

**4/24/79**

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THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Tuesday - April 24, 1979

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- 8:00 Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.
- 8:30 Mr. Frank Moore - The Oval Office.
- 9:30 Congressman Martin Russo. (Mr. Frank Moore).  
The Oval Office.
- 10:25 Mr. and Mrs. Richard Carl. (Mr. Jerry Rafshoon).  
(3 min.) The Oval Office.
- 10:30 Mr. Jody Powell - The Oval Office.
- 11:00 His Excellency Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Minister  
(15 min.) of External Affairs of India. (Dr. Zbigniew  
Brzezinski) - The Oval Office and Cabinet Room.
- 11:50 Depart South Grounds via Motorcade en route  
Capitol Rotunda.
- 12:00 Holocaust Anniversary Observance.
- 12:40 Return to the White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4/24/79

Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Anne Wexler

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4/24/79

Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in  
the President's outbox today  
and is forwarded to you for  
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Anne Wexler

1610

FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
NO DEADLINE
LAST DAY FOR ACTION -

ACTION  
FYI

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY

VICE PRESIDENT
EIZENSTAT - <i>of whole package</i>
JORDAN
KRAFT
LIPSHUTZ
MOORE
POWELL
WATSON
WEXLER - <i>of her memo</i>
BRZEZINSKI
MCINTYRE
SCHULTZE

ARAGON
BOURNE
BUTLER
H. CARTER
CLOUGH
COSTANZA
CRUIKSHANK
FALLOWS
FIRST LADY
GAMMILL
HARDEN
HUTCHESON
JAGODA
LINDER
MITCHELL
MOE
PETERSON
PETTIGREW
PRESS
RAFSHOON
SCHNEIDERS
VOORDE
WARREN
WISE

ADAMS
ANDRUS
BELL
BERGLAND
BLUMENTHAL
BROWN
CALIFANO
HARRIS
KREPS
MARSHALL
SCHLESINGER
STRAUSS
VANCE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 19, 1979

Good  
C  
-

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR STU EIZENSTAT

FROM: ANNE WEXLER

SUBJECT: Energy Outreach

Energy outreach involves three separate efforts: the windfall profits tax, energy conservation and passage of the four standby plans. Although they should be separate, to some degree our efforts to promote energy conservation will yield additional group support for the windfall profits tax.

WINDFALL PROFITS TAX

The tax must be approached positively -- new, reliable sources of energy, benefits for urban areas and the poor -- rather than negatively as a penalty on the oil companies.

A range of groups are possible members of a supporting coalition:

- Business: General reaction will be opposition from big business; however, if business is approached selectively based on who benefits, an initial threshold in the business community might be developed -- e.g., coal industry, bus manufacturers, utilities, solar industry, building industry, etc.
- The Poor Coalition: Essentially the full employment coalition which supported Humphrey-Hawkins; includes minorities, labor, liberals, etc.

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- 9006
- Oil Industry: Majors are opposed; might be able to break off independents, particularly if royalties are deducted before taxes are computed. (See attached list of states where independents are most important.)
  - Energy Workers
  - Construction Industry and Workers
  - Churches
  - Scientific and Academic Communities
  - Rural and Farm Groups
  - State and Local Officials
  - Grass Roots Leadership: Drawn from high quality leadership on other issues. This is a "strong national interest issue" and many Carter supporters and leaders on other issues without a specific interest will want to help with it.

In addition, it might be possible to get the support of some of the environmental groups depending on the use of the funds. Consumer groups will be more difficult although there are some indications that consumer leaders outside Washington might be more supportive.

The outreach effort should proceed along two tracks at the same time:

- Reach out to the country through East Room briefings for community leaders from the groups listed above, possibly targeted to the Ways and Means and Finance Committees. Although there are enough beneficiaries to hold as many briefings as might be desired, I would recommend starting with two East Room sessions, giving the President high visibility early and signalling that the White House is running this ongoing effort.

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-- Begin working one-on-one with individuals in each category to identify supporters and establish a basic coalition to work for passage of the tax.

CONSERVATION

The objectives should be (a) to increase public awareness about the acuteness of the problem and then of the importance of conservation; and (b) to use the White House to draw attention to good energy conservation programs particularly where people can help themselves. There are a lot of conservation activities underway, and we should not attempt to "re-invent the wheel" or to run a major national conservation program from the White House. Instead, we should use what is being done and highlight those activities.

For the short term, we should focus our attention on conserving gasoline because this is one area where the public is seeing shortages. However, we must convince the public that this is a genuine shortage, not a creation of the oil companies and not the fault of Jimmy Carter. This will require bringing a large number of groups with credibility (civic organizations, businesses and business groups, sports, and state and local officials) into a coalition which will reinforce the legitimacy of the shortage and provide leadership in gasoline conservation.

For the longer term, we need to begin working now for actions which will achieve conservation later this year when colder weather arrives. Longer term conservation efforts should involve business, farmers, hospitals, universities and the like. An important aspect of this approach would be to utilize churches, schools and other forums with which ordinary people identify and through which they can learn what they can do themselves to conserve without significant sacrifice in their lifestyles. It is important to approach longer term conservation efforts from a positive point of view -- that it brings benefits in reduced costs, more comforts, etc. -- rather than that it involves inordinate sacrifices.

It will be important to link these efforts to those of state and local governments. This will improve credibility and overcome past problems when local government endorsed, but did not participate.

To carry through with this strategy, we should identify a series of conservation efforts -- both short-term and long-term -- in which the President, the Vice President or the First Lady can participate. This would include kickoffs of conservation programs by civic organizations, visits to sites where energy conservation is being practiced, appropriate White House meetings and the like. As a part of this, we should structure a program which leads to October which is International Energy Conservation Month.

We have brought together a working group involving key people from the Department of Energy (as well as other agencies when needed) which will meet every day to develop a plan along these lines. One possible early event is a meeting with members of Congress from the Northeast to establish a program whereby they can educate their constituencies on ways to lower bills for home heating oil even if the costs should go up.

#### ADOPTION OF THE FOUR STANDBY PLANS

This activity will not necessarily require the extensive use of outside groups, other than the governors. Rather it initially involves focussing White House attention and leadership. However, as we develop our legislative strategy there are a few constituencies which might be brought in for some advice on any modifications or amendments to the plans presently on the table. This is especially important in the case of those constituencies affected by weekend closings (who have many alternative ideas). In addition, the governors should be used to help pass the compromise weekend closings plan.

Attachment

STATES WHERE INDEPENDENTS ARE IMPORTANT

TEXAS

LOUISIANA

OKLAHOMA

MISSISSIPPI

ARKANSAS

ALABAMA

ILLINOIS

INDIANA

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
April 21, 1979

*Stu - This is excellent.  
There is a good news  
story (or speech) here  
just in the implementation  
plan. Work w/ Jerry/Jody  
on getting it promulgated*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*

SUBJECT: Energy Program - Status Report No. 1

*JC*

I have prepared this memo to bring you up-to-date on the status of the energy program and to outline for you the scope of activities we are planning to follow through on the program.

ENERGY TASK FORCE

We have created the Energy Task Force you asked me to chair to direct the activities on behalf of all of the initiatives in your recent energy speech and accompanying Fact Sheet. The basic responsibilities of the Task Force include:

- (1) drafting the legislation involved in the program;
- (2) implementing the program's administrative actions;
- (3) coordinating the lobbying efforts for the program, with particular emphasis initially on the windfall profits tax/Energy Security Fund and the four standby conservation plans;
- (4) preparing a press and media program to provide clear, understandable public information about the program;
- (5) preparing a program for Presidential, Vice Presidential and Cabinet involvement;
- (6) developing and organizing public and interest group support for the program.

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The Task Force will initially have three subcommittees: Legislation (co-chaired by Frank Moore and me); Outreach (chaired by Anne Wexler); and Public Information (chaired by Jerry Rafshoon).

The members of the full Task Force are:

White House

Anne Wexler, Mike Chanin  
Frank Moore, Bill Cable, Dan Tate  
Jerry Rafshoon, Greg Schneiders  
Fred Kahn  
Frank Press  
Landon Butler  
Gene Eidenberg  
Pat Bario  
Kitty Schirmer

OMB

Bo Cutter, Eliot Cutler, Ken Glozer

CEA

Charlie Schultze, George Eads

CEQ

Charlie Warren, Gus Speth

DOE

Al Alm, Les Goldman

Treasury

Don Lubick, Emil Sunley, Gene Godley

Interior

Cecil Andrus

Transportation

Brock Adams

HEW

Joe Califano

The Task Force is obviously large, but I believe it is essential that all of the major agencies and individuals involved be brought together on a regular basis to ensure that coordination occurs. To do that, the Task Force will meet regularly.

Most of the work, though, will be done at the subcommittee level. The subcommittees will be much smaller and will meet much more frequently. For instance, the Legislation subcommittee, which will coordinate the drafting and lobbying of the energy legislative proposals, will consist only of representatives of Frank's staff, my staff, OMB, DOE and Treasury. We have already met each day for 1-2 hours, and expect to continue doing so for some time.

#### CURRENT STATUS AND ACTIVITIES TO DATE

From the date of your energy speech until now, the primary focus of the Task Force has been developing the windfall profits tax and Energy Security Fund legislation. This is very technical legislation, and we have been operating on an extremely short time frame.

Our goal, as you announced at your last press conference, has been to get the legislation to the Congress upon its return. We need to do that to focus the Congressional debate immediately on our program.

Since your speech, a group of DPS, CL, DOE, OMB and Treasury has been working on a full-time basis to develop the windfall profits tax and the Energy Security Fund legislation. As part of our efforts, I along with this group have met with the staffs of the Speaker of the House, the Joint Committee on Taxation, the House Ways and Means Committee, the Senate Finance Committee, the Senate and House Energy Committees, and the House Science and Technology Committee.

We have also had extensive consultations with outside groups interested in the tax. This past week we have met with representatives of the major oil producers, the independent oil producers, environmentalists, governors, mayors, and public interest groups.

As a result of the consultations and our regular internal working meetings, we have reached agreement on the substance (and the manner of presentation) of the tax and the Energy Security Fund legislation. We have also reached agreement on all of the important numbers associated with this legislation (such as the amount of revenues raised and the amount of revenues the oil companies will receive).

Our current plans are to submit legislative specifications for both the tax and the Fund between Tuesday and Thursday. The specifications would describe the details of the tax and the general purposes for which the Fund could be used - with allocations out of the Fund subject to annual authorization and appropriation. We are submitting specifications, rather than actual legislation, at the request of the Ways and Means Committee staff; they would prefer to keep us from being locked into certain legislative language at this early period and would like to work with us in the actual drafting of the legislation. (Ways and Means have made this type of request for virtually all our bills going to that Committee, and we have generally complied.)

*We should evaluate specific language, though. To put forward if/when needed*

We do not plan to submit the legislation concerning the programs which would be funded from the Energy Security Fund until the following week. We would like to have at least that much of a time lag so that we can concentrate essential public attention on the tax and the Fund. This complies with your desire to keep the tax and the specific uses as discrete and separated as possible. We will make clear that there is a separation between the tax-Fund and the funded programs in order to avoid having them become so inextricably linked that a fight over the new programs would slow down passage of the tax. We may not be entirely successful in persuading the Congress to act first on the tax-Fund, before considering how the money is to be spent, but the advice that we have received from most of our Congressional consultations is that we should try to keep a legislative separation between the tax and the benefits to the extent possible.

*good*

During the next week, we will finally review the new program legislation, which will range from the tax credits to such initiatives as increased mass transit, SRC, and additional coal research and development. Perhaps the most important unresolved matter involving all of this additional

legislation is the mechanism to provide funds to the poor. We have not yet reached an agreement within the Administration on the best way to get the funds, about \$800 million a year, to those most in need of help with their energy bills. We are weighing now whether to provide the funds through existing programs or through creation of a new program. We will be consulting with Congress this week and will present to you any unresolved issues by the end of the week.

We have also begun consultations on the oil swap, as you requested. At this point, we have been strongly advised that the only feasible legislative course is to get the Congressional leadership to permit the McKenney amendment (barring such a swap) to expire in June, rather than obtaining positive legislation to permit the swap. With its expiration, such a swap could be proposed, subject to Congressional override. The McKenney amendment would expire if it is not extended. This is the strategy we will adopt.

Let me now review the basic tasks that the Task Force will undertake:

Drafting the Legislation Described in the Program

Your energy program involves, through new proposals or through amendments, 17 basic pieces of legislation:

1. Windfall profits tax/Energy Security Fund (the tax and the Fund are separate bills but are linked in our analysis and consultations)
2. Energy Assistance for Low-Income Households
3. Energy Tax Credits
4. Foreign Tax Credit Limitation
5. Permanent Gasahol Exemption
6. Export Administration Act (oil swaps)
7. Energy Planning and Management Act
8. SOHIO Pipeline
9. Streamline Loan Guarantee Authority

*I prefer  
"existing"  
if  
feasible*

*dc*

Now!

10. Coal Slurry Pipeline
11. NPR-A Private Exploration
12. Nuclear Siting and Licensing
13. Regional Petroleum Storage
14. Petroleum Synthetics
15. SRC Plant
16. Coal Research and Development
17. Mass Transit Initiatives

Work is well underway on the other bills. Timetables for much of the above legislation have already been set, and we hope to have very shortly Administration agreement on the major bills that follow-on to the tax and Fund legislation. The question of when the best time is to submit this other legislation involves other major issues, which will be discussed later.

With all of the legislation, we are attempting to follow a procedure similar to that which we have nearly completed with the windfall profits tax and Energy Security Fund:

- o clearing all lobbying efforts by the Departments and White House staff on the energy program;
- o briefing the leadership in both Houses;
- o making certain that key members of Ways and Means, Finance, and the two Energy Committees are briefed personally by an Administration figure shortly after the legislation is submitted;
- o providing briefings to the above Members' staffs;
- o developing with the House leadership and Committee leaders a schedule for House action on our bills;

- o providing briefings to other interested Members -- those not in the Committees but whose support could be needed on the floor or for helpful public statements prior to floor action;
- o distributing clear, simple materials explaining our program and providing the strongest case for the program;
- o developing a schedule of appropriate meetings for you with key Congressional members;
- o the Legislation working group of the Task Force will direct the drafting, or amendments prepared, as promptly as possible for submission at the appropriate time.
- o the bills will be drafted with the input of extensive Congressional consultation; no bill will be released until it is clear that the relevant Congressional input has been received;
- o the bills will also not be released until the comments of all relevant agencies and departments have been received.

In addition, we are attempting to develop an announcement strategy for each of the pieces of legislation -- a strategy which ensures that all aspects of an announcement are being properly handled. Where the legislation involved is important enough, such as the windfall profits tax, our strategy will involve the following:

- o selecting an announcer and a time to maximize attention to the bill;
- o involving supportive Members of Congress in the announcement, and in pre-announcement briefings;
- o seeking supportive statements from affected interest group leaders;
- o preparing clear, explanatory briefing materials for the press;

- o backgrounding key reporters;
- o providing Administration spokesmen for interview shows;
- o seeking favorable editorials from major papers.

We are currently planning the details of the announcement next week of the windfall profits tax legislation. While we do not believe that you need to make the announcement, we do feel that considerable attention will be focused on the details of the legislation, and we are seeking to make certain that our message is fully conveyed from the start.

Implementing Administrative Steps in the Energy Program

As you know, much of the program you announced two weeks ago does not involve legislation, but rather administrative actions that we plan to take. The administrative steps involved in the program include:

1. Establishing State-by-State gasoline conservation targets.
2. Establishing a system to approve State "alternative" plans.
3. Issuing directive to executive agencies for 5% reduction, 10% gasoline.
4. Begin phasing-out parking subsidies.
5. Issuing regulations to encourage "Oregon-type" utility programs.
6. Arranging a State/utility conference to exchange utility conservation program information.
7. Establishing a conservation task force.
8. Hosting a series of PUC conferences.
9. Issuing regulations to phase-out price controls.

10. Reviewing foreign tax credit rules.
11. Proposing "additional acreage" for OCS leasing.
12. Undertaking 60-day coal study.
13. Accelerating the decision process for Northern Tier.
14. Issuing Energy Facility Executive Order.
15. Establishing Three Mile Island Review Commission.
16. Developing "Robin Hood" mechanism.
17. Urging States to legislate utility service termination prohibitions.
18. Establishing minority set-aside regulations in DOE.
19. Implementing low-head hydro loan/grant programs.
20. Using gasahol in Federal vehicles.

We are working now to establish a process to ensure that:

- o each administrative action is taken as promptly as possible;
- o the Task Force reviews and approves the substance and timing of each administrative action;
- o where appropriate, Congressional consultations or at least pre-notification occurs;
- o supporters of the particular administrative action are encouraged to issue positive statements;
- o the announcement of the press plan is made in a way which provides maximum attention to the fact you are taking another step toward following through on your energy program.

A timetable for completion of the administrative steps is now being completed and will be circulated within the Task force this coming week.

Coordinating the Lobbying Efforts of the Energy Program

We believe that there are essentially three major lobbying efforts involved in your program:

- (1) the first centers around the windfall profits tax and the Energy Security Fund (along with the programs to be funded from the Fund);
- (2) the second involves the four standby conservation plans that you sent to Congress before announcing your full program, but which are now inextricably linked to the program. Congress will soon be marking-up the conservation plans (final action must occur by May 15), and we are very concerned about the prospects of defeat. We are convinced that a defeat of three of the four plans (which is now very possible) would create a poor impression of our ability to lobby our whole program through the Congress;
- (3) third are all the other bills that are part of your Fund program.

Preparing a Press and Media Program to Provide Clear, Understandable Public Information about the Program

Many of our major task force efforts have been able to develop ways to get across to the public our basic message; they have been able to boil down the points we want to make to assure those points are repeatedly made.

Such an effort is particularly important in the energy area, because of its inherent complexity and because of our prior record. After the National Energy Plan was announced in April of 1977, the Administration did not do a particularly good job of following through with a public education campaign. For that reason, in part, we were unable to effectively get public recognition of the energy crisis or public support for our solution.

We are now working with Jerry, his staff, and DOE to correct our earlier failing by arranging and coordinating, for the major initiatives in the energy program:

- o pamphlets and other hand-out materials to explain the initiatives clearly and simply;

- o talking points and briefing materials for major Administration spokesmen;
- o background interviews;
- o out-of-town editor sessions;
- o editorial board briefings;
- o major TV interview show appearances;
- o TV interviews for local stations.

The Task Force's Subcommittee on Public Information will direct the above activities. It is already meeting to develop materials for the tax, and to plan for the announcement and follow-through on that initiative.

Preparing a Program for Presidential, Vice-Presidential, and Cabinet Involvement

*ok*  
It is critical to the success of our program that you and the Vice-President, as well as the Cabinet, be heavily involved in the public education and lobbying efforts. The fact that you are visibly working to pass and implement your program should help us enormously in convincing the Congress and the public of the overriding importance of the program.

We are working with Anne, Frank, Jack, DOE and Fran Voorde to develop a proposed schedule of events for you and the Vice-President. We expect to have a schedule for your review early this coming week. Among the types of events we are considering are:

- o Meetings with key Members;
- o Meetings with interest group leaders;
- o Meetings with energy industry officials;
- o Meetings with Governors and other elected officials;
- o Briefings of targeted citizen groups/community leaders;

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- o Speeches re-emphasizing the major energy themes and initiatives;
- o Symbolic gestures involving energy conservation;
- o Visits outside of Washington to places that will highlight your concern with the energy problem and will emphasize the solutions you have proposed.

Developing and Organizing Public Support for the Energy Program

In many ways, one of our most important tasks, particularly for the tax and Fund-related programs, will be developing and organizing public support. Anne already has this task well underway. Her attached memo indicates the activities now going on and being planned. She has been very helpful in arranging our consultations with the outside groups.

Mr President;

Mark & his son, Matthew,  
will be on the Oval office  
collonade upon your  
arrival back.

Phil

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Back-Up  
copy of Speed.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TIM KRAFT *TK*  
SUBJECT: Brief Greeting with Mark Hogan,  
Chairman, Colorado Democratic Party

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Hogan was elected Chairman of the Party in March with no opposition; he was hand-picked by Senator Hart and Governor Lamm. Hogan states that he told Lamm he would accept if Lamm would reduce his criticism of the White House.

Hogan is a former Lt. Governor and twice lost in the gubernatorial race. Nonetheless, he has always continued to support the party and to help other candidates. He was very active for Carter in 1976, but has had little attention until he was recently invited to attend the Peace Treaty festivities.

Personally, Hogan is a wealthy real estate developer and President of a company that manufactures Ceiling fans. He has been married to his wife Nancy for 25 years, and they have five children. Hogan is in town now with his son Matthew, who is interviewing at Georgetown University.

Hogan's goals for the party are:

- to re-elect Hart, Kogovsek, Wirth and Schroeder;
- to gain control of the legislature, which is now dominated by the Republicans in both houses;
- to pay off the \$40,000 debt of the party, including the use of zero-based budgeting; and
- to involve more people in responsible tasks for the party.

Other officers include:

Vice Chair Faye Johnson, whom you recently met;  
Secretary Wilma Webb, key Carter in 1976;  
Treasurer Henry Strauss, key Carter in 1976 and  
now helping with fundraising.

Hogan will be meeting with Evan Dobelle this afternoon, and the Vice President and Congressional delegation tomorrow.

Suggested Talking Points

You are pleased that a friend has been elected Chairman.

What does he think Senator Hart's opposition will be in 1980?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1979

9  
/

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HUGH CARTER *HC*

Thinking back on our conversation just before your Middle East trip, I remembered we discussed who the Assistants and Special Assistants are. Each of these persons is a White House staff department head, except David Aaron. Attached for your perusal is the list from our personnel roster.

In addition, Esther Peterson and Nelson Cruikshank are considered in the Special Assistant category. They are, however, actually on the Domestic Policy staff payroll, instead of that of the White House.

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PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS  
March 31, 1979

(16)

\$56,000 (11)

Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Zbigniew K. Brzezinski\*

Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and Policy

Stuart E. Eizenstat

Assistant to the President

Hamilton Jordan

Assistant to the President

Timothy E. Kraft

Counsel to the President

Robert J. Lipshutz

Assistant to the President for Congressional Liaison

Francis B. Moore

Assistant to the President for Reorganization

Richard A. Pettigrew

Press Secretary to the President

Joseph L. Powell, Jr.

Assistant to the President for Communications

Gerald M. Rafshoon

Secretary to the Cabinet and Assistant to the President  
for Intergovernmental Affairs

Jack H. Watson, Jr.

Assistant to the President

Anne Wexler

\* Commissioned

\$51,000 (5)

Deputy Assistant for National Security Affairs

David L. Aaron

Special Assistant to the President for Administration

Hugh A. Carter, Jr.

Special Assistant to the President for Information Management

Richard M. Harden

Special Assistant to the President

Louis E. Martin

Special Assistant to the President

Sarah C. Weddington

GRAVE & SOLEMN, AS I

I AM HONORED, AND ALSO ~~HUMBLED~~ <sup>A</sup> TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS CEREMONY DURING ~~THE~~ DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST.

JUST FIVE WEEKS AGO DURING MY TRIP TO ISRAEL, I VISITED YAD VASHEM -- THE MEMORIAL TO THE 6 MILLION. I WALKED <sup>SLOWLY</sup> ~~A~~ THROUGH THE HALL OF NAMES. AND LIKE ~~ALL THOSE~~ <sup>MANY</sup> BEFORE ME, I GRIEVED AS I LOOKED AT BOOK AFTER BOOK, ROW AFTER ROW, EACH RECORDING THE NAME OF A MAN OR A WOMAN, A YOUNG BOY OR GIRL, EACH A VICTIM OF THE HOLOCAUST.

I VOWED THEN -- AS PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD ARE DOING THIS WEEK -- TO RE-AFFIRM OUR UNSHAKEABLE COMMITMENT THAT SUCH AN EVENT WILL NEVER RECUR ON THIS EARTH AGAIN.

(=OVER=) (A PHILOSOPHER HAS WRITTEN.....)

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A PHILOSOPHER HAS WRITTEN THAT LANGUAGE ITSELF BREAKS DOWN WHEN ONE TRIES TO SPEAK ABOUT THE HOLOCAUST. OUR WORDS PALE BEFORE THE FRIGHTENING SPECTACLE OF HUMAN EVIL UNLEASHED UPON THE WORLD,...AND BEFORE THE AWESOMENESS OF THE SUFFERING INVOLVED; -- THE SHEER WEIGHT OF ITS NUMBERS -- 11 MILLION INNOCENT VICTIMS EXTERMINATED,...6 MILLION OF THEM JEWS.

ALTHOUGH WORDS PALE, YET WE MUST SPEAK. WE MUST STRIVE TO UNDERSTAND. WE MUST TEACH THE LESSONS OF THE HOLOCAUST. AND MOST OF ALL, WE OURSELVES MUST REMEMBER.

WE MUST LEARN NOT MERELY OF THE VULNERABILITY OF HUMAN LIFE, BUT OF ITS VALUE. WE MUST REMEMBER THE TERRIBLE PRICE THAT WAS PAID FOR BIGOTRY AND HATRED, AND ALSO THE TERRIBLE PRICE PAID FOR INDIFFERENCE AND SILENCE.

(=NEW CARD=) (WE MUST ALSO LEARN ANEW.....)

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WE MUST ~~ALSO~~ LEARN ANEW THE AGE-OLD LESSON THAT ~~ALL HUMAN LIFE IS SACRED, AND THAT~~ EVIL INFLICTED AGAINST ONE PEOPLE MAY ENGULF ALL PEOPLE IN THE END.

SO IT IS FITTING ALSO THAT WE RECALL TODAY THE PERSECUTION, SUFFERING AND DESTRUCTION WHICH HAS BEFALLEN SO MANY OTHER PEOPLES IN THIS CENTURY. -- ~~MANY OF WHOSE~~ REPRESENTATIVES HAVE JOINED US FOR THIS OBSERVANCE. ~~ER IN MANY NATIONS = PEOPLE WHOSE~~

FOR THE CENTRAL LESSON OF THE HOLOCAUST MUST BE ~~THE SANCTITY OF ALL HUMANKIND,~~ AND THAT, IN THE WORDS OF THE POET, "EACH MAN'S DEATH DIMINISHES ME".

TO TRULY COMMEMORATE THE VICTIMS OF THE HOLOCAUST, WE MUST HARNESS THE OUTRAGE OF OUR MEMORIES TO BANISH ALL HUMAN OPPRESSION FROM THE WORLD.

(=OVER=) (WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT....)

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WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT WHEN ANY FELLOW HUMAN BEING IS STRIPPED OF HUMANITY; WHEN ANY PERSON IS TURNED INTO AN-OBJECT OF REPRESSION; TORTURED OR DEFILED, OR VICTIMIZED BY <sup>TERRORISM OR</sup> PREJUDICE OR RACISM; ... THEN ALL HUMAN BEINGS ARE VICTIMS TOO.

THE WORLD'S FAILURE TO RECOGNIZE THAT MORAL TRUTH 40 YEARS AGO PERMITTED THE HOLOCAUST TO PROCEED. OUR GENERATION -- THE GENERATION OF THE SURVIVORS -- WILL NEVER PERMIT THAT LESSON TO BE FORGOTTEN. HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY ARE INDIVISIBLE. AMERICA MUST, AND ALWAYS WILL, SPEAK OUT IN THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD.

THAT COMMITMENT IMPOSES SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES ON US TO UPHOLD THE HIGHEST STANDARDS OF HUMAN JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS HERE AT HOME.

(=NEW CARD=) (I APPLAUD THE .....)

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I APPLAUD ~~THE LEADERSHIP OF~~ THE CONGRESS IN CALLING FOR THIS DAY OF COMMEMORATION IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE HOLOCAUST. AND I RENEW MY CALL ON THE SENATE TO TAKE A LONG OVERDUE STEP THIS YEAR BY RATIFYING THE INTERNATIONAL TREATY ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF GENOCIDE.

WITHOUT CONCRETE ACTION, OUR WORDS ARE HOLLOW. LET US SIGNIFY IN DEED, AS WELL AS WORD, THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NEVER FORGET.

IT IS, PERHAPS, IRONIC THAT WE MEET TODAY IN A SEASON OF REBIRTH AND RENEWAL TO RECALL A TIME OF DARKNESS AND DESTRUCTION THAT HAS NO PARALLEL IN HUMAN HISTORY. AND YET IT IS ALSO FITTING THAT WE DO SO WITH SURVIVORS OF THE HOLOCAUST IN OUR MIDST.

FOR THE HOLOCAUST IS ALSO A STORY OF RENEWAL AND A TESTAMENT TO THE POWER OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT TO PREVAIL.

(=OVER=) (PEOPLE WHO SAW THEIR.....)

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PEOPLE WHO SAW THEIR HOMES DESTROYED, HELPED BUILD A NEW HOMELAND  
IN THE STATE OF ISRAEL. PEOPLE LIKE ELIE WIESEL, THE CHAIRMAN OF MY  
HOLOCAUST COMMISSION, WHO WITNESSED THE COLLAPSE OF ALL VISION, CREATED AND  
SHARED WITH US NEW VISIONS. IT IS AN INCREDIBLE STORY OF A PEOPLE WHO  
REFUSED TO ALLOW DESPAIR TO TRIUMPH, ... WHO AFTER HAVING LOST CHILDREN  
BROUGHT NEW FAMILIES INTO THE WORLD.

IT IS OUR COLLECTIVE TASK, AS WELL, TO LEARN FROM THIS PROCESS OF  
RENEWAL, THE ROOTS OF HOPE -- A HOPE NOT BASED ON ILLUSION OR IGNORANCE, ...  
BUT ONE GROUNDING IN THE REBIRTH OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT AND A REAFFIRMATION  
OF THE SACREDNESS OF LIFE.

(=NEW CARD=) (WITH THAT HOPE.....)

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WITH THAT HOPE WE WILL STRIVE TO BUILD OUT OF OUR MEMORIES OF THE  
HOLOCAUST A WORLD JOINED BY A TRUE FELLOWSHIP OF HUMAN UNDERSTANDING,...  
A WORLD OF TOLERANCE AND DIVERSITY IN WHICH ALL PEOPLES CAN LIVE IN  
DIGNITY AND PEACE.

THANK YOU.

# # #

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12:00 noon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

EDWARD SANDERS *Ed*

SUBJECT:

National Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony at the Rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, April 24, 1979.

I. PURPOSE

To participate in a ceremony to commemorate the "Days of Remembrance of the Victims of the Holocaust" at the Rotunda of the Capitol on April 24, 1979, at 12:00 noon.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS

- A. Background: In addition to recommending to the President the "establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust," the President's Commission on the Holocaust was also charged by Executive Order 12093, dated November 1, 1978, with the responsibility to recommend appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate the "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust" which Congress has resolved shall occur on April 28 and 29, 1979.

Subsequently, in consultation with the staff of the Commission, the Congress passed a joint resolution on March 26, 1979, announcing that Congress would adjourn at 12:00 noon on April 24, 1979, to attend a National Civic Commemoration on the Holocaust in the Rotunda of the Capitol. On April 2, 1979, a Presidential Proclamation was issued under the title "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust," which included the following statement: "On the recommendation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, I also ask the people of the United States to note International Holocaust Commemoration Day on April 24, 1979." The attached program for the Rotunda ceremony was prepared by the Commission staff in consultation with the various Congressional officials.

Please note from the attached program that representatives of the American Armenian community will participate in the ceremony by lighting a candle and offering a prayer for the

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: EDWARD SANDERS

Armenian victims of a Turkish repression that occurred more than sixty years ago. As the Armenian anniversary falls on April 24, the same date as the Rotunda event, the Armenian representatives were able to prevail upon the Commission staff to permit Armenian participation.

Although this participation involves only a candle lighting and a prayer by an Armenian cleric, the Turkish Embassy has protested to the State Department.

Both Dr. Brzezinski and the State Department recommend the elimination of any specific reference to the Armenians. We therefore eliminated such reference, recognizing the possibility this might offend the American Armenian community. The relevant sentence now reads as follows:

"So it is fitting also that we recall today the persecution, suffering and destruction which has befallen so many other peoples in this century, many of whose representatives have joined us at this observance today."

I suggest that because of wide interest in the event an advance text be released.

B. Participants

See attached Program of the Rotunda ceremony for a list of the participants. It is tentatively planned that Elie Wiesel, Chairman of the Commission, and I will accompany you to the Rotunda.

C. Press

The lead advance for this event is being handled by Mike Casey, Presidential Advance Coordinator, and Press Advance is being handled by Art Kosatka.

ES:ss

Attachment

11:50 a.m.

THE PRESIDENT'S ATTENDANCE AT THE  
NATIONAL CIVIC HOLOCAUST COMMEMORATION CEREMONY

U.S. Capitol  
Tuesday, April 24, 1979

11:50 am The President boards motorcade on South Grounds.

MOTORCADE DEPARTS South Grounds en route  
U.S. Capitol.

(Driving time: 5 minutes)

11:55 am MOTORCADE ARRIVES U.S. Capitol.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE  
CLOSED ARRIVAL

The President will be met by:

Senator Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.)  
Rep. Thomas (Tip) O'Neill (D-Mass.)  
George White, Architect of the Capitol  
Ed Raiden, Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, U.S.  
House of Representatives  
Mel Fish, Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms, U.S.  
Senate

The President, escorted by Sen. Byrd, Rep. O'Neill  
and George White, proceeds to holding room (S-201).

11:56 am The President arrives holding room.

PERSONAL/STAFF TIME: 4 minutes

12:00 noon Program begins

12:00 noon The President departs holding room en route  
Rotunda.

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12:01 pm        The President arrives Rotunda and proceeds inside  
and takes his seat for National Civic Holocaust  
Commemoration Ceremony.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE  
ATTENDANCE: 1000

12:02 pm        Remarks by the Vice President.

12:03 pm        Invocation by Rev. Dr. A. Roy Eckardt,  
Lehigh University.

12:06 pm        Memorial Prayer by Cantor Isaac Goodfriend.

12:08 pm        Songs of the Ghetto by Atlanta Boys Choir.

12:11 pm        Remarks by Elie Wiesel, Chairman, President's  
Commission on the Holocaust.

12:15 pm        Candlelighting Ceremony.

12:20 pm        Presidential remarks.

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

NOTE: There will be no introduction of the  
President.

12:25 pm        Remarks conclude.

Armenian Memorial Ceremony.

12:27 pm        Benediction by Rabbi Bernard Raskas.

12:30 pm        Recessional by Atlanta Boys Choir.

Program concludes.

The President proceeds to motorcade for boarding.

12:35 pm

MOTORCADE DEPARTS U.S. Capitol en route  
South Grounds.

(Driving time: 5 minutes)

12:40 pm

MOTORCADE ARRIVES South Grounds.

National Civic  
Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony

to observe

“DAYS OF REMEMBRANCE”

by the

Congress of the United States



Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of April  
Nineteen Hundred and Seventy-Nine  
at twelve o'clock noon

THE ROTUNDA  
United States Capitol  
Washington, D.C.

2:00 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1979

C  
/

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LOUIS MARTIN  
SUBJECT: LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA

Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, Chairman of the Board of the NAACP, and Randall Robinson, Director of TransAfrica, called this morning and requested that I let you know immediately of their vigorous opposition to the lifting of sanctions against Rhodesia.

It goes without saying that the vast majority of Black Americans are convinced that the Rhodesian election was essentially a charade, a scheme to perpetuate the power of the ruling Whites. The White minority, it is believed, will continue to control the basic powers, including the police of the state.

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meeting re rhodesia

4/24/79

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Zimbabwe

Immediate Congress action

Early statement

Consult C G Br. Harri

Pim + Rhod = Lord Carrington <sup>Cautious</sup>

Callaghan polts 12 → 6

US policy - kept US out of  
Zambia, Mozambique, etc

Admin & Congress may go  
separate ways

Delay decision until early June

No worry re SA in Africa -  
unless we alienate Kline State

All- No on Case/Tavits

What is right

US interests

Case/Tavits

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

*Answered  
verbally to  
Jim & Frank  
J*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: James T. McIntyre, Jr.  
SUBJECT: Interest Rates on SBA Physical Disaster Loans

Tomorrow afternoon Senator Huddleston is holding hearings before the Senate Select Committee on Small Business concerning SBA's disaster loan program. Administration officials from the SBA and the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) are scheduled to testify. The original purpose of the hearing was to explore differences between SBA and FmHA farm lending programs and to hear the Administration's case for removing SBA's statutory farm lending authorities. While the hearing may still focus on the SBA/FmHA farm lending question, we are now concerned that the hearing could be used as a forum to attack the Administration's position on interest rate levels for SBA disaster loans.

Specifically, we are concerned that the Mississippi flood situation--which initial estimates show may result in the need for up to \$500 million in disaster loans--will be used to bring pressure on the Administration to support significantly lower interest rate levels for these loans (i.e. 7 3/8% to 3%). We understand that Senators Stennis and Cochran will be testifying at the hearing, as well as the Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi.

The issue of what should be the appropriate interest rate on SBA disaster loans for homes and businesses has been a subject of heavy debate both within the Administration and the Congress over the past year. In fiscal year 1977 and 1978, the Congress authorized special low interest rates on SBA and FmHA loans largely because of the severe drought problems then plaguing the country. The rates were set at 3% for disaster business loans (including farmers) and a three tier structure of rates for disaster home and personal property loans starting at 1% for the first \$10,000 of damage. Last fall, the Congress tried to extend essentially the same structure of subsidized interest rates for fiscal years 1979 through 1982 in a small business authorization bill (H.R. 11445) which you vetoed on October 25, 1978. As a consequence of your veto, the interest rate reverted to levels established in SBA's basic statute: all SBA physical disaster loans (both for homes and businesses) are now pegged at 7 3/8%. This rate applies to all SBA loans for disasters occurring after September 30, 1978.

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As you may recall, one of the primary reasons for your veto of the small business authorization bill was your concern over the excessively deep interest subsidies in the legislation--a phenomenon which had led to an unwarranted amount of farm disaster lending in fiscal years 1977 and 1978.

We expect the Senators and other officials from Mississippi to be sharply critical of the Administration's position on disaster loan interest rates. These officials will likely say that the damage and suffering from recent Mississippi flooding is as severe, if not more severe, than that borne by victims of the farm drought in fiscal years 1977 and 1978, when very low interest rates were authorized. Furthermore, the Senators are likely to argue that the current 7 3/8% rate on SBA loans is simply too high in absolute terms for flood victims to pay and that rates should be lowered to the 3% level.

On the other hand, I believe there are legitimate arguments that can be made against moving back to a heavily subsidized structure for interest rates on disaster loans.

- while the Mississippi floods are severe by normal standards, the flooding does not constitute a disaster of the same magnitude as Hurricanes Camille or Agnes or the farm drought of 1977-1978. If the entire structure of interest rates is changed for a severe but not a major disaster, we would be establishing a precedent for such subsidies in the future.
- The current 7 3/8% is still a highly subsidized rate. Comparable private lender rates for loans on the current market would average between 12% and 14%.
- borrowing at 3% for a typical Government-approved 10-year disaster loan is equal in cost to the Government of a subsidy grant of 38% on the face value of every loan.

While I believe that the arguments for higher loan rates have the edge in purely substantive terms, I also believe that the politics of this particular issue argue strongly for some form of compromise. In my judgment if we were to gain Senator's Huddleston and Stennis' support for removing SBA's farm lending authorities and tightening SBA's disaster loan practices, an Administration compromise with respect to interest rates would be a reasonable course.

Therefore I suggest that you consider asking Senator's Huddleston and Stennis for their support on these loan policy changes in exchange for Administration flexibility on rates. On rates there are several alternatives:

Alternatives:

1. 7 3/8% for business loans; 5% for loans to homeowners.
2. 5% for both business and homeowner loans.
3. 7 3/8% for business loans; 3% for loans to homeowners.

On balance I would recommend Alternative 1. You have supported 5% loans to homeowners in the past and I do not believe the politics of business loan subsidies are as pressing as those of loans to homeowners. However, I know that your other advisors would prefer deeper subsidies.

Finally, we cannot estimate costs because the response to lower rates is impossible to predict. But we would make three points. First, it should be remembered that because the Federal Government's borrowing rate is lower than the private rate, even loans made at the Federal Government rate involve a substantial subsidy. Second, the lower SBA rates prevalent in previous years occurred when Government borrowing costs were much lower. The average difference between Government borrowing rates and the SBA rate over the period 1972-1978 was 2.593%. Those who would argue for a 3% rate are arguing for a much deeper subsidy: with the Government rate at 9.1% today (and private lending rates considerably higher) an SBA rate of 3% means a subsidy of 6.1%. Three, each additional one percentage point subsidy below the 7 3/8% SBA now charges will cost a minimum of \$10 million per every \$1 billion in loans (we cannot estimate additional loan volume as the subsidy deepens). With the program running during fiscal year 1979 at a \$1.5 billion loan level, a 3% SBA rate would cost at least \$65 million more.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

4/24/79

Mr. President:

Frank and Hamilton feel it would be good to see Gov. Finch briefly today while he is in town testifying on disaster relief. This would give you a jump on getting credit for your decisions on the interest rates. The 5 minute meeting would be at 1:45 pm.

approve  disapprove

Phil

J

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9:30 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

MEETING WITH CONGRESSMAN MARTIN RUSSO

Tuesday, April 24, 1979

9:30 a.m. (15 minutes)

Oval Office

From: Frank Moore

I. PURPOSE

To further discuss hospital cost containment and as a follow up to your telephone conversation with Russo yesterday.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Congressman Russo voted with us consistently last year on hospital cost containment until the final vote on the substitute which killed the bill. He claims he never committed to vote for the bill but only to work toward a good bill. He voted against our bill because in his view it was unworkable but feels that our new proposal is much more acceptable. Russo has felt the results of your disappointment and is anxious to return to your good favor. He is also a likely candidate to take Abner Mikva's seat on Ways and Means and as such will become even more important to us there. Marty has been generally supportive and feels he played a major role in helping get Congressman Tom Evans' (R-Del) critical vote on the energy bill last year. He wants to be back on our team. This meeting should produce that result.

B. Participants: The President, Congressman Russo, Frank Moore, Bill Cable

C. Press Plan: White House Photographer

III. TALKING POINTS

1. Russo's Congressional District has 81 hospitals; 18 were under the 9.7% rate of increase during 1977 and under the exceptions in our bill 18 would be exempt now.

2. The following are two measures of hospital cost increases:

a. Rate of increase for total expenses

United States	14.2
Illinois	13.7
3d District	12.3

b. Rate of increase in total expense per admission

United States	12.4
Illinois	12.6
3d District	10.5

All of this indicates that his hospitals are doing a fairly good job and can comply with the new bill without much trouble

3. The full committee will later this morning take up consideration of our energy conservation and gas rationing plans. Marty has indicated he will help on the procedural vote to consider these matters in full committee and also will support the 65/80 degree thermostat plan.

4. He is hesitant on weekend closings and rationing. You should make the following two points on these plans:

a. The weekend closing plan includes an option for the Governor to come up with an alternative that produces like gasoline savings but more nearly meets that State's particular needs.

b. The rationing plan only allows you to develop a mechanism to set up the working structure for a plan, provided that you later decide it is the best course of action and the Congress approves the implementation of your plan.

#### IV. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Congressman Russo and his wife Karen have just returned from a visit to China where he met with Vice Premier Deng.

10:25 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THRU: PHIL WISE

FROM: JERRY RAFSHOON 

On Tuesday, Charlene Carl and her husband, Richard, will come in for a photo and to see you for a few minutes.

To refresh your memory, Charlene is with Rafshoon Advertising and was in charge of the media buying and scheduling in your 1970 Gubernatorial campaign and the 1976 Presidential campaign. She was my right arm and worked 18 hours a day for you in 1976. She is still in Atlanta and I hope to use her in 1980. This is her first trip here since the inauguration. Her husband is a stockbroker.

She was one of the first people to raise your consciousness on women's issues -- you used to call her my secretary and you used to kid her about being Vice President of the agency. I tell you this so you can show your charming and human touch.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4/24/79

Tim Kraft  
Arnie Miller

The attached was returned  
in the President's outbox  
today and is forwarded to  
you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

1606

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TIM KRAFT *TK*  
ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT: Ambassadorial Appointments

Secretary Vance has made the following recommendations for Ambassadorial assignments:

Harvey J. Feldman	Papua-New Guinea
Thomas Smith	Ghana
Patricia Byrne	Burma
James K. Bishop	Niger
Richard N. Viets	Tanzania
Frank F. Wisner	Zambia
John P. Condon	Tuvalu and Kingdom of Tongo
Charles Cross	American Institute of Taiwan (not ambassadorial)

All of the candidates are Foreign Service Officers.

Mr. Feldman is forty-seven years of age and is Country Director in the Republic of China. ✓

Mr. Smith is forty-eight years of age and is Country Director for West African Affairs at the State Department. ✓

Ms. Byrne is fifty-three years of age and is Chief of Mission in Bamako (Mali).

Mr. Bishop is forty years of age and is Country Director of North African Affairs, Bureau of Near East and South Asia.

Mr. Viets is forty-eight years of age and is Deputy Chief of Mission in Tel Aviv.

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Mr. Wisner is forty years of age and is Deputy Executive Secretary, Department of State.

Mr. Condon is currently our Ambassador to Fiji and the Secretary proposes to serve as Ambassador to Tuvalu and the Kingdom of Tonga concurrently without additional compensation.

Mr. Cross is fifty-six years of age and is a Foreign Service Inspector. The Secretary proposes that Mr. Cross be named to head the Taiwan office of the new American Institute on Taiwan. This is a major assignment but does not require Senate confirmation.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you nominate Harvey J. Feldman for Papua-New Guinea; Thomas Smith for Ghana; Patricia Byrne for Burma; James Bishop for Niger; Richard Viets for Tanzania; Frank Wisner for Zambia; John P. Condon for Tuvalu and the Kingdom of Tonga; and appoint Charles Cross for the American Institute on Taiwan.

approve \_\_\_\_\_ ✓                      disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

J

CANDIDATE FOR PAPUA-NEW GUINEA

NAME: Harvey J. Feldman

AGE: 47

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Far East, Europe

COUNTRIES: Japan, Hong Kong, China, Bulgaria

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class II

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Chinese

EDUCATION: AB, University of Chicago, 1951  
MA, University of Chicago, 1954

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977 - present Country Director, Republic of China  
1975 - 1977 Deputy Chief of Mission, Sofia  
1973 - 1975 Political Counselor, Taipei  
1972 - 1973 Member, Policy Planning Staff  
1970 - 1972 Political Officer, Department  
1965 - 1970 Detached - U.S. Information Agency - Hong Kong  
Publications Officer  
Assistant Information Officer  
Cultural Affairs Officer  
1964 - 1965 Political-Military Officer, Taipei  
1963 - 1964 Taichung Language School  
1960 - 1962 International Relations Officer, Department  
1958 - 1960 Consular Officer, Nagoya  
1957 - 1958 Visa Officer, Tokyo  
1954 - 1957 Visa-Political Officer, Hong Kong  
1952 - 1954 Producer, Educational Publication Company

Feldman is a Far East hand with extensive area experience. He has been described as a brilliant reporter, energetic and action oriented. As Deputy Chief of Mission in Sofia his light managerial style, writing skills and positive impact on Mission morale were decided assets.

As an expert in Far East affairs he should be an excellent choice for this emerging Far East nation.

CANDIDATE FOR GHANA

NAME: Thomas W. M. SMITH

AGE: 48

AREA OF EXPERIENCE: Europe, Africa

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Tunisia, France, Nigeria, U.K.

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class I

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: French

EDUCATION: AB, Harvard, 1951  
AB, Cambridge, 1953  
MA, Cambridge, 1956  
MA, Wisconsin, 1970

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1975-present	Country Director for West African Affairs, State Department
1972-75	Economic-Commercial Officer, London
1971-72	Student, National War College
1968-71	Director, UN Economic Affairs, State Department
1966-68	Financial Economist, Paris
1960-61	University Economic Training, Wisconsin University
1958-60	Consular Officer, Tunis
1956-58	Exchanges Officer, Bureau of Public Affairs, State Department

With an economic background in both the developed and the developing world, Smith is known as a hard-driving and highly intelligent officer with a proven record of resourcefulness and reporting skill. Assignments as financial economist in Paris and economic/commercial officer in London have developed his expertise in Western Europe and European Community trade and financial questions, while Smith's work in Lagos and Tunis has given

him a solid grounding in developmental economics. During the past four years Smith has performed impressively as Country Director for West African Affairs, and he is thus ideally suited for the chief of mission assignment in one of that area's key countries.

Candidate for Burma

NAME: Patricia M. Byrne

AGE: 53

AREA OF EXPERIENCE: Europe, East Asia, South Asia, Africa

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Greece, Vietnam, Turkey, Laos, France,  
Sri Lanka, Mali,

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class I

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: None

EDUCATION: AB, Vassar College, 1946  
MA, Johns Hopkins, 1947

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1976 to present	Chief of Mission, Bamako
1975 to 1976	Executive Seminar in National and International Affairs
1973 to 1975	Deputy Chief of Mission, Colombo
1969 to 1973	Political Officer, Paris
1968 to 1969	National War College
1967 to 1968	Special Assistant, Deputy Under Secretary for Administration
1966 to 1967	Personnel Officer, Bureau of East Asian Affairs
1964 to 1966	International Relations Officer General, Bureau of International Organizations Affairs
1962 to 1964	Political Officer, Vientiane
1960 to 1962	Political Officer, Ankara
1958 to 1960	Consular Officer, Izmir
1955 to 1958	Officer-in-Charge, Laos Affairs, Bureau of East Asian Affairs
1952 to 1954	Political Officer, Saigon
1949 to 1952	Junior Officer Training, Athens

Ambassador in Bamako (Mali) since October 1976, Pat Byrne is a highly experienced officer who has performed in a variety of assignments, most of them in or relating to the developing world. These positions ran the range of substantive, consular, administrative, multilateral and executive jobs-- the latter as deputy chief of mission in Colombo and now as an impressive Chief of Mission, involving close coordination of AID, Peace Corps and USIA activities. She has also had negotiating experience as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Laos Peace Conference in 1961-62, and was similarly involved in the Vietnam Negotiations in Paris in 1971-72. Ms. Byrne is a thoroughly dedicated and politically sensitive officer. She is highly productive, with a keen sense of priorities, and a perceptive reporting officer with a sound and discerning judgment.

Candidate for Niger

NAME: James K. Bishop, Jr.

AGE: 40

AREA OF EXPERIENCE: East Asia, Middle East, Africa

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: New Zealand, Lebanon, Cameroons

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class II

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: French

EDUCATION: BS, College of Holy Cross, 1960  
ND, Johns Hopkins (SAIS), 1972

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977 to present	Country Director, North African Affairs, Bureau of Near East and South Asia
1976 to 1977	Executive Seminar in National and International Affairs
1972 to 1976	International Relations Officer General for West African Affairs
1970 to 1972	Economic/Commercial Officer and International Relations Officer General for Central African African Affairs
1968 to 1970	Economic/Commercial Officer, Yaounde
1966 to 1968	Consular Officer-Visa, Beirut
1963 to 1966	Junior Officer, Auckland
1961 to 1963	Information Officer, Bureau of Public Affairs
1960 to 1961	Junior Officer Program, Foreign Service Institut

Bishop would bring to Niamey an unusually strong background in West African affairs, supplemented by special studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in economics and African affairs. He served in Yaounde and has had two extensive assignments in the African Bureau--in the Office of Central African Affairs and more recently as Deputy Director of the Office of West African Affairs. In the latter capacity, he was recognized as the spark-plug that kept

an office dealing with 17 countries functioning effectively. In particular, Bishop was the prime point of coordination for the Bureau in dealing with AID matters, including Sahel drought relief and the Sahel Development Program. Bishop is bright, an efficient manager, highly responsible, and generally regarded as one of the most promising younger officers with African experience. He is currently Country Director for four North African countries (Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia) in the Middle Eastern Bureau.

Candidate for Tanzania

NAME: Richard N. Viets

AGE: 48

AREA OF EXPERIENCE: East Asia, South Asia, Eastern Europe,  
Near East

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Japan, India, Romania, Israel

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class II

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Romanian, French

EDUCATION: AB, University of Vermont, 1955

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977-present Deputy Chief of Mission, Tel Aviv  
1974-77 Deputy Chief of Mission, Bucharest  
1973-74 Director, Executive Secretariat Staff,  
Department  
1969-72 Special Assistant to the Ambassador, New Delhi  
1967-69 Political/Economic Officer, New Delhi  
1965-67 Economic/Commercial Officer, Madras  
1962-65 Economic/Commercial Officer, Tokyo  
1960-62 Private industry (marketing executive, Mobil Oil)  
1957-60 Trade Fair Exhibits, Department of Commerce  
1955-57 Public Affairs Assistant, USIA

Although Viets has not served in Africa, he has a record of outstanding accomplishment in assignments that have taken him to many different regions. He worked on East Asian economic problems while in Tokyo, on major South Asian issues while in Madras and New Delhi, and more recently has become expert on East European Communist as well as major Near East problems while serving as Deputy Chief of Mission in Bucharest and in Tel Aviv. Viets has an outstanding reputation as a bright, highly energetic doer and manager with sound judgment and common sense. His record is replete with references to his

exceptional policy perspective as well as to his intellectual courage. As most recently demonstrated in Tel Aviv, where he has functioned brilliantly under the pressures of the peace negotiations, these qualities won for him the American Foreign Service Association's Christian Herter Award last December.

Candidate for Zambia

NAME: Frank G. Wisner, II

AGE: 40

AREA OF EXPERIENCE: Africa, Middle East, South Asia, East Asia

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Algeria, Vietnam, Tunisia, Bangladesh

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class II

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: French, Arabic (Western and Eastern),  
Vietnamese

EDUCATION: AB, Princeton University, 1961

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977 to present	Deputy Executive Secretary, Department of State
1976 to 1977	Country Director for South African Affairs
1975 to 1976	Special Assistant, Under Secretary for Political Affairs
1974 to 1975	Executive Director, Bureau of Public Affairs
1973 to 1974	Political Officer, Dacca
1971 to 1973	Economic/Commerical Officer, Tunis
1971	Economic/Commercial Studies, Foreign Service Institute
1969 to 1971	International Relations Officer General for North Africa
1964 to 1969	Area Coordination Officer, Saigon, Agency for International Development
1962 to 1964	Junior Officer, Algiers

At 40 Wisner has fifteen years of Foreign Service experience, much of it in the developing world. He has served in Tangier, Algiers, Viet Nam and Tunis. His Departmental experience includes assignments in the African and Public Affairs Bureaus. Wisner is an engaging, dynamic, enthusiastic officer with a wide range of intellectual curiosity. He is regarded as a penetrating analyst and an able manager. His performance in the Foreign Service has been consistently marked by a

firm but deft touch with people and a strong appreciation for policy considerations. His Third World background and the mature, assured touch he has displayed as Deputy Executive Secretary of the Department since mid-1977 indicate that he is well-qualified for the chief of mission assignment in Lusaka.

CANDIDATE FOR FIJI

Name: John P. Condon  
FSO-1

Age: 57

Areas of Experience: EA, AF, EUR, NEA

Countries of Experience: Algeria, France, Lebanon, Tunisia,  
Vietnam

Foreign Languages: Greek, native fluency  
French, near native  
German, conversational  
Arabic (eastern), basic conversational

Education: LLD, University of Athens (Greece), 1941  
Greek Law, Political Science  
ND, University of Chicago, 1966  
Sociology  
MS, Columbia University, 1948  
Sociology

Professional Experience:

1977 - Present	Faculty Adviser, Industrial College of the Armed Forces
1970 - 1977	Paris, Labor Attache
1967 - 1970	Beirut, Labor Attache
1966 - 1967	Beirut, Arabic language student
1964 - 1966	Saigon, Labor Attache
1962 - 1964	Algiers, Labor Attache
1961 - 1962	Tunis, Labor Attache
1954 - 1961	Germany, Labor Officer, U. S. Air Force
1951 - 1954	U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Labor Officer
1949 - 1950	Hellenic American Chamber of Commerce, New York, Executive Director

Candidate for American Institute Taipei

NAME: Charles T. Cross

AGE: 56

AREA OF EXPERIENCE: East Asia, Middle East, Europe

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Taiwan, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Malaysia,  
Egypt, Cyprus, Great Britian, Vietnam,  
Singapore

RANK: Foreign Serivce Officer of Class I

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Mandarin Chinese, French

EDUCATION: AB, Carleton College, 1947  
MA, Yale University, 1949

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977 to present	Foreign Service Inspector
1974 to 1977	Consul General, Hong Kong
1973 to 1974	International Relations Officer General, Policy Planning Staff
1972 to 1973	Diplomat-in-Residence, Univ. of Michigan
1969 to 1971	Ambassador, Singapore
1967 to 1969	Deputy Regional Director/Director Saigon, Agency for International Development
1966 to 1967	Political Officer, London
1964 to 1966	Deputy Chief of Mission, Nicosia
1963 to 1964	National War College
1959 to 1963	Officer-in-Charge, Laos Affairs, Bureau of East Asian Affairs
1957 to 1959	Deputy Principal Officer, Alexandria
1955 to 1957	Political Officer, Kuala Lumpur
1954 to 1955	Policy and Program Staff, ICA
1951 to 1954	Public Affairs Officer, Hong Kong

1950 to 1951      Assistant Public Affairs Officer, Jakarta  
1949 to 1950      Assistant Public Affairs Officer, Taipei

Cross has a service-wide reputation as a tough-minded, hard-driving, highly competent East Asian specialist. He was born of missionary parents in China, and his academic background was also grounded in Asian studies. In recent years he has demonstrated his executive abilities during his assignment as CORDS Deputy in Danang (1967-69), where he supervised hundreds of U.S. civilians, military and Vietnamese engaged in the pacification program, and subsequently in assignments as Ambassador to Singapore and Consul General Hong Kong. A man of firm convictions, he inspires affection and respect from his colleagues. He has some competence in Mandarin Chinese. Significantly, Cross fulfills the qualifications sought for this position: an ex-Ambassador, sensitive to regional problems, but not involved in the recent negotiations between the U.S. and Taiwan. The fact that he is still on duty as a Foreign Service inspector in the Department is not regarded as a disqualifying factor.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4/24/79

Tim Kraft  
Arnie Miller

The attached was returned  
in the President's outbox  
today and is forwarded to  
you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

1605

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

C

April 23, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TIM KRAFT *TK*  
ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT: Federal Farm Credit Board

The Federal Farm Credit Board oversees the Farm Credit Administration. It has thirteen members; one is appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, and the remaining are appointed by you from nomination lists furnished by each Farm Credit District.

There are currently two vacancies on the Board. Dwight L. Tripp, Jr., of Auburn, Maine, the member from the First District, has served only one year because he was appointed to an unexpired term. We therefore recommend his reappointment.

The Seventh District has nominated two people from Wisconsin and one from Minnesota. The Vice President strongly recommends Jewell Haaland of Clarkesville, Minnesota. Secretary Bergland concurs with these recommendations.

RECOMMENDATION:

Nominate Dwight L. Tripp, Jr. for reappointment and Jewell Haaland for appointment as members of the Federal Farm Credit Board.

approve

disapprove

*J*

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COOP - St. Paul

ABSTRACT OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY CANDIDATE  
FOR DESIGNATION AS NOMINEE FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE  
PRESIDENT FOR APPOINTMENT AS A MEMBER OF THE  
FEDERAL FARM CREDIT BOARD

JEWELL HAALAND - 1417 10th Street  
Clarkfield, Minnesota 56223  
Phone 612-669-4959

Age and Education: Born March 28, 1910 in Dawson, Minnesota. Graduate  
of Clarkfield High School; attended Luther College.

Occupation: Retired Farmer. At retirement owned and operated a  
640-acre general farm operation of corn, soybeans and small grain.

Affiliation:

Chairman: Community Hospital

Member: Farmers Union (past Chairman of Executive Committee,  
County Chairman and Local Chairman)  
St. Lucas Lutheran Church (past Board of Deacons  
Secretary)

Former Affiliation:

Chairman: Grain Terminal Association (Director for 21 years)

Director: Farmers Export Company, Kansas City

St. Louis Grain, St. Louis

Interregional Service Corp., St. Paul

National Council of Farmer Coops

Member: Federal Land Bank Association of Marshall

Production Credit Association of Madison

ABSTRACT OF INFORMATION FURNISHED BY CANDIDATE  
FOR DESIGNATION AS NOMINEE FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE  
PRESIDENT FOR APPOINTMENT AS A MEMBER OF THE  
FEDERAL FARM CREDIT BOARD

DWIGHT L. TRIPP, JR. - RFD #2  
Auburn, ME 04210  
Phone - 207-345-5511

Age and Education: Born November 23, 1935 in New Cloucester, Maine.  
Graduated from Edward Little High School.

Occupation: Dairy Farmer. 50 cow milking herd and 50 replacement  
heifers and bulls. Registered Holsteins replacement heifers sold to several  
foreign countries. Hay for cash crop.

Affiliation:

Director: Springfield Farm Credit Board  
National DHIA (formerly on Finance Committee)  
Pine Tree Holstein Association

President: Dairy Testing Inc.

Vice President: Oxford County Fair

Counselman: Agway, Inc.

Member: Federal Land Bank Association of Southern Maine  
Production Credit Association of Southern Maine  
Yankee Milk  
Grange, State Agriculture Committee (past Suboraita  
and Pomona Master)  
Minot Center Church (Trustee)

Other: Selectman and Tax Assessor for Town of Minot

FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL FARM CREDIT BOARD

Farm Credit Administration  
(Independent)

AUTHORITY: P. L. 92-191 of December 10, 1971  
Sec. 5.8 (35 Stat. 617)

METHOD: Nominated to the Senate

MEMBERS: Not more than THIRTEEN as follows:

ONE designated by the Secretary  
of Agriculture  
and

Not more than TWELVE appointed by the  
President, with the advice and consent  
of the Senate, one from each farm  
credit district.

NOTE: For the detailed eligibility require-  
ments for members appointed by  
the President see Sec. 5.8(d)(c)&(f)  
of the Act.

CHAIRMAN  
and

VICE CHAIRMAN: Elected annually by the Board.

FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

FEDERAL FARM CREDIT BOARD

Farm Credit Administration  
(Independent)

TERM:

SIX YEARS. Members shall serve until their successors are duly appointed and qualified (HOLDOVERS). No appointed member of the Board shall be eligible to serve more than one full term of six years and, in addition, if he is appointed to fill the unexpired portion of one term expiring before his appointment to a full term, he may be eligible thereafter for appointment to fill a full term of six years. Vacancies shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term.

SALARY:

\$100 for each day or part thereof spent in performance of official duties for not more than 30 days or parts of days in any calendar year and shall be reimbursed for necessary travel, subsistence, and other expenses.

PURPOSE:

To assist in carrying out the provisions of the Farm Credit Act of 1971.

4:30

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1979

MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

Tuesday, April 24, 1979  
4:30 P.M. (30 minutes)  
Cabinet Room

From: Frank Moore *F.M./BR*

I. PURPOSE:

An announcement on the Mid East.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLANS

None Necessary.

Participants: The President, Frank Moore, Bob Beckel

- Senators:
- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| Sen. Boschwitz | Sen. Church     |
| Sen. Cranston  | Sen. Javits     |
| Sen. Levin     | Sen. Metzenbaum |
| Sen. Ribicoff  | Sen. Stevens    |

- Congressmen:
- |                 |               |
|-----------------|---------------|
| Speaker O'Neill | Rep. Wright   |
| Rep. Rhodes     | Rep. Brademas |
| Rep. Zablocki   | Rep. Hamilton |
| Rep. Findley    | Rep. Yates    |
| Rep. Wolff      | Rep. Bingham  |

Press Plans: White House photographer only.

III. TALKING POINTS

None Necessary.

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DRAFT - STRAUSS ANNOUNCEMENT

There are <sup>too</sup> a few times in life when a person [develops  
~~a close personal and professional friendship,~~  
when one not <sup>not only</sup> only enjoys the company and friendship  
of another person but also admires and appreciates  
their abilities and talents as a **WORKING PARTNER.**  
That is the feeling that I have ~~today~~ about  
Bob Strauss.

Bob agreed reluctantly to come into government and  
serve in my Cabinet as Special Trade Representative.  
He has done a magnificent job negotiating on behalf  
1. of our country and <sup>we</sup> hopes to have action on the MTN  
before the summer Congressional recess. After Cong-  
ressional action on MTN is completed, Bob had planned  
**KEY**  
**PARAGRAPHS** to leave government and return to private life.

2. However, I am proud to announce today that Secretary  
Vance and I have prevailed on Bob Strauss to remain  
in government in the special and unique role of  
Ambassador-at-Large, responsible for our country's  
participation in the crucial upcoming Middle East  
peace talks.

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AGREED UPON LANGUAGE

H.D.

4/24/79

By accepting this difficult but very important challenge,

Bob Strauss will be relieving Secretary Vance and

3. myself of <sup>our</sup> ~~the~~ time consuming and heavy personal role ~~that we have had to play~~ in the peace talks over the past two years.

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AGREED UPON LANGUAGE

H.S.

~~The signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt~~  
~~was a historic step on the road to a truly comprehensive~~  
~~peace for all the people of the Middle East.~~ Although the  
**Egypt- Israeli Peace**  
treaty stands as a demonstration of the ability of leaders  
and people to rise above the conflicts and hostility of the  
past, it is more than monument to past efforts. It is a  
**a Comprehensive peace in**  
promise for the future. That promise must be kept. Next  
month, negotiations will begin on the complex issues of  
the West Bank and Gaza. I have promised President Sadat  
and Prime Minister Begin that the United States will ~~use~~  
**Contribute its good offices**  
~~all of its efforts~~ to see that these negotiations are as  
successful as those which resulted in the treaty signing  
last month. No one believes that the road to peace in  
the future will be any less arduous than the path which  
**we have already followed.**  
~~led us to the signing of the peace treaty.~~ But we have  
learned that perseverance, patience, faith and trust can  
overcome what appear to be impossible obstacles. Those are  
the objectives which guided me in choosing a distinguished  
**and the Secretary of State**  
American to be ~~my~~ **the** personal representative **of our nation during**  
~~in~~ the next ~~round~~ **phase**  
of negotiations.

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NSC substantive input

Secretary Vance and I welcome Bob Strauss in this effort as a partner, as do President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin, with whom I spoke today.

4. I am sure that Bob Strauss' special friendship and relationship with myself and Secretary Cy Vance and his close relationship with members of the Congress of both parties will give him the support and strength he will need to undertake this very important assignment on behalf of our country.

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AGREED UPON LANGUAGE

NY.

THERE ARE TOO FEW TIMES IN LIFE WHEN <sup>ONE</sup> A ~~PERSON~~ NOT ONLY ENJOYS THE COMPANY AND FRIENDSHIP OF <sup>AN</sup> ANOTHER <sup>MAN</sup> PERSON, BUT ALSO ADMIRES AND APPRECIATES <sup>HIS</sup> ~~THEIR~~ ABILITIES AND TALENTS AS A WORKING PARTNER. THAT IS THE FEELING THAT I HAVE ABOUT BOB STRAUSS.

BOB AGREED RELUCTANTLY TO COME INTO GOVERNMENT AND SERVE IN MY CABINET AS SPECIAL TRADE REPRESENTATIVE. HE HAS DONE A MAGNIFICENT JOB NEGOTIATING ON BEHALF OF OUR COUNTRY, AND WE HOPE TO HAVE ACTION ON THE M.T.N. BEFORE THE SUMMER CONGRESSIONAL RECESS. AFTER CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON M.T.N. IS COMPLETED, BOB HAD PLANNED TO LEAVE GOVERNMENT AND RETURN TO PRIVATE LIFE.

(=OVER=) (HOWEVER, I AM PROUD TO ANNOUNCE.....)

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HOWEVER, I AM PROUD TO ANNOUNCE TODAY THAT SECRETARY VANCE AND I  
HAVE PREVAILED ON BOB STRAUSS TO REMAIN IN GOVERNMENT IN THE SPECIAL AND  
UNIQUE ROLE OF AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE, RESPONSIBLE FOR OUR COUNTRY'S  
PARTICIPATION IN THE CRUCIAL UPCOMING MIDDLE EAST PEACE TALKS.

BY ACCEPTING THIS DIFFICULT BUT VERY IMPORTANT CHALLENGE,  
BOB STRAUSS WILL BE RELIEVING SECRETARY VANCE AND ME OF OUR TIME-CONSUMING  
AND HEAVY PERSONAL ROLE IN THE PEACE TALKS, <sup>EXPERIENCED</sup> OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS.

ALTHOUGH THE EGYPT-ISRAELI PEACE TREATY STANDS AS A DEMONSTRATION  
OF THE ABILITY OF LEADERS AND PEOPLE TO RISE ABOVE THE CONFLICTS AND  
HOSTILITY OF THE PAST, IT IS MORE THAN MONUMENT TO PAST EFFORTS.

IT IS A PROMISE FOR A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN THE FUTURE.

THAT PROMISE MUST BE KEPT.

(=NEW CARD=) (NEXT MONTH,.....)

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NEXT MONTH, NEGOTIATIONS WILL BEGIN ON THE COMPLEX ISSUES OF THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. I HAVE PROMISED PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTRIBUTE OUR GOOD OFFICES TO SEE THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE AS SUCCESSFUL AS THOSE WHICH RESULTED IN THE TREATY SIGNING LAST MONTH.

NO ONE BELIEVES THAT THE ROAD TO PEACE IN THE FUTURE WILL BE ANY LESS ARDUOUS THAN THE PATH WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY FOLLOWED. BUT WE HAVE LEARNED THAT PERSEVERANCE, PATIENCE, FAITH AND TRUST CAN OVERCOME WHAT APPEAR TO BE IMPOSSIBLE OBSTACLES.

THOSE ARE THE OBJECTIVES WHICH GUIDED ME AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN CHOOSING A DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN TO BE THE PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF OUR NATION DURING THE NEXT PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

(=OVER=) (SECRETARY VANCE AND I.....)

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SECRETARY VANCE AND I WELCOME BOB STRAUSS IN THIS EFFORT AS A PARTNER, AS DO PRESIDENT SADAT AND PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, WITH WHOM I SPOKE TODAY. THEIR RESPONSE WAS POSITIVE & ENTHUSIASTIC.

I AM SURE THAT BOB STRAUSS' SPECIAL FRIENDSHIP AND RELATIONSHIP WITH ME AND SECRETARY VANCE, AND HIS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS OF BOTH PARTIES, WILL GIVE HIM THE SUPPORT AND STRENGTH HE WILL NEED TO UNDERTAKE THIS VERY IMPORTANT ASSIGNMENT ON BEHALF OF OUR COUNTRY.

# # #

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

*ok -  
no Δ's  
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: EDWARD SANDERS *ed*  
BERNIE ARONSON *BA*

Attached is the final version of your Holocaust remarks.

As the briefing memo indicates, the first sentence on page 3 has been revised to reflect Dr. Brzezinski's and State's desire to delete any specific reference to the Armenians, so as to avoid offense to Turkey.

The underlined sentence on page 4 was suggested by State to strengthen your call for ratification of the Geocide Treaty.

ES:ss

Attachment

c.c. Susan Clough

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B. Aronson  
4/23/79  
Draft #2

REMARKS AT CAPITOL ROTUNDA FOR HOLOCAUST ANNIVERSARY  
OBSERVANCE, April 24, 1979

I am honored, and also humbled, to participate in this ceremony during the Days of Remembrance for the victims of the Holocaust.

Just five weeks ago during my trip to Israel, I visited Yad Vashem -- the memorial to the 6 million. I walked through the Hall of Names. And like all those before me, I grieved as I looked at book after book, row after row, each recording the names of a man or a woman, a young boy or girl, each a victim of the Holocaust.

I vowed then -- ~~and we meet today~~ as people all over the world are doing this week -- to re-affirm our unshakeable commitment that such an event will never recur on this earth again.

A philosopher has written that language itself breaks down when one tries to speak about the Holocaust. Our words pale before the awesomeness of the suffering involved; the sheer weight of its numbers -- six million <sup>of them</sup> Jews. ~~and five million other~~ <sup>eleven</sup> innocent victims exterminated -- and the frightening spectacle of human evil unleashed upon the world, *and before*

*Although words pale,*

*And*, yet we must speak. We must strive to understand.

We must teach the lessons of the Holocaust. And most of all we ourselves must remember.

We must learn not merely of the vulnerability of human life, but of its value. We must remember the terrible price that was paid for bigotry and hatred and also the terrible price paid for indifference and silence. We must learn anew the age-old lesson that all human life is sacred, and that evil inflicted against one people <sup>may</sup> engulf all people in the end.

So it is fitting also that we recall today the persecu-  
tion, suffering and destruction which has befallen so many  
other peoples in this century -- many of whose representa-  
tives have joined us for this observance. For the central  
lesson of the Holocaust must be the sanctity of all human-  
kind and that in the words of the poet, "each man's death  
diminishes me".

To truly commemorate the victims of the Holocaust, we  
must harness the outrage of our memories to banish all human  
oppression from the world. We must recognize that when any  
fellow human being is stripped of ~~his or her~~ humanity; when  
any person is turned into an object of repression; tortured  
or defiled, or victimized by prejudice or racism...then all  
human beings are victims too.

The world's failure to recognize that moral truth  
forty years ago permitted the Holocaust to proceed. Our  
generation...the generation of the survivors...will never

permit that lesson to be forgotten. Human rights and human dignity are indivisible. America must, and always will, speak out in the defense of human rights around the world.

That commitment imposes special responsibilities on us to uphold the highest standards of human justice and human rights here at home. I applaud the leadership of the Congress in calling for this Day of Commemoration in remembrance of the Holocaust. And I renew my call on the Senate to take a long overdue step this year by ratifying the International Treaty on the prevention and punishment of Genocide. Without concrete action our words are hollow.  
Let us signify in deed, as well as word, that the American people will never forget.

It is, perhaps, ironic that we meet today in a season of rebirth and renewal to recall a time of darkness and destruction that has no parallel in human history. And yet it is also fitting that we do so with survivors of

the Holocaust in our midst.

For the Holocaust is also a story of renewal and a testament to the power of the human spirit to prevail.

People who saw their homes destroyed, helped build a new homeland in the State of Israel. People like Elie Wiesel, the Chairman of my Holocaust Commission, who witnessed the collapse of all vision, created and shared with us new <sup>visions.</sup> ~~ones~~. It is an incredible story of a people who refused to allow despair to triumph, who after having lost children brought new families into the world.

It is our collective task, as well, to learn from this process of renewal, the roots of hope -- a hope not based on illusion or ignorance, but one grounded in the rebirth of the human spirit and a reaffirmation of the sacredness of life.

With that hope we will strive to build out of our

memories of the Holocaust a world joined by a true  
fellowship of human understanding, a world of tolerance and  
diversity in which all peoples can live in dignity and  
peace.

Thank you.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: EDWARD SANDERS *Ed*

SUBJECT: National Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony at the Rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, April 24, 1979.

I. PURPOSE

To participate in a ceremony to commemorate the "Days of Remembrance of the Victims of the Holocaust" at the Rotunda of the Capitol on April 24, 1979, at 12:00 noon.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS

- A. Background: In addition to recommending to the President the "establishment and maintenance of an appropriate memorial to those who perished in the Holocaust," the President's Commission on the Holocaust was also charged by Executive Order 12093, dated November 1, 1978, with the responsibility to recommend appropriate ways for the nation to commemorate the "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust" which Congress has resolved shall occur on April 28 and 29, 1979.

Subsequently, in consultation with the staff of the Commission, the Congress passed a joint resolution on March 26, 1979, announcing that Congress would adjourn at 12:00 noon on April 24, 1979, to attend a National Civic Commemoration on the Holocaust in the Rotunda of the Capitol. On April 2, 1979, a Presidential Proclamation was issued under the title "Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust," which included the following statement: "On the recommendation of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, I also ask the people of the United States to note International Holocaust Commemoration Day on April 24, 1979." The attached program for the Rotunda ceremony was prepared by the Commission staff in consultation with the various Congressional officials.

Please note from the attached program that representatives of the American Armenian community will participate in the ceremony by lighting a candle and offering a prayer for the

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: EDWARD SANDERS

Armenian victims of a Turkish repression that occurred more than sixty years ago. As the Armenian anniversary falls on April 24, the same date as the Rotunda event, the Armenian representatives were able to prevail upon the Commission staff to permit Armenian participation.

Although this participation involves only a candle lighting and a prayer by an Armenian cleric, the Turkish Embassy has protested to the State Department.

Both Dr. Brzezinski and the State Department recommend the elimination of any specific reference to the Armenians. We therefore eliminated such reference, recognizing the possibility this might offend the American Armenian community. The relevant sentence now reads as follows:

"So it is fitting also that we recall today the persecution, suffering and destruction which has befallen so many other peoples in this century, many of whose representatives have joined us at this observance today."

I suggest that because of wide interest in the event an advance text be released.

B. Participants

See attached Program of the Rotunda ceremony for a list of the participants. It is tentatively planned that Elie Wiesel, Chairman of the Commission, and I will accompany you to the Rotunda.

C. Press

The lead advance for this event is being handled by Mike Casey, Presidential Advance Coordinator, and Press Advance is being handled by Art Kosatka.

ES:ss

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

EDWARD SANDERS *ES*

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National Holocaust Commemoration Ceremony at the Rotunda of the Capitol on Tuesday, April 24, 1979.

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ES:ss

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 24, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR SUSAN CLOUGH

FROM: Rick Hertzberg *Rick*

Subject: SALT speech

Attached are the following:

- Some opening paragraphs, touching on the theme of the publishers' convention and introducing the topic of SALT.
- New language for page 15, just given to me by David Aaron.
- Some very minor changes for pages 5 and 12, supplied by State. The changes are marked in red.

#

Opening for SALT Speech

I want, first of all, to commend and endorse the theme of this convention: the defense of the First Amendment and the freedom of the press.

On this subject, I have always found that the most prudent course is to take my text from Jefferson. Everyone knows his famous remark that if obliged to choose between a government without newspapers and newspapers without a government, he would unhesitatingly choose newspapers with a government. And I know some of your editorial writers think we have actually achieved that.

But as in Jefferson's day, liberty of expression is our most important civil right, and the freedom of the press is its most important bulwark. We can never afford to grow complacent about the First Amendment. On the contrary, we must actively protect it always. That is why, for example, I have submitted legislation to protect reporters' notes and newsroom files against unannounced police searches. And that is why we have joined with you in international efforts to fight censorship and protect the free flow of news.

As you know, Jefferson had a low opinion of the newspapers of his day. He once wrote to a friend, "To your request of my opinion of the manner in which a newspaper should be conducted, so as to be most useful, I should answer: 'By restraining it to true facts and sound principles only.' Yet I fear such a paper would find few subscribers."

Happily, the American press has grown enormously since Jefferson's day -- not only in size and breadth, but in its conception of its own duties and responsibilities. The highest of those is to inform the public on the issues of the day. And no issue is more important than the one I want to discuss with you today -- the control of nuclear arms.



SALT -- President's copy

4/20/79  
Draft #3

Susan  
Rough Draft  
J

SALT AND AMERICAN SECURITY

[Brief introductory paragraphs]

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Another step  
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Each generation of Americans faces a choice that defines its character -- a choice that is <sup>also</sup> important ~~not only for its own sake, but~~ for what it says about our nation's outlook on the world.

In the coming months, we will almost certainly be faced with such a choice: whether to <sup>accept</sup> approve or to reject a new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty. The decision we make will profoundly affect our lives -- and <sup>those</sup> ~~the lives~~ of people all over the world -- for years to come.

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THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICANS  
FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

*from a position of strength --*

We face this choice <sup>as the strongest nation on</sup> earth -- politically, economically and militarily.

Our alliances are firm and reliable. Our military forces are strong and ready. Our economic power is unmatched. Along with the other industrial democracies, we lead the way in technological innovation. ~~Together,~~ <sup>combine</sup> our economies are more than three times as productive as those of the Soviet Union and its allies. Our political institutions are <sup>based on human</sup> free <sup>dom</sup>. Our open system encourages individual creativity -- and that, in turn, strengthens our whole society. Our values <sup>x</sup> and our democratic way of life <sup>x</sup> have <sup>a</sup> magnetic appeal for people around the world, *which a materialistic and totalitarian philosophy can never hope to rival.*

For all these reasons, we have a capacity for leadership in the world that [~~far~~] surpasses that of any other nation.

That leadership imposes many responsibilities upon us, <sup>b</sup> But our <sup>highest</sup> duty is to use our strength to serve our highest interest: the building of a secure, stable, and peaceful world. We perform that duty in the spirit proclaimed by John F. Kennedy in 1963: "Confident and unafraid," <sup>he</sup> President Kennedy said, "we labor on -- not toward a strategy of annihilation but toward a strategy of peace."

In our relations with the Soviet Union, the possibility of <sup>mutual</sup> annihilation makes a strategy of peace the only rational choice for both sides.

*Because our values are so different,*  
It is clear that the United States and the Soviet Union will be in competition for as far ahead as we can see. ~~Our values and theirs are too different for it to be otherwise.~~

Yet we <sup>have</sup> ~~share~~ a common interest in survival, <sup>we share</sup> and a common recognition that our survival depends, in a real sense, on each other. The very competition between us makes it imperative that we bring under control the most dangerous aspect of that competition -- the nuclear arms race. That is why the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are so important.

As the Congress and the American people consider the SALT Treaty which is now nearly complete, the debate will center around four basic questions:

- Why do we need ~~the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty?~~ *SALT II?*
- How is the Treaty related to our overall defense strategy?

-- Can Soviet compliance be verified?

-- And how does the Treaty relate to Soviet activities which challenge our interests?

Let me address each <sup>question</sup> in turn.

First, why do we need a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty?

We need it because it will contribute to a more peaceful world -- and to our own security.

The invention of nuclear weapons <sup>changed</sup> overturned all the previous history of arms and warfare. ~~since human life began~~ For the first time, we <sup>possessed</sup> ~~could foresee~~ the power not just to damage another country but instantaneously and literally to destroy it as a functioning society, <sup>killing tens of millions of people in the process.</sup> Today, we and the Soviet Union, with sharply different world outlooks and interests, both have that ominous <sup>destructive</sup> power. And common sense tells us -- as it tells the Soviet Union -- that we must work to make our competition less dangerous, less burdensome, and less likely to bring the ultimate horror of nuclear war.

Indeed, the entire world has a vital interest in controlling the strategic arms race.

Our allies count on us not only to maintain strong military forces to offset Soviet military power, but also to manage successfully a stable East-West relationship. SALT is at the heart of both ~~of~~ these crucial efforts. That is why the leaders of France, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, <sup>and other nations</sup> and Canada, have ~~all~~ voiced their support for the emerging Treaty.

Many nations which have so far held back from building nuclear weapons will be strongly influenced by whether ~~the~~ two nuclear superpowers <sup>will restrain</sup> ~~are serious about~~ ~~restraining~~ <sup>our</sup> their own weapons. Rejection of the new Strategic Arms Treaty would seriously undermine the effort to <sup>control</sup> ~~halt the~~ proliferation of these deadly weapons. And nothing would more surely damage our other critical efforts in arms control -- from equalizing NATO and Warsaw Pact forces ~~[in Central Europe]~~ to restraining the spread of ~~[ever more]~~ sophisticated conventional weapons; from a ban on all nuclear testing to preventing dangerous satellite warfare in space.

recognize the need for SALT II. Our people

An overwhelming majority of the American people want and expect continued <sup>step-by-step</sup> progress toward bringing nuclear weapons under control. <sup>We</sup> Our people are prepared to support a reasoned increase in our defense effort, but Americans do not want a wholly unnecessary return to the Cold War and an all-out arms race, with vastly greater risks and costs. *Through strength, we want World peace.*

X  
p7

Every President since the dawn of the nuclear age -- ~~both Republican and Democratic~~ -- has pursued the effort to bring nuclear arms under control. *This <sup>is and</sup> must be a continuing process.*

-- President Kennedy, building on the efforts of <sup>and</sup> President Truman and ~~President~~ Eisenhower, signed the first ~~arms control~~ agreement with the Soviet Union in 1963, <sup>which to</sup> ~~it stopped~~ the poisonous testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere.

-- In 1968, under President Johnson, the United States and the Soviet Union joined other nations in signing the Non-Proliferation Treaty -- an important step in preventing the spread of nuclear weapons.

-- In 1972, the SALT I agreement placed the first agreed limits on the number of offensive weapons. This ~~was an important achievement. At a time when we were~~

not adding new missile launchers and the Soviets were building hundreds a year, we gained agreement to a freeze. Without SALT I, we would be faced with a much larger Soviet nuclear force today.]

-- The Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty made an enduring contribution to our security. [It contributed to peace by preventing a dangerous escalation of the arms race -- with both sides propelled to spend billions to assure their ability to penetrate such systems.]

Each negotiation builds on the accomplishments of the last. Each agreement provides the foundation for further progress toward a more stable nuclear relationship.

Three Presidents have spent more than six years negotiating the next step in this process -- the SALT II agreement. We have negotiated carefully and deliberately. Every step of the way we have worked with our military leaders and experts, *and we have sought the advice and counsel of the members of the Congress.* ~~We have consulted at length with the Senate, whose counsel was sought during the negotiations just as its consent will be needed for the Treaty to take effect.~~

~~To understand the concrete contribution SALT II will make to our security.~~ Let me turn to the second question -- how SALT <sup>II</sup> is related to our overall defense planning. *strategy.*

~~The~~ The strategic forces of the United States and the Soviet Union <sup>to day</sup> ~~today~~ are essentially equivalent.

[~~They lead in certain areas; we lead in others.~~]  
They have larger and more numerous land-based missiles. We have a larger number of warheads, and we <sup>significant</sup> ~~have~~ technological and geographical advantages.

Neither side has superiority -- and each side has the will and the means to prevent the other from achieving it. Neither side is in a position to exploit its <sup>nuclear</sup> ~~strategic~~ weapons for political purposes, <sup>or to use them</sup> ~~nor to use them~~ without facing almost certain suicide.

What causes us ~~serious~~ concern is not the current balance, but the momentum of the Soviet strategic buildup. Over the past decade, the Soviets have <sup>steadily</sup> increased their real defense spending, while we <sup>ours has</sup> ~~have~~ decreased, <sup>limited</sup> ~~ours~~. In areas not covered by SALT I, they have launched ambitious programs to strengthen their

strategic forces. At some future point, they could achieve a strategic <sup>advantage --</sup> edge ~~↔~~ unless we alter these trends.

That is exactly what I intend to do -- with the support of the American people and the bipartisan support of Congress.

We must move on two fronts at the same time:

-- First, <sup>within mutually accepted limits</sup> we must modernize our own strategic forces. <sup>Along with the strengthening of NATO,</sup> that is a central purpose of the increased

defense budget I have submitted to the Congress. <sup>improvements necessary even in a time of fiscal restraint.</sup> <sup>more stringent</sup>

-- Second, we must place limits on the arms race <sup>than are presently imposed by</sup> ~~that will further constrain Soviet strategic programs beyond~~ SALT I. That is the purpose of the SALT II Treaty.

The defense budget I have submitted will ensure that our nuclear force continues to be essentially equivalent to that of the Soviet Union.

This year, we have begun to equip our submarines with new, more powerful and longer-range Trident I missiles. Next year, the first of our new, even more secure Trident submarines will be going to sea, <sup>a</sup> and we are working on a more powerful and accurate Trident II missile for these submarines.

Our cruise missile program will greatly enhance the effectiveness of our long-range bomber force. These missiles will be able to penetrate any air defense which the Soviet Union could build in the foreseeable future.

We are substantially improving the accuracy and power of our land-based Minuteman missiles. But it is likely that in the coming decade missiles of this type~~x~~ based in fixed silos~~x~~ will become increasingly vulnerable to surprise attack. The Soviets have three quarters of their warheads in such fixed-site missiles, compared to only a quarter of ours. Nevertheless, this is a serious problem -- and we must deal with it sensibly and effectively.

The Defense Department now has under consideration a number of options for responding to this problem. Some of these involve making our ICBMs mobile -- that is, not fixed in a single, easily targetted spot. I might add that the mobile options we are evaluating would be far more costly -- and we would have far less confidence in their effectiveness -- in the absence of <sup>SALT II limits,</sup> ~~the limits~~ which this SALT agreement will impose on the number of

*on Soviet warheads,*

Soviet warheads.] For without these limits, the Soviet Union could counter <sup>our</sup> an effort ~~[on our part to increase the number of possible locations for our missiles]~~ simply by greatly increasing the number of warheads on their ~~missiles~~ *missiles.*

All of the options will be examined carefully before I make a decision, <sup>b</sup> but let me emphasize that the SALT II agreement <sup>re</sup> preserves <sup>adequate</sup> our flexibility <sup>for the United States,</sup> ~~[in this area]~~ *in this important area.*

Our strategic forces must be able to survive any attack, and ~~then~~ to counterattack military and civilian targets in the aggressor nation. We have had this capacity -- which is the essence of deterrence -- in the past; we have it today; and <sup>SALT II plus</sup> the defense programs I have described will ensure it for the future.

~~But our own defense can only do half the job. It cannot slow the growth of Soviet arms or limit the strategic competition,~~ <sup>and</sup> The SALT II agreement ~~can and~~ will <sup>and</sup> by helping to define ~~[the]~~ future threats we <sup>might</sup> ~~will~~ face, SALT II will make our defense planning more effective.

Under the agreement, the two sides will be limited to equal numbers of strategic launchers for the first time, <sup>ending</sup> ~~This will end~~ the Soviet numerical advantage <sup>permitted</sup> ~~temporarily agreed to~~ <sup>The currently effective</sup> in <sup>and</sup> SALT I <sup>new reduced lower</sup> agreement.

To reach these <sup>1</sup> levels, the Soviets will have to reduce their overall number of strategic delivery systems by ten percent -- more than 250 Soviet missile launchers or bombers. Naturally, the Soviets will

choose to phase out their older systems, <sup>b</sup> But these systems are still formidable. <sup>equivalent to our Minuteman II and Poseidon missile systems</sup> And <sup>1</sup> under the agreement, they will

not be permitted to replace these systems with modern ones. Our own operational forces <sup>have been kept</sup> ~~will be~~ somewhat below the permitted ceiling. Thus, under the agreement, we could increase our force level, if necessary.

And <sup>also</sup> SALT II will <sup>1</sup> impose the first limited but important restraints on the race to build new systems and improve existing ones -- the so-called "qualitative" arms race.

In short, SALT II places serious limits on what the Soviets might do in the absence of the agreement. For example, without SALT II, the Soviet Union could build up to some 3000 strategic weapons by 1985. With SALT, <sup>we will both</sup> ~~they~~ <sup>be limited to 2250 such weapons</sup> ~~will have 2250~~

This <sup>new</sup> ~~sound and careful~~ arms control agreement will <sup>obviously</sup> serve our national interests. It will reduce the dangerous levels of strategic arms and restrain the development of future weapons. It will help <sup>to</sup> maintain our relative strength compared to the Soviets, <sup>and</sup> ~~it~~ will avert a costly, risky, and pointless buildup of missile launchers and bombers -- at the end of which both sides would be <sup>even</sup> ~~less, not more~~ secure.

Let me turn now to the third of the four questions I listed at the beginning: How can we know whether the Soviets are living up to their obligations under this SALT agreement?

No objective has commanded more energy and attention in our negotiations, ~~[than assuring that we can determine for ourselves whether the Soviets are living up to the agreement.]~~ We have insisted that the SALT II agreement be made adequately verifiable.

Our confidence in the verifiability of the agreement derives from the size and nature of the activities we must monitor and the many <sup>effective</sup> powerful and sophisticated intelligence collection systems which we possess.

For example, nuclear submarines take several years to construct and assemble. Missile silos and their

supporting equipment are large and visible. Intercontinental bombers are built at a few plants and need major airfields.)

Our photoreconnaissance satellites survey the entire Soviet Union on a regular basis and give us high confidence that we will be able to count accurately the numbers of all of these systems.

But our independent verification capabilities are not limited only to observing these large-scale activities. We can determine not only how many systems there are, but what they can do. Our photographic satellites, <sup>and</sup> ~~as well as~~ other ~~highly sophisticated~~ systems, enable us to follow technological developments in Soviet strategic forces with great accuracy. There is no question that any cheating which might affect our national security would be discovered in time for us to respond fully.

<sup>many years</sup>  
For ~~over two decades~~, we have monitored Soviet strategic forces <sup>and</sup> ~~with a high degree of confidence~~.  
~~For over six years, we have been able successfully to monitor~~ Soviet compliance with the SALT I agreement <sup>with a high degree of confidence</sup>. This overall capability remains <sup>secure</sup> ~~secure~~. It was <sup>certainly</sup> ~~not~~ lost with our <sup>observation</sup> ~~stations~~ in Iran, which was only one of many intelligence sources we use for following Soviet strategic activities.

We are concerned with that loss, <sup>b</sup> But we must keep it in perspective.

~~The~~ <sup>This</sup> monitoring capability ~~[being discussed]~~ relates principally to the portion of the agreement dealing with the modernization limits on ICBMs and to only a portion of our ~~capability to monitor such activity.~~ <sup>Such improvement modernization.</sup> We will be able to recover the ~~capability~~ <sup>reduced</sup> ~~[relating to SALT verification]~~ in approximately one year. During that period, ~~even if a violation of the SALT agreement were attempted~~ the Soviets would not be able to complete a test program for a new or modernized ICBM whose introduction would adversely affect the strategic balance or our security.

~~[The time required to have adequate replacements for our Iran collection sites is short compared to the time needed for any significant cheating.]~~

The bottom line is that ~~[we will have the necessary confidence that]~~ if there is an effort to cheat on the SALT agreement -- including the limits on modernizing ICBMs -- we will detect it, and we will do <sup>so</sup> in time to fully protect our security.

We must also keep in mind that quite apart from ~~this Treaty,~~ <sup>SALT limits</sup> our security is affected by the extent of our information about Soviet strategic forces. With ~~this Treaty,~~ <sup>SALT II</sup> that vital information will be much more accessible <sup>to us.</sup>

The agreement specifically forbids interference with the systems used for monitoring compliance. It prohibits any deliberate concealment that would impede verification. Any such concealment activity would itself be detectable, <sup>and</sup> ~~And [it would be]~~ a violation of the agreement, <sup>would give</sup> ~~giving~~ us grounds to cancel the Treaty itself.

*be so serious as to*

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As I have said many times, the stakes are too high to rely on trust -- or even on the Soviet's rational inclination to act in their own best interest.. The Treaty must -- and will be -- [~~adequately~~] verifiable from the day it is signed.

Finally, how does SALT II fit into the context of our overall relations with the Soviet Union?

To answer this question, we must look at the practical relationship between a SALT agreement and other aspects of our relations.

Because SALT II will make the world safer and our own nation more secure, it is in our national interest <sup>control nuclear weapons</sup> to ~~pursue it~~ even as we compete with the Soviets elsewhere in the world.

A SALT agreement in no way limits our ability to promote our interests and to answer Soviet threats to those interests.

We will continue to support the independence of Third World nations <sup>who fight</sup> that ~~have fought~~ <sup>stay</sup> hard to be free, ~~and are determined to stay that way.~~

We will continue to promote the peaceful resolution of local and regional disputes, and we ~~will~~ <sup>to</sup> oppose efforts by the Soviets and others to inflame those disputes with outside force.

And we will continue to work for human rights.

It is a delusion to believe that rejection of SALT would somehow induce the Soviet Union to exercise new restraint, in troubled areas. The actual effect <sup>might</sup> would be precisely the opposite. The most intransigent and hostile elements of the Soviet power structure would be encouraged and strengthened. The Soviets might well feel ~~that they~~ <sup>that they</sup> have little to lose by creating new <sup>international</sup> tensions.

A rejection of SALT II would have significance beyond the fate of a single treaty. It would mean a radical turning away from America's long-term policy of ~~seeking world peace, the control of nuclear weapons, and the gradually easing tensions and involving the Soviets in a~~ <sup>under</sup> a system of international law based on mutual interests, ~~— a~~ <sup>between Americans and the Soviet people</sup> policy that ~~Republican and Democratic Presidents and members of Congress from both parties have spent a generation building.~~

<sup>rejection of SALT II would</sup>  
The <sup>in</sup> result would be a more perilous world. As I said at Georgia Tech on February 20: "Each crisis, each confrontation, each point of friction -- as serious as it may be in its own right -- will take on an added measure of significance and an added dimension of danger. For it would occur in an atmosphere of unbridled strategic

competition and deteriorating strategic stability. It is precisely because we have fundamental differences with the Soviet Union that we are determined to bring this most dangerous element of our military competition under control."

For these reasons, we will not <sup>try to</sup> impose <sup>binding</sup> linkage between Soviet behavior and SALT -- and we will not accept any Soviet attempts to link SALT with aspects of our own foreign policy <sup>of which</sup> <sup>may disapprove.</sup> that they ~~dislike~~.

Again, SALT II is not a favor we are doing for the Soviet Union. It is <sup>an agreement carefully negotiated</sup> in the national security interest of the United States.

\* \* \*

I put these issues to you today because they need discussion and debate, and because the voice of the American people <sup>must</sup> ~~needs~~ to be heard, ~~on them~~.

In the months ahead, I and members of my Administration will do all in our power to explain the Treaty clearly and fully to the American people. I know that Members of Congress from both parties will join in this effort to insure an informed public debate.

It is important that we exercise care, <sup>During</sup> in this debate.

We will be sharing with the Congress some of our most sensitive defense and intelligence secrets. I ~~will~~ work <sup>and</sup> closely with the leaders in Congress <sup>must</sup> to insure that these secrets will be guarded carefully so that the debate itself does not undermine our security.

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As the national discussion takes place, let us be clear about what the issues are -- and are not.

--Americans are committed to maintaining a strong defense. That is not the issue.

--We will continue to compete -- and compete effectively -- with the Soviet Union. That is not the issue.

The issue is whether we will move ahead with strategic arms control or resume a relentless arms competition. That is the choice we face -- between an imperfect world with SALT<sup>II</sup> and an imperfect...and more dangerous...world without it.

With SALT<sup>II</sup>, we will have:

--significant reductions in Soviet strategic forces;

--far greater certainty in our defense planning and in the knowledge of the threats we face;

--flexibility to meet our defense needs;

--the foundation for further controls on nuclear and conventional arms;

--and <sup>our own</sup> the self-respect <sup>and the earned respect of the world for a United States</sup> ~~of a nation~~ committed to the works of peace.

Without SALT:

--The Soviets will be unconstrained and capable of an enormous further buildup.

--There would <sup>have to</sup> be a much sharper rise, ~~therefore~~, in our own defense spending.

--We would end up with thousands more strategic nuclear warheads on both sides, with far greater costs -- and less security -- for our citizens.

--We would see ~~hope for~~ improved relations with the Soviet Union replaced by heightened tensions.

--The long, slow process of arms control, so central to building a safer world, would be dealt a crippling blow.

--And the world would be forced to conclude that America had chosen confrontation rather than cooperation and peace.

This is the inescapable choice we face. For the fact is that the alternative to this treaty is not a perfect, <sup>drafted unilaterally by the United States</sup> unobtainable agreement, in which we gain everything and the Soviets nothing. The alternative, now and in the <sup>foreseeable</sup> future, is no agreement at all.

I am convinced that the United States has the moral and political will to manage the relentless technology *which* ~~that~~ <sup>can</sup> constantly devise new weapons of mass destruction. We need not drift into a dark nightmare of unrestrained arms competition. We <sup>Americans</sup> have the wisdom to <sup>know</sup> see that our security depends on more than <sup>maintaining our</sup> unsurpassed defense forces. <sup>and that of our Allies</sup> <sup>also</sup> depend on <sup>the strength of ideas and ideals</sup> <sup>and</sup> arms control measures that can stabilize and finally reverse a dangerous and wasteful arms race which neither side can win. This is the path of wisdom -- and of peace.

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We are concerned with that loss. But we must keep it in perspective.

The monitoring capability in question relates principally to the portion of the agreement dealing with the modernization limits on ICBMs and to only a portion of our capability to monitor such activity.

The bottom line is that we are confident that, if there is an effort to cheat on the SALT agreement -- including the limits on modernizing ICBMs -- we will detect it, and we will do <sup>LSO</sup> in time to fully protect our security.

Verification is one of the key elements of this treaty -- and one which I will not compromise. In recent weeks, distorted and incorrect reports of testimony given in closed sessions before committees of the Senate have confused this already complex issue. The sensitive intelligence techniques used to verify SALT cannot be disclosed in public. To do so would only undermine our security. Therefore, we, cannot fully air these issues in public. I can assure you, however, that for virtually every provision of SALT, not one but a combination of capabilities is used to verify compliance; and that every detail of these verification procedures will be discussed with the Senate. We will count on their discretion and judgment in the process of ratifying this agreement.

We must also keep in mind that quite apart from this Treaty, our security is affected by the extent of our information about Soviet strategic forces. With this Treaty, that vital information will be much more accessible.

Indeed, the entire world has a vital interest in controlling the strategic arms race.

Our allies count on us not only to maintain strong military forces to offset Soviet military power, but also to manage successfully a stable East-West relationship. SALT is at the heart of both of these crucial efforts. That is why the leaders of France, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada have all voiced their support for the emerging Treaty.

~~Many~~ nations which have so far held back from building nuclear weapons will be strongly influenced by whether the two nuclear superpowers are serious about restraining their own weapons. Rejection of the new Strategic Arms Treaty would seriously undermine the effort to halt the proliferation of these deadly weapons. And nothing would more surely damage our other critical efforts in arms control -- from equalizing NATO and Warsaw Pact forces in Central Europe to restraining the spread of ever more sophisticated conventional weapons, from a ban on all nuclear testing to preventing dangerous satellite warfare in space;

Under the agreement, the two sides will be limited to equal numbers of strategic launchers for the first time. This will end the Soviet numerical advantage temporarily agreed to in SALT I.

To reach these levels, the Soviets will have to reduce their overall number of strategic delivery systems by ten percent -- more than 250 Soviet missile launchers or bombers. Naturally, the Soviets will choose to phase out their older systems. But these systems are still formidable. And under the agreement, they will not be permitted to replace these systems with modern ones. Our own operational forces will be somewhat below the permitted ceiling. Thus, under the agreement, we could increase our force level, if necessary.

And SALT II will impose the first limited but important restraints on the race to build new systems and improve existing ones -- the so-called "qualitative" arms race.

In short, SALT II places serious limits on what the Soviets might do in the absence of the agreement. For example, without SALT II, the Soviet Union could ~~build~~ have some 3000 strategic weapons by 1985. With SALT, they will have 2250.