

[5/8/79-Not Submitted] [CF, O/A 548]

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: [5/8/79-Not Submitted] [CF, O/A 548]; Container 116

To See Complete Finding Aid:

http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff_Secretary.pdf

DF

ID 791918

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 08 MAY 79

FOR ACTION: HAMILTON JORDAN *-nc*

FRANK MOORE (LES FRANCIS)

JODY POWELL *nc*

ANNE WEXLER *nc*

ZBIG BRZEZINSKI

PHIL WISE - *Should incorporate w/EB note how to
Dm! talking w/ JZ
Gez*

FRAN VOORDE

INFO ONLY: *The Vice President*

- Pull - on Gez 95

SUBJECT: RAFSHOON MEMO RE SALT ACTIVITIES

+++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JERRY RAFSHOON 

SUBJECT: SALT Activities

As the debate over SALT II intensifies in the coming months, we want the American people and the undecided members of the Senate to look to you for guidance and leadership.

In order to get the maximum benefit from your efforts, we must first establish your credibility as the chief spokesman for SALT II. Following are a series of activities which would help accomplish this.

Establishing trust

The debate over SALT II will be long, rancorous and confused. Ultimately, many Americans and Senators will make up their minds based on which advocates or opponents of SALT they most trust. By building trust in you as the chief negotiator and chief advocate of SALT II, we can build trust in the agreement itself. It won't be easy. The days are long gone when an Eisenhower could say, "I've read the treaty and it's a good one". The political and ideological dynamics of the SALT debate are far too complex.

One essential way to build trust is for you to be absolutely conversant with every detail of SALT; to be able to make every argument in favor and respond to every criticism, no matter how detailed or obscure.

While continuing to present the major themes of the SALT debate, you can use your detailed knowledge to build your own credibility and undermine that of the critics. This will be essential in the two most difficult areas of the SALT debate: verification and defense policy.

SALT II must be seen as a Jimmy Carter treaty (not a Paul Warnke treaty), built upon the framework begun by Nixon and Ford, negotiated by you and your advisors in a cautious, patient manner, responsive to the dangers raised by certain Soviet actions, unawed by the Soviets, but well aware of the awesome responsibility involved.

How can we establish this trust?

--First, you should be thoroughly briefed on every detail of SALT II. You should know the specifics of the treaty, the questions being raised, and the answers to those questions. Your statements on SALT must be clear, concise and consistent. You should meet on a regular basis with several of the administration's SALT experts, to be briefed and kept up to date on issues as they develop.

This means also, that we as an administration must speak with one voice, that we should stick with the themes developed by the SALT working group, and that only those who are absolutely qualified should be trying to debate the details of the agreement.

--You should make the case for SALT II to as many individual Senators as possible. We should make it clear that you are doing so both to answer their concerns and to use your powers of persuasion. A comparison of your role at Camp David, when you committed your time, intelligence and persistence to get people to do the right thing, would be very helpful. You should use Camp David as the setting for meetings with undecided Senators when it gets down to the crunch.

--You should make a joint statement with Brezhnev at the Summit, carried worldwide by satellite, and an evening address to the Congress when you transmit the treaty to the Senate. This will give you an opportunity to re-establish the themes which you outlined in the New York speech.

--You should sit down with the three network anchors for a televised interview to be shown simultaneously in prime time. You could give short opening remarks and then answer their questions. We would let it be known that we expect them to ask the tough questions.

Again, this would be an opportunity to show that you are sensitive to the concerns of the undecided, and that you have an overwhelming grasp of the details of the treaty and its implications. People would be very attracted to

idea of the network anchors interviewing you on such an important issue, and the audience would likely be far greater than for a fireside chat or other format.

--You should participate in a limited number of Q&A format print interviews, aimed at both opinion leaders (Fortune) and the general public (Time, Newsweek, and US News and World Report).

--The Foreign Policy Association has raised the possibility of working with PBS to present a series of televised "town meetings", which would link groups in different parts of the country by satellite. We should arrange to have you participate in at least one, and we should make top administration officials available for all. A likely format would have you answer questions from participants at several of the meetings in different states.

--You should meet, either publicly or privately, with the highest possible representatives of the scientific community, veterans, environmentalists, defense-related and other business leaders, religious leaders and others. Your talk to each group should be the same: peace and security, and you should take the time to show that you are the country's foremost SALT expert by taking their questions.

--As the vote on SALT II nears, you should take a week or more to carry the case for ratification directly to key states. This must be done in a way that involves undecided Senators and gives them the political support they need to vote for the treaty, rather than appearing to put pressure on them by going directly to their constituents. Again, Q&A's should be an important part of every program. If we handle it properly, SALT II can be a positive issue, not only for you, but for almost anyone running for reelection.

The outcome of these and other activities will be to build trust -- in your commitment to maintaining peace and security, in your knowledge of the details of the treaty and its implications, in you as a negotiator fully aware of the pitfalls posed by the Soviets, in the fact that we are not hiding anything from the Senate or the American people, and ultimately, in the treaty itself.

cc: Hamilton Jordan
Zbigniew Brzezinski
Jody Powell
Anne Wexler
Frank Moore

ID 791918

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 08 MAY 79

FOR ACTION: HAMILTON JORDAN

FRANK MOORE (LES FRANCIS)

JODY POWELL

ANNE WEXLER

ZBIG BRZEZINSKI

PHIL WISE

FRAN VOORDE

INFO ONLY:

SUBJECT: RAFSHOON MEMO RE SALT ACTIVITIES

gig

+++++

+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +

+ BY: +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

STAFF RESPONSE: () I CONCUR. () NO COMMENT. () HOLD.

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

*This should be incorporated with
Lander Butts SALT memo to Carter
PJM*

20

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JERRY RAFSHOON 

SUBJECT: SALT Activities

As the debate over SALT II intensifies in the coming months, we want the American people and the undecided members of the Senate to look to you for guidance and leadership.

In order to get the maximum benefit from your efforts, we must first establish your credibility as the chief spokesman for SALT II. Following are a series of activities which would help accomplish this.

Establishing trust

The debate over SALT II will be long, rancorous and confused. Ultimately, many Americans and Senators will make up their minds based on which advocates or opponents of SALT they most trust. By building trust in you as the chief negotiator and chief advocate of SALT II, we can build trust in the agreement itself. It won't be easy. The days are long gone when an Eisenhower could say, "I've read the treaty and it's a good one". The political and ideological dynamics of the SALT debate are far too complex.

One essential way to build trust is for you to be absolutely conversant with every detail of SALT; to be able to make every argument in favor and respond to every criticism, no matter how detailed or obscure.

While continuing to present the major themes of the SALT debate, you can use your detailed knowledge to build your own credibility and undermine that of the critics. This will be essential in the two most difficult areas of the SALT debate: verification and defense policy.

SALT II must be seen as a Jimmy Carter treaty (not a Paul Warnke treaty), built upon the framework begun by Nixon and Ford, negotiated by you and your advisors in a cautious, patient manner, responsive to the dangers raised by certain Soviet actions, unawed by the Soviets, but well aware of the awesome responsibility involved.

How can we establish this trust?

--First, you should be thoroughly briefed on every detail of SALT II. You should know the specifics of the treaty, the questions being raised, and the answers to those questions. Your statements on SALT must be clear, concise and consistent. You should meet on a regular basis with several of the administration's SALT experts, to be briefed and kept up to date on issues as they develop.

This means also, that we as an administration must speak with one voice, that we should stick with the themes developed by the SALT working group, and that only those who are absolutely qualified should be trying to debate the details of the agreement.

--You should make the case for SALT II to as many individual Senators as possible. We should make it clear that you are doing so both to answer their concerns and to use your powers of persuasion. A comparison of your role at Camp David, when you committed your time, intelligence and persistence to get people to do the right thing, would be very helpful. You should use Camp David as the setting for meetings with undecided Senators when it gets down to the crunch.

--You should make a joint statement with Brezhnev at the Summit, carried worldwide by satellite, and an evening address to the Congress when you transmit the treaty to the Senate. This will give you an opportunity to re-establish the themes which you outlined in the New York speech.

--You should sit down with the three network anchors for a televised interview to be shown simultaneously in prime time. You could give short opening remarks and then answer their questions. We would let it be known that we expect them to ask the tough questions.

Again, this would be an opportunity to show that you are sensitive to the concerns of the undecided, and that you have an overwhelming grasp of the details of the treaty and its implications. People would be very attracted to

idea of the network anchors interviewing you on such an important issue, and the audience would likely be far greater than for a fireside chat or other format.

--You should participate in a limited number of Q&A format print interviews, aimed at both opinion leaders (Fortune) and the general public (Time, Newsweek, and US News and World Report).

--The Foreign Policy Association has raised the possibility of working with PBS to present a series of televised "town meetings", which would link groups in different parts of the country by satellite. We should arrange to have you participate in at least one, and we should make top administration officials available for all. A likely format would have you answer questions from participants at several of the meetings in different states.

--You should meet, either publicly or privately, with the highest possible representatives of the scientific community, veterans, environmentalists, defense-related and other business leaders, religious leaders and others. Your talk to each group should be the same: peace and security, and you should take the time to show that you are the country's foremost SALT expert by taking their questions.

--As the vote on SALT II nears, you should take a week or more to carry the case for ratification directly to key states. This must be done in a way that involves undecided Senators and gives them the political support they need to vote for the treaty, rather than appearing to put pressure on them by going directly to their constituents. Again, Q&A's should be an important part of every program. If we handle it properly, SALT II can be a positive issue, not only for you, but for almost anyone running for reelection.

The outcome of these and other activities will be to build trust -- in your commitment to maintaining peace and security, in your knowledge of the details of the treaty and its implications, in you as a negotiator fully aware of the pitfalls posed by the Soviets, in the fact that we are not hiding anything from the Senate or the American people, and ultimately, in the treaty itself.

cc: Hamilton Jordan
Zbigniew Brzezinski
Jody Powell
Anne Wexler
Frank Moore

OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM CORPORATION

10889 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • SUITE 1500

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90024

(213) 879-1700 • (213) 477-0066

ARMAND HAMMER
CHAIRMAN AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

May 8, 1979

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

Dear Mr. President:

I just returned from Dulles where I greeted Minister Demichev on his arrival and I believe it would be extremely important and very gracious of you if you could receive him during his stay in Washington.

I know that he is meeting with Vice President Mondale tomorrow morning, but I think he is a man of such stature that you would enjoy meeting him. He has the confidence of Mr. Brezhnev and will be seeing him on his return to Moscow which will be before the Summit Conference. He told me he is carrying a personal invitation to you from President Brezhnev to visit the Soviet Union at your convenience. An exchange of views between both of you can be helpful to the common goal and understanding we all seek.

Frances and I look forward to seeing Rosalynn and you tomorrow evening.

As always, my warmest expression of support and esteem.

Respectfully,



**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**