

The Award Winning

Jimmy Carter Library & Museum

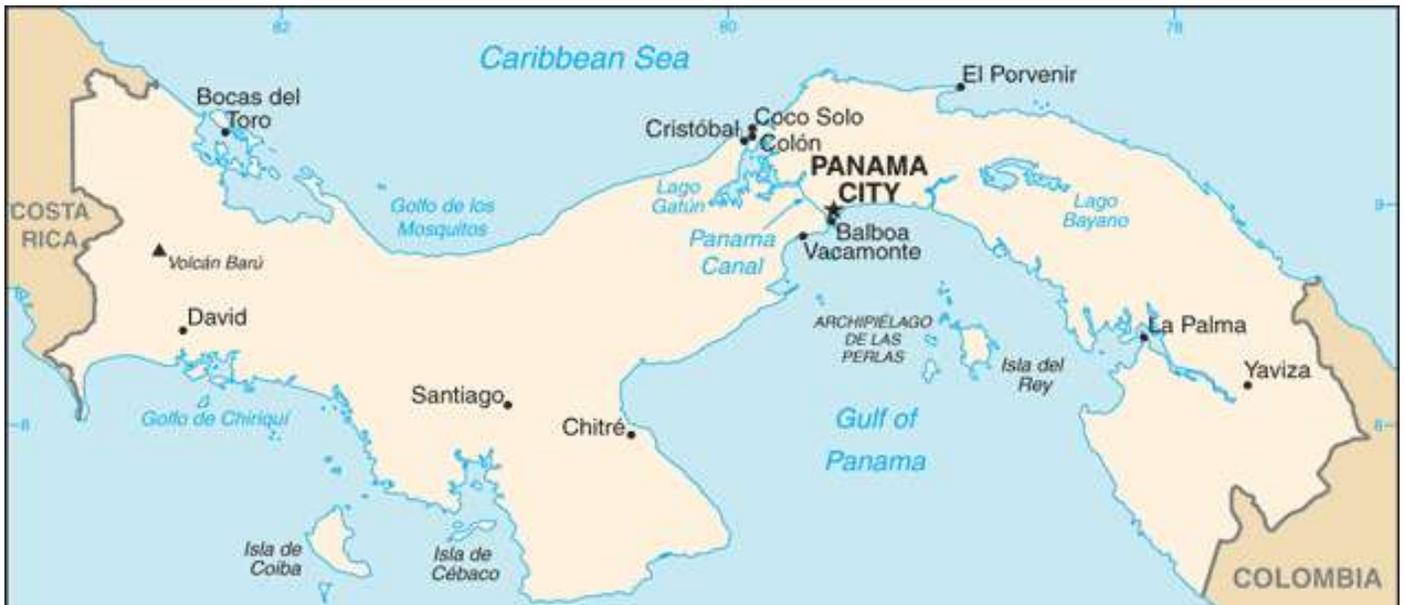
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Curriculum Guide: The President's Travels



Unit 9 of 19:

The Panama Canal



Panama Canal

Jimmy Carter Library and Museum

Geography Activities

World Map activity

Students will create a hand-drawn map that identifies Latin American countries, physical features, and the Panama Canal.

1. Project a blank map of North and South America on a screen for students to see.
2. Provide students with unlined paper and have students sketch a map of North and South America using the sample map as a model.
3. Then using their map and an atlas, students will label the following places on their sketch map: Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Pacific Ocean, Panama Canal, Cape Horn, the countries of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Venezuela, and the United States.



Commercial and other ships pass through the canal.



Pictures from the CIA world fact book

Scavenger Hunt Activity

The Panama Canal (<http://www.pancanal.com/index.html>) website details both the history and current operations for this important transit waterway. Students will explore the website

and learn about the Canal.

Activity 1

1. Students will access the [multimedia animation](http://www.pancanal.com/eng/general/howitworks/index.html) at <http://www.pancanal.com/eng/general/howitworks/index.html>

[ml](#) that describes the Transit, Operations, and Dimensions of the Canal. Student should view each animation and understand how the canal works especially noting the locks system and route.

2. Have students complete a scavenger hunt using the questions below. All answers can be found on the Panama Canal website.

Scavenger Hunt

1. What were the major obstacles in constructing the waterway?
2. Who had the idea of building a canal the Isthmus of Panama?
3. What is the length of the waterway?
4. How long does it take for a complete transit?
5. How many vessels have transited the Canal since its

inauguration?

6. Who was the first person to swim the Panama Canal in its entirety?

7. How many vessels use the Canal every year?

8. What hours does the Canal operate?



Georgia Performance Standards

SS6G1 The student will locate selected features of Latin America and the Caribbean.

a. Locate on a world and regional political-physical map: Amazon River, Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Pacific Ocean, Panama Canal, Andes Mountains, Sierra Madre Mountains, and Atacama Desert.

b. Locate on a world and regional political-physical map the countries of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela.

Grade Eight | SS8H12 (B.)

B. Describe the role of Jimmy Carter in Georgia as state senator, governor, president, and past president.

SSWG7 The student will describe the interaction of physical and human systems that have shaped contemporary Latin America.



On December 31st, 1999, Panama took over control of the Canal.

Answers to Scavenger Hunt

1. There were 4 major obstacles to the construction of a canal through Panama: A very complex mountain chain formation; The difficulties posed by the tropical jungle, with its annual average rainfall of 105 inches, and an average temperature of 80 degrees; The tendency of rivers to overflow; and The most mortal of all, malaria and yellow fever diseases, which were endemic in the area
2. The dream of building a canal through the Isthmus of Panama to join the Atlantic and the Pacific dated back to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed Panama in 1515, and discovered that only a narrow strip of land separated both oceans.
3. The length of the Panama Canal is 80 kilometers (50 miles) from the deep waters of the Atlantic to the deep waters of the Pacific.
4. A ship takes an average of 8 to 10 hours to transit the Panama Canal.
5. At the end of fiscal year 2006, 943,042 vessels had used the waterway since its opening on August 15, 1914.
6. Richard Halliburton swam the Panama Canal in 1928 and paid only 36 cents in tolls.
7. Some 13 to 14 thousand vessels use the Canal every year
8. It operates 24 hours a day, 365 days a year
9. The fastest transit was made by the U.S. Navy hydrofoil Pegasus, which crossed the Canal from Miraflores to Gatun in 2 hours 41 minutes in June 1979.
10. Most of ships are going to the Far East

Directions: Complete this worksheet about Panama using the map on page X.

Map Analysis Worksheet

1.	TYPE OF MAP (Check one): <input type="radio"/> Raised Relief map <input type="radio"/> Topographic map <input type="radio"/> Political map <input type="radio"/> Contour-line map <input type="radio"/> Natural resource map <input type="radio"/> Military map <input type="radio"/> Bird's-eye map <input type="radio"/> Artifact map <input type="radio"/> Satellite photograph/mosaic <input type="radio"/> Pictograph <input type="radio"/> Weather map <input type="radio"/> Other
2.	UNIQUE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE MAP (Check one or more): <input type="checkbox"/> Compass <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten <input type="checkbox"/> Date <input type="checkbox"/> Notations <input type="checkbox"/> Scale <input type="checkbox"/> Name of mapmaker <input type="checkbox"/> Title <input type="checkbox"/> Legend (key) <input type="checkbox"/> Other
3.	DATE OF MAP: _____
4.	CREATOR OF THE MAP: _____
5.	WHERE WAS THE MAP PRODUCED? _____
6.	MAP INFORMATION A. List three things in this map that you think are important. 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ B. Why do you think this map was drawn? C. What evidence in the map suggests why it was drawn? D. What information does this map add to the textbook's account of this event? E. Does the information in this map support or contradict information that you have read about this event? Explain. F. Write a question to the mapmaker that is left unanswered by this map.

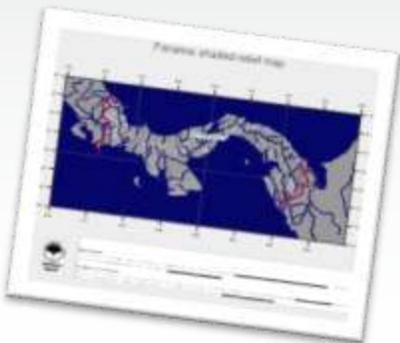


The Panama Canal

Where the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans Meet

Enduring Understandings

1. Students will understand the importance of the Panama Canal to world trade and economics.
2. Students will understand the importance of geography and the environment in the Panama Canal region, and how the canal and the environment are interdependent.
3. Students will understand the points of view involved in the Panama Canal Treaty renegotiations during the Carter Administration.



Lesson Background

The Panama Canal was an amazing feat that linked the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, changing the world forever. The epic adventure of the creation of the Panama Canal and the battles to control it are among the greatest and most intriguing stories in history. The primary source documents and activities in this unit are designed to provide a framework for understanding these historical events from a variety of perspectives.



Choosing the Site: Nicaragua or Panama?

Did you know that the original canal was supposed to be in Nicaragua? Geography played a major role in the choice of Panama as the final canal site. In 1905 the Nicaraguan volcano Momotumbo erupted 20 miles from the proposed site. Promoters of the Panamanian site mailed postage stamps from Nicaragua featuring the volcano to interested parties to remind people of the dangers of Nicaragua's geography. The ploy worked. Ironically, the volcano has not erupted since 1905, and a new canal is currently being proposed in Nicaragua¹.

The Canal Watershed

The Panama Canal shares the watershed with people, rivers, lakes and tributaries that the people and wildlife of Panama rely on for their water needs. As the climate changes, and water needs increase, tough decisions need to be made about canal expansion and competing uses for the water in the Panama Canal watershed. The expansion project will employ water saving basins at each new lock. For more information on the Panama Canal and the watershed, read the articles found at the links below:

NPR: Shallow Water Ahead for Panama Canal

<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=87851345>

The Panama News: Questions raised en route to viable watershed management:

http://www.thepanamanews.com/pn/v_08/issue_19/news_01.html

The Nature Conservancy:

<http://www.parksinperil.org/wherewework/centralamerica/panama/protectedarea/chagres.html>

The Treaties: *From Manifest Destiny and American Imperialism, to Latin American Independence*

In 1904, the U.S. Senate approved a treaty giving the United States authority to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama and control a ten-mile wide canal zone. Panamanians rioted in protest of U.S. control of the canal in 1964 leading to a renegotiation of the treaty. In 1977 President Jimmy Carter and Panamanian leader Brigadier General Omar Torrijos Herrera signed two treaties, the Permanent Neutrality Treaty, and the Panama Canal Treaty. The neutrality treaty stated that the canal would be neutral and opened to vessels from all nations. The Panama Canal Treaty stated that the U.S. and Panama would jointly control the canal until December 31, 1999, at which time Panama would take complete control of the canal. Many people were upset when the Carter

Administration entered into negotiations to hand over control of the Canal to Panama. Many people feared that an unstable government would not be able to manage an asset so important to world trade, and U.S. access to the canal would be restricted or denied. Furthermore, the transfer of the canal was seen as diminishing U.S. power in the region. The canal transferred to Panamanian control in 1999. To this date fears about the transfer have not be



Things Left Behind

When the U.S. left the Panama Canal Zone, a few things were left behind. Among these items were landmines, explosives, and hazardous materials from chemical weapons. These items pose a hazard to people and wildlife that come in contact with them. Due to the density of the rainforest in the region, it is not seen as feasible to search for and remove them. For more information on this issue visit:

<http://www.cotf.edu/earthinfo/camerica/panama/PCtopi c5.html>

Activities

Time Line

Create an interactive time line related to the history of the Panama Canal from the building of the canal to the present, noting important events.

Links for interactive timeline creation:

<http://www.classtools.net/samples/timeline>

<http://timerime.com/en/timeline/611275/Charlie+Pears+alls+Panama+Canal+Time+line+from+1880+to+2000/>

Map It

Use the map included in the resources section of this lesson to map the route ships had to take from Europe, the East Coast of the United States, or Africa to get to the West Coast of the United States, the Hawaiian Islands, or Japan. Use one color to show this route, and another color to trace the route through the Panama Canal.



Plan It

Plan a trip through the Panama Canal. Where would your trip start? How many different modes of transportation would you take? What ports of call and sites would you see? How many time zones will you cross? Create an imaginary trip and travel blog complete with trip timeline and pictures of sights you would see with Travelpod.

Links:

<http://travelpod.com>



Build It

Make a model of the Panama Canal. Make a simple model to demonstrate the hydraulics and buoyancy principles the canal employs, or a complicated model like the ones in the links below.

Links:

<http://juniorengineering.usu.edu/lessons/swim/swiminstruction.php>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QITiv8ZRE-Q>



Activities (continued)

Watershed Stakeholders

Complete the watershed stakeholder activity detailed at the end of this lesson. What is your interest in the use of the watershed? What are the competing uses? How can you share this important

limited resource with



Analyze It

Analyze the documents in the Analyze It activity folder. Use the document analysis sheets to examine these primary sources.



Stratovolcanoes

Research stratovolcanoes like Momotumbo in Nicaragua. How many volcanoes are in Panama? Where are they located? What types of volcanoes are they?

<http://www.volcano.si.edu/world/volcano.cfm?vnum=1404-09>



Discovery Education Videos

View the Discovery Education videos on the Panama Canal, and geography of the region. Information on the videos is included at the end of this lesson.

**See notes on how to access these videos in the references section of this lesson.*

WATERSHED STAKEHOLDERS

PROCEDURE

1. Copy and cut out the stakeholder cards so that there are enough for each student (or pair/group of students) to represent a different stakeholder .
2. Students (or groups of students) will use their stakeholder card to complete the rest of the lesson activities.

SCENARIO

There is a proposal for new land development in the Panama Canal Zone. Some cattle ranchers want the trees in the surrounding rainforest cut down to provide grazing land for cattle. Environmental groups want to preserve the trees to prevent erosion and sedimentation in the Canal Zone. Still others want to build condos and hotels in the area to take advantage of the tourist trade and beautiful views in the area. The development will also affect the amount of water available for various uses in the Canal Zone. It seems like everyone has a different idea of how the land and water in the area should be used. Use the stakeholder card that you or your group picked to make an argument for how the land and water should be used. Once you have formulated your persuasive argument, present it to the class. Once everyone has presented their arguments, students/groups should pick a competing use proposal to respond to. Argue for your position, while explaining why the competing use should be denied.



Lesson Questions

1. Why is the Panama Canal important?
2. What were some of the issues related to control of the canal and Canal Zone?
3. What are the competing uses of the Panama Canal watershed?
4. Why are the issues of soil erosion and watershed management important for the Panama Canal watershed?

WATERSHED STAKEHOLDER CARDS

<p>PANAMA CANAL AUTHORITY</p>	<p>As a member of the canal management authority, you want to ensure that there is enough fresh water to run the canal and keep ships traveling through it. You also want to ensure that the canal continues to operate efficiently and flow smoothly.</p>
<p>ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENT</p>	<p>As a steward of the environment, you want to make sure that the watershed stays healthy and viable. You realize that deforestation will result in erosion and sedimentation in the canal zone that could destroy the canal. In addition, drinking water sources and the ecosystem could be destroyed.</p>
<p>CATTLE RANCHER</p>	<p>You want to ensure adequate grazing land and water for your cattle. Your goal is to maximize profits in the lucrative beef industry.</p>

WATERSHED STAKEHOLDER CARDS

LAND DEVELOPER	As a land developer you will promote the best and most lucrative avenue of land development. Which use will benefit the economy (and your bank account) most?
HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT	As a member of the highway department, you want to ensure that there is a smooth and efficient route to and from the canal zone to keep trade and commerce flowing effectively.
DRINKING WATER AUTHORITY	As a member of the drinking water authority, you want to ensure that people in the canal zone and the country of Panama have an adequate supply of safe drinking water.

WATERSHED STAKEHOLDER CARDS

<p>HYDROELECTRIC POWER COMPANY</p>	<p>As an employee of the hydroelectric power company you want to ensure that the canal zone and the country of Panama has adequate electricity to meet the needs of residents and industry.</p>
<p>RAILROAD TYCOON</p>	<p>As a railroad tycoon, you want to ensure the development and use of railroads in the canal zone to transport people and goods.</p>
<p>REAL ESTATE AGENT</p>	<p>You want to provide choice real estate options to tourists and residents in the canal zone.</p>

STANDARDS

6th Grade



S6E5. Students will investigate the scientific view of how the earth’s surface is formed.

f. Explain the effects of physical processes (plate tectonics, erosion, deposition, volcanic eruption, gravity) on geological features including oceans (composition, currents, and tides).

S6E3. Students will recognize the significant role of water in earth processes.

- a. Explain that a large portion of the Earth’s surface is water, consisting of oceans, rivers, lakes, underground water, and ice.
- b. Relate various atmospheric conditions to stages of the water cycle.
- c. Describe the composition, location, and subsurface topography of the world’s oceans.
- d. Explain the causes of waves, currents, and tides.

SS6G1 The student will locate selected features of Latin America and the Caribbean.

- a. Locate on a world and regional political-physical map: Amazon River, Caribbean Sea, Gulf of Mexico, Pacific Ocean, Panama Canal, Andes Mountains, Sierra Madre Mountains, and Atacama Desert.
- b. Locate on a world and regional political-physical map the countries of Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, Mexico, Panama, and Venezuela



7th Grade

S7L4. Students will examine the dependence of Organisms on one another and their environments.

- c. Recognize that changes in environmental conditions can affect the survival of both individuals and entire species.
- e. Describe the characteristics of Earth’s major terrestrial biomes (i.e. tropical rain forest, savannah, temperate, desert, taiga, tundra, and mountain) and aquatic communities (i.e. freshwater, estuaries, and marine).



8th Grade

SS8H12 The student will explain the importance of significant social, economic, and political developments in Georgia since 1970.

- b. Describe the role of Jimmy Carter in Georgia as state senator, governor, president, and past president.

References

Discovery Education videos: The Discovery Education service is currently provided to Georgia teachers and homeschoolers free of charge by Georgia Public Broadcasting. For more information on how to access these resources visit the GPB site: <http://www.gpb.org/education>

Book: *The Path Between the Seas* by David McCullough

Panama Canal websites:

<http://www.pancanal.com>

http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/treasures_of_congress/text/page25_text.html

Tour the Canal

<http://www.pdf4me.net/pdf-data/panama-canal.php>

<http://www.cotf.edu/earthinfo/camerica/panama/PCtopic5.html>

http://panamacanalmuseum.org/index.php/history/interesting_facts/

<http://www.eclipse.co.uk/~sl5763/panama.htm>

Watershed Issues:

<http://www.panama-guide.com/article.php/20051027201647939>

http://www.thepanamanews.com/pn/v_08/issue_19/news_01.html

<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=87851345>

Geographical Impact Maps:

<http://people.hofstra.edu/geotrans/eng/ch2en/conc2en/suez.html>

PHOTO CREDITS

Panama Canal map on page 1:

Retrieved

from "http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Panama_Canal_Rough_Diagram.png"

Categories: Geographic diagrams | Maps of the Panama Canal | 1900s diagrams | Gatun Lake | Chagres River

Momotombo pictures:

Retrieved from "<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Momotombo>"

Categories: Stratovolcanoes | Active volcanoes | Mountains of Nicaragua | Volcanoes of Nicaragua | Nicaragua geography stubs

Panama Canal expansion map:

Retrieved from "<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Acpsfigure1.jpg>"

Category: Maps of the Panama Canal

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Canal watershed pictures:

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"http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Panama_Canal_approaching_Gaillard_Cut.jpg"

Category: Panama Canal

Retrieved from "http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Panama_canal_1912.jpg"

Category: Panama Canal

Picture of soldiers:

Retrieved from "http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Unpacking_explosives.jpg"

Categories: United States Air Force in the Iraq War | Explosive ordnance disposal | October 2006 | C-4 explosive | Forward Operating Base Falcon

Mr. and Mrs. Carter passing through the Panama Canal: courtesy of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum



The Panama Canal

Making the world smaller



Whose canal is it, anyway?

Though few Americans today are concerned with the Panama Canal, its ownership was one of the most contested issues of Jimmy Carter's presidency. In 1914, the United States finished the canal, which had been started by the French in 1881. Prior to its completion, numerous political machinations and engineering marvels were required.

President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated for the United States to have access to the land for the canal, but it would take a revolution on

the part of Panama to make this a reality. Once Panama gained its independence from Colombia, the new nation gave the United States control of the Canal Zone.

Within forty years, ownership of the canal was a political issue, and presidents from Eisenhower onward worked to find a solution. President Carter finally garnered enough support, after a lengthy battle in Congress, for a gradual transition of control. Panama regained control of the Canal Zone at the end of 1999.

Fifth Grade GPS:

SS5H3c: Explain how William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt expanded America's role in the world; include . . . the building of the Panama Canal.

Sixth Grade GPS:

SSG1a: Locate on a world and regional political-physical map: Panama Canal.
SSG3: Explain the impact of location, climate, distribution of natural resources, and population distribution on Latin America and the Caribbean.

US History GPS:

SSUSH14c: Explain U.S. involvement in Latin America, as reflected by the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine and the creation of the Panama Canal.

Activity #1: Why was there a need for the canal?



Background:

Understanding the history of the Panama Canal can be tricky. The following websites provide reliable background information:

*A history of the canal from the Panama Canal Authority:
<http://www.pancanal.com/english/history/history/index.html>.

*Information from PBS on President Theodore Roosevelt's role and legacy in building the canal:
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/tr/panama.html>.

*Background from the Smithsonian – this includes a great series of annotated primary source photographs ideal for using with students:
<http://www.sil.si.edu/Exhibitions/Make-the-Dirt-Fly/whybuild.html>.

Begin by using a world map to show that until the canal was built, the fastest sea route from New York to San Francisco was around the tip of South America – the treacherous waters of Cape Horn.

Briefly discuss why that voyage was dangerous and time-consuming, and let students infer why many countries had an interest in finding a safer, shorter path from Atlanta to Pacific.

To help students understand the differences in the two voyages, tell them that they will engage in a short simulation of the two trips, and decide for themselves if

the canal is helpful.

Place students' desks or tables in two clumps, roughly resembling North and South America. Place chairs or other "obstacles" at the end of South America.

Give students large (empty) boxes to carry, and have half of the class move to the "Atlantic" side of the room, and the other half to the "Pacific." Then, they should try to change "oceans," while carrying their boxes, by going around South America.

Repeat the exercise after creating a "canal" through the middle of the desks. Which method was preferable? Debrief students, and have them describe why the canal

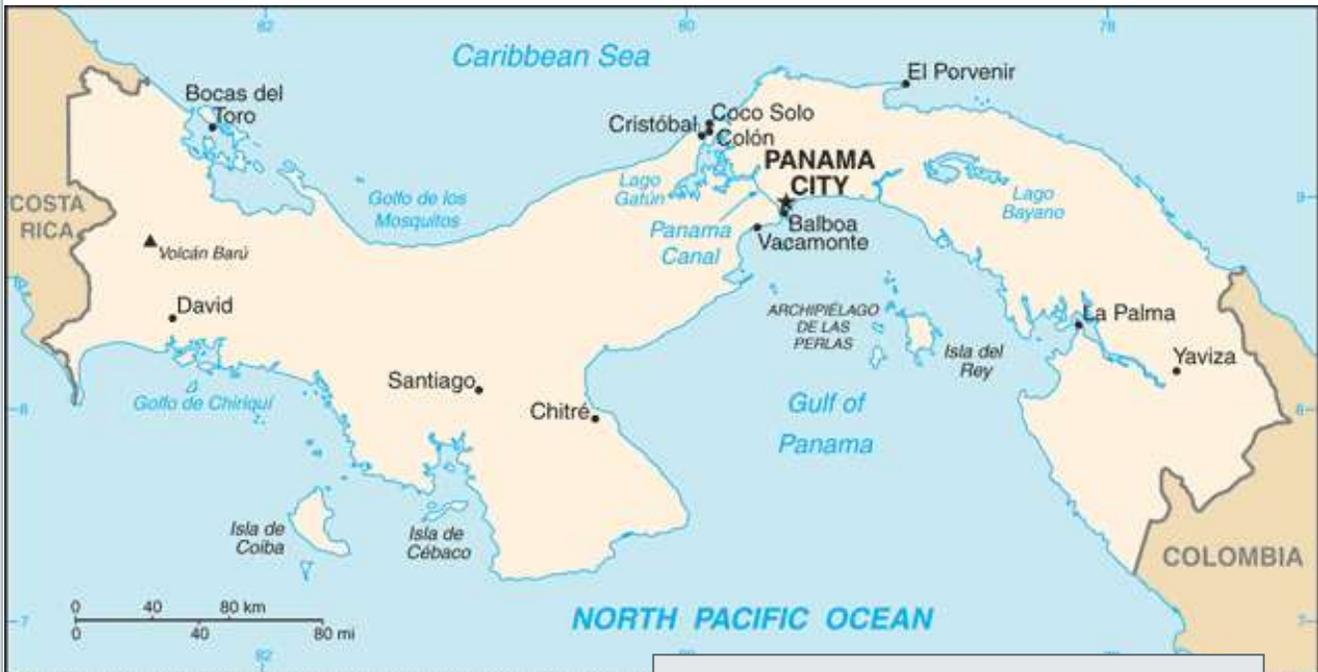
Activity #2: A Trip Through the Canal

Students can create a flip books showing the changes in landscape and geographical features that are visible as one travels through the canal.

The trip can begin at either ocean, and continue to the other ocean. Students should indicate changing elevation as they move through the canal. They should also note the geographical features at both endpoints of the canal.



The photo above shows one of the locks used to move ships through the Panama Canal.



Map of Panama from the CIA World

Canals Around the World

Thousands of years of building connections.

Manmade canals have existed for thousands of years. Canal builders in ancient China were so successful that some of their work is still in use today. In modern times, canals have greatly facilitated international commerce; they have created faster and safer paths for sea traffic.

In this activity, students will identify canals around the world, and determine how they have improved economic productivity.

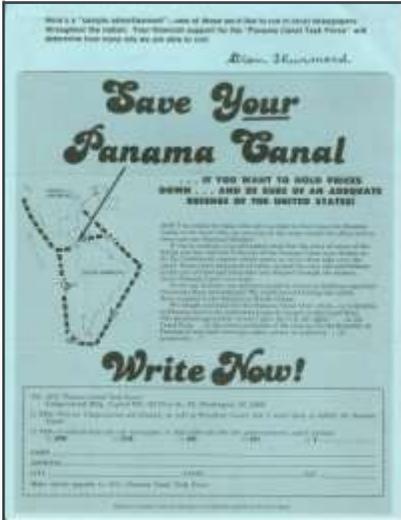
- 1) Students need access to research materials or the Internet to complete this activity. They will also need a [printable world map](#), and a copy of the chart on the following page.
- 2) Students will identify canals that are currently in use today. On the chart, they

should list the canal's name, what bodies of water it connects, the year it was built, the country/countries in which it is located, and how it makes movement easier.

- 3) Students should add each canal to the map by drawing its approximate location and labeling it.
- 4) Finally, students will discuss similarities and differences between the different canals. The following are possible questions:
 - a. What do most canal locations have in common?
 - b. How do canals impact economic activity?
 - c. Are canals still being built today? Why or why not?

Name	Bodies of water it connects	Year built	Location (countries)	Impact on movement

Comparing Political Cartoons – Past and Present



Finding Political Cartoons:

As always, make sure to preview any cartoons before using them with students. Not all material is appropriate for all classrooms.

*Cartoons from Mike Luckovich, cartoonist for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*: <http://blogs.ajc.com/mike-luckovich/>.

*Cartoons from the American Association of Editorial Cartoonists (AAEC) – updated daily with cartoons from around the country: <http://editorialcartoonists.com>.

**Time Magazine* highlights the best cartoons weekly: <http://www.time.com/time/>

On the following pages are several political cartoons from different eras. Each cartoon discusses the contemporary issues regarding the Panama Canal.

Students should first evaluate each political cartoon on its own. The NARA worksheet following the cartoons can help students do this.

From there, students should identify the issues being discussed in each cartoon. Are they the same, or different? How do the issues change across time? Would a modern audience be able to recognize what was being satirized in the older

cartoons? Why or why not?

Then, students can evaluate cartoons about modern issues. (Possible sources for modern cartoons are listed in the box on the left.)

Are they similar to, or different from, the older cartoons about the Panama Canal? Do modern cartoons require as much knowledge about the event as the older cartoons?

Finally, have students analyze what issues are discussed in political cartoons. Is everything “fair game,” or are certain issues off limits to cartoonists?

Activity #2: A Trip Through the Canal

Students can create a flip books showing the changes in landscape and geographical features that are visible as one travels through the canal.

The trip can begin at either ocean, and continue to the other ocean. Students should indicate changing elevation as they move through the canal. They should also note the geographical features at both endpoints of the canal.



The photo above shows one of the locks used to move ships through the Panama Canal.



From the *New York Herald*, 1904.

INSIDE THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE



Document 10

Reprinted with permission of The Detroit News, a Gannett newspaper, copyright 1977.

Reset Form

Cartoon Analysis Worksheet

Print Form

Level 1

Visuals

1. List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.

Words (not all cartoons include words)

1. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title.

2. Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon.

3. Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.

Level 2

Visuals

2. Which of the objects on your list are symbols?

3. What do you think each symbol means?

Words

4. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant? Why do you think so?

5. List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed in the cartoon.

Level 3

A. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.

Limit response for each question to 3 lines of text

B. Explain how the words in the cartoon clarify the symbols.

C. Explain the message of the cartoon.

D. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?

Reset Form

Print Form

Helpful Links:

*Collection of Panama Canal documents from the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library:

<http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/documents/panama/listofdocs.phtml>.

*Interactive website regarding the Panama Canal treaty from the Presidential Timeline: <http://www.presidentialtimeline.org/>. {Click “Interactive Timeline” on the right; select “Exhibits”; click “Jimmy Carter”; click the down arrow; select “Panama Canal Treaties.”}

*Official website of the Panama Canal Authority:

<http://www.pancanal.com/eng/index.html>.

*Make the Dirt Fly! An interactive website/online exhibition at the Smithsonian: <http://www.sil.si.edu/Exhibitions/Make-the-Dirt-Fly/>.

*Interactive Tour of the canal from PBS’s *NewsHour*:

http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/latin_america/panamacanal/canal_sound1.html.

The Panama Canal

the debate about a new treaty



The Panama Canal Treaty required two sets of negotiations – with Panama and the U. S. Congress.

President Carter signed the new Panama Canal Treaty in September 1977 – negotiating with Panama proved to be the easy part. It took the president, his staff, state department officials, and many others seven more months of intense talks with senators to get the treaty ratified. Persuading the House of Representatives to pass supporting legislation required another 17 months.

Opponents to the Panama Canal Treaty savaged President Carter, claiming bad judgment and a lack of patriotism.

Early in 1977, public opinion polls suggested that 78% of Americans opposed a treaty that would allow Panama to control and operate the Canal. A broad program to educate the public about the terms of the treaty helped sway opinion in its favor. But many politicians and citizens opposed the treaty to the end. Twenty senators who supported the treaty lost their Senate seats as their next election.

Activities

Analysis of Political Cartoons Examine two political cartoons to understand the Panama Canal treaty debate.

Analysis of Primary documents Strom Thurmond's letter and advertisements

Analysis of Primary documents The role and work of the President: persuading Congress and Ronald Reagan

Georgia Performance Standards on p. X



Activity One: Analyzing Political Cartoons

Using the political cartoons on page X and page X, have students complete the Political Cartoon Analysis worksheet found on page X for each cartoon. The first political cartoon illustrates the public opposition toward President Carter and the Panama Canal Treaty. The second cartoon shows Theodore Roosevelt helped to create the Panama Canal. After completing each worksheet individually, have students meet in pairs and share the information that they have written for each cartoon. Then, have students discuss the similarities and differences between the two cartoons. Use the questions below to guide their discussion. They should write down their answers and turn in the paper once the activity is completed.

Questions

1. How are the two cartoons similar?
2. How are the two presidents shown? Is it in a positive or negative way?
3. How is the Panama Canal issue represented in each cartoon?
4. Why is the environment of each cartoon so different?

Georgia Performance Standards

SSCG12: The student will analyze the various roles played by the President of the United States; include Commander-In-Chief of the Armed Forces, chief executive, chief agenda setter, representative of the nation, chief of state, foreign policy leader, and party leader.

SSCG20: The student will describe the tools used to carry out United States foreign policy (diplomacy; economic, military, and humanitarian aid; treaties; sanctions and military intervention).



United States President Carter signs the Panama Canal Treaty with the leader of Panama, Omar Torrijos.

Activity Two: Analyzing political ads

Using the two political advertisements on pages X and X form a group in opposition to the Panama Canal Treaty, complete the Document Analysis worksheet (page X) to help understand the points of view of those against the treaty. Then read the letter from Senator Strom Thurmond (page 10-11), which outlines his views against the Panama Canal treaty, and President Carter. You may also assign the Document Analysis worksheet to be completed on the Thurmond Letter.

Summarizer activity: Create a bubble map of five reasons why many Americans did not want President Carter to sign the treaty. This activity can be done by each student and then discussed with the entire class. See page X for the bubble map.

INSIDE THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE



Document 10

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Cartoon Analysis Worksheet

Level 1	
Visuals	Words (not all cartoons include words)
<p>1. List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.</p>	<p>1. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title.</p> <p>2. Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon.</p> <p>3. Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.</p>
Level 2	
Visuals	Words
<p>2. Which of the objects on your list are symbols?</p> <p>3. What do you think each symbol means?</p>	<p>4. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant? Why do you think so?</p> <p>5. List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed in the cartoon.</p>
Level 3	
<p>A. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.</p> <p>B. Explain how the words in the cartoon clarify the symbols.</p> <p>C. Explain the message of the cartoon.</p> <p>D. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?</p>	

Activity Three: The roles of a President

During this activity, students will examine the roles of a President from foreign policy to national politics. President Carter had to negotiate with foreign leaders and with leaders in the United States Congress.

1. Have students break up into groups and give each group one of the following documents:

A. Memo from Bob Thomson to Hamilton Jordan about Presidential Telephone Calls to Senators (pages X-X)

B. Letter from Landon Butler to Governor Harriman about statements of support of the Treaty (pages X-X)

C. President Carter letter to the US Congress (pages X-X)

D. Letter from Sol Linowitz to Cyrus Vance about meeting with Ronald Reagan (pages X-X)

E. Gallup Poll concerning the Panama Canal (pages X-X)

F. Summary of White House Efforts towards ratification of Panama Canal Treaties (pages X-X)

2. Each group will read their document and then complete the Document Analysis Worksheet found on page X on this lesson.

3. Groups will then create a poster explaining the importance of and content of their document. Students will explain to class their findings.

4. Concluding Activity: Students will create a pros/cons list of the Panama Canal treaties from the documents that they have read. Then, they should choose a to argue using facts and information gained from these activities.

5. Extending Activity: Hold a classroom debate about the Panama Canal treaties. Students can prepare position papers to be read and students in opposition can read their papers in response to one another.



The Presidential Timeline of the Twentieth Century

Extension activity: Students can access more information about President Carter and his efforts on the Panama Canal Treaty at

<http://www.presidentialtimeline.org/>

There is an interactive timeline that explains the events surrounding the Panama Canal negotiations. Students should go to Exhibits and find the Panama Canal Treaties exhibit to find out more about the history of the Panama Canal.

This great website has audio and video from President Carter's speeches and meetings located at the following web address.

<http://www.presidentialtimeline.org/html/educators/educators.php?pid=mm>

Here's a "sample advertisement"—one of those we'd like to run in local newspapers throughout the nation. Your financial support for the "Panama Canal Task Force" will determine how many ads we are able to run!

Strom Thurmond

There is NO Panama Canal! There is an AMERICAN Canal at Panama.

Its popular name is "The Panama Canal"—but in fact, it is "The American Canal at the Isthmus of Panama" . . . built and paid for by the people of the United States at a cost approaching seven billion dollars.

At this moment, an alliance of Communists, Leftists, fainthearted American Big Businessmen and Liberals out of touch with reality are working to transfer sovereignty and control of the Canal to the regime of the pro-Castro dictator of Panama, Omar Torrijos.

AMERICA'S SECOND PEARL HARBOR?

America was caught sleeping before World War II. At a cost of billions of dollars and hundreds of thousands of American lives, we nevertheless survived. It was a steep price we paid for unpreparedness.

**Don't let
President
Carter
give it away.**

Now, America may be sleeping again. Certainly, we are being lulled to sleep—being misled, beguiled, even lied to.

We are being told that the Canal is "out of date," "unable to handle big ships," "an affront to the dignity of Panama" and so forth.

With virtual one-party control of both houses of Congress, President Carter may reasonably expect to have his way—if a strict, party-line vote could be produced.

What is needed now is for Americans of all political persuasions—Democrat, Republican, Independent—to make their feelings known, to President Carter, their two U.S. Senators and their Congressman.

The American Canal at the Isthmus of Panama is vital to our economy and essential to our national defense. It is U.S. property. Let us let Washington know, in no uncertain terms, that we intend to keep it!

Write Now!

TO: ACU "Panama Canal Task Force"
Congressional Bldg., Capitol Hill, 422 First St., SE, Washington, DC 20003

YES—Tell my Congressman and Senator, as well as President Carter that I want them to SAVE the Panama Canal!

YES—I want to help you run newspaper, tv and radio ads like this advertisement—and I enclose:

\$500 \$100 \$50 \$25 \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make checks payable to ACU—Panama Canal Task Force.

Here's a "sample advertisement"—one of those we'd like to run in local newspapers throughout the nation. Your financial support for the "Panama Canal Task Force" will determine how many ads we are able to run!

Strom Thurmond

Save Your Panama Canal



**... IF YOU WANT TO HOLD PRICES
DOWN ... AND BE SURE OF AN ADEQUATE
DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES!**

DON'T be misled by those who tell you that we don't own the Panama Canal, or by those who say our loss of the canal would not affect prices, taxes and our National Defense.

If you're realistic, you will understand that the price of many of the things you buy will rise if the use of the Panama Canal were denied us by the Communist regime which wants us to let them take over the canal. Those extra thousands of miles around the cape will add billions to the cost of food and materials now shipped through the shorter, faster Panama Canal (see map).

As for our defense, our military would be forced to build an expensive two-ocean Navy immediately! We could not risk having our entire Navy trapped in the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean.

We bought and paid for the Panama Canal three times—to Colombia, to Panama and to the individual property owners in the Canal Zone. The purchase agreement (treaty) gave the U.S. all rights "... to the Canal Zone ... to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power or authority ... in perpetuity ..."

Write Now!

TO: ACU "Panama Canal Task Force"
Congressional Bldg., Capitol Hill, 422 First St., SE, Washington, DC 20003

- YES—Tell my Congressman and Senator, as well as President Carter that I want them to SAVE the Panama Canal!
- YES—I want to help you run newspaper, tv and radio ads like this advertisement—and I enclose:
 \$500 \$100 \$50 \$25 \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Make checks payable to ACU—Panama Canal Task Force.

Absolutely no taxpayers' funds have been used in the preparation or payment for this advertisement.

Written Document Analysis Worksheet

1.	TYPE OF DOCUMENT (Check one): <input type="radio"/> Newspaper <input type="radio"/> Map <input type="radio"/> Advertisement <input type="radio"/> Letter <input type="radio"/> Telegram <input type="radio"/> Congressional Record <input type="radio"/> Patent <input type="radio"/> Press Release <input type="radio"/> Census Report <input type="radio"/> Memorandum <input type="radio"/> Report <input type="radio"/> Other
2.	UNIQUE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENT (Check one or more): <input type="checkbox"/> Interesting Letterhead <input type="checkbox"/> Notations <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten <input type="checkbox"/> "RECEIVED" stamp <input type="checkbox"/> Typed <input type="checkbox"/> Other <input type="checkbox"/> Seals
3.	DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT:
4.	AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT: POSITION (TITLE):
5.	FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN?
6.	DOCUMENT INFORMATION (There are many possible ways to answer A-E.) A. List three things the author said that you think are important: B. Why do you think this document was written? C. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document. D. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written. E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document:

United States Senate

Dear Fellow American:

Does the Panama Canal belong to the U. S. or Panama? I believe you will agree with me that it belongs totally to the United States, both by treaty agreement, in perpetuity, and by outright purchase.

Is the Torrijos regime, which rules the government of Panama, an oppressive junta, backed by Castro and other known Communists, or is it representative of the Panamanian people? There can be no question that General Omar Torrijos is a strong-arm dictator who maintains close ties with Castro and the Soviet Union.

Has the United States given Panama a good deal or a raw deal? By every fair measurement in the world, the Panamanian people have benefited by U. S. control and operation of the Canal. In this assessment, I feel sure you concur.

Nevertheless, these are questions which need to be answered fully and properly for all Americans, as the Carter Administration continues the drive designed to hand over the Canal to Torrijos.

This issue is one over which there must be no confusion in the minds of Americans everywhere. The Canal is vital to the interests of the United States and to the Free World. It is particularly important to our strategic Naval defense. In order that no questions remain unanswered or that no confusion exists among our citizens, we must publicize the dangers posed by a loss of the Canal.

There are several basic truths that must be the foundation for our National decision on this issue. For example:

- The truth about U. S. ownership of the Canal: The 1903 Treaty grants to the U. S., in perpetuity, "the use, occupation and control of a zone of land and land under water...as if it were the sovereign of the territory...to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power and authority..." The conveyance has been supported by subsequent Supreme Court decisions, as well.
- That President Carter, while campaigning, said, "I would never give up complete control or practical control of the Panama Canal Zone"...but now has appointed Sol Linowitz a negotiator. Linowitz is on record as favoring the giveaway of the Panama Canal...and is being sued for conflict of interest. He has been involved in loans to the debt-ridden Torrijos dictatorship.
- It is a myth that the Canal is too small and out of date. Loss of the Canal would cost taxpayers millions in shipping costs (70% of the traffic originates in U. S. ports) and billions more for a two-ocean Navy.
- Further, the Canal played a critical role in supplying our troops in Vietnam -- and in the event of future hostilities, our security interests could

not permit it to be in Communist or pro-Communist hands.

- General Omar Torrijos, Panama's dictator, illegally overthrew the democratically elected President Arias. He allows only the Communist Party to exist in Panama, and collaborates with Communist Dictator Castro and the Soviet Union.

Time is running out, however. We must act promptly, effectively and efficiently in order to awaken the American public to the alarming consequences of the loss of the Canal.

We need grass roots support immediately -- and your help is badly needed.

I am well acquainted with the generosity you have shown in the past -- funding other programs and projects of ACU. In fact, the results of your efforts in financing the preservation of liberty in America are well known to Members of Congress. We all wish there were some way to get these things done without money, but if we are realistic, we know that there are expenses involved in even the smallest effort. Thus, we must call on you again.

Perhaps you have noted that many of the backers of the Panama Canal giveaway are wealthy people. Yet even they know that if we can mobilize the Conservatives of America, they haven't got a chance.

So we must tell America what the Panama Canal means to the defense of America; motivate the public to write letters of protest to their Senators and Representatives.

This is one task force I don't want to die for lack of funds, and I am sure you feel the same way about it. If we are to get off the ground in time to get something done about it before it's too late, we need your contribution by return mail. We have most of the Republicans in our camp (The Policy Committee has come out against the giveaway!)...and a lot of the Democrats in the Senate (where the Treaty must be ratified) are with us. There is hope!

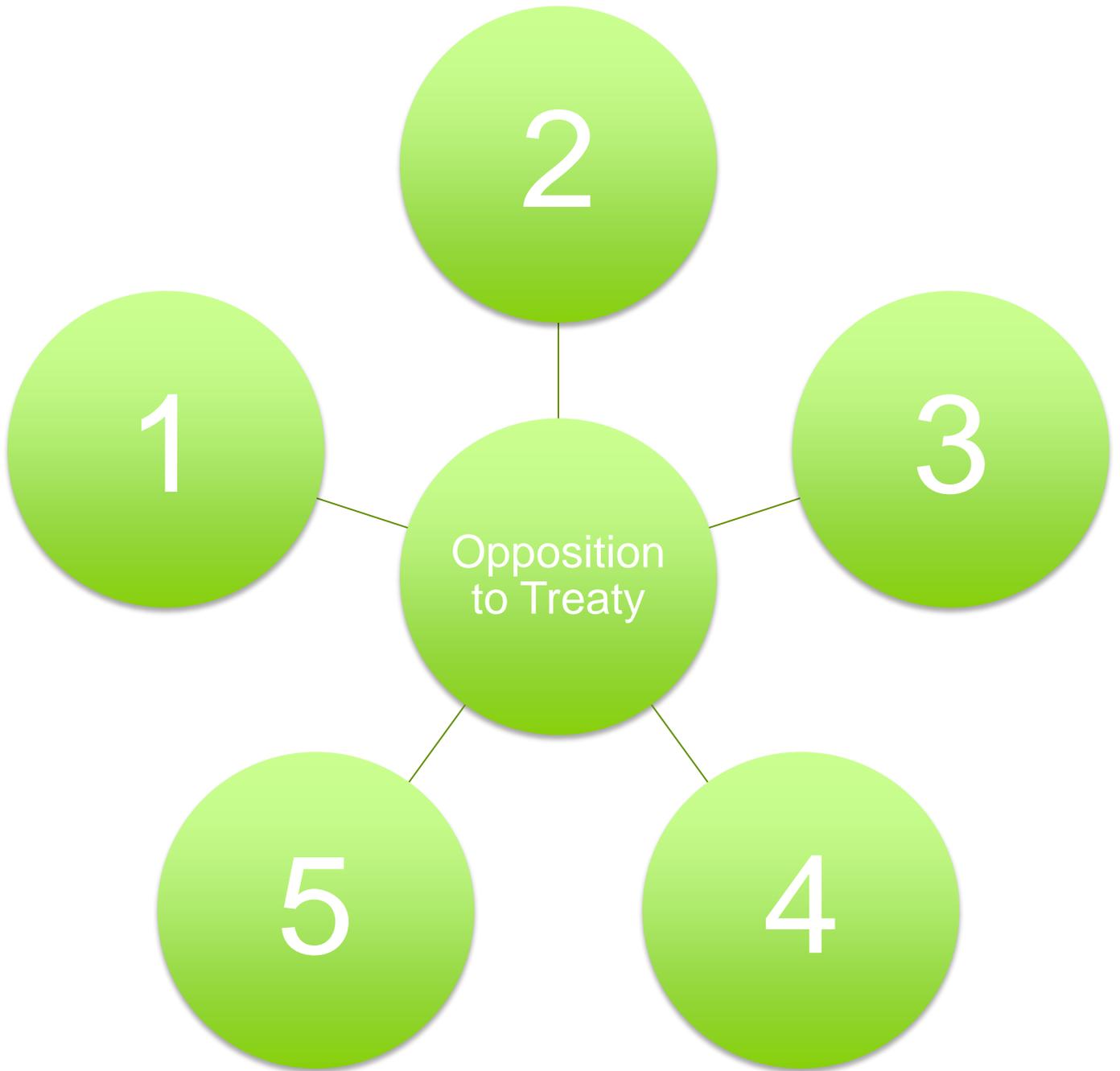
If the giveaway becomes a reality, I hope you will not be among those who will say, "I wish I had done something about that before it happened!" Please do something now so that you will not be in that group.

Yours for saving the Canal,

Strom Thurmond

STROM THURMOND, U. S. Senator

P.S. A \$5 or \$10 contribution from every ACU member would easily pay the costs of an effective, efficient task force and get results. But, since some will not be able to afford more for this special, extra -- but necessary -- project, won't you please send a little extra -- as a one-time contribution of \$20 or \$30 (or more, if you can afford more)? Or, if you prefer, pledge a larger amount, payable monthly or quarterly? You may be sure your contribution will be used for a worthy cause.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 7, 1978

*all done
J*

MEMORANDUM TO HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM: BOB THOMSON *B. Thomson*

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALLS TO SENATORS

The following are the talking points for the President to use in making his calls to the Senators discussed this morning.

Senator Cannon

The Senator will express serious concerns over the economic aspects of the Treaties. He was very critical during Armed Services Committee hearings. The President should reassure him that the Canal will be economically viable under the Treaty and tell him that the Arthur Anderson report proving that point will be released on Thursday or Friday. If Cannon needs a personal briefing on the report, we can provide it.

*8/77
Difficult in
state*

The President should also tell Cannon that defeat of the Treaties will cripple him as President and deal a major blow to our foreign policy. Now that Cannon is chairman of a major committee, he should be willing to play a leadership role on important issues such as this.

The President can also point to the February 1 Gallup Poll showing Americans favor the Treaties 45 percent to 42 percent.

Senator Randolph

Using every possible argument against

The President has talked to Randolph at least 3 times. This time, he should again impress on the Senator the importance of the Treaties to the Carter Presidency. The vote has become a test of the compatibility and competence of the Democratic Congress and Democratic Administration.

Same

*9/77. Sure vote
if needed*

-2-

The President should explain he will go all out to help the Senator in his reelection bid, including a visit to his state. Administration officials can brief veterans or other groups if the Senator wishes.

Senator Young

We have had very little contact with him. The President should emphasize the support of the Joint Chiefs for the Treaties and highlight their input to the negotiations.

The Senator may respond to a plan based on the necessity for a strong Presidency in matters of foreign policy. The President should point out that President Ford, Senator Baker and other Republican leaders and conservatives support the Treaties.

Senator Stevens

The Senator is a hard-bitten political realist who has told Baker he will not support the Treaties. Baker still believes he can get Stevens, however.

The President may want to dwell on the importance of a neutral and accessible Canal to shipment of Alaska oil. The Senator could also respond to a personal appeal based on the importance of the Treaties to Latin American relations.

Stevens may counter with some barbs about the "d-2 lands" issue.

8/27 -
open
mind

Will go back & re-think -

Kissinger & Ford have called him this weekend.

I put all of these on basis of profound national interest - bipartisanship - & prestige of the Presidency

sg

EXECUTIVE

①

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FEB-1/Panama Canal

August 25, 1977

Dear Governor Harriman: *Amundson*

Any of the following reasons would be appropriate in statements of support of the new Panama Canal Treaty:

1. The new treaties will better insure the defense of the Canal.
2. The new treaties will create a more hospitable climate for American trade and investment in Latin America.
3. The new neutrality treaty lets us keep the Canal open to all shipping, of all nations, forever.
4. The new treaty guarantees that no other country could come in and build a new sea-level canal under our nose in Panama.
5. Replacing the outdated 1903 treaty with a modern one will remove an irritant which threatens our relations with the entire third worlds.
6. The best way to keep the Canal safe is to change the Panamanians from sometimes hostile bystanders into partners in the waterway's defense.
7. In Panama, this administration has its first great chance to show that the United States is ready to act, not merely talk, with the maturity, confidence and generosity that befit a great power. Failure to ratify the new treaties would hinder us badly as we try to regain the moral high ground in world affairs.
8. A treaty in the true best interests of both the United States and Panama is the most effective way to insulate the Canal from dangers arising

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AUG 25 1977
CANAL TREATY

Honorable Averell Harriman
Page Two
August 25, 1977

out of possible political instability in
Panama. A truly fair treaty will remain
acceptable, no matter who is in power.

Thank you very much for your help. I'll try to keep
you posted as our efforts progress.

Cordially,



Landon Butler
Deputy Assistant
to the President

Honorable Averell Harriman
Birchgrove
Route 100
Yorktown Heights, New York 10598
3

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1977

To The Members of the United States Congress

As you know, Ambassadors Bunker and Linowitz have reached an agreement in principle with the Government of Panama on the Panama Canal Treaty, and have now reviewed the terms with me, the Acting Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It was the unanimous conclusion of us all that our national interests will be advanced by the terms of this agreement. The Joint Chiefs have been represented in the negotiations, and give their unqualified support to the terms of the agreement.

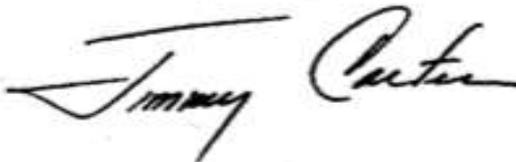
I will continue my review of these principles, and I expect to authorize the completion of the formal treaty drafting.

This is a difficult political question, and I need your help during the coming weeks.

I am convinced that the treaties are essential to ensure the continued effective use of the Canal for American commercial and security needs.

You can call us directly with specific questions, but in the meantime I am enclosing for your use a short summary of the agreement in principle.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a long horizontal stroke at the end.

Defense and National Security

Under the new treaties the U. S. will be able to guarantee the security and defense of the Panama Canal:

-- The U. S. will have the permanent right to defend the neutrality of the Canal from any threat, for an indefinite period;

-- U. S. warships will have the permanent right to transit the Canal expeditiously and without conditions, for an indefinite period;

-- For the rest of the century, U. S. military forces will have the primary responsibility to protect and defend the Canal; the Government of Panama guarantees the U. S. the right to station troops in Panama and to use all lands and waters necessary for the Canal's defense.

Canal Operations

The United States will maintain control over all lands, waters and installations -- including military bases -- necessary to manage, operate, and defend the Canal. A new agency of the U. S. Government will operate the Canal. This agency, which replaces the Panama Canal Company, will assure United States control of Canal operations for the rest of the century. The Canal will be open to all shipping on a non-discriminatory basis.

On the effective date of the treaty, Panama will assume general territorial jurisdiction over the present Canal Zone, and may use portions of the area not needed for the operation and defense of the Canal. At the end of 1999, Panama will assume control of the Canal operations.

Economic Factors

Difficult financial negotiations have produced a fair and equitable package, which will not involve any Congressional appropriations. Panama will receive exclusively from Canal revenues:

- a share in tolls - 30 cents per Panama Canal ton;
- \$10 million per year from toll revenues;
- up to an additional \$10 million per year only if Canal traffic and revenues permit.

In addition, the United States has pledged its best efforts, outside the treaty, to arrange for an economic program of loans, loan guarantees and credits:

- up to \$200 million in Export-Import Bank credits;
- up to \$75 million in AID housing guarantees;
- a \$20 million Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) loan guarantee.

-2-

This 5-year package will contain standard "Buy American" provisions

-2-

This 5-year package will contain standard "Buy American" provisions that will greatly benefit U. S. businesses which invest in and sell goods and services to Panama.

Rights of U. S. Employees

All U. S. civilians currently employed in the Canal can continue in United States Government jobs until retirement. They will enjoy the rights and guarantees extended to all U. S. Government employees overseas.

New Sea Level Canal

The agreement envisions the possibility of building a new sea level canal. The U. S. and Panama will jointly study its feasibility. If they agree that such a canal is desirable, they will negotiate the terms for its construction.

Treaties

There will be two treaties: (1) a treaty guaranteeing the permanent neutrality of the Canal, and (2) a basic treaty governing the operation and defense of the Canal through December 31, 1999.

SOL M. LINOWITZ

file

ONE FARRAGUT SQUARE SOUTH
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

May 2, 1977

Dear Cy:

On Saturday, April 30th, I had lunch here with Ronald Reagan and Mrs. Reagan, and I thought I ought to send you this report about the substance of our conversation.

A few weeks ago Ronald Reagan wrote two columns about the Panama Canal negotiations which contained some innuendoes and misstatements, and I wrote to him setting forth the true facts and indicating my willingness to sit down and talk with him about the situation if he would like to do so. He responded by inviting me to have lunch with him and Mrs. Reagan during their visit to Washington on April 30th, and I accepted. We met for lunch in their suite at the Madison Hotel, and our session lasted about an hour and a half.

At the outset Governor Reagan asked me some questions about the state of the Panama Canal negotiations and I gave him a brief overview, stressing the urgent need to find a mutually agreeable solution which would take into account the proper aspirations of the Panamanian people and yet preserve the important interests of the United States. He listened politely and then made the following points:

He said that in his judgment our foreign policy has been in retreat over the past years and that this had concerned him deeply. For this reason he said that he thought "giving up Panama" would be another retreat which would lose the respect of the rest of the world. He said that he thought we were already without the support of our allies who questioned our willingness to stand up for principles in which we said we believed. He then went on to say that Panama's President Torrijos was a military dictator who did not have the support of

Document 4

(Note: Linowitz was former ambassador to the Organization of American States. He became President Carter's special representative in the treaty negotiations. Ronald Reagan was the governor of California at this time.)

his people in connection with his efforts regarding the Canal, and that under no circumstances did he think we

his people in connection with his efforts regarding the Canal, and that under no circumstances did he think we should "surrender sovereignty". Finally, he said that he did not think that it was proper for the United States to be negotiating under a threat of possible violence as he thought we were now doing and that we ought to stand our ground firmly against this crude dictator.

I responded by pointing out to him first that the Panamanian position was now being supported by all the countries of Latin America and, indeed, by most of the Third World; that the Treaty itself was almost universally regarded as outmoded and its provisions anachronistic, which led to the charge that in the Canal we were maintaining a "colonial enclave"; and that our true vital interest was in assuring that the Canal remained open, free and neutral on a non-discriminatory basis, and that this was an essential condition in our negotiations. I traced the sovereignty issue pointing out that we had acquired rights to the Canal but not title to the land itself. The main question was, I suggested, what course of action would be in the best national interest of the United States; and that I was firmly convinced that seeking to adhere to the present Treaty would be adverse to our best interests and that persisting in our efforts to work out a mutually fair and acceptable new Treaty arrangement would advance our national objectives.

Reagan responded by saying that that position was simply not acceptable to the American people who were in such large measure opposed to a new Treaty. He then told me that he himself had never sought to raise the Panama Canal issue during the campaign but that it had been raised through audience questions at various times in the course of the primary in New Hampshire. He said that he was amazed to find that there was such intense interest in the Panama Canal and that in one community after another there was "utter disbelief" that we would be negotiating to "give it away". He said he found as the campaign proceeded that whenever he gave his answer insisting that we retain the Canal he would receive tumultuous applause.

Reagan then told me that he was sure that he had won the primary in Texas from President Ford solely on the Panama Canal issue. He said that Congressman Snyder had telephoned him after Ambassador Bunker had testified in secret before the Merchant Marine Committee respecting the course of the negotiations and had told Reagan that the Committee had voted to allow Snyder to pass on the substance of the secret testimony summarizing the American position in the negotiations. Reagan said that when President Ford came to Texas and denied that such negotiations were, in fact under way, Reagan felt compelled to disclose what he had been told by Congressman Snyder and this, in his judgment, destroyed Ford's credibility and led to Reagan's Texas victory.

Reagan also said that in his talk with Latin Americans he did not get the same impression I had conveyed to him about their support for the Panamanian position.

I told him that Ambassador Bunker and I had just visited with the Presidents of Colombia and Venezuela and that they had clearly indicated their support for the Panamanian position, and that I had discussed the Canal negotiations with many Latin American leaders and one after another had expressed his backing of Panama in the Canal negotiations. I asked him specifically which countries he knew were not disposed to favor the Panamanian position, and he mentioned Brazil. I pointed out that the Brazilians were, in fact, clearly committed to support of the Panama position and he did not challenge this.

Reagan then went into a discussion of the situation in Brazil and the problems which had arisen between Brazil and the United States. He said that in his judgement the situation had been handled badly by us in both the human rights and nuclear areas and that he was concerned that we had alienated a nation of such significance in the hemisphere.

I asked Reagan then whether he had ever been to Panama and he said that he had not. I urged him to visit the country and to see for himself why the Canal Zone was regarded by the Panamanians as such an unwelcome intrusion into their country and why it was a

4

festering problem which was bound to erupt if serious and conscientious efforts were not made to find a

4

festering problem which was bound to erupt if serious and conscientious efforts were not made to find a mutually satisfactory basis for a new Treaty. Mrs. Reagan was especially interested in this suggestion and asked if Governor Reagan would have "proper body guards" if he should make the trip. I assured her and him that he would, and indicated that we would be willing to arrange an opportunity for him to meet with various people in Panama to discuss the whole situation. He said he would like to think about it and then get in touch with me about it. He seemed genuinely interested and asked whether I would be willing to help him set up an itinerary for such a visit. I said I would be glad to and I was sure the State Department would be pleased to cooperate.

Our luncheon ended on a pleasant note.

My over-all impressions of Reagan's position based on this luncheon conversation are as follows:

1. Reagan has not carefully familiarized himself with all the significant facts about the Panama Canal negotiations and has been content to make great political capital out of sloganeering and playing on the "give away" theme invoking the national pride in the Canal.

2. He seemed interested and in some cases surprised by some of the facts I put before him. He was especially uneasy, I thought, when I kept impressing upon him the danger of the situation and its potentially explosive nature. He remained silent when I asked: "Would you feel comfortable if our unwillingness to negotiate led to bloodshed?"

3. He seemed to find significant the fact that we were trying to work out some formula whereby the United States would continue to participate in assuring the continued neutrality and openness of the Canal even after the new Treaty came to an end.

4. He is going to remain adamant on the sovereignty issue and seems disposed to make his major argument on the "we bought it, we paid for it" line. I pointed out Supreme Court decisions on this point, but he was

unimpressed and almost disinterested.

5. Surprisingly, he did not even mention either Castro or Communist nations generally in the entire course of our discussion.

6. If the Canal issue remains a politically profitable one, then he will continue to highlight it. If, on the other hand, there should be a shift in popular sentiment and a readiness on the part of the American people to accept the fact that a new Treaty is necessary, then I think he is pragmatic enough to adjust his own position accordingly. The important fact is that I did not detect that he had a sense of mission on this issue.

7. I do believe he is genuinely interested in the possibility of a trip to Panama before long. If he indicates an interest in doing so, I believe we should cooperate in every way so that he can have a look for himself and a full opportunity to discuss the situation on the spot with both Panamanians and Americans.

Sincerely,

Sol M. Linowitz

The Honorable
Cyrus R. Vance
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

Panama Canal
The Gallup Poll (92) HM 261 B
RELEASE SUNDAY, OCT. 23, 1977

Lack of Information Is Widespread

SUPPORT FOR PANAMA TREATIES
INCREASES WITH KNOWLEDGE

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J. -- The more Americans know about the Panama Canal treaties, the more likely they are to favor Senate ratification of the pact, lending support to President Jimmy Carter's thesis.

When those surveyed who have not heard or read about the debate over the treaties (26 per cent) are given a brief description of the pact and are asked to vote on it, they vote it down by nearly a 2-to-1 margin (39 to 23 per cent with 38 per cent undecided).

However, when the results are limited to just those who have heard or read about the debate (74 per cent), opinion is more closely divided, with 48 per cent opposed, 40 per cent in favor, with 12 per cent undecided.

Finally, the views of the "better informed" were measured. The informed are defined as those who can correctly answer three questions dealing with key facts about the pact:

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X X X pact: PAGE 2

the year the canal is to be turned over to the Republic of Panama, whether or not the U.S. has the right to defend the canal against third-nation attacks, and whether or not the biggest U.S. aircraft carriers and supertankers are able to use the canal.

The vote among this "better informed" group (i.e. the one person in 14 who can answer all three questions correctly) is 5-to-4 in favor of the treaties.

To determine current attitudes on the Panama pact, as well as the relationship between knowledge and attitudes, a series of questions were asked in the latest nationwide Gallup Poll.

Following is the key question asked of everyone in the sample:

"The treaties would give Panama full control over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone by the year 2000, but the United States would retain the right to defend the canal against a third nation. Do you favor or oppose these treaties between the U.S. and Panama?"

Here are the results based on varying levels of awareness and knowledge:

THOSE NOT AWARE OF TREATIES

Favor	23%
Oppose	39
No opinion	38

THOSE AWARE OF TREATIES

Favor	40%
Oppose	48
No opinion	12

THE 'BETTER INFORMED' *

Favor	51%
Oppose	46
No opinion	3

* Results subject to wide sampling fluctuation due to small number of cases.

LACK OF INFORMATION
IS WIDESPREAD

The current survey reveals a serious lack of knowledge about the key facts of the Panama treaties, with about four in 10 Americans aware that the U.S. has the right to defend the canal, only about one in four aware that the canal is to be turned over in the year 2000 and only about one in seven aware that aircraft carriers and supertankers cannot use the canal.

Here are the responses (based on total sample) to the

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three questions dealing with facts about the treaties:

"As far as you know, in what year is the Panama Canal to be turned over completely to the Republic of Panama, by terms of the treaties?" (Correct answers: 1999 and 2000.)

Correct 26%

Incorrect/

Don't Know

Not Heard/Read 74

"As far as you know, will the United States have the right to defend the Panama Canal against third-nation attacks after Panama takes full control?" (Correct answer: yes.)

Correct 43%

Incorrect/

Don't Know

Not Heard/Read 57

"To the best of your knowledge, how much do the biggest U.S. aircraft carriers and supertankers now use the Panama Canal -- a great deal, quite a lot, not very much, or not at all?" (Correct answer: not at all.)

Correct 14%

Incorrect/

Don't Know

Not Heard/Read 86

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Those who have heard or read about the debate over the Panama Canal treaties were also asked what they regard as the best arguments in favor of and against the treaties.

Here are the responses, in order of frequency of mention:

BEST ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR

1. A good public relations move -- remove stigma of colonialism
2. Canal is not important to U.S. interests
3. Maintaining canal is too expensive
4. To avoid a conflict/prevent hostilities
5. Not giving it totally away -- we would be able to defend it against attack from third nation
6. It belongs to the Panamanians -- it's part of their land

BEST ARGUMENTS AGAINST

1. U.S. has economic stake in canal
2. U.S. should not pay them to take the canal
3. Panama may not stick to terms of treaties
4. They will soon keep us from using the canal at all
5. Communists will take it over
6. Canal is important to our national security
7. We built and paid for it -- we should keep it

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The results reported today are based on in-person interviews with 1,509 adults, 18 and older, taken in person in more than 300 scientifically-selected localities across the nation during the period Sept. 30-Oct. 3.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



SUMMARY OF WHITE HOUSE EFFORTS
TOWARD RATIFICATION OF PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

In seeking to bring about a favorable vote on the Panama Canal Treaties by the U.S. Senate, the Administration undertook early in 1977 and prior to conceptual agreement in Panama, a long range two phase ratification strategy. The two parts of that strategy were:

- 1) A continuous and intensive program of congressional consultation under the leadership of Frank Moore; and
- 2) A broadly based effort to build public support for the treaties and create a climate of public opinion which would make a favorable Senate vote possible. This was done under the leadership of Hamilton Jordan.

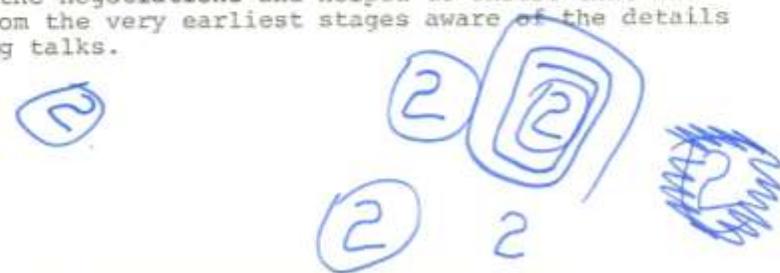
Congressional strategy

Frank Moore, Director of White House congressional relations assisted by Bob Thomson and Dan Tate of his staff as well as Doug Bennett and Bob Beckel of the State Department congressional relations, devised early in 1977 a long range program of congressional consultation.

The briefings began as early as January of 1977 and were conducted by our two chief negotiators, Ambassadors Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz. These briefings were carried on throughout the period of treaty negotiations prior to conceptual agreement in Panama.

In order to ensure that the Senate was kept fully informed of the progress of the negotiations, all Senators were invited to participate in these briefings by our negotiators.

These briefings became especially important as crucial issues arose during the negotiations and helped to ensure that the Senate was from the very earliest stages aware of the details of the ongoing talks.



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Every effort was made to keep the members of the Senate completely up to date on the treaty developments. For example, within 24 hours after conceptual agreement was reached in Panama on August 11, 1977 every member of the United States Senate received a telegram outlining the key elements of the negotiated treaties.

At about this time the President initiated a series of calls to key members of the Senate to personally apprise them of the developments and solicit their support.

On August 23rd the President responding to growing Senate interest in the treaties initiated the first in what was to become a comprehensive series of state briefings on the treaties.

These state briefings which were organized by Betty Rainwater of Hamilton Jordan's staff and Bob Thomson and Bob Beckel of congressional liaison brought local constituents and opinion leaders from the Senators home states to the White House where they were given in-depth briefings on the treaties. These local citizens, small businessmen, civic leaders were provided the opportunity to ask questions directly of the President, the negotiators, members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and others about the treaties and their implications.

In all, 29 states and over 1,000 local citizens were briefed by the President in this manner.

Under the guidance of Frank Moore and his staff the President also undertook an extensive series of personal meetings and phone conversations with Senators. This program of personal consultations continued throughout the remaining period until the vote which occurred today.

In the fall of 1977 Frank Moore and his staff assembled a group of Senate staffers to work cooperatively on the treaties. These weekly meetings were designed to identify key issues of concern to the Senate and explore ways in which those concerns might be satisfied.

Once hearings began on the treaties White House and State Department congressional liaison undertook, in cooperation with congressional leaders a coordinated effort to provide all documents, testimony and witnesses desired by the committees and individual Senators.

Once the treaty debate began Frank Moore, Doug Bennett, Bob Thomson and Bob Beckel worked with Senators and their staffs on a day-to-day basis.

It was during this period that the President, the Vice President and members of the Cabinet carried out a comprehensive series of contacts and one on one meetings to explain to remaining undecided Senators the great need for the treaties.

Public effort

A poll conducted in May of 1977 reported that 78% of the American people were opposed to the proposed treaties while only 8% were for.

Recognizing that it would be impossible to obtain Senate approval of the treaties in the face of such great public opposition, Hamilton Jordan undertook with his staff of Landon Butler, Betty Rainwater, Joe Aragon and Laurie Lucey a carefully planned long range program to inform the public about the treaties and hopefully turn around public opinion. The effort was successful. A Gallup poll conducted in January of this year indicated that public opinion now favored approval by 45% (for) to 42% (against). In order to bring about this change in public opinion an extensive series of briefings were conducted by White House and senior administration officials. These briefings, in response to growing public interest in the Panama issue were ultimately provided to a great variety of groups cutting across all sectors of society.

For example, briefings were provided to businessmen, business associations, religious groups, labor groups, Black leaders, women's groups, Hispanic leaders, environmentalists, senior citizens, foreign policy groups, mayors, state legislators, Junior Jaycees and many others.

The President, Vice President and senior administration officials all participated in these briefings.

In addition the President personally briefed 14 different groups of newspaper editors, while another 7 special press briefings were provided by other administration spokesmen.

The State Department as part of its public education effort on the treaties provided speakers to groups throughout the country which expressed interest in the treaty issue. The unusually high level of interest generated by the growing national debate on the treaties resulted in a highly active State department effort with the result that Department officials delivered a total of 509 speeches before live audiences in virtually every state in the country. In addition, 385 TV and radio interviews were provided along with 34 media "backgrounders". Secretary of State Vance and other senior members of the Department spoke on behalf of the treaties across the country.

As part of the public effort the President, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense also placed phone calls to town hall meetings held in cities across the country to discuss and debate the treaties. The Vice President both at the White House and throughout his travels spoke of the importance of the treaties and urged people to support their approval.

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In addition to discussing the treaties during his press conferences the President also addressed the nation in a fireside chat and explained in detail the treaties and his reasons for supporting them.

In response to the President's public initiative on the treaties major opinion leaders and personalities from across the nation and from all walks of life added their active support for the treaties. Former President Gerald Ford, Henry Kissinger, Governor Averell Harriman, William P. Buckley, John Wayne, General William Westmoreland, Admiral Zumwalt, Heath Larry, Irving Shapiro and hundreds of other prominent Americans became strong supporters of the treaties.

The campaign to build public support was aided greatly by the efforts of numerous groups outside of the administration who worked diligently on behalf of the treaties. COACT, a citizens committee headed up by Governor Averell Harriman and President Gerald Ford, New Directions and the Democratic National Committee all contributed significantly to building public support for the treaties and informing the American public.

THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT

No foreign policy issue has received more attention from the President than has the Panama Canal issue. It was the first foreign policy issue he took up when he assumed office as President in January of 1977.

In addition to personally briefing 29 state delegations and a score of other groups the President also met with Senators individually and in groups to discuss the treaties and enlist their support.

In 1977 he logged 2660 minutes (44 hours, 20 minutes) of official time in these consultations. In the first 2½ months of this year he logged 750 minutes (12 hours, 30 minutes) on the treaties. This total of 3410 minutes (56 hours, 50 minutes) does not reflect time spent on matters relating to the Panama Canal during regularly scheduled Cabinet meetings, National Security Council meetings, congressional leadership meetings, press conferences, private working time, etc. It does not include telephone calls to Members of Congress or administration officials.