran but to others, and, according to Mr. Bobbitt, even by trading in currency and timber. All told the enterprise raised some \$50 million for congressionally unauthorized foreign policy activities. "It planned to recruit a small militia in Lebanon"; it enjoyed access to "key CIA personnel ... to classified documents, and to secret government communications equipment."

The plan "was to provide the president with the capability to conduct covert operations that would be funded by extraconstitutional means and thus would not have to be reported to Congress." It was not created just for the intrigue to get the hostages released. It was "to be staffed and available ... for any covert operation that needed its special scope and freedom from restraints."

Whatever its scope and purposes, the "enterprise" was extraconstitutional, if not flatly unconstitutional. The Constitution is explicit on one vital point, and it is almost the keystone of government by consent: No money is to be spent by the Treasury (which is to say the government) except by lawful appropriation. And only Congress has authority to make appropriations. The violation of

this fundamental rule is a flagrant violation of constitutional principles.

Quite obviously, if a president — or worse, presidential aides without the president's full knowledge and assent — may raise secret kitties and use them to pursue secret intrigues in the good name of the United States, the country risks sliding from constitutional government to banana-republic status.

Judge Walsh, whose good intentions can hardly be doubted, is in a measure responsible for making murky what should be blindingly clear. By investigating Iran-contra for almost six years at the toothpick and splinter level, he has lost the contours of the forest in legalistic detail.

If Judge Walsh remains in doubt about the big picture he could do worse than to read Philip Bobbitt's book and perhaps make it the centerpiece of his still pending "final report."

Meanwhile, the rest of us needn't wait on Judge Walsh. Mr. Bobbitt's book is available; and the chapter on Iran-contra is solid gold.

Washington Post Writers Group.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

At Issue in Hamburg

Regarding the report "At a Jewish Cemetery in Germany, a Clash of Laws" (May 11) by Marc Fisher:

The majority of people opposed to construction of the Ottensen shopping mall are not Jewish. They are students, merchants and foreign workers who fear that a glitzy shopping mall would threaten the private commerce, low rent and variety of Hamburg's only progressive, multicultural neighborhood.

By cooperating with the Jewish activists, these residents can fight against the gentrification of their neighborhood.

it will turn out that nobody else is interested in dealing with the subjects that do matter.

Mr. Perot has guts, vision and insight, which have been lacking in the White House in recent years. He is sure scaring the hell out of Mr. Bush. Mr. Perot is the only candidate in America who really can make a difference and turn the United States into what Mr. Quayle once claimed it to be, "the envy of the free world."

LUCINDA OLIVEIRA.
Berlin.

Liberty's Flip Side

Regarding "Watching Los Ange-

Sorting Out the Guilt

I do not know whether the Los Angeles police were guilty of using excessive force in beating Rodney King or whether the jury reached a reasonable verdict. I do know that the "media" were partly responsible for the recent riots.

The videotape recording of the beating was aired repeatedly because it was so sensational. The jury saw this video but also received other information — they saw both sides of the story. A news clip on CNN showed additional trial information including the officers' perspective. This significantly changed

sociation, Mr. Bush has put presidential prestige behind laws that give destitute, desperate people everywhere access to all the handguns and high-powered rifles they need to escape poverty by going into business for themselves.

SAM and NA'AMA ANSELL.
Scranto, Italy.

Voice in the Wilderness

Regarding "Truly Electrifying Entertainment" (Opinion, May 12) by Arthur Miller:

Thank you, Arthur Miller, for your wit and intelligence concerning the horrors and absurdity of the death penalty. Unfortunately,

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0206

March 1, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH:

ROBERT BELL *Rob*

FROM:

JONATHAN SPALTER *JS*

SUBJECT:

Thank You Letter for Recommendation of Michael
Finely

At Tab I is a letter for your signature thanking Senator Bob Graham for his recommendation of Michael Finely for subcabinet position or ambassadorship.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter for Signature

Tab II Incoming Correspondence

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Senator Graham:

Thank you for your letter of
recommendation for Michael Finely.

You have my assurance that I will forward
your comments to the appropriate officers
in the Administration, and Mr. Finely will
be given full consideration for an
appointment in this government.

Again, thank you very much for your
letter, and please do not hesitate to
contact me if I can be of further
assistance.

Sincerely,

Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Bob Graham
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-0903

January 20, 1993

The Honorable Sandy Berger
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Sandy:

As the new administration puts together its foreign policy team, I would like to recommend that you consider Michael Finely for a subcabinet position or ambassadorship.

Mike has a remarkable combination of qualifications that would make him an real asset to the administration. He has compiled an outstanding record as one of former Chairman Dante Fascell's key staff members on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. His well rounded background also includes extensive management and private sector experiecne.

Mike is a life-long democrat who has a long record of actively supporting democrats in Florida. I am confident that he would be an outstanding addition to your team.

Sincerely,



United States Senator

BG:anc

UNCLASSIFIED
NSC/RMO PROFILE

RECORD ID: 9300438
RECEIVED: 09 FEB 93 20

TO: HARKIN, TOM

FROM: BERGER

DOC DATE: 02 MAR 93
SOURCE REF:

KEYWORDS: NUCLEAR TESTING
NPT

ARMS CONTROL
CONGRESSIONAL

PERSONS: HARKIN, TOM

SUBJECT: BERGER REPLY LTR TO SEN HARKIN RE LTBT

ACTION: BERGER SGD LTR

DUE DATE: 12 FEB 93 STATUS: C

STAFF OFFICER: BELL

LOGREF:

FILES: WH

NSCP:

CODES:

DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTION

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO
ANDREASEN
BELL
NSC CHRON

COMMENTS: _____

DISPATCHED BY *AB* DATE 3/2 BY HAND W/ATTCH

OPENED BY: NSWEA

CLOSED BY: NSKDB

DOC 3 OF 3

UNCLASSIFIED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1993

Dear Tom:

I want to thank you for bringing to my attention the proposal by Parliamentarians for Global Action for using the amendment mechanism of the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 as a vehicle for rapidly concluding a global ban on all nuclear weapons tests.

Last week, Robert G. Bell, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Defense Policy and Arms Control, met with three members of Parliamentarians for Global Action to discuss their proposal. As we begin reviewing our policy on nuclear testing and questions relating to the forum and modalities for negotiating a CTB, amending the LTBT is one of the approaches we will be looking at.

I look forward to future discussions with you on this and other issues.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Sandy", written in dark ink.

Samuel R. Berger
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

The Honorable Tom Harkin
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

0438

February 23, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *REB*

FROM: STEVEN ANDREASEN *SAA*

SUBJECT: Letter from Senator Harkin on LTBT

SIGNED

Senator Harkin wrote to bring to your attention a report by Parliamentarians for Global Action on using the amendment mechanism of the LTBT of 1963 as a vehicle for rapidly concluding a global ban on all nuclear weapons tests.

The response from you to Senator Harkin notes that Bob met with three representatives of Parliamentarians for Global Action last week to discuss this process in detail and that amending the LTBT is one of the ideas we will take a close look at during the policy review on nuclear testing and a CTB.

Concurrences by: Donald Gross *DG*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Senator Harkin at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Letter to Senator Harkin

Tab II Letter from Senator Harkin

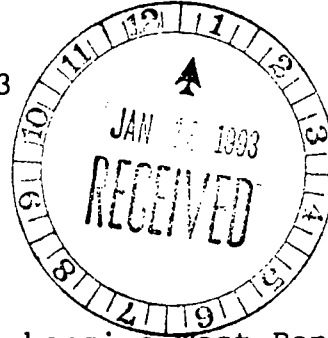
Don Gross

(Don - this came out of a
box of transition files
that I've been culling
through. I thought you should
be aware of them - M)

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

January 11, 1993



Samuel R. Berger
Director, National Security Department
1120 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20270

Re: Multilateral Negotiation for a Comprehensive Test Ban

Dear Sandy:

As a follow-up to my December 16, 1992 letter regarding a CTB, I am enclosing a more detailed description of the proposed process by Parliamentarians for Global Action. This is the organization composed of parliamentarians from around the globe that first proposed using the amendment mechanism of the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 as a vehicle for rapidly concluding a global ban on all nuclear weapons tests.

As I summarized in my previous letter to you, the advantages of this multilateral negotiation process include:

- * The ability to capture 117 nations "wholesale" through the LTBT amendment process, not "retail" through nation-by-nation negotiation;
- * Celebration of the 30th anniversary of JFK's LTBT achievement by convening an amendment conference in Washington on August 5, 1993;
- * Demonstration of the new administration's willingness to utilize a multilateral forum; and
- * Optimizing the chances for a successful NPT extension in 1995 (or before the 1996 election) by concluding a verifiable, global CTB by 1994.

I commend the more detailed description of this process by the Parliamentarians for Global Action to your attention.

Sincerely,

Tom Harkin
United States Senator

210 WALNUT ST.
ROOM 733 FEDERAL BLDG.
DES MOINES, IA 50309
(515) 284-4574

880 LOCUST ST.
SUITE 125
DUBUQUE, IA 52001
(319) 582-2130

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 2, 1993

Will,

Howard Paster's shop sent this over
this morning and said Howard needs it
done today. Ok with you?

Toda ~~DD~~

- telecon w/ Brenda

Cleared
3/2/93 1330
R. G. Bell

Buddy -
Will you please have
someone in your office
take a book of returned
and either call or E-mail
me about with a clearance
change, or whatever. ASAP
this afternoon. Thanks.
—
Sharon

OK - check
32657

93 MAR 2 AIO: 52

March 2, 1993

I am pleased to send greetings to the members of the American Defense Preparedness Association (ADPA) as you gather in our Nation's Capitol for your 75th Annual Meeting. I want to especially congratulate your honoree and my good friend, Chairman Jack Murtha.

ADPA's efforts to advise our Nation on defense preparedness are as important today as they were when our Nation was founded. Chairman Murtha has been able to recognize the need for a strong American industrial base, and he has been a staunch supporter of maintaining readiness within the armed forces. As Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, I look forward to working closely with Chairman Murtha and ADPA in the post Cold War world.

I thank the members of ADPA for your many years of service to our Nation, and I send best wishes for a productive meeting.

Todd
We need to get ~~this~~ this
out today!!
Thanks.
Veehan

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1029

March 2, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR WILLIAM H. ITOH

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL ^{26/83} AND ROBERT KYLE ^{BP}

FROM: KEITH HAHN ^{VH}

SUBJECT: Proposed Executive Order Entitled "Amendments to Executive Order No. 10480"

The Proposed Executive Order at Tab II would amend section 602(d) of the Defense Production Act Amendments of 1992 to establish an interagency group on the President's offsets report. (The offsets referred to in this proposal are those negotiated between defense companies and foreign governments to encourage the sale of weapon systems and platforms.) This group would be composed of the Secretaries of Commerce (chair), Defense, State, Treasury, Labor, USTR, and OMB.

Both the NSC and NEC should be represented on this group because offsets have broader implications for defense conversion, the defense industrial base and trade generally. The NSC Defense Policy and Arms Control staff and NSC/NEC International Economic Affairs staff should review proposed offsets involved in military sales -- preferably during the development of the report by the interagency group.

Concurrences by: Steve Jones, Bill Primosch ^{BP}, Mike Froman ^{BP} and Don Gross ^{DS}

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum at Tab I concurring in the proposed executive order subject to the inclusion of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and the Assistant to the President for National Economic Affairs on the interagency group on the President's offsets report.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum for Signature
Tab II Incoming Correspondence

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1029

MEMORANDUM FOR MAC REED

FROM: WILLIAM H. ITOH

SUBJECT: Proposed Executive Order Entitled "Amendments to
Executive Order No. 10480"

The National Security Council staff, in coordination with the National Economic Council staff, has reviewed the proposed Executive order. We concur with the proposed text, subject to the inclusion of the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Assistant to the President for National Economic Affairs on the interagency group that prepares the President's offset report.



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

Staff
1029

February 26, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR DESIGNATED AGENCY HEADS
(SEE ATTACHED DISTRIBUTION LIST)

FROM: Robert G. Damus *RGD*
Acting General Counsel

SUBJECT: Proposed Executive Order Entitled "Amendments to
Executive Order No. 10480"

Attached is a proposed Executive order entitled "Amendments to Executive Order No. 10480."

It was prepared by the Office of Management and Budget, in accordance with the provisions of Executive Order No. 11030, as amended.

On behalf of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, I would appreciate receiving any comments you may have concerning this proposal. If you have any comments or objections, they should be received no later than close of business Friday, March 5, 1993. Please be advised that agencies that do not respond by the March 5, 1993 deadline will be recorded as not objecting to the proposal.

Comments or inquiries may be submitted by telephone to Mr. Mac Reed of this office (Phone: 395-3563; Fax: 395-7294).

Thank you.

Attachments - Distribution List
Proposed Executive Order

cc: John Angell
Martha Foley
Joe Minarik
Barry Toiv
Jim Murr

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

AMENDMENTS TO EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 10480

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Defense Production Act of 1950, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2061 et seq.), the Defense Production Act Amendments of 1992 (Public Law 102-558), as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States, in order to further amend Executive Order 10480, as amended, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Section 602(d) of Executive Order No. 10480 is amended to read as follows:

"(d)(1) Establishment. There is established an interagency group on the President's offsets report, which shall be composed of the Secretaries of Commerce, Defense, State, Treasury, Labor, the United States Trade Representative, and the Office of Management and Budget. The Secretary of Commerce shall chair the interagency group on the President's offsets report.

(2) Functions. The Secretary of Commerce shall ensure that the report required by Section 309 of the Defense Production Act, as amended, is prepared with the participation of the interagency group on the offsets report and submitted to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget by September 15 of each year for review and submission to the Congress.

The function conferred upon the President by Section 309 of the Defense Production Act, as amended, with respect to the submission of reports to the Congress concerning offsets shall be performed by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. The heads of Executive departments and agencies shall, to the extent provided by law, provide the Director with such information as may be necessary for the effective performance of this function.

(3) In order to ensure that information gathered pursuant to this authority shall be subject to appropriate confidentiality protections, the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the United States Department of Commerce, which previously has been designated a 'central collecting agency' in gathering this information under 44 U.S.C. 3509, is authorized pursuant to Section 705 of the Defense Production Act, as amended, to collect the information required for compilation of the data base to be used in preparation of the reports to Congress required by Section 309 of the Defense Production Act."

Sec. 2. This order shall be effective immediately.

THE WHITE HOUSE,

DISTRIBUTION LIST

Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary
Department of State

Honorable Lloyd Bentsen
Secretary
Department of the Treasury

Honorable Les Aspin
Secretary
Department of Defense

Honorable Stuart M. Gerson
Acting United States Attorney General

Honorable Ron Brown
Secretary
Department of Commerce

Honorable Robert Reich
Secretary
Department of Labor

Honorable Bernard W. Nussbaum
Counsel to the President

Honorable John Podesta
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary

Honorable Roy Neel
Chief of Staff to the Vice President

Honorable Michael Kantor
United States Trade Representative

Honorable Anthony Lake
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Open Skies 1082

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 2, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT BELL *RbB*
FROM: ANNE WITKOWSKY *AW*
SUBJECT: Administration Support for the Open Skies Treaty
-- Possible March 3 Luncheon Item

At your lunch tomorrow, Secretary Christopher may ask you and Secretary Aspin for confirmation of administration support for the Open Skies Treaty, in light of resumed Senate hearings. Specifically, he may want this confirmation in advance of releasing his letter urging Senate advice and consent (draft at Tab I), which is poised to go to the Hill.

The Open Skies initiative was proposed by the U.S. in May, 1989. While not an arms control agreement in the traditional sense, the Treaty establishes a regime of unarmed aerial observation flights over its signatories (currently, the NATO Allies, East European members of the former Warsaw Pact, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan). It is designed to enhance confidence and benefit mutual understanding by giving all participants, regardless of size, a direct role in observing military or other activities of concern to them.

The Treaty was signed by the U.S. and 24 other nations on March 24, 1992, and sent to the Senate for consideration on August 12. Senate consideration will resume on March 4 with a hearing held by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI). The Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) and possibly the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC) are expected to hold hearings shortly thereafter. Thus far, Hungary, the CSFR, Canada, and Denmark have ratified the Treaty. Russia has indicated it expects to ratify later this spring, as have several other major signatories.

In the absence of confirmed Administration witnesses who can testify on the Treaty, it is particularly important that Secretary Christopher's letter go to the Hill so that we can make our support a matter of record.

RECOMMENDATION

That if raised at the March 3 lunch, you affirm the President's support for the Treaty on Open Skies.

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Attachment

Tab I Letter from SecState to Senator Pell

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 13526

White House Guidelines, September 11, 2006

By *W* NARA, Date *8/23/2016*

2016-0152-F

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In advance of resumed Senate consideration of the Treaty on Open Skies, I take this opportunity on behalf of the President to express my strong support for the Treaty.

Proposed by the U.S. in May 1989, the Treaty on Open Skies represents the broadest international effort to date to promote openness and transparency of military forces and activities. The Treaty covers all the territory of its signatories, which include all NATO Allies, the East European members of the former Warsaw Pact, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia and Kyrgyzstan. Additional states have indicated their interest in becoming parties in the near future.

The Treaty on Open Skies provides the opportunity to conduct flights in unarmed observation aircraft over the entire territory of each State Party and makes available the information gathered during these flights to all States Parties. It will contribute to mutual understanding and confidence-building by giving all States Parties, regardless of size, a direct role in gathering information about military forces and activities of concern to them. The Treaty responds to the desire of many states for innovative means of strengthening security and stability, especially throughout Europe, including the states of the former Soviet Union. The basic principles and modalities of Open Skies could be used to contribute to the reduction of tensions in other regions of the world as well.

I urge the Senate to give favorable consideration to the Treaty, including its annexes, and to offer its advice and consent to ratification at an early date.

Sincerely,

Warren Christopher

The Honorable
Claiborne Pell, Chairman,
Committee on Foreign Relations,
United States Senate.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

1032

March 2, 1993

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR ANTHONY LAKE

THROUGH: ROBERT G. BELL *RB*

FROM: STEVEN R. JONES *SJ*

SUBJECT: The President's Response to Senator Nunn Regarding
Defense Conversion and Transition Programs

Senator Nunn's letter (Tab B) dated February 19, 1993 was faxed to Bill Galston in Domestic Policy on February 25th. In discussions with Galston and Nancy Soderberg, it was decided that the NSC would take the lead in coordinating the response.

Senator Nunn's letter was prompted by his concern about the hold-up in implementing last year's FY93 defense conversion package, which contains several personnel transition initiatives that Senator Nunn has promoted, including the 15-year early retirement authority for military personnel. DoD will soon be ready to announce a broad defense reinvestment/conversion package including many of these initiatives.

To address the need for better coordination, a working level group representing the NEC, NSC, OMB, DoD, DoC and DoE met on March 1st to review FY93 conversion legislation, the FY94 defense conversion budget, and how best to organize this interagency effort.

We are working with the NEC and within this interagency group to develop an overall defense conversion approach that can be announced in the same time frame as the upcoming base closure announcements (March 12th). We expect Secretary Aspin to discuss the DoD package with the President later this week.

The draft response to Senator Nunn at Tab A is an interim response, noting the President has called upon DoD to expedite the implementation of the FY93 defense conversion package, and asked the NEC to initiate the interagency group to better coordinate defense transition issues and programs.

Concurrences by:

J/DG *J/DL* *J/Gessman for*
Don Gross, David Lane, Gordon Adams,
Bill Galston, and Larry Smith (DoD)
J/in draft *J/in draft*

RECOMMENDATION

That you concur with the attached response and send it jointly with NEC, OMB and DPC coordination to the President for action.

Attachments

Tab I	Memorandum to the President
Tab A	Draft letter to Senator Nunn
Tab B	Senator Nunn's letter to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
HOWARD PASTER

SUBJECT: Response to Senator Nunn Regarding Defense
Conversion and Transition Programs

Purpose

To respond to Senator Nunn's letter on defense conversion.

Background

The National Economic Council (NEC), in close coordination with the NSC and other EOP offices, is leading the effort to establish an interagency working group on defense conversion. An initial working group meeting was held March 1st. The EOP members are working to develop an overall defense conversion approach that can be announced in the same time frame as the base closures (March 12th). We expect Secretary Aspin to discuss the DoD reinvestment/conversion package with you later this week.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter at Tab A to Senator Nunn.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Senator Nunn
Tab B Incoming Letter from Senator Nunn

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I share your view that we must act aggressively to assist the people, communities and industries affected by the defense drawdown. Accordingly, I have asked Secretary Aspin to expedite a package of transition-related initiatives that includes many of the initiatives passed by Congress last year, such as the over \$500 million in dual-use technology and conversion initiatives, and needed personnel separation benefits.

I have also asked the National Economic Council to lead an interagency effort to coordinate and streamline these defense transition initiatives. As you are well aware, an effective response to these transition issues involves a number of Departments and agencies. The working group has already begun meeting to discuss these issues and to organize interagency responses to our defense transition challenges ahead.

Your offer to assist us in this effort is very much appreciated. I look forward to working closely with you and other members of Congress on this important issue.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Sam Nunn
Chairman
Committee on Armed Services
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

SAM NUNN, GEORGIA, CHAIRMAN

J. JAMES EXON, NEBRASKA	STROM THURMOND, SOUTH CAROLINA
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ARNOLD L. FUMARO, STAFF DIRECTOR
ANTHONY J. PRINCIP, STAFF DIRECTOR FOR THE MINORITY

*8 Pb have response for Pres
Signature Monday COB*

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8050

February 19, 1993

Bill Galt

2216

6444

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

Dear Mr. President:

I know you share my view that there is a critical need for aggressive defense conversion and transition programs to assist the people, communities and industries affected by the drawdown of our defense establishment. Such programs were authorized by Congress last year in the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993, and approximately \$1.7 billion was appropriated to carry out these programs in the current fiscal year.

Included in this legislation are programs to help businesses and communities respond to the reductions in defense spending and to provide for the readjustment, education, and training of active duty, reserve, and civilian personnel in the Department of Defense whose jobs are being eliminated. I know that you support the implementation of these defense conversion and transition assistance programs. Secretary Aspin was instrumental in drafting this legislation last year, and I know he is also anxious to see these programs implemented.

Unfortunately, the unwillingness of the previous Administration to take any steps to implement these transition provisions is preventing this important assistance from reaching those who need it right now. For example:

- Civilian communities across the country, particularly in hard-hit states like California and Connecticut, are reeling from the effects of cutbacks on defense procurement programs. Delays in implementing the assistance programs for industry and communities in last year's legislation will only further delay the prospect of economic recovery in these communities.
- The military services will have to unnecessarily force out tens of thousands of active duty personnel if the voluntary 15 year early retirement incentive authorized last year is not implemented soon.
- Large lay-offs of Defense Department civilian employees will be necessary if the retirement and resignation incentives that we authorized and funded are not implemented soon.

- Reductions in National Guard and Reserve units cannot proceed until the transition benefits authorized for these personnel are implemented.

Mr. President, we can address these problems now. I would like very much to work with you and Secretary Aspin to expedite the implementation of these transition programs to assist the dedicated military and civilian personnel of the Department of Defense who are facing the prospect of losing their jobs. Until your Administration's entire new national security team is confirmed and on board, I hope you will consider assigning implementation of these programs to a Task Force of senior career officials in the Defense Department to get the process underway.

I stand ready to assist you and Secretary Aspin in any way I can in this important effort.

Sincerely,



Sam Nunn
Chairman

cc: Secretary of Defense Aspin

Expediting Implementation of Personnel Transition Authorities

The Defense Department needs to move out promptly to implement the active, reserve, and civilian transition authorities we provided last year.

Active Duty Personnel

The 15 year early retirement authority for active duty personnel was embraced by the Clinton campaign and is needed to help the services reduce the senior, currently protected element of the inventory. CBO estimates that use of this authority could save nearly \$1 billion in FY1994, and \$4.3 billion cumulatively over five years (see attached). Because this authority is linked to the incentive for early retirees to seek work in critical community service type jobs, its implementation will require substantial coordination with OPM, Labor, Education, and other departments.

Reserve Personnel

National Guard and Reserve personnel cannot be involuntarily separated until the package of transition authorities we provided last year are implemented. These include authorities for early retirement to trim large surpluses in the 15-20 and over 20 years of reserve service categories, involuntary separation pay, and continuation of Reserve G.I. Bill benefits. The services cannot even start to make the modest cuts we approved last year until the authorities are implemented. In some cases, reservists who were separated have been called back because their separation violated the law.

Civilian Personnel

DOD needs to proceed with substantial civilian reductions. For example, the Air Force and Army Material Commands will be seeking authority to RIF about 20,000 people if the civilian transition benefits we authorized last year are not implemented soon. These authorities include early retirement incentives and which could ameliorate the requirement for any RIFs.

Opportunity to be for the Troops

The Clinton Pentagon can take credit for implementing these authorities that the Bush Pentagon put on the back burner. The Service Times publications are sure to applaud early implementation of these authorities as good people programs. There is an opportunity here to build up some good will, especially in light of some of the tougher decisions that will be coming down the road.

DEF-35 USE EARLY RETIREMENT TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF MILITARY PERSONNEL

Savings from CBO Baseline	Annual Savings (Millions of dollars)					Cumulative Five-Year Savings
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	
Savings in Total Federal Budget						
Budget Authority	590	1,350	1,100	-190	20	2,870
Outlays	550	1,290	1,120	-120	10	2,850
Savings in Defense Budget						
Budget Authority	950	2,070	1,580	-130	90	4,560
Outlays	900	2,010	1,600	-50	80	4,540

NOTE: Savings in the federal and Department of Defense budgets differ because of the effects of accrual accounting for military retirement and other pay costs that are offset in the federal budget.

The National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1993 allows the service secretaries to permit members to retire with as few as 15 years of service. That provision differs from normal retirement at 20 or more years of service in two important respects: (1) the service secretaries may prescribe eligibility criteria involving factors such as grade, years of service, and skill; and (2) the member's annuity amount, although based on the same formula used for normal retirement, is reduced by 1 percent for each year short of 20 that the member retires. Authority for early retirement expires on October 1, 1995.

How the Department of Defense uses the new authority could have important effects on both near-term defense costs and long-term federal costs for military retirement. The services could use early retirement to avoid the need to separate involuntarily senior members who are eligible for normal retirement, to reduce the need for involuntary separations of more junior personnel, as a substitute for other incentives designed to encourage the voluntary separation of career members, or to speed up personnel reductions. All of these policies would tend to reduce near-term defense costs, but only the last--speeding up the reductions--would definitely reduce federal outlays in both the near and the long terms.

This option would link the services' use of the early retirement incentive to reduced personnel levels, thus ensuring long-term savings in retirement costs. The Congress would direct DoD to grant early retirement to at least 60,000 personnel by the end of 1994. That number represents the difference between the number of people now serving with 15 to 19 years of service and the number who would be serving in the long run in the smaller base force, given current retention rates; that is, it represents one estimate of the number of excess personnel in that experience range. Personnel levels at the end of 1994 and 1995 would then be reduced by the cumulative number of early retirements. Because this option is designed to accelerate the drawdown rather than deepen it, it would not reduce personnel levels in 1996 and beyond.

Savings in defense budget authority under this option could total \$950 million in 1994 and \$4.6 billion over the 1994-1998 period. These savings assume that approximately 62,000 people would be allowed to retire with 15 to 19 years of service in 1993 and 1994. The savings are net of the retirement benefits paid to the early retirees, which would total \$2.1 billion over the five years. The defense savings include reductions in the accrual charges for military retirement that DoD pays into a trust fund.

CHAPTER TWO

DEFENSE AND INTERNATIONAL DISCRETIONARY SPENDING 89

These reductions in DoD outlays are offset in the total federal budget.

In addition to the near-term savings, long-term outlays for military retirement would decrease under this option. For each officer who retired at 15 years of service, total retirement payments would be reduced by at least \$50,000 in present-value terms--\$130,000 or more if the officer would have received another promotion had he or she not retired early. Comparable reductions for an enlisted member retiring at 15 years of service would be \$22,000 and \$60,000 or more, respectively.

If personnel levels are not reduced, long-term retirement costs could increase substantially. The services might then use early retirements to lessen the need for the voluntary or involuntary separation of other career personnel who were not eligible for retirement. If allowed to stay, many of them would eventually qualify for retirement at 20 years of service, costing the government much more than it would save as a result of the early retirements.

In addition to the savings, linking early retirement to reductions in personnel would facilitate personnel management. Without an early retirement program, the services would retain more personnel than needed with 15 to 19 years of service until they became eligible for normal retirement. DoD has

already used existing management tools to eliminate such excesses in other years-of-service groups, creating in effect a bulge in the years that can now be targeted for early retirement. Arguably, the services would be better off without the people in that bulge, who merely slow the promotions of more junior personnel.

Critics of using early retirement to reduce the size of the military might argue that the primary obstacle to faster personnel reductions is not the availability of tools for separating personnel but the inability of the personnel management system to replace departing personnel rapidly in the units that need them. Increasing the number of separations compounds the problem, even if the services do not need the additional personnel in the long run. Critics might also argue that the early retirement program would not reduce the services' use of other separation programs; rather, early retirement would allow the services to raise the number of new recruits to levels consistent with their long-term needs. Finally, extensive use of early retirement, which this option would virtually guarantee, might create pressure to continue the program beyond its current expiration in 1995. Continuing the program could lead service members to view retirement after 15 years of service as the norm rather than as a temporary authority to meet extraordinary needs.



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 102^d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 138

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1993

No. 14

Senate

INVESTING AMERICA'S PEACE DIVIDEND

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, in a series of speeches last week I talked about the contributions and sacrifices that our men and women in uniform made in winning the cold war. I also outlined the support we have provided to our military personnel and why such continued support is necessary in the future.

Today I want to discuss the impact of the defense buildup on the military members and the civilian workers in our defense establishment. Their dedication, their talents, and their commitment helped our Nation win the cold war. These men and women truly are our real peace dividend. We have an obligation to keep them from becoming victims of their own success. In meeting this obligation, we have an opportunity to invest this peace dividend in people and in America's future.

HUMAN IMPACT OF THE DEFENSE BUILDUP

The dramatic—and in most cases welcome—changes in the international security environment during the past year mean that some of the traditional threats to our national security have changed radically and fundamentally. The disintegration of the Soviet Union and the demise of Soviet communism mark the end of the cold war. We hope it will not return. Although the world remains a dangerous and uncertain place, the changes in the international security environment mean that

we can reduce the amount of our own spending on national defense.

This reduction in defense spending is welcome because it comes at a time when we have a soaring Federal deficit and a great number of unmet domestic needs. But reductions in defense spending will have an unfortunate impact on a great many people in our Defense Establishment.

Last week, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin Powell told the Armed Services Committee that 1 million people, civilian and military, will be released from the rolls of the Defense Department by 1996. That is 1 million jobs lost, just in the Department of Defense.

The employment picture in the U.S. defense industry is also bleak. A study by the Defense budget project last August predicted that private sector defense industry employment would decline by over 800,000 jobs from 1990 to 1996 as a result of the defense spending reductions in the budget summit agreement. With the additional program terminations in the administration's fiscal year 1993 amended budget request, and any additional cuts Congress may make, the total loss of defense industry jobs is bound to be over 1 million. Added to the Defense Department jobs, this represents 2 million less jobs in the next several years.

This loss of over 2 million defense-related jobs by 1996 stands in stark contrast to what has happened in the

recent past. The Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that there has been a net increase of only 20,000 jobs in the whole U.S. economy in the last 3 years. These are very sobering figures for all of us who are anxious to return the economic growth necessary to pull the Nation out of the current recession.

It is a real irony that the victory of the United States and our allies in the cold war means the loss of 2 million defense-related jobs. These people are not losing jobs because they failed—they are losing jobs because they won. The Nation owes all of them—military members, DOD civilians, defense industry personnel, and their families—more than just a simple "thank you" for a job well done. We owe them an opportunity to use the skills that helped win the cold war to address some of our pressing public and private sector needs.

Mr. President, if we act wisely, we can turn the enormous problem of excess talent in defense occupations into the enormous asset of new talent in nondefense occupations. This talent can become an investment in our future productivity and economic growth.

If we fail to act, we may not only inhibit recovery from the current recession—we may also lose our best opportunity that recovery can lead to long-term and permanent economic growth.

DOMESTIC NEEDS

Clearly there is plenty of work to do at home. Too many of our colleges and universities must fill science and engineering classes with foreign students. In part because too many public schools in our country do not do an adequate job of teaching math and science. There is too much crime on our streets and highways, and too few law enforcement officials working to keep them safe. Too many hospitals and nursing homes need skilled staff, and too many Americans need health care at home, away from expensive institutions. Too many young people pass

through the critical turning points of early childhood and early adolescence without the attention they need to keep up with their peers in school and in a competitive world with their peers in other countries.

We saw just in this morning's paper the results of recent math and science scores putting Americans near the bottom of these categories in competition all over the world.

People leaving defense-related jobs cannot solve all these problems; all of them cannot be absorbed in such critical jobs. We can, however, ensure that those who can contribute in critical occupations are given every opportunity and every incentive to do so.

MILITARY PERSONNEL AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF SKILLS AND TALENT

Adam Walinsky recently wrote a thoughtful column in the New York Times pointing out a number of areas where military personnel could contribute to solving some of our pressing domestic needs. While I do not share his view on one of his key suggestions, that is that military people should remain in the services to work in domestic programs, I do share his view that these military personnel can make an important contribution in a number of areas in our society. I ask unanimous consent that his article be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, public schools—our first line of defense in the fight for global markets—can clearly benefit from people with the skills that they have learned in the military.

Sixty percent of our military officers have baccalaureate degrees, and another 35 percent of our military officers have a masters degree or higher. In addition, all of our military personnel must complete formal or on-the-job training in their military skill.

Much of this training is in skills that are directly transferable to our civilian economy skills like construction work; electrical engineering; computers; vehicle and aircraft maintenance; communications; law enforcement; accounting and financial management; and a whole range of medical skills.

After receiving their training military personnel are challenged daily to perform in a highly competitive environment that rewards discipline, leadership, teamwork, and professional excellence, exactly the qualities we need in our commercial sector and in our public service jobs.

Many of these military members are highly sought after by the private sector, but some of them should be encouraged to enter the teaching profession through alternative teacher certification programs like the one suggested by former Lieutenant Governor of Texas, Bill Hobby. Both he and Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Training and Education Patricia Hines have written recent articles advocating this concept, and I ask unanimous consent that both articles be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 2.)

Mr. NUNN. Over the next several years, thousands of military personnel who have baccalaureate or masters or advanced degrees in math and science will be leaving the military services. Many of these individuals have been instructors in our military training establishments, which are among the best in the world. Many of these individuals could step right into teaching jobs in our colleges and universities, but, unfortunately, unless laws are changed at the State level, they are not able to move into our elementary and secondary schools because of archaic State teaching certification requirements. Texas and New Jersey are actively recruiting teachers through streamlined alternative certification

programs, and my own State of Georgia, under the leadership of Gov. Zell Miller is stepping up its efforts in this area and making changes so we can improve our performance in math and science by attracting more qualified teachers into these professions of math and science and also attracting more minorities into teaching.

Noncommissioned officers who may not have a college degree can be recruited to work as administrative assistants in schools where discipline is a problem. I can assure you that a Marine Corps or Army drill sergeant knows how to maintain order and discipline. I am not suggesting that our schools should be run like military basic training. But these former military instructors can adapt their leadership skills to the civilian teaching environment, help ensure discipline, and free up teachers to do what they are trained and paid to do—to teach. I do not know of anything that teachers tell me more than if they had someone to help with discipline in their classrooms, they could greatly increase their productivity.

Although public schools should be the first place we look for investing this human peace dividend, there are other fields in which separating military personnel have already trained and performed. For example, the Pentagon runs one of the largest health care systems in the world, operating 800 medical and dental facilities and 170 hospitals worldwide. This medical establishment will be reduced, and skilled military medical personnel will be leaving the services. There are also many other military personnel who can be quickly trained to move into the civilian health care field.

Large numbers of military police and personnel in law enforcement-related skills will be leaving the services. Many of these individuals have gone through the extremely rigorous screening program required for sensitive jobs in our government, including guarding nuclear weapons, and they

would be a tremendous asset to any law enforcement organization in the country.

Finally, Mr. President, there are many critical community service jobs that do not necessarily require technical skills but require dedicated people with the kind of leadership skills the military prides itself in developing. For example, the Cities in Schools Program is a private, nonprofit organization that currently has local programs in 18 States to reclaim school drop outs and potential drop outs. This program is working closely with the Pentagon to employ former military personnel—because they are the right kind of people for this type of critical work.

THE NEED FOR BALANCED REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY STRENGTH

Mr. President, the military services face a unique challenge in reducing their personnel strength over the next 5 years. I pointed out last week that in the past we have reduced the size of the military services by demobilizing large numbers of draftees, most of whom were delighted to see their term of service end or cut short.

We have a very different situation today. All military members on active duty are serving because they volunteered to do so. They all entered the military services with the expectation that if they performed well, they would have a rewarding and fulfilling career in uniform. The coming reduction in the size of the military services means that many of these volunteers will no longer have the opportunity to complete their military career.

In the past 2 years Congress has enacted a safety net of pay and benefits—including separation pay and voluntary separation incentives—to ease the burden on those military members who have to leave the services through no fault of their own. Those benefits will be used primarily by military members with less than 15 years of service. The military services understandably are very reluctant to sepa-

rate people with 15 to 20 years of service because these people are so close to the 20-year retirement point. However, the 225,000 people in this category represent 12 percent of the active duty force. Unless some reductions are made in this group, the services will be left with an unbalanced force with too many senior officers and noncommissioned officers. I should also point out that the officers and NCO's in this group are among the most highly trained and best qualified for jobs outside of the military services.

VOLUNTARY EARLY RETIREMENT

I believe there is a way to provide incentives to encourage military members in this 15 to 20 years of service group to voluntarily retire early and to take jobs in the fields of education, health care, law enforcement and other critical areas in our communities. The initiative I am working on and will propose to Congress would:

Help the military services reduce strength in senior grades by providing authority for the Secretary of Defense to offer early retirement to military members with 15 to 20 years of service;

Encourage separating military personnel to go into critical jobs such as teaching, law enforcement and health care; and

Facilitate any training in the necessary skills for these critical jobs in our communities.

Mr. President, I wish to take just a few moments this morning to summarize the three key provisions of this initiative.

The first provision would give the Secretary of Defense the authority to allow the voluntary retirement of military personnel with between 15 to 20 years of service during the period of the defense build down. This is not permanent. This is during the transition period. Individuals who retire under this provision would be eligible for immediate retired pay based on the current formula of 2.5 percent for each year of service multiplied by their basic pay. For example, an individual retiring with 15 years of service

would receive 37.5 percent of basic pay. For a mid-grade noncommissioned officer, E-6, this would amount to \$587 per month. These personnel would also be eligible for all other military retirement benefits, including medical care and discount shopping in military exchanges and commissaries.

This provision would provide the military services with an important personnel management tool that they do not have now to make reductions in the 15- to 20-year segment of the force. This early retirement authority is unusual, but it has been used in the past—most recently in the late 1930's—to help reduce surpluses in the ranks of the military services. In my view, this is a very appropriate time to use this early retirement authority again to help the military services reduce in a balanced, humane, and productive way. The military services will be able to offer this early retirement option, if the legislation I will introduce passes, to any military member with between 15 and 20 years of service who is in a surplus skill category.

The second provision of this initiative is an incentive for military personnel who choose this early retirement option to enter critical jobs in our communities. Under this provision, those military members who retire early and enter approved jobs in education, law enforcement, medical services, or other critical fields would be eligible to increase their military retirement years of service credit by 1 year for each year of such employment, up to a total of 20 years. For example, an individual who retired after 15 years of military service could accrue up to 5 years of additional credit in an approved job, for a total of 20 years. These retirees would later receive a one-time recalculation of retired pay based on their increased years of service at age 62. In the example I just used, the individual would begin drawing 37.5 percent of basic pay starting if he or she retired at 15 years of service and begin drawing 50

percent of his basic pay starting at age 62.

The third provision of this initiative would help separating military personnel get any education or training that is a prerequisite for employment in a designated critical job in our society. Some of this training can be provided in the existing military training establishment. Other training or education that is not available must be provided through civilian institutions and programs.

Currently, most military members are eligible for the Montgomery GI bill benefit, which provides up to \$350 per month for postservice education after leaving the military. I suggest expanding the opportunity for all military personnel, particularly those whose military skills are not readily transferable to the civilian economy, to use this benefit for full time schooling while, if they so choose, they are still on Active Duty. This would allow military members in the combat arms, for example, to enroll in a course of training or education leading to service in critical civilian jobs in our communities. Personnel who take advantage of this opportunity would be placed on an educational leave of absence of up to 1 year with basic pay, and upon separation, be required to affiliate in the individual Ready Reserve for 4 months for each month of training or education received under this provision.

Mr. President, these three key provisions—voluntary early retirement authority, incentives for public service in critical skills, and enhanced postservice education and training—create a winning situation for everyone affected by this program:

The military services will win because they will have another incentive to help them reduce the size of their career force.

Individual military members will win because they will have greater opportunities for postservice training and pay for critical important jobs, once they leave the military services.

America's communities and our local education establishments will win because they will benefit from the infusion of trained and talented people from the military services—especially in critical educational areas where we are woefully inadequate, particularly in the areas of math and science, but not only in those areas; but also in the area of language.

I cannot think of anything we need more in our society than the ability of people to speak foreign languages if we are going to compete in world trade. We have many, many schools that do not have adequate language teachers, and we have many, many people getting out of the military who do have these talents and the ability to teach.

Finally, Mr. President, our country will win because we will invest the tremendous talent that won the cold war in solving some of the Nation's pressing problems that will affect our future and particularly affect our economic growth.

Mr. President, I do not believe this initiative will result in significant increased costs to the Federal Government in the long term because the early retirement provision will produce potentially significant offsetting savings.

Although the early retirement provision would result in an immediate increase in the number of people leaving active duty who have between 15 and 20 years of service, I want to stress that these would be people who would have otherwise stayed on active duty until they completed the normal 20 years of service for retirement. The early retirement provision would move up the retirement dates of some of these people, and there would be a short-term increase in retirement outlays. However, the military services would avoid having to pay the salaries of those who choose to retire early, and therefore reduce active duty pay and allowance costs.

The early retirement provision

would also reduce long term retirement costs. The lifetime retirement benefit for a person retiring with less than 20 years of service under the early retirement option is less than the lifetime retirement benefit of that same person if he or she retired at 20 years of service.

For example, a midgrade noncommissioned officer (E-6) retiring at 15 years of service would receive 37.5 percent of his annual basic pay or \$7,640 per year. The same individual retiring at 20 years would receive 50 percent of his annual basic pay or \$10,675 per year. Assuming the actuarial life expectancy for this individual is 30 years from the age at which the individual would have completed 20 years of service, the individual would receive \$52,900 less in lifetime retired pay if he or she retired at 15 years of service. In this case, even though the individual would draw 5 more years of retirement pay, the individual does so at a lower basic pay level and at a lower years for service multiplier than if the individual retired at 20 years of service.

Mr. President, I hope that this important option for our military men and women and for our Nation's economy will be enacted. The Pentagon must lead the effort to establish this transition program for separating military personnel. This means that the Defense Department must make sure that the number of military personnel allowed to retire early is consistent with the manpower needs of the military services. The Defense Department must ensure that the early retirement program is coordinated with other voluntary separation programs to reduce the military personnel inventory in a balanced way. And the Defense Department must develop a program to match separating military personnel who wish employment in critical jobs in our communities with job vacancies, and identify any intervening training or education that would be required for these jobs.

Finally, it is important that standards for alternative certification are developed, including appropriate criteria for military training and experience, and that the States adopt these standards. I am encouraged that the National Conference of State Legislatures, and the Education Commission of the States are beginning to work along these lines.

Mr. President, I believe this legislation will go a long way toward applying the wealth of talent that our separating military personnel have to offer in correcting some of the problems we have at home. I will be working with Senator GLENN and Senator MCCAIN, the chairman and ranking minority member of the Manpower Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, along with Senator WARNER and other members of the Armed Services Committee on this initiative. I will also be consulting Chairman ASPIN, Congressman DICKINSON and the members of the House Armed Services Committee. I invite my colleagues to join me in developing this concept.

TRANSITION ASSISTANCE FOR CIVILIAN DEFENSE WORKERS

In addition to military personnel, there will be large numbers of Defense Department civilian employees and workers in defense industry who will lose their jobs and who are losing their jobs now because of the restructuring of our defense establishment. There will be about 1 million of these at least in the next 3 years. Like their uniformed counterparts, they face significant challenges of career transition. I think we owe these people more than a handshake and best wishes for finding a job in this recessionary economy. I believe that the human cost of career disruption, the value of this human capital to our economy, our pressing domestic social needs, and the economic challenges we face as a nation demand that we develop a program of transition assistance which responds to the needs of these individuals and to the needs of our economy.

Two years ago we anticipated the problems in the defense sector of the economy that would be caused by the restructuring and down sizing of the defense establishment. The National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1991 authorized a comprehensive program of economic adjustment, diversification, conversion and stabilization assistance for individuals and communities adversely affected by the closure, realignment or reduction of military installations and industrial plants.

Under this program, the Secretary of Defense was authorized to make economic planning grants to communities affected by the defense drawdown. The Secretary of Labor was authorized to make grants to States, employers, employer associations, and representatives of employees to provide training, career adjustment assistance and employment services to employees adversely affected by reductions in defense spending.

The Secretary of Commerce was authorized to help affected communities and regions develop economic redevelopment strategies, and the Administrator of Small Business was authorized to assist small businesses, which have been heavily dependent on defense business. A total of \$200 million was authorized and appropriated for this initiative in fiscal year 1991.

At the time, the Bush administration opposed the creation of this program. Since then, they have been slow to implement the assistance programs authorized by this legislation, and the tangible benefits for individuals and communities affected by the defense build down have been delayed. It took the better part of a year for the Defense Department to decide to actually spend the funds authorized and appropriated for these programs. The Commerce Department only recently agreed to fund economic redevelopment initiatives through the Economic Development Administration using these funds. Training and other transition assistance grants through the

Department of Labor are only now beginning to reach those employees directly affected by reductions in defense spending almost 18 months after the legislation was enacted.

Mr. President, there is no excuse for these kinds of delays, especially in light of the economic conditions we are now facing. In the next several years, the job losses in the Department of Defense and the U.S. defense industry are going to reach unprecedented levels compared to recent years. Last August, for example, a Defense budget project study predicted that in fiscal year 1993 alone, which begins next October 1, 300,000 jobs would be lost in the U.S. defense industry—and that was before the program terminations called for in the administration's fiscal year 1993 Defense budget.

Mr. President, make no mistake about it, if we accelerate the President's rate of Defense expenditure cuts, there are going to be more people out of work. As we debate marvelous new programs, tax incentives, and spending programs and say let us take it out of Defense, remember that every time we do that, we are going to be losing jobs immediately and up front, hopefully in order to create jobs down the way. Some of that may be necessary, some of it may be desirable, but we should understand what we are doing.

I think we need to go back and look at expanding the scope of—and increasing the funding for—the program of assistance for displaced Defense Department civilian employees and workers in the U.S. defense industry.

In the future, the Defense Department will increasingly rely on dual-use technologies and manufacturing processes—that is, processes that can be used in both the defense and the non-defense arena—as the central feature of our acquisition policy. In addition, we will depend heavily on a robust commercial industrial base as the foundation for our reconstitution

strategy in the event of a national emergency.

It is essential that we not dissipate the huge pool of talent that we have assembled in the defense industry as we reduce the size of our Defense Establishment. We have thousands of skilled individuals, as well as numerous research teams and design teams, that can contribute significantly to our industrial revitalization while maintaining their ability to participate in defense-related acquisition programs, if needed, in the future. It will take effective planning, training, and coordination to ensure that these talents are effectively converted into viable commercial sector applications.

The first step should be to designate a single department and a single official in the Federal Government responsible for ensuring an effective, coordinated program of transition assistance. The future of the industrial base that supports our national security is at stake here, and for that reason I believe that the responsibility for this effort should be centralized in the Department of Defense under the Secretary of Defense.

The Secretary of Defense, as I view it, should assume responsibility for administering the economic adjustment and transition programs for individuals and communities affected by the closing of defense industries. Of course, DOD must use the talents and experience of the Labor Department, the Education Department, and other agencies. But this must not become a bureaucratic shuffle. One Department must be responsible and accountable. The Defense Department knows best the scope and timing of civilian defense industry job losses, as well as the kinds of skills which are affected. Through administration of these transition programs, the Defense Department can both mitigate the impact on particular communities and preserve the critical skills and capabilities that we need to maintain in our industrial base.