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Sen. George Mitchell

November 27, 1990

The Honorable Sam Nunn
U. S. Senate
Washington D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Nunn:

I am horrified at the sorry spectacle of our President and Secretary of State traversing the world beating their drums of war while the rest of the civilized world seeks the way of peace.

I beg you to please act quickly to stop this headlong rush to war led by our President. Please know that there are many of us who fervently support the voices of reason such as yours.

Sincerely,

December 3, 1990

The Honorable Richard Gephardt
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington D. C. 20515

Dear Rep. Gephardt:

I want to thank you for speaking out against military action in the Gulf and for a more restrained posture.

In spite of the recent offer to talk, I am very fearful that President Bush is locked into a very dangerous position. He seems to be willing to risk thousands of American lives in a unilateral military action simply for the sake of cheap oil.

I implore you and the Congress to stop this madness before it is too late. Please know that there are thousands of us who appreciate and back your more reasonable stance.

I think we should be willing to discuss the Israeli-Palestinian problem. Didn't the President mention this in his UN talk?

Most sincerely,

GEORGE J. MITCHELL
MAINE

COMMITTEES:
FINANCE
ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
VETERANS' AFFAIRS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 10, 1990

Ms. Yoshiko Uchida
1685 Solano Avenue, No. 102
Berkeley, California 94707

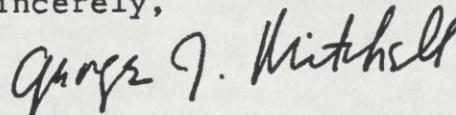
Dear Ms. Uchida:

Thank you for contacting me to express your view on the crisis in the Persian Gulf. I appreciate hearing from you.

I have enclosed a copy of my most recent statement regarding the crisis in the Gulf. I hope you find it helpful in clarifying my views to you at this time.

Thank you again for sharing your thoughts with me.

Sincerely,



George J. Mitchell

Enclosure

**Statement of
Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell
December 10, 1990
Los Angeles World Affairs Council**

For two centuries Americans have debated the relative powers of the President and Congress. Often it has been an abstract argument. But today the debate is real.

Four hundred thousand young American men and women in the Persian Gulf today wait for their nation's decision. They have the right to expect that decision to be made in accordance with the Constitution.

The men who wrote the Constitution had as a central purpose the prevention of tyranny in America. They had lived under a British king. They did not want there ever to be an American king. They were brilliantly successful. In our history there have been 41 Presidents and no kings.

They succeeded by creating a government with separate institutions and divided powers. They correctly reasoned that if power were sufficiently dispersed, no institution or individual could gain total power.

Nowhere has their concept been more severely tested than in what they regarded as one of the greatest powers of government -- the power to make war.

The Constitution designates the President as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. With that designation comes the authority to direct the deployment of those forces.

But the Constitution also grants to the Congress the authority to raise and support armies to declare war. The President has no authority, acting alone, to commit the United States to war.

The division of authority was a decision consciously reached by the framers of the Constitution. The earliest draft of the Constitution would have empowered the Congress to "make war," a greater grant of power than to "declare war." It reflected the deep concern of the Founding Fathers about too great a concentration of power in a single pair of hands.

When it was argued that to exclude the President from the war power might prevent him from repelling an attack on the country, the Constitutional Convention agreed to share the power. After the Revolutionary War, the Founders knew that a legislative body could not direct the day-to-day operations of a war.

But they also knew that the decision to commit the nation to war should not

be left in the hands of one man. The clear intent was to limit the authority of the President far more than any of the kings of that time.

Our subsequent history has borne out their wisdom.

Acting in his capacity as Commander in Chief, President Bush has deployed a vast American military force to the Persian Gulf. He was not required to seek the approval of Congress to order that deployment, and he did not do so.

But if he now decides to use those forces in an offensive military action he is legally obligated to seek the prior approval of the Congress. That is because such a military action would be, by definition, an act of war. And, under the Constitution, only the Congress can commit the United States to war.

The President has the authority to act in an emergency, and to authorize our forces to defend themselves if attacked. But a military offensive now would not be self-defense. It is not a response to a provocation. It would be the making of war. And only the Congress can commit our nation to that.

I have advised the President directly of my view on this matter. I know he understands it. I regret that he does not appear to share it.

Last week, his Defense Secretary, Dick Cheney, testified that the President's powers as Commander in Chief include the right to attack Iraq. He said, "I do not believe the President requires any additional authority from the Congress."

I assume that the President agrees with Secretary Cheney. I strongly disagree. The events of the past few days offer some hope that this crisis can be resolved without war. But, as of now, force cannot be ruled out. We hope war doesn't come. But if it does, it must have the approval of the Congress.

The President said last week that: "The fact is that it is not Iraq against the United States, it is Iraq against the world."

The President was right about that. This is the world's quarrel, not ours alone. We must reemphasize that fact.

Those of our allies whose economies depend upon the Gulf's oil reserves must be reminded of that fact.

Small nations which share borders with large neighbors must remember

that unchecked aggression may next come to them.

Gulf nations must remember that beyond the uncertainties of the moment loom far greater stakes for the region's future.

Opposition to aggression is not solely an American value. It is universal. If there is to be war in the Gulf, it cannot be a war in which Americans do the fighting and dying while those who benefit from our effort provide token help and urge us on.

The forces in the region should reflect the world-wide concern about the problem. But they do not. With the recent additional deployment, Americans will make up more than three-fourths of the fighting forces arrayed against Iraq. That is unwise and unfair. If this is to be an international effort, it must be so in more than name only.

The United Nations Security Council has approved a resolution authorizing the use of all necessary means to enforce the terms of previous U.N. resolutions against Iraq: withdrawal from Kuwait, restoration of the Kuwaiti government and the release of all hostages.

We are all heartened by the announcement that the hostages will be released. Of course, they should never have been detained. Now Iraq must leave Kuwait.

I hope Secretary Baker's forthcoming visit to Baghdad will persuade Saddam Hussein to do just that.

However, a U.N. resolution cannot take the place of a declaration of war by the Congress.

Indeed, the terms of the U.N. Charter, on which the recent Resolution was based, condition the use of force by Member States on the ratification of that use by the individual Member States. In the United States that means following the Constitution.

I believe it is in the President's interest and the national interest for the Congress to be fully engaged and involved. If recent history makes anything clear, it is that public understanding and support are necessary if any national policy is to be sustained, especially one that requires pain and sacrifice.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was illegal and brutal. It deserved to be and was condemned.

In response, and in part to rein-

force at the outset of the post-Cold War period the illegitimacy of military force as a solution to international problems, the President took prompt military and diplomatic action. I supported that action by the President, as did a majority of the Congress and the American people.

That action was successful in the immediate goal of deterring an invasion of Saudi Arabia.

It was successful in uniting the world community in condemnation of the aggression.

It is succeeding in enforcing against Iraq economic sanctions intended to achieve the reversal of its aggression.

Within days of the invasion the President sent thousands of American troops to Saudi Arabia. On August 8, in justifying his decision to the American people, he said:

"I want to be clear about what we are doing there and why. America does not seek conflict, nor do we seek to chart the destiny of other nations. But American will stand by her friends. The mission of our troops is wholly defensive."

The President explained that the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait would be accomplished by economic sanctions. Neither the President nor anyone else in the Administration said, then or later, that the success or failure of the sanctions could be determined in three or four months.

In September, the President said that the "sanctions are working. Iraq is feeling the heat." He said the "sanctions will take time to have their full intended effect."

In October, Secretary Cheney reiterated that view. He said if he were in Saddam Hussein's place, he "would be concerned that over the next few months he will see the erosion of his political base within Iraq, the erosion of his economy within Iraq, and the erosion of the capability of the enormous military machine he's deployed...."

Yet, despite his own clear and repeated statements that our military's mission was defensive and that we would rely on sanctions to induce Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, in early November the President ordered 200,000 more Americans to the Persian Gulf.

The new deployment virtually doubled our forces for the stated purpose of creating an offensive military capability.

That action provoked an immediate and broadly based public concern. Americans who supported a stringent economic embargo asked why we appeared to be rushing to war.

The recent hearings in Congress have provided a forum for the Administration and others to address that question.

Two former Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe and General David Jones, urged patience with respect to the economic embargo. The testimony of these experienced military men was that the economic sanctions deserve a longer test before being discarded.

Admiral Crowe's conclusion was, "I personally believe they will bring him to his knees.... If in fact the sanctions will work in twelve to eighteen months instead of six months, the trade-off would, in my view, be more than worth it."

The most detailed analysis of the effect of the sanctions was provided by CIA Director William Webster. He said the sanctions have dealt "a serious blow" to Iraq's economy. More than 90 percent of Iraq's imports and 97 percent of its exports have been shut off. Iraq has been deprived of \$1.5 billion a month in foreign exchange earnings and, by the spring, "will have nearly depleted its available foreign exchange revenues." Then its problems will multiply as industries shut down and jobs are lost. "Probably only energy-related and some military industries will still be fully functioning by next spring," according to Webster. Already, food prices are skyrocketing and civilian rations have been cut twice.

In a recent address to the nation, the President said, "I'm continually asked how effective are the U.N. sanctions. and I don't know the answer to that question. Clearly, the sanctions are having some effect but I can't tell you that the sanctions alone will get the job done."

Of course, no one has suggested the President must be able to predict with certainty if and when the sanctions will work. But surely war is just as unpredictable. No one can forecast how soon or at what cost of life that alternative would work.

We cannot and should not rule out the use of force. We must be prepared to use it if necessary. That's not the question. The question now is whether force should be a last resort or a

first resort.

Of course, there is no guarantee that continuing the sanctions will work. That's a risk. But there's also a risk in prematurely abandoning the sanctions and rushing to war.

Some have urged that an immediate special session of the 101st Congress be convened to debate and vote on a declaration of war or some equivalent resolution. I have discussed that option with the President and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, with whom I share the authority to reconvene the Congress in special session. We agree that unless an emergency occurs, that would be an unnecessary and unwise step. The 101st is a lame-duck Congress. About ten percent of its members were not elected to serve in the 102nd Congress which will convene on January 3rd. The U.N. Resolution, by setting a deadline of January 15th for the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, effectively precludes military action before that date. There will, therefore, be time for the newly-elected Congress to debate the matter after it convenes in January.

In the meantime, I take the President at his word: that the recent deployment does not mean that he has decided to use military force. That's what the President has told me and I believe him.

I believe that the President is trying to use the threat of war to prevent war.

The President does not need the approval of the Congress to threaten war.

But he does need the approval of the Congress to make war.

The sanctions are being enforced. They are having an effect on Iraq. We should continue their enforcement and seek to enlarge their effect.

The President was right to organize international condemnation of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. He was right to deploy troops to protect Saudi Arabia against invasion. He was right to gain United Nations support for economic sanctions against Iraq and to authorize the use of all necessary means to remove Iraq from Kuwait.

I believe the best course now for the President and the nation is to "stay the course," to continue the policy he so clearly established at the outset of this crisis. It offers the best hope now for the achievement of our objectives at the lowest cost in lives and treasure. That is a goal we all share.

RICHARD A. GEPHARDT

3d DISTRICT, MISSOURI

MAJORITY LEADER

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

PERMANENT SELECT
COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 17, 1990

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Ms. Yoshiko Uchida
1685 Solano Avenue
No. 102
Berkeley, CA 94707

Dear Ms. Uchida:

Thank you for your thoughts on the current Middle East crisis. I wholeheartedly share your concern.

Since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, Congress has shown strong support for a policy of patient strength by opposing Saddam Hussein's aggression through the United Nations' sanctions against Iraq. It is my hope that the sanctions can force Saddam from Kuwait without involving American soldiers in offensive military actions. But for sanctions to work, they must be given sufficient time.

Before resorting to offensive military action against Iraq, Congress and the American people will need to be convinced that the policy of pressure, isolation, and sanctions has failed. This has not yet been demonstrated.

During testimony at Congressional hearings, several former defense secretaries and former chairmen of the joint chiefs of staff have stated that sanctions should be given adequate time to work. In addition, C.I.A. Director William Webster testified that the international trade embargo has dealt "a serious blow" to the Iraqi economy shutting off more than 90 percent of Iraq's imports and 97 percent of its exports. This testimony provides clear evidence that we can be patient and perhaps avoid a costly war with Iraq.

The President has a Constitutional responsibility to consult with Congress during this crisis, especially before contemplating the use of offensive military force. The recent U.N. Resolution authorizing the use of force is no substitute for Congressional approval. The Constitution is clear: Only Congress can declare war.

Recent Congressional hearings have provided an important forum for testimony on the Persian Gulf crisis from Administration officials, former officials, and other experts. The hearings can help ensure that our national goals are clearly defined.

One of the criteria upon which the Congress and the country will judge the President's Gulf policy is the level of commitment of our allies measured both in manpower and money. Of the 12

RICHARD A. GEPHARDT

3D DISTRICT, MISSOURI

MAJORITY LEADER

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

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nations on the U.N. Security Council voting to authorize the use of force, only the U.S., France, and England have troops on the ground in Saudi Arabia. Although Japan and Germany are far more dependent on Persian Gulf oil, their economic contributions to Operation Desert Shield have been much smaller than ours. Our allies must take their place in this effort to deter aggression with troops and financial commitments equivalent to ours.

Again, thank you for your comments. I will be sure to keep your views in mind. Please feel free to contact me in the future regarding this or any other issue.

Yours very truly,



Richard A. Gephardt
House Majority Leader

RAG:sbd

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 20, 1990

Ms. Yoshiko Uchida
1685 Solano Avenue, #102
Berkeley, California 94707

Dear Ms. Uchida:

Thank you for contacting me regarding the crisis in the Persian Gulf. I appreciate having your thoughts on this important issue.

Our military forces currently deployed in the Gulf region are successfully accomplishing the three-part mission originally assigned them: to deter Saddam Hussein from further aggression, to defend Saudi Arabia, and to enforce the United Nations' sanctions against Iraq. This mission was changed on November 8, however, when the President added an offensive military goal: to double our military presence in the Gulf so that we would have the capability of going on the offensive to force Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

I agree with the President's original mission for our troops. I also agree with his overall objectives which include removal of all Iraqi forces from Kuwait, restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti government, release of all hostages, and establishment of stability in the Gulf area. I am concerned, however, about several aspects of the new offensive mission.

While I have no doubt that Saddam Hussein's aggression justifies the use of military force, I do doubt that its use would be wise at this time. Economic sanctions against Iraq have shut off virtually all of its imports and exports. The economic pain to Iraq is slow but certain and is cumulative in effect. I do not believe the Administration has made the case that economic sanctions should be abandoned in the next several months in favor of a military offensive that would be costly in lives as well as resources.

I am also concerned about the size of the new deployments, which promise to bring our troop strength to about 450,000. A force of this magnitude will be difficult to maintain in the Saudi desert. This fact in turn will create pressure for an early offensive. Moreover, maintenance of a force this large will preclude troop rotation, since we do not have the overall troop strength to accomplish such rotation. And rotation is important for morale and for sustaining peak performance.

December 20, 1990
Page 2

In my view, criticism of Congress for questioning the Administration's Persian Gulf policy is misplaced. Congress has a constitutional responsibility in matters of war and peace, and the nation has a right to hear responsible debate on such matters.

I am sure we all hope that our basic objectives in the Persian Gulf can be achieved without resorting to war. We all welcome the release of hostages and the upcoming U.S.-Iraqi meetings in Baghdad and Washington. If we resort to war, we should be able to assure the close relatives of those called upon to sacrifice their lives that war was the only available option. In my opinion, the Administration has not yet made the case that this is so.

It was good to hear from you. Your comments are helpful to me.

Sincerely,

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

Sam Nunn

SN/cwc

January 3, 1991

Senator Bob Dole
Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Dole:

I write to ask you to please urge President Bush to seek a diplomatic solution to the Gulf crisis instead of taking unilateral military action for which we would have no allied support. I believe you are one of the few he would listen to.

I do not believe a short, decisive victory is possible in the complex middle east situation and believe the President should be urged to go down in history as a strong but wise leader who sought a peaceful resolution, not as one who plunged the middle east into a holocaust and brought our country to economic ruin.

I do not believe our goals in the Persian Gulf are worth the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives - American and otherwise. I believe you understand how most of us feel and ask you to convince the President. Thank you.

Sincerely,

April 27, 1992

Senator Al Gore
U. S. Senate
Washington D. C. 20510

Att'n: Sen Gore's
personal sec'y.

Dear Senator Gore:

When you were in Berkeley, CA in February, I was unable to attend your book-signing at Black Oak Books and Victoria Shoemaker asked you to sign a copy of *EARTH IN THE BALANCE* for me. I want to thank you for the lovely inscription you wrote for me and tell you that I treasure it as well as your marvelous book. I was very moved by the events in your life that led you to write it.

As a writer myself (mostly books for young people), I admired your meticulous research, your clear, lucid writing and your inspiring message of healing. Our country is so in need of a leader with your spiritual insights and commitment to global healing, it is indeed our great loss that you are unable at this time to be a presidential candidate. I do hope you can consider it another time.

Please put me on your mailing list for any information as to how I might support your noble efforts to implement the specific suggestions you make in Chapter 15 regarding a Global Marshall Plan. It is truly a tragedy that the present administration does not support your views or your sense of urgency.

I hope your son is now in good health. If you think he might be interested in reading any of my books (see enclosed), please let me know, and it would be my great pleasure to send him one. I would consider it a small way of thanking you for your magnificent book, which is truly a great gift to all of us.

With great admiration and respect,

Yours very sincerely,

Ms. Yoshiko Uchida

Encl: CA Bio
In.Th. marked

AL GORE
TENNESSEE



UNITED STATES SENATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 13, 1992

Yoshiko Uchida
1685 Soland Avenue, No.102
Berkley, CA 94707

Dear Ms. Uchida:

Thanks so much for your letter. I appreciate your sharing your thoughts on my book with me.

I know my son Albert would be delighted to have one of your children's books.

You are very generous. I appreciate your interest and offer to help.

Please stay in touch.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'Al Gore'.

Al Gore

May 20, 1992

The Honorable Al Gore
United States Senate
Washington D. C. 20510

Dear Senator Gore:

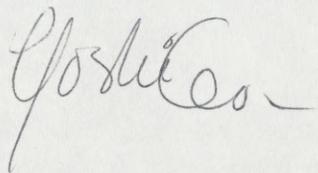
I was delighted to receive your letter and to know that your son would enjoy reading one of my books.

I am enclosing for Albert a copy of my most recent title, **THE INVISIBLE THREAD: A Memoir**. It tells of my life growing up as a Japanese American and of my experiences during World War II when I was interned by my own country.

Although it was written primarily for young people ages 9 and up, many adults have told me they enjoyed it as well. Perhaps his sisters might find it of interest too.

This brings warmest good wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Yoshiko".

Encl: