

9/6/79 [2]

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| FORM OF DOCUMENT | CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|------------------|---|--------|-------------|
| speech draft | MX Basing Decision - Presidential Announcement (25 pp.) <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-18-5-2-5</i> <i>NLC-126-18-5-1-6</i> <i>11/15/13</i> | 9/6/79 | A |
| memo w/att. | From Brzezinski to The President (17 pp.) re: MX Basing Decision (20 pp.) <i>4 pp. declassified per RAC NLC-126-18-5-3-4</i> <i>11/15/13</i> | 9/6/79 | A |

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers- Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec.- Pres. Handwriting File
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1979

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Mr. President,

The foreign aid appropriations bill passed the House today 224/183. The bill was cut 1.5 billion dollars, about 300 million less than we expected. 1.2 billion of the 1.5 billion came from the Banks. The House added over 200 million in refugee money.

On the downside, the House again attached a prohibition on direct and indirect funds to Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Central Africa Empire, and Cuba. In addition, they cut ← *had* all military and economic aid to Panama.

We took a 4% across-the-board cut which excluded funds for Israel and Egypt. We expected upward of 8%. The bill is now 200 million dollars above last year's.

Frank Moore

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

07 Sep 79

Frank Moore

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

Rick Hutcheson

Bob Lipshutz

3704



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*After Bee spoke
re SU says, "Will hold up
on SALT
resolution"
J*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 7, 1979

MR. PRESIDENT:

Senator DeConcini wants you to call him concerning a judgeship in Arizona for Judge Udall, a man who is over the age limit for reappointment. Attorney General Civiletti had a long conversation with DeConcini several days ago about this situation, and Frank has talked to him as well, and DeConcini knows that Judge Udall is not going to get the job. However, the Senator feels he is obligated to bring it to your attention once again.

Frank and Civiletti recommend you return Senator DeConcini's call and that you tell him that to open the door in this instance would bring many more similar requests.

PHIL

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

September 6, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
SUBJECT: M-X Decision

Attached is your draft statement for announcing the M-X decision (Tab A). In addition, it has been cleared by Harold Brown and your speech writers.

Also attached is a copy of your Qs & As on the key issues you identified in the NSC meeting: Verifiability, Cost, and Ability to Achieve a Survivable M-X. In addition, we are including a Q&A on Counterforce Capabilities since this is an extremely controversial aspect of the M-X and we need to have a disciplined position on this issue within the Executive Branch. (Tab B)

Jim McIntyre's comment on the cost issue is also attached. (Tab C) It supports our Cost Q&A as drafted.

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Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-18-5-2-5

BY: 145 NARA DATE 10/28/12

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Aaron/Utgoff/Stewart
9/6/79
Draft Two

MX Basing Decision -- Presidential Announcement

For nearly 30 years, our nation has deterred attack and kept the peace through a complementary system of land, sea, and airborne nuclear forces, commonly known as the strategic triad.

By maintaining the special strengths and advantages offered by each force, we make it impossible for the Soviet Union to counter them all.

My Administration is now embarked on a program to modernize and improve the ability of our entire strategic triad to survive any attack. Our bomber force is being strengthened with cruise missiles, and our strategic submarine force is being upgraded with new Trident submarines and missiles.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Per: Rac Project
ESDN: NLC-126-18-5-2-5
BY: ks NARA DATE: 10/28/13

However, as the result of the increased accuracy of strategic systems, fixed land-based ICBM's such as our Minuteman are becoming vulnerable to attack. A mobile ICBM system will greatly reduce this vulnerability.

Therefore, in June, I decided to proceed with full-scale development and deployment of a new, large, mobile ICBM -- the MX. I made this decision to assure our country a secure strategic deterrent well into the future.

The MX will enable us to continue with a modernized, unsurpassed, survivable strategic deterrent of ICBM's, Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles and Heavy Bombers armed with cruise missiles.

Clearly, the way we base the MX is vital to its ability to defend our country. At the time I made the decision to build the MX, I established five essential criteria the

basing system would have to meet:

¶ It must contribute to the ability of our strategic forces to survive an attack.

¶ It must be verifiable so as to set a standard which can serve as a precedent for the verifiability of mobile ICBM systems on both sides.

¶ It must minimize the impact on our environment.

¶ It must be buildable at a reasonable cost to the American taxpayer.

¶ It must be consistent with our SALT III goal of negotiating from strength for significant reductions in strategic forces.

In light of these criteria, and after full consideration

with Secretary Brown and my principal advisors, I have decided upon the following configuration for basing the MX missile system:

The MX will be based in a sheltered, road-mobile system to be constructed in our western deserts. This system will consist of 4,600 horizontal shelters connected by special roadways and 200 missile transporters capable of rapid movement between the shelters. Each roadway will be built as a separate segment -- with approximately 23 shelters and one moveable missile with its transporter in each segment.

Let me point out how this meets the criteria I established:

¶ First, it increases the survivability of our deterrent missiles by multiplying the number of targets the Soviet Union would have to attack. The capacity of the missiles to move rapidly ensures that no attacker will be able to find out where the missiles are and attack only those locations.

In fact, the missiles will be able to change shelters in the flight time of a Soviet ICBM. Moreover, the system is flexible enough so that we can adjust the scale of development up or down in response to the Soviet threat or to progress in future SALT negotiations.

¶ Second, the system is adequately verifiable. The special roadways will be confined to designated areas and the associated missile transporters will be incapable of moving elsewhere. The shelters will be designed so that they may be opened to demonstrate that no extra missiles are hidden in them. These and other features will make this system adequately verifiable.

¶ Third, the system minimizes the impact on the environment. The shelters are flush with the ground. The public will retain access to the area; only the shelters will be fenced off. The whole system will take only about

25 square miles of land out of public use.

¶ Fourth, the system is affordable. The projected cost to develop, produce and deploy it is \$33 billion in 1980 dollars. While this acquisition cost may change somewhat as the program proceeds, it is important to recognize that the cost of this system in constant dollar terms will be no greater than the cost of any one of the original legs of our strategic triad -- the B-52 force, the Polaris-Poseidon force, or the Minuteman ICBM system.

¶ Finally, this system is compatible with our objectives for SALT III. Deploying this system will make it clear to the Soviet Union that they will gain no strategic advantage by continuing an arms race. This is a fundamental precondition to more effective arms control agreements. Equally important, this system points in the direction of reductions of strategic

arms because we are giving better protection to a force of smaller size. Without such a mobile shelter system, the only way we could maintain our deterrent would be greatly to increase the number of our strategic systems.

In the course of making the series of decisions that led to this announcement, I carefully studied the potential threat to our Minuteman force. That threat is real. The system I have outlined this morning does the best job of meeting it, while also fulfilling the conditions I specified at the outset. That is, the system is survivable, it is verifiable, it has a minimal impact on the environment, it is affordable, and it is consistent with our SALT goal of deep reductions in strategic arms.

In sum, this system will enhance our nation's security -- both by strengthening our strategic deterrent and by

offering the prospect of more effective arms control. This system is not a bargaining chip. It is a system that America needs for its security. I am confident the American people will support its deployment.

Unhappily, we do not yet live in the kind of world that permits us to devote all our resources to the works of peace. And as President, I have no higher duty than to ensure that the security of the United States will be protected beyond doubt. As long as the threat of war persists, we will do what we must to deter that threat. If SALT II is ratified and SALT III is successful, then the time may come when no President will have to make this kind of decision, and the MX system will be the last weapons system of such enormous destructive power that we will ever have to build. I fervently pray for that time. But until it comes we will build what

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we must, even as we will continue to work for mutual restraint
in strategic armaments.

Secretary Brown is with us, and he is eager to answer
your questions. Thank you.

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Q: How will the Soviets be able to verify the number of M-X missiles we deploy in our system? If the Soviets were to deploy the same system, would we be able to verify the number of missiles they deploy?

A: Our M-X system is specifically designed to allow verification by the Soviets:

- The M-X equipment will be assembled in designated initial assembly areas with operations conducted as openly as is feasible to aid monitoring by National Technical Means (NTM).
- Special and quite distinct transportation techniques will be used to ship the equipment from the initial assembly areas to designated deployment areas -- the only areas where the system will be deployed.
- Final assembly of the missile transporter and integration of it and the missile will occur in the open in the designated deployment area to facilitate monitoring by NTM.
- Integrated missiles and transporters will not be able to drive from one road loop to another, or leave the designated deployment area because of physical barriers, the lack of appropriate connecting roads, and the system's inability to drive off-road.
- The shelters will have openable sections in their roofs so that periodically or on challenge, selected shelters will be exposed to monitoring by NTM. The shelter's design features will make the presence and absence of missiles in opened shelters readily discernible.

The design and operating features of our system will be such that if the Soviets duplicate our M-X system, we will be satisfied that it is verifiable by our National Technical

Means. Moreover, it will provide an added basis for insisting that any new Soviet systems, which will not necessarily be replicas of ours, will be adequately verifiable. The Soviets know that if they want to continue the SALT process, they must ensure that the systems they build are adequately verifiable.

COST

Q: How much will the M-X system really cost?

A: The Department of Defense estimates that the cost to acquire the M-X system as we now envision it would be approximately \$33 billion in 1980 dollars.

In terms of the inflated dollars that will actually be spent in future years, the total will be somewhat higher, though it is impossible to say exactly how much, since inflation rates are hard to predict. In fact, the uncertainty about future inflation is why we state costs in constant dollars.

In addition, history suggests that initial cost estimates for defense systems average about 15 percent low -- in fact, staying within 5 percent of initial estimates represents good management of any major defense program. The cost estimates have been carefully prepared. Nevertheless, at the start of any large-scale, complex program there is always some uncertainty. M-X system costs depend heavily on the shelter and road construction costs, both of which are difficult to estimate precisely at this stage of the program. As we proceed with the design and testing efforts we expect refinements in the costing. Keeping to the schedule is important. If the schedule slips and there are long delays, costs could grow significantly. We plan tight controls in managing the program to minimize real cost growth.

Ability to Achieve a Survivable M-X

Q: The Soviets have an extensive and aggressive ICBM deployment program. Couldn't they accelerate it and be in a position to overwhelm M-X even before we begin deployment? Couldn't they keep us in a catch-up position by building more warheads faster than we can build more missiles and shelters?

A: Even if the Soviets do not accelerate their ICBM program, it will take us until the late 1980s to reestablish a survivable ICBM force. In the interim, we can be confident that deterrence will be maintained, primarily by the other two legs of our strategic Triad -- our strategic bomber force with its cruise missiles, and our strategic submarine force with its new TRIDENT submarines and missiles.

If the Soviets accelerate their ICBM force improvements within the limits of SALT II, we can expand M-X within SALT II as well, and still reach the survivability goals we plan for M-X by the late '80s.

If the Soviets were to expand their ICBM force beyond the levels permitted by SALT II in an attempt to keep us from reaching our survivability goals for M-X, they would begin a race they must ultimately find very unattractive. If they race us with silo-based missiles, they will have no significant cost advantages over us, and their overall force will become ever less survivable. If they want to race us with a mobile system of their own -- they must first spend the time and money to develop a good one. We would then be ahead of them and able to offset their efforts at even less cost.

COUNTERFORCE CAPABILITIES

Q: In proceeding with the M-X, are we heading toward a first-strike capability against the Soviet Union? Wouldn't such a capability be destabilizing in a crisis?

A: We are not changing our strategy, which is and remains to deter nuclear war. Deploying the M-X will not give us a disarming first-strike capability against the Soviet Union, since the Soviets would still have sizeable and powerful strategic forces remaining after an M-X strike. Similarly, a Soviet capability to destroy our MINUTEMAN force won't give them a disarming first-strike capability against the U.S.

It is true that silo-based ICBMs will be vulnerable -- US silos in the early '80s and then the Soviets' later. To a considerable extent, Soviet ICBMs would be vulnerable to a first-strike in the '80s, even without M-X, because of recent improvements of MINUTEMAN III.

If all the deterrent forces of both sides were secure from attack, we would all be better off. Our hope for such a situation was the basis of U.S. restraint in developing hard-target kill capability in the late '60s and '70s. However, as you know, the Soviets have pursued improvements in their ICBM force that are making our ICBM forces vulnerable. A significant long-term Soviet advantage in counterforce capabilities is unacceptable on both military and political grounds. In particular, a survivable US capability to destroy ICBMs will make it clear that the Soviets could not gain any military advantage by attacking our ICBMs.

By proceeding with a highly survivable M-X system, we can promote stability in a crisis. Any Soviet attempt to preempt against all of our land-based forces including M-X

would require using far more Soviet RVs than the Soviets could destroy and would thus shift the strategic balance against them. Any lesser attack would mean more M-X survivors, allowing stronger US retaliation against Soviet forces held in reserve, which would shift the strategic balance even further against the Soviets. Either way, the M-X will create a situation in which Soviets cannot gain by preempting in a crisis, which may help to deter crises in the first place.

By making Soviet silo-based missiles more vulnerable, M-X will deter any Soviet efforts to increase the threat to M-X, by expanding their silo-based missile forces. Such increases would force us to expand M-X to offset the Soviet efforts -- a futile race that we would rather avoid.

Finally, to the extent that the capabilities of the M-X worry the Soviets, they can use the time until it is deployed to put increased emphasis on systems that will be more survivable than fixed land-based ICBMs, or cooperate with us in negotiating arms control agreements that make silo-based missiles survivable for both sides.

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MX Basing Decision -- Presidential Announcement

For nearly 30 years, our nation has deterred attack and kept the peace through a complementary system of land, sea, and airborne nuclear forces, commonly known as the strategic triad.

By maintaining the special strengths and advantages *of the three* offered by each forces, we make it impossible for the Soviet Union to counter them all.

My Administration is now embarked on a program to modernize and improve the ability of our entire strategic triad to survive any attack. Our bomber force is being strengthened with cruise missiles, and our strategic submarine force is being upgraded with new Trident submarines and missiles.

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However, as the result of the increased accuracy of strategic systems, fixed land-based ICBM's such as our Minuteman are becoming vulnerable to attack. A mobile ICBM system will greatly reduce this vulnerability.

Therefore, ^{earlier this year} ~~in June~~, I decided to proceed with full-scale development and deployment of a new, large, mobile ICBM -- the MX. I made this decision to assure our country a secure strategic deterrent well into the future.

The MX will enable us to continue with a modernized, unsurpassed, survivable strategic deterrent of ICBM's, Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles and Heavy Bombers armed with cruise missiles.

Clearly, the way we base the MX ^{to enhance its security from a threat} is vital to its ability to defend our country. At the time I made the decision to build the MX, I established five essential criteria, ^{which} the

basing system would have to meet:

- ¶ It must contribute to the ability of our strategic forces to survive an attack.
- ¶ It must be verifiable so as to set a standard which can serve as a precedent for the verifiability of mobile ICBM systems on both sides.
- ¶ It must minimize the impact on our environment.
- ¶ It must be ^{deployment} buildable at a reasonable cost to the American taxpayer.
- ¶ It must be consistent with ^{existing SALT agreements and} our SALT III goal of negotiating ^{mutual} [from strength] for significant reductions in strategic forces.

In light of these criteria, and after full ^{consideration} ~~consideration~~

with Secretary Brown and my ^{other} principal advisors, I have decided upon the following configuration for basing the MX missile system:

The MX will be based in a sheltered, road-mobile system, ^{so which will} to be constructed in our western deserts, This system will

consist of ~~4,600~~ horizontal shelters connected by special roadways and ^{launchers, each} 200 missile transporters capable of rapid movement ^{on a}

^{special roadway connecting approximately 23 horizontal} between the shelters. ~~[Each roadway will be built as a separate~~

~~segment -- with approximately 23 shelters and one moveable missile with its transporter in each segment.]~~

Let me point out how this meets the criteria I established:

¶ First, it increases the survivability of our ~~[deterrent]~~ missiles by multiplying the number of targets ^{which} the Soviet Union would have to, ^{be} attack ^{because, not knowing ~~where~~ in which} the missile was located, all ^{would} move rapidly ensures that no attacker will be able to find out where the missiles are and attack only those locations.

shelter 23 shelters would have to be targeted in order to be sure to attack the missile.

In fact, the missiles ^{would} ~~will~~ be able to change shelters in the flight time of ^{an attacking} ~~a Soviet~~ ICBM. Moreover, the system is flexible enough so that we can adjust the scale of ^{deployment} ~~development~~ up or down in response to ^{a future} ~~the Soviet~~ ^{as an enemy} threat or to progress in future SALT negotiations.

¶ Second, the system is adequately verifiable. The special roadways will be confined to designated areas and the associated missile transporters will be incapable of moving elsewhere. The shelters will be designed so that they may be opened to demonstrate that no extra missiles are hidden in them. These and other features will make this system adequately verifiable.

¶ Third, the system minimizes the impact on the environment. The shelters are flush with the ground. The public will retain access to the area; only the shelters will be fenced off. The ^{entire} ~~whole~~ system will take only about

arms because we are giving better protection to a force of fewer missiles, smaller size. Without such a mobile shelter system, the only way we could maintain our deterrent would be greatly to increase the number of our strategic systems.

In the course of making the series of decisions that led to this announcement, I carefully studied the potential threat to our Minuteman force. That threat is real. The system I have outlined this morning does the best job of meeting it, while also fulfilling the conditions I specified at the outset. That is, the system is survivable, it is verifiable, it has a minimal impact on the environment, it is affordable, and it is consistent with our SALT goal of deep reductions in strategic arms.

In sum, this system will enhance our nation's security -- both by strengthening our strategic deterrent and by

offering the prospect of more effective arms control. This system is not a bargaining chip. It is a system that America needs for its security. I am confident the American people will support its deployment.

Unhappily, we do not yet live in the kind of world that permits us to devote all our resources to the works of peace. And as President, I have no higher duty than to ensure that the security of the United States will be protected beyond doubt. As long as the threat of war persists, we will do what we must to deter that threat. If SALT II is ratified and SALT III is successful, then the time may come when no President will have to make this kind of decision, and the MX system will be the last weapons system of such enormous destructive power that we will ever have to build. I fervently pray for that time. But until it comes we will build what

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we must, even as we will continue to work for mutual restraint
in strategic armaments.

Secretary Brown is with us, and he is ^{willing} ~~eager~~ to answer
your questions. Thank you.

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

SEP 6 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: James T. McIntyre, Jr. *J. McIntyre*

SUBJECT: MX Costs

Based upon the meeting with you yesterday, Defense and OMB have again compared analyses and assumptions for the Air Force MX plan, with the following results:

-- We have no differences on facts, i.e., we are using the same data as to numbers, size, etc.

-- As to the point yesterday regarding the number of miles of road, Defense agrees with OMB's stated figure of about 10,000 miles of road. The current Air Force number is 9618 miles, and this is a notional computer model which has not yet been applied to specific sites, where terrain obstacles may lengthen (and existing roads may shorten) the actual requirement. In any case, the 5000-6000 mile figures cited at yesterday's meeting are not correct (they apply to the so-called "racetrack" roads, and leave out the many miles of other service, security, and construction roads in the system).

-- We and DOD agree on the approximately \$5B of likely additional cost risk, but Defense would rather stay at a \$33B total and allude to this risk in Q and A (attached) rather than use a higher total cost at the outset. My view on the appropriate estimate of the cost of heavy construction is clearly less optimistic than Harold's. Because recent history (Alaska Pipeline, Washington Metro, etc.) is available to our critics to use in challenging the construction component of the \$33B estimate, I am uncomfortable with the estimate.

-- We had also called to your attention the potential addition of \$3-4B in system enhancements (mass simulators, new RV, road improvements, etc.) You may hear DOD and/or Congressional recommendations for some of these sooner rather than later. Therefore, I wanted you to be aware of the potential cost of these additions.

-- A second agreed DOD-OMB Q and A on the possibility of an expanded threat (also attached) adequately covers, I believe, our concerns about potential \$7-8B additional costs (DOD's own estimate) to preserve planned survivability in the event the Soviets build to the SALT II limit.

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Per, Rac Project

ESDM: NLG-126-18-S-34

BY 133 NADA DATE 10/28/13

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In summary, I agree with Harold that our published estimate should be as low as possible without being unrealistic. Given the kinds of conditions and caveats expressed in the attached Q&A's prepared for the announcement, I believe that we can all defend the \$33B number, and will have laid the appropriate groundwork for subsequent explanations should our estimates grow in the months ahead. However, I believe that a higher total would be more accurate and defensible in the longer term. That higher number (somewhere between \$35B and \$41B) should be a DOD program cost estimate, not an OMB estimate.

Attachments

~~SECRET~~

Question: How much will the M-X system really cost?

Answer: The Department of Defense estimates that the cost to acquire the M-X system as we now envision it would be approximately \$33 billion in 1980 dollars.

In terms of the inflated dollars that will actually be spent in future years, the total will be somewhat higher, though it is impossible to say exactly how much since inflation rates are hard to predict. In fact, the uncertainty about future inflation is why we state costs in constant dollars.

In addition, history suggests that initial cost estimates for defense systems average about 15% low -- in fact, staying within 5% of initial estimates represents good management of any major defense program. The cost estimates have been carefully prepared. Nevertheless, at the start of any large-scale, complex program there is always some uncertainty. M-X system costs depend heavily on the shelter and road construction costs, both of which are difficult to estimate precisely at this stage of the program. As we proceed with the design and testing efforts we expect refinements in the costing. Keeping to the schedule is important. If the schedule slips and there are long delays, costs could grow significantly. We plan tight controls in managing the program to minimize real cost growth.

Question: Could the Soviets force us to spend more on M-X by expanding their capability to attack it?

Answer: It is conceivable that the Soviets may try to increase their capabilities to attack the M-X system. This would lead to modifications of our current plans for M-X, and associated increases in cost. However, the Soviet's incentives to do this should be minimal. Neither we nor they would have a clear cost advantage if they cause us to expand M-X by deploying more RV's on their silo-based missiles, and in this case, their concerns about the survivability of their own forces should increase. If, on the other hand, they cause us to expand M-X by deploying their own extensive mobile ICBM system directed at counterforce use against M-X, they would be at a significant cost disadvantage.

If we are successful in future SALT negotiations in achieving significant reductions of force levels, then we might deploy correspondingly fewer M-X missiles. Accordingly, costs would be reduced.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1979

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Frank Moore
Jim Free
Bob Thomson

/ Bob

SUBJECT: Energy Mobilization Board - Status

Today we won a significant victory in the House and a few minor victories in the Senate on the Energy Mobilization Board.

In the House, the Commerce Committee defeated the Wirth amendment 26-16. This left Chairman Dingell's position intact. Wirth would have allowed EMB override of only procedural law with no mechanisms to enforce such an override decision. Dingell's position allows EMB override of both substantive and procedural law.

14 Democrats and 12 Republicans voted with the Administration against the Wirth amendment. Chairman Dingell has been told by the White House that we are temporarily supporting his amendment as a tactical move.

We made the decision to support Dingell and oppose Wirth 6 weeks ago. That decision was made only after offering Wirth an amendment that reflected our specifications precisely. You were informed by memo from Stu when the decision was made. There has been no secret about our position for some time.

The memo to you from Interior, EPA, and CEQ -- delivered to you yesterday minutes before the start of the key mark-up session -- was a topic of much discussion in Committee.

It is plain we must maintain support for the Dingell amendment. The environmental community is fearful of any kind of Board and wants no waiver, either of substantive or procedural law. They would not be satisfied even if we opposed Dingell and supported Wirth.

However, the most important reason for standing firm is the weakness of the Senate bill. We need a strong bill out of the House to emerge victorious in conference with the Senate.

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Before the August recess, Senate Energy Committee discussions indicated the Committee leaned toward an Energy Mobilization Board made up of a Chairman and three part-time members. The members would be advisory only, except that two of the three would have to agree on whether to designate an energy project as a priority project. The Board would be able to require that only one environmental impact statement would be prepared on a priority project to be used by all State and local, as well as Federal, agencies.

The Board could set binding schedules for when Federal agencies must act. State and local agencies would be bound by Board schedules only if (1) they agreed with the schedule; or (2) both Houses of Congress approved the schedule by affirmative vote. If a Federal State, or local agency failed to decide on time, the Board could make the decision for the agency. In sum, the Energy Mobilization Board would be a very weak one, if preliminary discussions are any indication.

The staff presented a draft to the Committee today that was supposed to incorporate the decisions made to date, as well as staff recommendations on unresolved issues. The staff draft would create a Board that would be weaker in several respects than we have proposed. Only the first two issues raised by the staff were discussed today, and both staff recommendations were rejected in favor of a stronger board. First, the staff proposed restricting the Board so that it could designate a project as a priority only if the project would directly and "substantially" reduce our dependence on foreign oil. Senator Johnston, who chaired the session, objected to such a limit on the discretion of the Board. Senators McClure, Ford and Bumpers also objected. It was agreed to give the Board more discretion, as we had proposed.

The staff next proposed to limit the Board to designating no more than 30 projects at any one time, compared to the 75 project limit we had proposed. After objections by Senators Johnston, McClure, Ford and Melcher, it was agreed to place no limit on the number of projects. Only Senator Bradley supported a limit.

Four of our proposals remain to be voted on:

- o to eliminate Congressional approval of each project decision schedule, or at least to see that an affirmative vote of both Houses of Congress is not required;
- o to empower the Board to set schedules for State and local agencies that are shorter than other procedural laws might require;

- o to consolidate judicial challenges to projects on a "judicial fast track"; and
- o to "grandfather" projects by empowering the Board to waive new laws that "change the rules in the middle of the game".

The majority staff unfortunately does not support any of these positions. We should be somewhat encouraged by the fact that the Committee overturned its staff's positions on two out of two issues today. However, it is clear our "ace in the hole" is the possibility of a strong House bill to take to conference.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1979

*Jody
Get talking to
points or text to
me early
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JODY POWELL *JPP*

SUBJECT: MX Basing Announcement

I propose that you make the MX basing announcement in the following manner:

- Accompanied by Secretary Brown *and Dr. Byggicki,* go to Room 450 and make a five-minute or so announcement of the decision. (Hertzberg is working on announcement.)
- At the conclusion of your remarks, note that the Secretary of Defense is on hand to answer questions on the decision, shake his hand and leave the stage.
- Secretary Brown will deal with the broad-brush questions on this subject for both White House reporters and the Pentagon reporters who will have come over for the announcement.
- A mock-up of the basing mode will be on the stage. You would not demonstrate it, or even make reference to it. Secretary Brown would do that after you've gone, but the visual will be of you, the Secretary and the mock-up.
- DOD will follow up later in the day at the Pentagon with a more technical briefing by William Perry.

You had mentioned a willingness to take several questions on the decision. But if you take questions, it is inevitable that a question in reference to the MX will be turned around to one on your approach to Russian troops stationed in Cuba, and either your answer to the question or your refusal to answer will take away a good deal of play from the MX decision.

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I agree with your desire to make the announcement in a setting other than the press briefing room, and 450 is the only plausible alternative. But it is difficult to have you go to 450, make an announcement and leave without any questions being allowed. Therefore, the Secretary Brown suggestion, which does meet with DOD's approval.

If you agree to this arrangement, we will set a time with Phil. We suggest a late morning announcement here, with an early afternoon technical briefing followup at DOD.

Agree

_____ ✓

Disagree

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4:00 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 5, 1979

RECEPTION FOR WORLD CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND PEACE (WCRP)

Thursday, September 6, 1979
4 p.m. - 4:15 p.m.
The East Room

From: ANNE WEXLER *AW*

I. PURPOSE

To greet over 300 religious leaders, from more than 45 nations and representing the ten major world religions, who are gathered in the United States for a week-long conference to discuss the general theme of "Religion in the Struggle for World Community."

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: This is the Third Assembly of WCRP. The first was held in Kyoto, Japan, in 1970, and the second in Louvain, Belgium, in 1974. WCRP has consultative status with the United Nations and has been endorsed by leading American religious figures (including the Presidents of the National Council of Churches, the U.S. Catholic Conference, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations). The declared purpose of WCRP is "to sensitize leaders of the major world religions to the world agenda for human survival."

The 1979 WCRP Conference began on August 30 with an inter-religious ceremony at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City, with Cardinal Terence Cooke presiding. You sent a message of welcome to the Conference that was read at this ceremony (message attached). The group went from New York to Princeton, New Jersey, for its deliberations. The Conference concludes with a day in Washington on September 6; participants will be meeting with Congressional leaders as well as with you.

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B. Participants: The over 300 religious leaders who will be in attendance are from 45 nations, with the largest delegations from the United States (63), Japan (61), India (38), Canada (13), German Federal Republic (12), Soviet Union (9), and the People's Republic of China (8) (according to WCRP, this is the first inter-religious group to leave the PRC for an international religious meeting in nearly two decades). Some of the participants will not speak English. The religions represented include Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism.

C. Press Plan: White House Photographer only (no press).

III. AGENDA

When you arrive, the participants will be standing in the East Room. You should proceed to the podium to make your remarks. After you depart, a reception will be held in the State Dining Room.

IV. TALKING POINTS

Talking points prepared by the speechwriters will be submitted separately.

STRAIGHT WIRE - AUGUST 28, 1979

Jo Tel Room
11 AM
8/28

Mr. Homer A. Jack
Secretary-General
Third Assembly, World Conference
on Religion and Peace
Princeton Theological Seminary
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

On behalf of the American people, I am glad to welcome to the United States participants in the Third Assembly of the World Conference on Religion and Peace.

To protect religious liberty the United States has always drawn a sharp line between church and state. But I am sure that few Americans would disagree with my personal conviction that it is entirely right for representatives of the great world religions to gather in the cause of peace among nations. To build peace -- and to build the conditions of justice and dignity that make peace possible -- must concern every man and woman on earth. And when all is said and done, the search for peace must be informed by a religious conscience.

As you study, discuss and share with each other from your rich and divergent backgrounds, the cause of world peace will surely be furthered.

I wish you every success in your deliberations.

JIMMY CARTER

JC:Maddox:j lc
cc: S. Clough/E.Coolidge/c.Dodson, NSC/P.Spector/B.Maddox/CF
EVENT: AUGUST 29 - SEPT. 7
Requested by Mr. Jack

TALKING POINTS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Bob Maddox *BM*

SUBJECT: Talking Points for World Conference on Religion
and Peace -- 9/6/79

President Archbishop Angelo Fernandez, Secretary-General
Homer Jack, participants in the World Conference on
Religion and Peace:

1. As I welcome you to the White House, I want especially to welcome delegates from the religious community of the People's Republic of China. The very fact of your presence here is a hopeful and encouraging sign. Patience, restraint, and taking the longer view in world diplomacy have created and nurtured the conditions that make it possible for you to be here. As you go back to your country, please take with you my best wishes and prayers for continued progress in the total development of your people.
2. It is one of the tragedies of human history that for centuries, war has been waged in the name of faith and religion. That is true today as well. Look around the world. Many of the most deep-seated divisions can be traced to ancient disputes rooted in religious differences. Your Conference is a symbol of hope. You understand that the essence of faith and love of God, in whatever form it may be practiced, is love of our fellow human beings and peace.
3. No other generation of God's children has lived with the ever-present nightmare of nuclear weapons. It is not too dramatic to say that our world is at a crossroads -- a crossroads, literally, of life and death. The world's people must decide:

¶ if we are to continue down the dark path of unrestrained

Refugees

nuclear proliferation -- building larger and larger stockpiles of destruction, spreading the tools of nuclear destruction to more and more nations until we reach the inevitable nuclear Armageddon; or

¶ whether we will join together on the path of reason and sanity and peace.

4. I have no higher goal than to join with you and all people of faith to control nuclear weapons and ultimately to rid the world of them. We must follow up the ratification of SALT II with negotiations aimed at deep cuts in nuclear weapons.

¶ We must convince the nations of the world that true security does not lie in acquiring a nuclear capability. Just the opposite is true, for with every new nation that acquires nuclear weapons, the security of all is diminished.

5. Only a profound commitment to justice can turn the global nightmare of nuclear destruction into a global vision of peace, for peace is always the fruit of justice.

¶ The Psalmist says, "Justice and peace have kissed each other." (85:10)

6. Justice begins when we can feel the suffering of another. When we feel the grinding poverty of multiplied millions in the world, the plight of refugees, the destruction of real children, the despair of real elderly people, the frustration of real young people who cannot find work -- only then can we find a global vision of what can be.

7. In all too many cases the capacity within us -- as individuals and as nations -- to feel the suffering of our fellow human beings has been blunted. Too much bloodshed, too much talk of megatons and overkill have desensitized us, to an alarming measure, to the danger we face.

8. As difficult as deep experiences of caring can be, we must constantly open ourselves to them. Not to care about the one lost sheep, not to care about the one who is buried while alive in a city ghetto, not to care about disease and hunger, not to care about simple justice and the horror of horrors, nuclear war, is to cut oneself off from one's own humanity.

9. It is the strength of justice that translates into caring that makes a people truly strong. Such caring, though often ridiculed as weakness, is in fact the surest bond that holds men and nations together.

Refugees

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9. It is the strength of justice that translates into caring that makes a people truly strong. Such caring, though often ridiculed as weakness, is in fact the surest bond that holds men and nations together.

10. We must build a world in which all people share in basic human rights -- a world in which all people are free to practice their own religious faiths, to shape the societies in which they live, and to follow their conscience and their own understanding of God.

11. In the United States we believe strongly in the separation of church and state. But this tradition does not prevent our citizens and their religious organizations from being involved in the political process. Religious conviction can and must be a catalyst for constructive, redemptive politics.

12. I believe, as you do, that no group can claim a monopoly on the conscience of the world; and that only by working together can all the peoples of the world hope to meet our common challenges.

¶ If all the peoples of all our nations will combine heart and voice and will, we can build a world of diversity and justice, in which all the world's people can live in peace. As the Psalmist says: "Let us hear the words of the Lord, are they not words of peace, ... to all who turn and trust in him?" (Psalm 85)

13. Of all the forces on the globe the power of the Transcendent in residence in a human being is the most enduring. Teilhard di Chardin, the great religious philosopher and scientist said it well:

¶ "Some day, after mastering the winds, the waves, the tides and gravity, we shall harness for God the energies of love. And then, for the second time in the history of world, man will have discovered fire."

#

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POC
36.9

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9-6-79

To Jim Schlesinger

Your two memoranda concern-
ing the energy situation and
our interests in the Persian
Gulf were very helpful to me.

Best wishes in your new
role. I hope you will stay
in close touch with us so
that we can continue to
benefit from your advice and
support.

Your friend,

Jimmy Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

06Sep 79

Fran Voorde
Frank Moore

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

Rick Hutcheson



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/4/79

Mr. President:

Frank Moore sent this request to me today. I thought you should see it before I tried to work the meetings into your next two-weeker.

Phil

approve requests
 disapprove

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Phil has seen



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 30, 1979

MEETING: Three Presidential briefings

LENGTH: 1 - 1 1/2 hours each

DATE: Sometime between September 6 and September 14

PURPOSE: To brief all Senators on the Energy Security Corporation/synthetic fuels program

BACKGROUND: After analysis of reports compiled during August by CL and other White House departments, the Senior Staff has concluded that the synthetic fuels component of the President's energy program is in trouble, a conclusion we share. They asked us to amend our strategy to include Presidential briefings of virtually all Senators on the Energy Security Corporation/synthetic fuels program.

Pursuant to that request, we propose three briefings for Senators. The first would be with the Energy Committee and would probably run 1½ hours. The President has already met with the Finance Committee on the windfall tax, so this would be a counterpart to that meeting.

The second and third meetings would be with Senators from consuming and producing states who did not attend the first meeting. We would do producing states first. They will be larger meetings, but should take less Presidential time; we estimate one hour each.

All meetings must be scheduled to avoid conflicts with Senate floor sessions. We suggest 8:00 a.m. sessions with coffee and orange juice, but no breakfast.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

06 Sep 79

Lloyd Cutler

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

Rick Hutcheson

Hamilton Jordan

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
9/6/79

Frank Moore/Jim Free

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jack Watson
Sarah Weddington

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J*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

PRESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL

**Electrostatic Copy Made
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TO: Governor of Alabama, Fob James

DATE: This morning, September 5, 1979

RECOMMENDED BY: Jim Free *J.F.*

PURPOSE: To ask the Governor's support

BACKGROUND: The Governor's closest advisor and campaign manager, Jack Miller, stayed with Governor and Mrs. James last night in the Governor's Mansion in Montgomery. Miller's major purpose for the visit was to convince Governor James that he should openly support and get out in front in your 1980 reelection campaign.

Miller agrees with us that if the Governor said yes, that a telephone call from you to him this morning asking for his support in the campaign would be critical.

TALKING POINTS:

1. Inquire about how his term of office has been. The Alabama legislature adjourned last month so this is the first time the Governor has had an interim period.
2. You understand that the Governor and Mrs. James will not be attending the Gospel Music Event on September 9, and will miss seeing them. Mrs. Carter enjoyed talking with Bobbie and her friends earlier this summer when they visited with her at the White House.
3. Close on your request for the Governor's support for 1980. Ask for his personal endorsement and support. For your information, the Governor is pretty much surrounded by strong Carter supporters because along with Miller, who helped us in the 1976 campaign, his liaison person with the State legislature is Bob Geddie, who was our 1976 state coordinator.

*Eager to help in any way.
Not ready to endorse*

*Next term, move
Wants me to tell the
Ala people about achievements
re defense, deregulation,
last govt, cutting
budget deficit,
etc*

TALKING POINTS (cont)

W. H. Fay

4. Ask the Governor if he could be with Mrs. Carter in Birmingham on September 19 at the Carter/Mondale Committee fundraiser.

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

06 Sep 79

Bob Lipshutz
Zbig Brzezinski

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

Rick Hutcheson

The signed original has been
given to Bob Linder for
appropriate handling.

cc: Jody Powell
Frank Moore
Jack Watson
Sarah Weddington
Ed Torres

ADMINISTRATIVELY
CONFIDENTIAL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1979

*Bob: have
Jody - Frank -
Jack - Sarah - Tim
Coordinate today's
notifications and
announcement
J.C.*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB LIPSHUTZ *BL*
ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB.*

RE: Clemency for the Four Puerto Rican Nationalists

Several months after we sent you a January 13 memorandum raising the issue of the commutation of the sentences of these individuals, Judge Bell received a letter in which an attorney who stated that he was acting as the legal representative of the four in effect requested a commutation of their sentences. In our earlier memorandum we noted the Attorney General's concern with the procedural difficulty of commuting sentences of criminals who, like the Nationalists, refuse to request clemency because of their political beliefs. However, after receiving the letter, this objection was obviated because Judge Bell determined that the letter met the "basic requirements" for a clemency application. Accordingly, the cases have been considered by Justice on the merits under normal rules governing clemency petitions and Attorney General Civiletti has prepared a letter of advice recommending that you commute the sentences to time served of each of the four Nationalists. We fully concur with his recommendation.

BACKGROUND

The convictions of Miranda, Rodriguez and Lebron stem from their participation in the 1954 shooting of five Congressmen on the floor of the House of Representatives. Collazo was convicted of murdering a White House guard during an attempted assassination of President Truman at Blair House in 1950.

You will recall that on October 6, 1977, you commuted the sentence of a fifth Nationalist involved in the 1954 shooting, Andres Figueroa Cordero, for humanitarian reasons because he was suffering from terminal cancer. Cordero died in March 1979.

The four prisoners are eligible for parole but have refused to apply on the grounds that they do not recognize the sovereignty of the United States over them or Puerto Rican affairs. Each has made a generally acceptable institutional adjustment and none has any significant prior criminal record.

REASONS FOR RECOMMENDATION

The Attorney General believes that clemency is in order for the following reasons, with which we agree:

1. Each of these four has served an unusually long time in prison and, therefore, "no legitimate deterrent or correctional purpose can be served by continuing their incarceration. Further, humane considerations militate against retaining in custody persons who (according to Bureau of Prison statistics) have served prison terms of far greater length than the terms served by those convicted of equally, or even more, heinous offenses." Collazo has served over 28 years; Lebron, Rodriguez and Miranda have each served over 25 years. Reports show that in recent times only three inmates have served more time in federal custody than these four.

2. "It is the consensus of the law enforcement officials consulted that commutation would be appropriate and would pose little substantial risk of defendants' engaging in further criminal activity or becoming the rallying point for terrorist groups. To the extent that clemency might, under other circumstances, be viewed as evidence of leniency toward terrorists, no such conclusion could be drawn here in light of the length of the sentences served." Although the FBI points out that the release of these prisoners could lead to their becoming heroes and public spokesmen for Puerto Rican independence, much as their colleague Cordero did in the months after his release, the Bureau says that there is no evidence that his release in any way contributed to an increase in terrorist activity by Nationalist groups; and there are no grounds to suggest that the release of these four would incite such terrorist activities.

In addition, we believe that the following foreign policy and political considerations justify commuting these sentences. Secretary Vance also favors clemency for foreign policy reasons.

3. Release of these prisoners will remove from the agenda a propaganda issue which is used each year against us in various international fora. This issue also is used as an example of the inconsistency of our human rights policy.

4. The release of these prisoners will be welcomed as a compassionate and humanitarian gesture not only by virtually everyone in Puerto Rico, but also throughout Latin America. In Puerto Rico, their release has the broad based endorsement of the political leadership, including all four former

elected governors of Puerto Rico, the principal church organizations and religious leaders, the Bar Association, and various other professional, labor, and civic associations. Governor Romero of Puerto Rico continues to oppose clemency unless they publicly repent; but it has become clear that since his letter to you last December, he is virtually isolated in this position.

5. Based on Castro's public statements and private statements of Cuban government representatives, the release of the four is expected to result in the release of U.S. citizens being held in Cuban jails as political prisoners. Concern has been expressed by Congressmen and State Governors over the release of those prisoners. In order to avoid any implication that the Nationalists are "political prisoners," consideration of their petitions has thus far been entirely independent of the release of the American prisoners. Should you commute their sentences, we would make clear that your action was not part of a prisoner exchange.

. . .

Counterbalancing these considerations is the defendants' failure to demonstrate remorse for their actions, a factor which is normally important in a decision to exercise clemency. However, we do not feel that this should weigh heavily in your decision on commutation. The length of time which they have served in prison and the fact that even today, after more than 25 years, they continue to adhere to their cause of independence for Puerto Rico while the world around them has changed substantially, are overriding special circumstances.

. . .

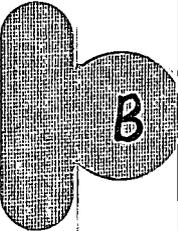
For the foregoing reasons and in light of their generally acceptable institutional adjustment and the absence of any significant prior criminal record in each case, we recommend that you commute the sentences of Miranda, Rodriguez, Lebron, and Collazo to time served.

APPROVE (Recommended by the
Attorney General, Secretary
Vance and both of us; please
sign the attached warrant.)

DISAPPROVE









Office of the Attorney General

Washington, D. C. 20530

August 24, 1979

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

Dear Mr. President:

These four individuals, all of them native-born Puerto Ricans who advocate independence for Puerto Rico, are serving federal sentences for crimes committed at Blair House in 1950 (Collazo) and at the House of Representatives in 1954 (Lebron, Cancel Miranda, Flores Rodriguez). A letter from an attorney who states that he is their legal representative has been accepted by the Pardon Attorney as a petition for clemency. As you will recall, on October 6, 1977, you granted a commutation of sentence to time served to another Puerto Rican Nationalist involved in the 1954 shooting at the House of Representatives, Andres Figuero Cordero, for humanitarian reasons because he was suffering from terminal cancer. Figuero Cordero died in March 1979.

I recommend that the sentences of these four citizens also be commuted to time served, for the reasons set forth below.

Background

Rafael Cancel Miranda, 49, and Irving Flores Rodriguez, 54, were convicted in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia of assault with intent to kill and assault with a deadly weapon in the 1954 shooting of five Congressmen on the floor of the House of Representatives. They were sentenced on July 8, 1954 to a total of from 25 to 75 years imprisonment. They also were convicted in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York of conspiracy to overthrow the government and each received an additional consecutive

sentence of six years' imprisonment on October 26, 1954. For her involvement in the same shooting, Lolita Lebron, now 59 years old, was convicted of assault with a deadly weapon and sentenced to 50 years' imprisonment in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and to a consecutive term of six years for conspiracy to overthrow the government in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York. During the 1954 shooting on the floor of the House, Lebron fired her weapon into the ceiling; her codefendants fired at the Congressmen.

Oscar Collazo, who is now 67 years old, was convicted of the murder of a White House guard during an attempted assassination of President Truman at Blair House in 1950. He was sentenced to death in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia on April 6, 1951. President Truman commuted his sentence to life imprisonment on July 24, 1952.

Collazo has been eligible for parole since April 1966, and Lebron has been eligible for parole since July 1969. Both Cancel Miranda and Flores Rodriguez became eligible for parole in July 1979. Committed to the cause of independence for Puerto Rico, all four have refused to apply for or to participate in any parole proceedings on the ground that they do not recognize the sovereignty of the United States over them or the authority of the United States in Puerto Rican affairs. Lebron will be eligible for mandatory release in 1992; Cancel Miranda and Flores Rodriguez have a mandatory release date in 2029. Collazo is serving a life sentence under the District of Columbia Code and therefore is not eligible for mandatory release.

Cancel Miranda is incarcerated at the Federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois and has made a favorable institutional adjustment. In 1977, he was permitted to return to Puerto Rico on an escorted furlough to attend the funeral of his father. If released, he intends to return to his family, which operates a furniture business in Puerto Rico. He has a prior criminal record consisting of a 1949 conviction for failure to register for military service, for which he received a sentence of two years and one day's imprisonment.

Flores Rodriguez, who is confined at the United States penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, is described as an above-average worker who has had a relatively clear disciplinary record. He has a very minor prior arrest record, consisting principally of a 1951 charge of violating the Selective Service Act, of which he was acquitted. Flores Rodriguez maintains strong family ties.

Collazo, who is also confined at Leavenworth, is considered a good worker and is a material inspector in the shoe factory. During his incarceration, he has had only two minor incident reports, the last being in 1971. Collazo has close family ties with his wife and daughter. There is no record of any prior criminal history.

Lebron is imprisoned at the federal correctional institution at Alderson, West Virginia. She has made a generally acceptable institutional adjustment and is described as a very good worker when she is in good emotional and physical health. She has had health problems in recent years as well as some mental problems, and apparently believes at times that she is suffering from radiation and from an excess of electricity in her blood. In 1977 she was permitted to return to Puerto Rico on an escorted furlough to attend the funeral of her daughter. She has no known prior criminal history.

Discussion

Each of these four inmates has served an unusually long time in prison. Collazo has served over 28 years; Lebron, Flores Rodriguez and Cancel Miranda have each served over 25 years. The Bureau of Prisons reports that in recent times, only three inmates have ever served more time in federal custody than these four. Only nine inmates presently incarcerated in the federal prison system, including these four, have served over 24 years. Of these, Lebron, Cancel Miranda and Flores Rodriguez are the only ones who are not serving life terms or under death sentences, and they have served more time, on the average, than those under such sentences. No one else is incarcerated in the federal system for sedition.

In the current federal inmate population, the average sentence for assault is 10 years; on the average, 27.3 months of those sentences are actually served. Of all inmates discharged from the federal prison system in recent years, only five served more than 25 years. Only one inmate served more than 15 years for assault, and he was released before serving 25 years. The average time served by all inmates discharged who were sentenced to life terms for assault was less than 3 1/2 years (40.8 months). Of all inmates discharged who were serving life terms for murder, the average time served was slightly over 8 1/2 years (102.5 months).

The Director of the Bureau of Prisons agrees that release of the four Nationalists is appropriate in light of their long period of confinement and relatively good adjustment. The Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, also has no objection to a grant of clemency, principally because of the "inordinate" length of time these individuals have been incarcerated, particularly under current parole standards, under which they all would have been eligible for parole 10 years from the date of conviction.

The former United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, Mr. Silbert, is opposed to clemency on the grounds that it would be unwise to show any leniency to terrorists. We respectfully disagree with that position. The very long prison sentences that these individuals have served are ample evidence that the United States Government can and will punish convicted terrorists severely.

A number of comments have been received concerning the potential foreign relations implications of release of the four Nationalists. One issue that is raised is the possibility that release of these individuals might lead to an increase in terrorism by groups that favor Puerto Rican independence. The Director of the FBI points out that release of these prisoners might well lead to their becoming heroes and public spokesmen for the Puerto Rican independence movement, much as their colleague Andres Figuero Cordero was in the

months after his release. The FBI reports, however, that there is no evidence that Figuero Cordero's release in any way contributed to an increase in terrorist activity by Puerto Rican Nationalist groups, and there are no grounds which suggest that commutation of the sentences of the other four Nationalists would incite such terrorist activities.

The United States Attorney for Puerto Rico favors release of the Nationalists and believes that the granting of clemency would be received by a majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth as being in the interest of justice. Governor Romero of Puerto Rico had initially been opposed to clemency, but reportedly has modified his views in recent months, especially now that the Pan American games have been successfully concluded.

Support for clemency for Cancel Miranda, Flores Rodriguez, Lebron and Collazo has been expressed during the past several years by three former Governors of the Commonwealth, the Puerto Rican Senate and House of Representatives, the Bishops Conference of the Roman Catholic Church, the Bishop of the Puerto Rican Episcopal Church, the Puerto Rican Bar Association, many municipal governments of Puerto Rico and various labor, civic and religious organizations. Support for clemency has also been expressed in the United States by church, labor and political action groups, and by at least eleven members of Congress.

The Secretary of State has advised us of the possibility that Premier Castro would release six Americans currently imprisoned in Cuba if the four Nationalists are released. The current consideration of clemency is in no sense part of any planned prisoner exchange, and we have not considered that possibility in our judgment on the merits of these cases. We bring it to your attention, however, to the extent that there may be some additional benefit to the United States in releasing these four defendants if we would thereby be able to secure the freedom of other Americans now in prison in Cuba.

In like regard, we have received, but not considered on the merits of this recommendation, advice from a spokesman for Dr. Brzezinski to the effect that the four Nationalists might well be a more effective rallying point in prison than they would be if released. He also stated that release of these prisoners would be perceived throughout the world as a humanitarian gesture and might significantly increase the influence of the United States, particularly among third world nations.

Summary and Recommendation

We recommend that clemency be exercised and that the sentences of these four defendants be commuted to time served. The principal basis for this recommendation is the belief that no legitimate deterrent or correctional purpose can be served by continuing their incarceration. Further, humane considerations militate against retaining in custody persons who have served prison terms of far greater length than the terms served by those convicted of equally, or even more, heinous offenses.

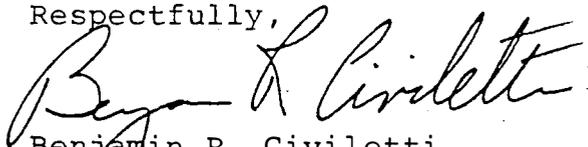
These considerations are, of course, counter-balanced to some extent by the defendants' failure to demonstrate remorse for their actions - normally an important factor in the decision to exercise clemency. There are, however, special circumstances that come into play in these cases. The defendants have served much longer terms than would be called for by current parole guidelines. Even today, they adhere to their cause, as they have for the past 25 years, while the world around them has changed substantially. Although eligible for parole, they have chosen as a matter of political commitment not to seek release on that basis, but that choice ought not to preclude the exercise of humanitarian judgment and sound correctional policy.

It is the consensus of the law enforcement officials consulted that commutation would be appropriate and would pose little substantial risk of the defendants' engaging in further criminal activity or becoming the rallying point for terrorist groups.

To the extent that clemency might, under other circumstances, be viewed as evidence of leniency toward terrorists, no such conclusion could be drawn here in light of the length of the sentences served -- sentences which, as we have noted, are longer than those served by almost any other federal prisoner in recent times.

To the extent that release of these individuals may have foreign relations implications, Government officials concerned with such matters believe that their release would serve as a humanitarian gesture and would be in the interests of the United States.

Respectfully,



Benjamin R. Civiletti
Attorney General

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Phil had
seen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Jack Stephens had asked for a meeting around the first of August and then sent word 2-3 days later to cancel the request. I understand it was about improving relations with the major oil companies.

Phil

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

C

September 5, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM : Alonzo L. McDonald *AL*

As you know we have all been working to get me freed up full time for our urgent program here. Further, I am concerned that continuing in the exposed trade issue area might carry only downside consequences for our White House activities and Hill relationships.

Everyone directly involved now agrees with the attached plan for shifting the interim STR leadership. This includes Reubin Askew, Bob Strauss, Dick Rivers, Hamilton and myself.

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Attachment

2:15 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 5, 1979

MEETING WITH OPINION LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS
FROM MISSISSIPPI

Thursday, September 6, 1979

2:15 P.M. (20 minutes)

The East Room

From: Sarah Weddington *SW*

I. PURPOSE

To promote among these Mississippi leaders a sense of identity with you and your Administration, a sense of a team working together, and a sense of urgency about actively supporting the Administration across the board.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: This is the eleventh in a series of meetings for civic and political leaders from the states. Your first was in August of 1978.

B. Participants: A cross section of civic, community, and political leaders (guest list attached).

C. Press Plan: No Press.

III. TALKING POINTS

Energy, the anti-inflation program, and SALT II are key items of discussion on the agenda. You should emphasize the priority you place on each and your need for their support.

Attachments:

agenda

guest list

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 29, 1979

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. CARTER

FROM: GRETCHEN POSTON *GP*

SUBJECT: BUFFET LUNCH/STATE BRIEFING - CONSTITUENTS FROM
MISSISSIPPI - THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1979 AT
1:00 PM - SCENARIO

1:00 PM Guests arrive State Dining Room via North Portico - they
 will be walking over from EOB.

2:00 PM Buffet Luncheon begins.

 At conclusion of luncheon, guests are escorted into the
 East Room for Briefing, which will be conducted by
 Hamilton Jordan.

2:30 PM THE PRESIDENT is announced into East Room.

 THE PRESIDENT makes REMARKS, and closes meeting.

2:45 PM THE PRESIDENT departs State Floor.

 Guests depart State Floor.

MRS. CARTER -

Would you like to greet the guests at the entry to the State
Dining Room when they arrive?

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

AGENDA

HOST: SARAH WEDDINGTON
Assistant to the President

| | | |
|------------|---|---|
| 10:00 A.M. | Opening Remarks | Sarah Weddington |
| 10:20 A.M. | Foreign Policy & SALT II | Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs |
| 11:10 A.M. | Coffee Break | |
| 11:20 A.M. | Domestic Policy & Energy | Stu Eizenstat Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs |
| 12:10 P.M. | Anti-Inflation Program | Dr. Alfred Kahn Advisor to the President on Inflation |
| 12:40 P.M. | Walk to State Dining Room for buffet lunch | |
| 1:45 P.M. | Remarks | Hamilton Jordan White House Chief of Staff |
| 2:15 P.M. | | President Carter |

Attendees at the Mississippi State Constituents Briefing

Morris Kinsey - Dean of Admissions, Mary Holmes College
Pat McMullan - Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, The
Mississippi Bank
Dan Martin - attorney
Paul McMullan - Chairman, First Mississippi National Bank
Bob Montgomery - attorney
Robert L. T. Smith, Jr. - Owner, Smith's Supermarket
Ed Pittman - State Treasurer
Tommy Munro - State Senator
James Anderson - doctor
Aaron Shirley - doctor
Bill Wiltshire - Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Bank
of McComb
John Harvey - President, John Harvey Ford
John Farese - County prosecutor; attorney
W. Hibbett Neel - Vice President, Hensley-Schmidt, Inc.
Jimmy Hawkins - law student
Morris C. Phillips, Jr. - attorney
Stephan Brophy - Communications Workers of America
Harry Bowie - Reverend
Mary Bryant - Mississippi Director, Communications Workers of America
Champ Terney - attorney
Paul Neville - attorney
William B. Alexander - President Pro Tempore, Mississippi State Senate
Ed Lowe - President, Pascagoula Metal Trades Council
Howard Langfitt - Executive Vice President, Electric Power Association
of Mississippi
Marion D. Roten - attorney
Tom Hederman - Editor, Clarion Ledger |
Terry Haimes - attorney
Ellis Bodron - State Senator
Frank Day - President, First Capital Corporation
Betty Graves - personnel director; State Democratic Executive Committee
Grady Tollison - attorney
F. J. Lundy - Assistant to the Vice President-Public Affairs, South Central
Bell
Will A. Hickman - attorney
Pat Dunne - Executive Director, Mississippi Municipal Association
Owen Cooper - former President, Mississippi Chemical Corporation
John Ed Ainsworth - Land Commissioner
Walter Bivins - Consultant, The Mississippi Bank

John Ashley - Executive Secretary, Mississippi Association of Educators
Norma Bourdeaux - Meridian
Bill Hammack - attorney, Bourdeaux and Jones
Felix Dunn - doctor
Carroll Ingram - State Senator; Chairman, Judiciary Committee, State Senate; attorney
Billy Semmes - attorney
Danny Cupit - attorney
Suzanne Ainsworth - paralegal
Ben Piazza - attorney
Jack Hatten - traffic engineering business development manager
Ed Blackmon - State Representative
Gene Triggs - Executive Assistant to the President, Mississippi Chemical Corporation
Ginevera Reaves - Mississippi Industrial College
Ross Barnett, Jr. - attorney
Gerald Jacks - attorney
Jake Mladinich - President, J. J. Company, Limited
D. A. Biglane - businessman
Reecy Lathan Dickson - teacher
Nan Evers - Manager, City Auditorium in Jackson
Sidney Runnels - Mayor of Canton
Calvin Norwood - Tunica County Rural Department
Tom Walman - State Representative
Russell Davis - Regional Advocate, Small Business Administration
Carroll Hood - oil distributor
John O'Keefe - President, Mississippi Manufacturers Association
Bennie Thompson - Mayor of Bolton
Charles Clark - attorney
Louis Turner, Jr. - President and Business Representative, Central Mississippi Building and Construction Trades Council
Johnny Todd - Mayor of Rosedale
Charles M. Deaton - State Representative; Chairman, Appropriations Committee, Mississippi House
Cecil Shelton - Vice President, Mississippi AFL-CIO; Director, Minority Affairs, Mississippi AFL-CIO
John Holloman - attorney
Aaron Shirley - doctor
Steve Patterson - university professor
Sarah Johnson - Councilwoman, City of Greenville
Wayne Edwards - public relations consultant
John White - pharmacist

Fred Banks, Jr. - attorney
Robert Gray - Mayor of Shelby
Arthur Tate - State Senator
Mitchell Salloum, Jr. - Owner, M. Salloum's Toggery; Vice President,
Merchants Bank
Jack Harper - Sunflower County Chancery Clerk and County Treasurer
Gregory Flippins - Mayor of Shaw
Jerry O'Keefe - Mayor of Biloxi
Ripple Rausch - Instructor, Meridian Junior College
Mary Ann Stevens - Mayor of West Mississippi
Jan Robertson - public relations
Douglas Anderson - State Representative
Charles Mathis - Owner, Mathis Timber Company
Gretchen Ritchey - Canton
Henry Burkhalter - C.P.A., Burkhalter and Nicholson
Natie Caraway - attorney
Horace Buckley - legislator
Gary Carnathan - attorney
Pauline S. Hammett - Administrative Assistant to the Governor
Patsy Revelli - Member, State Democratic Executive Committee
C. B. "Buddie" Newman - Speaker of the Mississippi House of Representative
Claude Clayton - attorney
Evelyn Gandy - Lieutenant Governor
Maurice Joseph - real estate
Toby Trowbridge - car dealership owner
Unita Blackwell - Mayor of Mayersville
Brad Dye - Democratic nominee for Lieutenant Governor
B. F. Smith - Executive Vice President, Delta Council, Stoneville
Mark Hazard - State Director, Farmers Home Administration
V. H. McDaniel - President, Central Mississippi Central Labor Union
James McComas - President, Mississippi State University
Howard Gunn - junior college president
Frank Barber - attorney
A. F. Summer - Attorney General
Haskel Patterson - automobile dealership owner
Jim Buck Ross - Commissioner of Agriculture
Thomas L. Wallace - President, Wallace Construction Company
Clyde Muse - President, Hinds Junior College
John Hartman - Executive Director, Mississippi School Board Association
Wiley Fairchild - General Manager, W. I. Fairchild Construction Company
Eddie Khayat - President, Jackson County Board of Supervisors

①

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1979

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze *CASH 2/9/8*

Subject: Business Plans for Fixed Capital Investment in 1979

Tomorrow (Thursday, September 6), at a time as yet undetermined, the Commerce Department will release its regular fall update on business plans for spending on new plant and equipment during 1979. The figures are based on responses to a survey taken in late July and August.

Businesses are currently planning to spend 13.2 percent more (in current dollars) on plant and equipment in 1979 than in 1978. The previous survey, taken in late April and May, had shown a 12.7 percent increase. The upward revision, however, occurred in actual spending during the second quarter. The increase in planned expenditures for fixed investment over the four quarters of 1979 is actually somewhat lower in the current survey than in the previous one.

This survey suggests that businesses have made modest downward revisions in their investment plans (as opposed to actual expenditures in the second quarter). Since expenditures follow planned outlays with a considerable lag, however, recent cutbacks in investment plans would be more likely to affect expenditures in 1980 than in 1979. This survey, therefore, does not give us much information on probable future developments in this important sector of the economy.

The higher level of actual outlays in the second quarter shown by the survey will lead to a small upward revision of business fixed investment in the GNP statistics for that quarter. Revised second quarter GNP estimates will be published on the 19th of this month.

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
06 Sep 79

Zbig Brzezinski
Fran Voorde

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

Rick Hutcheson

The original letter has been
sent to stripping for mailing.

3667

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Susan
bcc Fran
J

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for Preservation Purposes**

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9-6-79

To Mayor Johnny Koussakis

The 200th Anniversary Com-
memoration of The Siege of Sas-
anach will, I am sure, be a
great event.

Unfortunately, because of un-
certainty about Congressional delib-
erations and other issues, I cannot
schedule a visit with you.

However, I have talked to Dr.
Czajkowski and he will be delighted
to attend and to represent the
White House. He & Sasanach will
like each other.

va Jbig

Jimmy

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/5/79

Zbig Brzezinski

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Phil Wise
Fran Voorde



OFFICE OF THE MAYOR - CITY OF SAVANNAH

JOHN P. ROUSAKIS, MAYOR

August 29, 1979

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

Dear Mr. Carter:

This October the City of Savannah will be observing the 200th Anniversary of the only major Revolutionary War Battle fought in Georgia, the Siege of Savannah. The actual date of this conflict was October 9, 1779. Our Commemoration will occur on the dates of October 9-14, 1979.

This particular battle is a significant event in this nation's history. French land forces were for the first time actively aligned with the American forces in the struggle against the British during this conflict. Fighting with the French troops was a unit of five hundred blacks and mulattos from Haiti who had volunteered for military service. This was the first major involvement of Blacks fighting for the cause of American freedom. Nearly one thousand soldiers lost their lives here in Savannah as this young nation attempted to gain its freedom. Among the many killed was the young Polish Count Casimir Pulaski, father of the American Cavalry and the first American General to die in battle.

Admiral Charles Henri d'Estaing, great ancestor of today's President of France, headed the allied forces.

Since this battle was a multi-national effort, the Commemoration will also involve participation from a number of nations. Invitations have been forwarded to the governments of Poland, France, England, Haiti and Ireland. Affirmative responses have been received from the Embassies of these countries and each nation will participate. Poland has already contributed significantly to the event with an early summer visit of the ship "Dar Pomorza," and further contributions will involve a Polish film presentation and a photo exhibit. We do expect to have the Polish Ambassador in attendance.

France will be visiting this city with two naval vessels, the "Degrasse" and the "Kersaint." In addition, the French Ambassador is expected to attend the event.

*3/6/9 -
interested in
going?*

ZB will go.

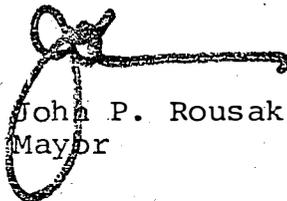
August 29, 1979

British participation will be highlighted by the visit of the "HMS Jupiter" and the "HMS Cherry Leaf", while Haitian representation will involve a cadet corps and a dance team. The British Ambassador has been invited while Haitian Ambassador Georges Solomon will attend. The level of Irish participation is still under discussion.

Activities for this Commemoration are varied and the major elements are the issuance of a commemorative postal card honoring Pulaski, a mass to install a copy of the "Black Madonna" at the Cathedral, a Commemorative Dinner honoring Pulaski, a parade, a State dinner honoring all of the participants in this battle, and a reenactment of the Siege of Savannah involving over one thousand armed troops. I would like to invite you to be with us in Savannah at some time during this period as we reflect on this important period in our history. I fully realize that your participation would necessarily have to be limited and therefore specifically invite you to attend and speak at the Siege of Savannah Commemorative Dinner on Saturday evening, October 13.

I thank you for your interest in this project and hope that we can look forward to seeing you in October.

Sincerely,



John P. Rousakis
Mayor

JPR:mk

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
06 Sep 79

Fred Kahn

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

Rick Hutcheson

Jerry Rafshoon
Jody Powell
Frank Moore

3658



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

9-6-79

To Fred Kahn

Please abbreviate &
send to members of Congress
your speech on reducing
government regulation.

J.C.

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