

**11/1/79**

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telegram	<del>From Mansfield to The President (one page) re: Director of Refugee Affairs</del> <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-19-5-1-5 12/2/13</i>	10/31/79	A
memo w/ att.	<del>From Brzezinski to The President (4 pp.) re: Angola/enclosed in Hutcheson to Brzezinski</del> <del>11/1/79</del> <i>opened per RAC NLC-126-19-5-2-4 12/2/13</i>	10/29/79	A

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
11/1/79

Frank Moore/Ev Small

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

Rick Hutcheson

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

ADMIN CONFID
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ACTION  
FYI

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
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	MCDONALD
X	MOORE
	POWELL
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	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	KREPS
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	VANCE
	BUTLER
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	CRUIKSHANK
	FIRST LADY
	FRANCIS
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	LINDER
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	SANDERS
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

PATRICK J. LEAHY  
VERMONT



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UNITED STATES SENATE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

C  
/

Dear Mr. President

I will give this  
speech Thursday  
morning in the Senate.

You will have  
my strong support  
on SALT both on  
the floor and with the  
other Senators.

Respectfully  
Patrick

To Pat Leahy -  
This is excellent. I  
hope you will let all  
Senators have a copy -  
J. Carter

REMARKS OF SENATOR PATRICK J. LEAHY CONCERNING THE  
STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATY (SALT II)

NOVEMBER 1, 1979

MR. PRESIDENT, I WISH TO ADDRESS A MATTER OF THE UTMOST GRAVITY THIS MORNING--A MATTER THAT I HAVE SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME STUDYING OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS--THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATY (SALT II) THAT IS NOW BEFORE THE SENATE. IN 1978, I JOINED WITH A NUMBER OF MY COLLEAGUES TO FORM A SALT STUDY GROUP LED BY SENATOR CRANSTON. THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE TREATY, AND THE RELATED ISSUES AFFECTING OUR COUNTRY'S SECURITY HAVE NEVER BEEN FAR FROM MY MIND SINCE THEN. IN FACT, OUR GROUP'S MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE ON A REGULAR BASIS HAVE HELPED ME IMMEASURABLY. THEY HAVE ALSO SERVED TO UNDERSCORE THE CRITICAL IMPORTANCE AND TRUE WEIGHT THAT THIS SUBJECT CLEARLY MERITS.

I INTEND TO SUPPORT RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY AND TO MAKE EVERY POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THAT END. I AM CONVINCED THAT SALT II REPRESENTS A VERY REAL CHANCE TO ENHANCE OUR NATIONAL SECURITY AND TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN THE LIMITATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN--AS WELL AS EVERY SENATOR--TO SEE THAT WE DO NOT SQUANDER THIS OPPORTUNITY.

THIS TREATY IS OF NECESSITY EXTREMELY COMPLEX. ITS PURPOSE, HOWEVER, AND ITS PRIMARY ACCOMPLISHMENT ARE BOTH QUITE SIMPLE. THE TREATY REDUCES THE NUMBER OF HORRIBLE, DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS THAT ARE AIMED AT OUR COUNTRY, AND KEEPS THE SALT NEGOTIATING PROCESS ALIVE. IN SHORT, THIS TREATY HELPS TO MAKE OUR WORLD MORE STABLE AND ENABLES US TO LOOK WITH GREATER CONFIDENCE TOWARD THE WORLD THAT WE WILL LEAVE TO OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE GREATEST SINGLE PROBLEM THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED STATES SENATE HAVE ENCOUNTERED CONCERNING THE SALT II TREATY HAS BEEN--AND CONTINUES TO BE-- AN INABILITY TO PLACE THE TREATY AND THE ENTIRE DEBATE INTO THE PERSPECTIVE THAT THEY WARRANT. THE AWESOME POWER OF THESE WEAPONS AND THE UNIMAGINABLE SUFFERING THAT THEY ARE CAPABLE OF UNLEASHING DEMAND THAT WE CEASE THINKING IN TERMS OF WORLD WAR II--THE OLD RULES NO LONGER APPLY. WE HAVE REACHED THAT POINT IN SCIENTIFIC AND MILITARY DEVELOPMENT WHEN NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL IS THE ONLY RATIONAL PATH LEFT OPEN TO US.

THE VERY UNREASONABLENESS OF MAN POSSESSING ARMAMENTS CAPABLE OF DESTROYING HIS CIVILIZATION AND POSSIBLY HIS PLANET CLOUDS OUR VISION--AND OFTEN OUR JUDGMENT. OUR INABILITY--PERHAPS RELUCTANCE--TO COMPREHEND JUST HOW MUCH POWER WE POSSESS--JUST HOW HIGH THE STAKES ACTUALLY ARE--HAS BECOME A MAJOR OBSTACLE IN OUR SEARCH FOR AN ANSWER.

THE DESTRUCTION OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI PROVIDES THE ONLY AVAILABLE INDEX TO HELP US REGAIN OUR SENSE OF PROPORTION. HIROSHIMA WAS DESTROYED BY A PRIMITIVE ATOMIC WEAPON WITH AN ESTIMATED POWER EQUIVALENT OF APPROXIMATELY 12,500 TONS OF TNT. I DO NOT WISH TO BELABOR THE USE OF THIS EXAMPLE, BUT THAT WEAPON REPRESENTS ONLY A TINY FRACTION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMAMENT DEPLOYED TODAY. THE ARSENALS OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION INCLUDE WEAPONS OF THIS SIZE, BUT ALSO WEAPONS HUNDREDS OF TIMES MORE POWERFUL THAN THAT USED AT HIROSHIMA. THE SIMULTANEOUS USE OF EVEN A RELATIVELY SMALL FRACTION OF THE AMERICAN AND SOVIET ARSENALS COULD RENDER THIS PLANET UNINHABITABLE-- IF NOT UNINHABITED.

THE HUMAN RACE MUST FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM. THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT CONTINUE TO DEVELOP AND DEPLOY AN INCREASING NUMBER OF EVEN MORE DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS. LONG AGO, BOTH NATIONS PASSED THAT THRESHOLD WHERE MEANINGFUL STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY WAS POSSIBLE. AS OUR ARSENALS INCREASE, OUR SECURITY DECLINES TO THE EXTENT THAT--AT SOME POINT I AM CONVINCED--THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR EXCHANGE EVOLVES INTO A PROBABILITY. AT THAT STAGE--AND I THINK THAT WE ARE SWIFTLY APPROACHING IT--MATHEMATICAL LAWS TAKE CONTROL. THE SENATE'S FINAL DECISION ON SALT II WILL MARK THE DIRECTION THAT WE CHOOSE--THE PATH OF REASON, WITH PEOPLE EXERTING CONTROL OVER ARMS--OR THE IRRATIONAL, DANGEROUS PATH OF AN UNCONTROLLABLE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

I HAVE ASKED MYSELF OVER AND OVER WHETHER REJECTING THE SALT II TREATY COULD POSSIBLY HELP THE UNITED STATES--AS ITS VOCAL OPPONENTS CLAIM. THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION--AGAIN AND AGAIN--WAS THAT DEFEAT OF THE TREATY COULD ONLY HURT OUR COUNTRY. REJECTION OF SALT II WILL NOT MAKE US MORE SECURE, BUT LESS SECURE. WITHOUT THE TREATY, THOSE SOVIET WEAPONS THAT SALT LIMITS WOULD NOT BE LIMITED AT ALL. WITHOUT THE TREATY, WE AMERICANS WOULD BE FORCED TO SPEND BILLIONS MORE ON NUCLEAR ARMS--TO THE DETRIMENT OF OUR CONVENTIONAL FORCES--AND WOULD HAVE LESS SECURITY FOR OUR EFFORTS. IN SPITE OF THESE COMPELLING REASONS TO SUPPORT SALT II, THERE IS AN EVEN GREATER ONE--IT IS BY FAR THE MOST VITAL. IF THIS TREATY IS REJECTED BY THE SENATE, THERE IS A VERY REAL CHANCE THAT THE SALT PROCESS WILL BE DESTROYED, TEMPORARILY--EVEN PERMANENTLY. SHOULD THIS OCCUR, WE WILL FAIL IN OUR DUTY TO PASS ALONG A MORE STABLE, MORE SECURE WORLD TO OUR CHILDREN.

THE REJECTION OF THIS TREATY WOULD INJURE OUR NATIONAL INTEREST BOTH IN THE BROAD CONTEXT OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AND WITHIN SPECIFIC CATEGORIES DEALING WITH INDIVIDUAL WEAPONS. I WANT TO ADDRESS A NUMBER OF EXAMPLES THAT HAVE BEEN RAISED IN THIS LATTER CONTEXT.

WE HAVE HEARD MUCH TALK ABOUT THE SO-CALLED "BACKFIRE" BOMBER AND THE FACT THAT IT IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE TREATY TEXT. THIS IS OFTEN USED AS A PRINCIPLE ARGUMENT AGAINST THE TREATY. IN TRUTH, THE AMERICAN NEGOTIATING POSITION SOUGHT TO EXCLUDE SUCH MEDIUM-RANGED AIRCRAFT FROM THE LIMITS. WE DID NOT WANT OUR FB-111 BOMBERS THAT ARE BASED IN EUROPE TO BE COUNTED UNDER THE SALT II CEILINGS. WHILE THERE IS GOOD REASON TO QUESTION WHETHER THE "BACKFIRE" CAN REACH THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT REFUELING, NONE QUESTION THE ABILITY OF THE FB-111 TO STRIKE THE SOVIET UNION WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THE LIMITATIONS ON THE PRODUCTION RATE, REFUELING CAPABILITY, AND BASING OF THE "BACKFIRE" ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE SALT II AGREEMENT. WITHOUT THE TREATY, THESE LIMITATIONS WOULD NOT EXIST.

LET ME CITE ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE KIND OF CRITICISM THAT DOES NOT SERVE OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. THIS IS THE CHARGE THAT SALT II LEANS IN FAVOR OF THE SOVIETS BECAUSE IT ENABLES THEM TO RETAIN SOME 308 "HEAVY" MISSILES. ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT OUR MILITARY LEADERS NEVER CHOSE TO DEVELOP SUCH MISSILES, OPTING FOR SMALLER, MORE ACCURATE ONES, WITHOUT SALT II, THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT BE PREVENTED FROM BUILDING ADDITIONAL "HEAVY" MISSILES. THEY COULD ALSO FREELY INCREASE THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS THAT THESE MISSILES COULD CARRY FROM TEN TO POSSIBLY THIRTY. THIS TREATY DID NOT "GIVE" THE SOVIETS THESE MISSILES, IT STOPS THEM FROM BUILDING MORE AND STOPS THEM FROM INCREASING THEIR CAPABILITY.

RECENTLY, THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS IN CUBA HAS BEEN RAISED AS A REASON TO REJECT SALT II. WHILE WE SHOULD NOT TAKE THE SOVIET/CUBAN RELATIONSHIP LIGHTLY, THIS MATTER OF A FEW THOUSAND TROOPS HAS BECOME FAR MORE SERIOUS POLITICALLY THAN AS AN ISSUE OF SECURITY. IT IS SOVIET MISSILES AND NUCLEAR ARMED SUBMARINES THAT POSE THE ONLY REAL THREAT TO THE UNITED STATES, NOT INFANTRY TROOPS IN CUBA. WE MUST ADDRESS THE REAL THREAT. WE MUST CONSIDER AMERICA'S INTERESTS FIRST. WE MUST NOT LET THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN CUBA DETER US FROM RATIFYING THE SALT TREATY WHICH PROTECTS OUR COUNTRY'S SECURITY. WHILE WE CANNOT CHANGE THE FACT THAT CUBA IS A SOVIET SATELLITE, WE CAN INSURE THAT THE SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IS NOT INCREASED TO THE EXTENT THAT IT CAN THREATEN US. THIS WE WOULD DO--WITH OR WITHOUT SALT II.

OUR ABILITY TO VERIFY SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE SALT TREATY IS ANOTHER MAJOR ISSUE. I DISAGREE WITH THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THE TREATY IS NOT VERIFIABLE. SALT II IS ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE, AND NO SOVIET VIOLATION AFFECTING OUR SECURITY COULD REMAIN UNDETECTED. I AM CONVINCED OF THIS THROUGH MY WORK ON THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE.

I HAVE CONFIDENCE IN OUR INTELLIGENCE TECHNIQUES AND EQUIPMENT--OUR NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. THIS VERIFICATION CAPABILITY IS UNDER UNITED STATES CONTROL AND DOES NOT RELY ON TRUST. INTERFERENCE WITH OUR VERIFICATION WILL ITSELF BE A TREATY VIOLATION. SINCE A NUMBER OF PROVISIONS ARE INCLUDED IN THE SALT II AGREEMENT THAT HELP MAKE OUR VERIFICATION MORE EFFECTIVE, I AM SATISFIED THAT WE CAN ACCURATELY MONITOR SOVIET COMPLIANCE.

SOME ARGUE THAT THE SALT II TREATY WILL ENABLE THE SOVIET UNION TO GAIN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY OVER THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS SIMPLY NOT TRUE. THE SOVIETS ARE ROUGHLY EQUAL TO THE UNITED STATES IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS TODAY AND THE TREATY WILL HELP PRESERVE THIS BALANCE BY SLOWING THE ARMS RACE AS WELL AS NEW SOVIET WEAPON PROGRAMS.

SALT II REMOVES THE IMBALANCE IN STRATEGIC DELIVERY VEHICLES AND ESTABLISHES EQUAL CEILINGS FOR LAND AND SEA BASED LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS. IT SETS COMMON SUBCEILINGS ON LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES CARRYING MIRVs. ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH EQUALITY IN NUMBERS WILL REQUIRE THE SOVIET UNION TO DISMANTLE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC SYSTEMS. IN ADDITION, SALT II PROVIDES FOR REDUCTIONS BELOW THE INITIAL OVERALL CEILING, WHICH WILL REQUIRE A FURTHER REDUCTION IN THE SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCE.

THE SOVIET UNION CANNOT EXPECT TO ACHIEVE ANY SIGNIFICANT SUPERIORITY OVER THE UNITED STATES SO LONG AS WE ARE DETERMINED TO DENY THEM THIS. THE SOVIETS KNOW WELL FROM THE HISTORY OF THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE WHATEVER ACTIONS ARE NECESSARY TO PRECLUDE ANY SOVIET STRATEGIC ADVANTAGE.

I ALSO THINK IT IS VITAL FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT OUR LAND-BASED FORCES ARE VULNERABLE TO ASK WHETHER SALT II PREVENTS US FROM TAKING ANY NECESSARY ACTION TO MEET THIS PERCEIVED THREAT. A WIDE RANGE OF WEAPON PROGRAMS THAT ARE UNDERWAY OR PLANNED CAN BE DEPLOYED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE TREATY. THESE INCLUDE THE PROPOSED MX MISSILE, CRUISE MISSILES, A REPLACEMENT BOMBER FOR THE B-52, AND ADDITIONAL TRIDENT SUBMARINES. WHILE I PERSONALLY QUESTION THE NEED FOR SOME OF THESE WEAPONS, I DO SUPPORT THEIR RETENTION AS OPTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES MAY WISH TO USE IN THE FUTURE.

MR. PRESIDENT, A TREATY IS OF NECESSITY THE RESULT OF COMPROMISE, AND MUTUAL CONCESSION. I BELIEVE THAT THE SALT II TREATY MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THIS MANNER. AS THE MAJORITY LEADER HAS NOTED, WE IN THE SENATE COULD HAVE WRITTEN A TREATY MORE FAVORABLE TO THE UNITED STATES. I AM SURE THAT THE SOVIETS COULD HAVE WRITTEN A TREATY MORE FAVORABLE TO THEMSELVES AS WELL.

THE SALT II TREATY IS THE RESULT OF NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISE--  
A TREATY THAT BOTH SIDES CAN LIVE WITH. A TREATY THAT SERVES  
THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE SIGNATORIES IS THE ONLY TREATY  
THAT HAS A CHANCE TO SUCCEED.

IN CLOSING, I WANT TO ADDRESS A FINAL PROBLEM OF THE SALT  
DEBATE. THIS IS THE FACT THAT MANY OF THE ARGUMENTS AGAINST  
SALT II ARE NOT REALLY ABOUT SALT AT ALL. THEY ARE ISSUES DEALING  
WITH OUR OVERALL DEFENSE POLICY AND THE LIMITATIONS THAT OTHER  
PROBLEMS SUCH AS ENERGY HAVE PLACED ON OUR COUNTRY'S ABILITY TO  
USE ITS POWER IN TODAY'S WORLD. SALT HAS PROVIDED A FORUM FOR  
THIS DISCUSSION, AND THUS IT WILL BECOME VERY DIFFICULT, IF NOT  
IMPOSSIBLE, TO KEEP THESE ISSUES DISTINCT.

SALT, TAKEN BY ITSELF AND ON ITS OWN MERITS, IS CLEARLY  
IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST. OTHER QUESTIONS, INCLUDING THE DRAFT,  
THE FUTURE OF THE NATO ALLIANCE, AND INCREASED DEFENSE SPENDING,  
SHOULD NOT CLOUD THE DEBATE ON NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL. WE MUST  
NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE TREATY ITSELF DURING THIS DEBATE. I  
WELCOME A DEBATE ON THE DRAFT. I WELCOME A DEBATE ON NATO,  
ON THE FUTURE OF THE NAVY, AND OUR OVERALL DEFENSE POSTURE.  
BUT WE MUST REMEMBER WHAT THIS DEBATE IS REALLY SUPPOSED TO  
BE ABOUT--AN ATTEMPT TO LIMIT THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE--HUMAN  
SURVIVAL.

ARMS CONTROL IS AN EQUAL, COMPATIBLE, COMPONENT OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, AND MUST BE ACCORDED THE SERIOUSNESS THAT IT MERITS. THERE CAN NEVER BE TRUE SECURITY WITHOUT NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION--AND TODAY, THIS IS SALT II.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
11/1/79

Zbig Brzezinski

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Landon Butler

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-19-5-2-4

BY: KS NARA DATE 11/21/13

FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
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LAST DAY FOR ACTION

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Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-19-5-2-4

BY: KS NARA DATE 1/21/13

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ACTION  
FYI

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
X	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	KREPS
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	VANCE
X	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	CRUIKSHANK
	FIRST LADY
	FRANCIS
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	LINDER
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	SANDERS
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10/29/79

Mr. President:

Landon will ask Zbig to speak  
with Lane Kirkland in an  
effort to avoid a negative  
reaction from the AFL-CIO.

Rick

*Zbig*  
*do so*  
*J*

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~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6139

~~SECRET~~

October 29, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *W*

SUBJECT: Recommendations for Next Steps  
on Angola (*S*)

Attached is a memo from Cy and Don McHenry, recommending that we approach Angola, stating that "we are prepared to normalize without precondition and begin talks on the modalities for establishing our diplomatic presence." (*S*)

I am in agreement that we should approach the Angolans on this issue and I share Cy's hope that this might be helpful in moving Angola further along in their process of moderation set in motion by Neto. (*S*)

However, you should note that you may have domestic difficulties over this matter. Savimbi will be a guest of Lane Kirkland next week, and the chances are that the AFL-CIO will rake you over the coals for "betraying" a pro-Western African leader. (*S*)

Moreover, we should be careful not to eat our words too rapidly, and we did tell the Angolans that normalization would be difficult, perhaps even impossible without some reduction of the Cuban presence and its eventual elimination. (*S*)

Because of the foregoing, I would recommend that points B and C on pages 2 and 3 of Vance's memo be strengthened. We should add that we are prepared to normalize on the assumption that the new government of Angola will seek to enhance its independence by gradually eliminating the Cuban presence. Moreover, until significant reductions take place, there is simply no possibility of the diplomatic relationship leading to any other relations, notably economic assistance. (*S*)

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the Vance/McHenry memorandum, with the above items to be added to the talking points.

APPROVE DISAPPROVE ~~SECRET~~

Review October 29, 1985

DECLASSIFIED

Per: Rac Project

ESDN: NLC-126-19-5-2-4

By: KS NARA DATE 11/21/13

~~SECRET~~

THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

~~SECRET~~

October 23, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Cyrus Vance *CAV*  
Donald F. McHenry *DFM*

SUBJECT: Angola After Neto: Next Steps

Neto's death may give us an opportunity to look for ways to follow up on the progress that has already been made toward attaining key U.S. objectives in dealing with Angola. This progress includes:

- the reconciliation between Zaire and Angola and subsequent stability in the region;
- Angola's willingness to collaborate with us toward a settlement in Namibia;
- as a front line state, Angola's willingness to be helpful on Britain's Rhodesia initiative;
- Angola's opening to Western political and economic ties, specifically as an oil producer, and her denial of base facilities to the Soviets;
- Neto's indication, just before his death, that a settlement in Namibia would be followed by a significant reduction of Cuban troops.

Several African leaders -- Mobutu, Tolbert and the Presidents of Cape Verde and the Congo -- say that President dos Santos and the rest of the Angolan leadership intend to follow Neto's policies; and President dos Santos' reply to your message of condolence supports this view. However, our African friends also advise us to move quickly to seize the opportunity provided by the moderate succession process to encourage continuance of the Angolan opening toward the West.

~~SECRET~~

GDS 10/23/85

DECLASS  
Per: Rac Project  
ESDN: NLG-126-19-S-2-4  
BY KS NARA DATE 11/21/13

~~SECRET~~

-2-

We believe that it is in our interest to have more frequent contact and a continuing dialogue with the Angolans. It was quite clear under Neto, and is still the case, that the Angolan condition for closer relations with us is the establishment of diplomatic relations, without preconditions. We believe as well that we should now address the issue of normalization with the Angolans and that we can do so in ways which will advance our interests substantially with the dos Santos government. What we propose is to offer recognition without preconditions, but handle it in such a way as to reinforce the Angolans' motivation to respond with a reduction in Cuban troop presence and a forthcoming position on our other interests in the area.

We recommend the following:

- send Frank Wisner, our Ambassador to Zambia and a man who knows the issues, to Luanda for talks with dos Santos.
- Wisner's brief would be to reiterate to the Angolans our views on the range of issues outlined above, seek dos Santos' views, and confirm that the new regime indeed wants to continue to work with us.

On the question of diplomatic relations, Wisner would be authorized to say:

- a) that we understand the importance of this question to the Angolan side, including the insistence that normalization take place without preconditions.
- b) we are prepared to normalize without preconditions and begin talks on the modalities for establishing our diplomatic presence. At the same time, the Angolan side must realize that the continued presence of Cuban combat troops will be a burden on our new relationship. Congressional and public concern about the large-scale troop presence will continue to hinder any consideration of assistance programs.

*I need to know dos Santos' reaction before we're bound by a commitment*

*J*

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

-3-

- c) Neto understood this and had indicated that there were indeed circumstances -- like those surrounding a Namibian settlement -- which could lead to a withdrawal or reduction of Cuban combat troop presence. What is the position of the dos Santos government in this regard?

We believe this approach to dos Santos at a time he is setting the new Angolan government's policies could have a positive impact. We would send a welcome signal to the new regime, reaffirm our commitment to a settlement in Namibia and to stability in the region, and we would obtain a current and direct reading of Angolan views. Our offer to recognize without pre-conditions could even make clearer to the Angolans their own interest in beginning a draw-down of the Cubans, with or without a settlement in Namibia.

Such a move would also be welcomed by the African moderates, the Front Line states and Nigeria, as well as by key Western European leaders who favor gestures that could have the effect of lessening Angolan dependence on the Soviets and Cubans.

In accordance with our discussion of the issue, we are consulting with some of the key people on the Hill.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

~~SECRET~~

ID 794748

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 29 OCT 79

FOR ACTION: LONDON BUTLER

INFO ONLY:

SUBJECT: SECRET BRZEZINSKI MEMO RE RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEXT  
STEPS ON ANGOLA

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+++++
+ RESPONSE DJE TO BERT CARP +
+ BY: +
+++++

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ACTION REQUESTED: IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED  
 Per, Rac Project  
 ESDN: NLC-126-19-5-2-4  
 BY KS NARA DATE 11/21/13

C

OP IMMED  
DE YEKOHR #0461 3840717  
O 310712Z OCT 79 ZYH ZFF-1 ZFF-4  
FM TOKYO

TO THE WHITE HOUSE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 310712Z OCT 79 VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

FM AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD 461  
TO THE WHITE HOUSE, THE PRESIDENT  
PERSONAL FOR THE PRESIDENT  
COPY TO SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE

1. I HAVE JUST HEARD THAT DICK CLARK HAS RESIGNED HIS POST AS U.S. DIRECTOR FOR REFUGEE AFFAIRS. DURING A LUNCHEON MEETING WITH GOVERNOR TOM JUDGE OF MONTANA, WHO HAS JUST VISITED THE PRC AND THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN THAILAND, HE INFORMED ME THAT HE WOULD BE VERY MUCH INTERESTED IN BEING CONSIDERED AS CLARK'S REPLACEMENT BECAUSE OF THE IMPRESSION THE REFUGEES MADE ON HIM AND HIS FELLOW GOVERNORS, BECAUSE HE FEELS HE COULD DO A GOOD JOB IN ACTING AS YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN THIS AREA, AND BECAUSE HE THINKS THE NEED IS GREAT FOR A U.S. AMBASSADOR TO BECOME DIRECTLY AND PERSONALLY INVOLVED, UNDER YOUR DIRECTION, IN THIS GRAVE ISSUE WHICH CONFRONTS NOT ONLY SOUTHEAST ASIA BUT LITERALLY ALL MANKIND AT THE PRESENT TIME. I MOST STRONGLY COMMEND GOVERNOR JUDGE TO YOU FOR YOUR MOST EARNEST AND PERSONAL CONSIDERATION AS CLARK'S REPLACEMENT. HE IS WILLING TO ASSUME THIS RESPONSIBILITY IF YOU WISH HIM TO AND HAS GIVEN ME AUTHORIZATION TO BRING THIS MATTER IN THIS MANNER TO YOUR ATTENTION. I WOULD PERSONALLY APPRECIATE EVERY POSSIBLE CONSIDERATION YOU COULD GIVE TO APPOINTING GOVERNOR JUDGE TO THIS MOST IMPORTANT POSITION. GOVERNOR JUDGE WILL BE IN TOKYO FOR THE NEXT TWO DAYS AND THEN WILL DEPART FOR TAINAN. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR REACTION IF POSSIBLE BEFORE GOVERNOR JUDGE DEPARTS TOKYO.

2. MAUREEN AND I SEND OUR BEST PERSONAL WISHES TO YOU, ROSALYNN AND AMY. MIKE MANSFIELD.  
IN VIEW OF THE PERSONAL NATURE OF THIS MESSAGE, PLEASE EITHER HAND DELIVER TO SECRETARY OF STATE VANCE OR SEND IT ELECTRICALLY TO HIM IN A MANNER WHICH WILL INSURE ABSOLUTE PRIVACY.

\*\*\*\*\*WHHR COMMENT\*\*\*\*\*

AAR DEN

RECALLED  
PSN:044758 PAGE 01 OF 01 TOR:304/07137Z DTG:310712Z OCT 79

0.

Microstatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

DECLASSIFIED  
Per: Rac Project  
ESDN: NLC-126-19-5-1-5  
BY: KS JARA DATE 11/21/13

brought in by jody powell

*From  
President Ralph Harris*

*C/*

444R495

R 16598U I V I Y C H Y D

47PM-CALLAGHAN

LONDON, NOV 1, REUTER - FORMER BRITISH PRIME MINISTER JAMES CALLAGHAN TODAY CALLED PRESIDENT CARTER A MAN OF SINCERITY AND INTEGRITY AND PREDICTED HE WOULD WIN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY NOMINATION.

IN AN INTERVIEW WITH BBC TELEVISION MR CALLAGHAN SAID THE PRESIDENT WAS VERY UNFAIRLY TREATED AND THE MEDIA WERE OBSESSED ABOUT HIS RIVAL FOR THE NOMINATION, SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY.

"WHATEVER VIEW ONE HAS ABOUT MR KENNEDY, THE MEDIA IS KENNEDY-OBSESSED. AND THEREFORE CARTER DOESN'T GET A FAIR SHOW.

"HE'S A GREAT FIGHTER. HE'S A MAN OF SINCERITY, A MAN OF INTEGRITY. HE IS A MAN, IN MY VIEW, WHO WILL BE A MUCH TOUGHER OPPONENT THAN ANY OF THEM YET SEEM TO THINK," THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY LEADER SAID.

"MY GUESS IS THAT HE IS GOING TO WIN THE NOMINATION AND HE'S GOING TO BE A TOUGH CANDIDATE TO BEAT."

MR CALLAGHAN, DEFEATED IN THIS YEAR'S BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION, SAID BRITAIN SHOULD NOT TAKE SIDES IN AN AMERICAN ELECTION.

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"BUT, YOU KNOW, HE (MR CARTER) HAS LEARNT AN AWFUL LOT OVER THE LAST FOUR YEARS.... IT'S A VERY GOOD INVESTMENT FOR US, IN MANY WAYS, TO HAVE A CONTINUING AMERICAN POLICY."

REUTER 0913

4:15 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

①

October 31, 1979

INTERVIEW WITH HOWARD K. SMITH

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

Thursday, November 1, 1979  
4:15 pm (45 minutes)  
The Map Room

FROM: Jody Powell *JPP*

I. PURPOSE

To film interview with Howard K. Smith for inclusion in PBS special series on "The Modern Presidency."

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS PLAN

A. Background

Howard K. Smith has been retained by Public Broadcasting Service to narrate a three-part series on the modern Presidency. He is also interviewing former Presidents Nixon and Ford for this series.

The air dates are January 23, 30 and February 6, 1980 -- three one-hour segments. A letter from Donald Fouser, the producer of the show, is attached, explaining in a little more detail what they plan to do.

A new lighting system will be in use tomorrow, and the President should NOT wear a white shirt. A dark blue suit with light blue shirt will be preferable.

B. Participants

The President  
Anne Edwards  
White House Communications Agency personnel  
PBS personnel, including Howard K. Smith

C. Press Plan

A White House photographer will be present. The official White House stenographers will make an internal transcript

of the interview. Lillian Brown will arrive in the Oval Office a few minutes before the President goes to the Map Room to apply the necessary makeup.

III. TALKING POINTS

Smith says that the questions he will ask are:

What qualities make for a good President in times like these?

What have been the biggest surprises, both pleasant and unpleasant, to this President?

What are the main problems he faces as President, i.e. dealing with Congress or the bureaucracy or the press or interest groups, etc.?

The entire interview will focus on these subjects with follow-up questions to flesh out particular points in the President's answers.

Attachment

*Schedule  
cc: Pat Barco*

# The PRESIDENCY

September 10, 1979

055434

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

Dear Mr. President:

Another Presidential year is upon us and the Presidency has become a preoccupation of us all.

You are one of three living American Presidents who has insights into the Presidency that no one else can have. These would be most valuable in educating the public as to what they can or should expect from the man in the Office. It is as a consequence of this that I write.

This letter is an invitation to participate in programs about the nature of the Presidency that we are producing for public television and that will air nationally early next year. Howard K. Smith, who will be hosting these programs, and I feel most strongly that your participation is essential.

The purpose of an interview with you is to examine the institution of the Presidency and the President in the Presidency. We do not wish to interview about specific politics or policies.

These are the highest priority public affairs programs for the network next season, an attempt to educate about how the Office of the President fits into our political system and how the Presidency now differs from the past. We are designing three one-hour programs, each presenting a different perspective of the office.

In the first program our focus will be on the psychological characteristics of the Presidency. We seek to understand what it is the public wants (or needs) from the President and how the man in that office senses this need and responds to it.

Our second program examines the historical development of the Office of the President, how the office has grown and how the responsibilities have grown with it. A basic question asked: Does a President have sufficient constitutional, political or personal power to fulfill these roles today?

The President  
September 10, 1979  
Page Two

In the final program we will look at the President in his office and examine his relationship to his staff, his Cabinet, Members of Congress, and others both inside and outside the government.

Mr. Smith will host and conduct the principal interviews for these programs. This will be his first major appearance on public television. We are pleased because of his long career as a thoughtful journalist.

Specific air dates for these programs will be January 23, January 30, and February 6, 1980, at 9:00 p.m., nationwide. We would like to be able to do principal interviews during October, and look forward to hearing from you so that we might consolidate our production plans.

Most respectfully,



Donald Fouser  
Producer

DF:p

4:15 pm

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Q

November 1, 1979

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JODY POWELL *JP*

SUBJECT:

Talking Points for 4:15 pm  
Interview with Howard K. Smith

As indicated in the previous memo, Smith will focus on three areas: your thoughts as to the qualities required of a President, the biggest surprises to you after assuming office, and the biggest problems you face.

In discussing the qualities of a good President, I suggest you use the four points from the John Kennedy "City on a Hill" speech (see attachment), which we considered for the Kennedy Library dedication. You should also emphasize the importance of telling the people the truth, facing up to the hard facts, being willing to make decisions that may not be popular at the time but are in the long-term best interest of the Nation. You should warn against inflated rhetoric and implicit promises that our problems can be solved quickly and easily with no cost or inconvenience to anyone.

Point out that our country can no longer afford for a President to build political support by giving each interest group whatever they want. That a good President must be able to say "no" -- even when that will make some powerful group or person mad. One of the reasons for the cynicism of the public is politicians who try to convince people that they have some magic painless solution.

I think your answer to the question on your biggest surprise and your biggest problem should be the same -- the number and power of particular, special interests. Cite the example of 115 separate interest groups lobbying last year's energy bill. The lack of a constituency in Washington for thoughtful, moderate, long-term solutions to our problems. As you once said, there is always an immediate body of vocal support for any extreme proposal -- but a moderate proposal is too often an orphan. This would be a good place to quote the Truman line about anyone who makes decisions based on the polls and the commentators isn't worthy to hold the office.

In sum, you are saying that while the American people in your view are willing to face facts and make sacrifices for the welfare of the country, the political process here in Washington is much more susceptible to the selfish and particular interests that seem to care very little for the Nation as a whole.

Your job as President has been to try to give a stronger voice here in Washington to that basic unselfishness of the people.

A clear example of this is the still present tendency to try to deal with every problem by throwing money at it -- that satisfies the special interests but someone has to watch out for the taxpayer who foots the bill. There is very little support here in Washington for making an existing program work better. There is always great pressure to increase the budget for even the most ineffective operation. It is too easy for a politician particularly in the Congress to build support among these interest groups by voting for or sponsoring every increase in funds they ask for -- although we're beginning to have some success in turning that around with the leadership of Senator Muskie and Congressman Giaimo.

At some point, you should find an opportunity to talk about the importance of steady, hard work on the part of a President. Most Presidential decisions are complex with a profound impact on the country. No good President can just rely on the advice of others -- he must be willing to spend the long hours required to understand the implications of various options and to listen to those with contending viewpoints. In that sense, it is much like other jobs -- there is

no substitute for hard work and careful attention to those parts of the job that are neither glamorous nor exciting to the public.

Finally, you should end on an upbeat note. Even though our problems are difficult and there is no cheap, quick solution -- we will succeed -- we are on the road -- progress has been made -- more and more Americans even here in Washington are beginning to realize that we must pull together, must say "my country first" rather than "me first." The only way we can fail is if we delude ourselves into believing that there is some easy way out that doesn't require anything of us and turn aside from the road we are on. It is a rough and difficult road at times, but it is the right road and the only road that will lead us to a prosperous and secure future.

"Wide is the gate and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction . . .

"Strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life."

And perhaps above all John F. Kennedy proved to us that public service can be the noblest of professions -- and the thousands were inspired by him and answered that call are part of the living memorial to John F. Kennedy his special Legacy to America.

He called all of us in public life to meet higher standards of public responsibility. In perhaps one of his greatest speeches, his Farewell Address to Massachusetts as he left to take the Oath of Presidential office, he set forth four questions of which all in public service should be judged. And I would like to share those with you now.

He said:

For those to whom much is given, much is required. and when at some future time the high court of history sits in judgment of each one of us -- recording whether in our brief span of service we fulfilled our responsibilities to the state -- our success or failure, in whatever office we may hold, will be measured by the answers to four questions.

First, were we truly men of courage -- with the courage to stand up to one's enemies -- and the courage to stand up when necessary to our associates -- the courage to resist public pressure, as well as private greed?

Secondly, were we truly men of judgment -- with perceptive judgment of the future as well as the past -- of our own mistakes as well as those of others -- with enough wisdom to know that we did not know, and enough candor to admit it?

Third, were we truly men of integrity -- men who never ran out on either the principles in which they believe or the people who believed in them -- men who believed in us -- men whom neither financial gain nor political ambition could ever divert from the fulfillment of our sacred trust?

ROUGH

Finally, were we truly men of dedication -- with an honor mortgaged to no single individual or group, and compromised by no private obligation or aim, but devoted solely to serving the public good and the national interest?

Courage -- judgement -- integrity -- dedication -- those were the standards by which he lived and served and they remain, for those of us in public life, enduring beacons. History will not judge those of us in public life on whether or not we were good politicians but on how faithful we were to these principles of national service. And that is part of the living legacy that John F. Kennedy leaves to us in public life.

ROUGH

CARTER/MONDALE PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE, INC.  
1413 K STREET, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

6:10 pm

Q

October 31, 1979

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THRU: RICK HUTCHESON

FROM: TOM BEARD *Tom*  
STEVE SELIG *Steve*

SUBJECT: Southeastern Leaders Meeting with the President

DATE: November 1, 1979

TIME: 6:10 pm

PLACE: STATE FLOOR OF THE RESIDENCE

I. PURPOSE - This is an opportunity for you to thank these Southeastern business, labor and political leaders who are playing a major role in the December 7, 1979 Presidential dinner in Atlanta.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS

A. Background: Participants are from Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Alabama. They have been invited to Washington for a planning session to be held at the Hotel Washington immediately following the White House reception.

B. Participants: See attached

C. Press: None - White House photographer only.

III. SPECIAL NOTE - You will enter the room, make a few remarks, possibly answer a couple of questions and then we suggest a receiving line in order for everyone to get a chance to shake your hand and have their picture taken.

IV. TALKING POINTS

1. Thank the people for coming in to see you and welcome them to the White House.

2. Thank them for lending their time and their name to this event. Tell them how important the southeast is to us

./.

politically and financially.

3. Stress the importance of their work on the event and that their own visibility on this event will set a good strong example for others of their stature.

4. Tell them that you are gratified that the following people have agreed to be Honorary Chairpersons for the event:

- |                                     |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| a. Governor Busby and Mayor Jackson | -- Georgia     |
| b. Governor Hunt                    | -- N. Carolina |
| c. Governor Riley                   | -- S. Carolina |
| d. Senator Sasser                   | -- Tennessee   |
| e. Governor Graham                  | -- Florida     |

5. Everyone in the room has already been involved in events with the First Lady and/or the Vice-President in their respective state. Let them know how grateful you are for this.

# # # # # # # #

ATTENDANCE LIST FOR WHITE HOUSE RECEPTION - Nov. 1, 1979

GEORGIA

Jim Blanchard  
Lloyd Summer  
Don Grantham  
Dan Pattillo  
Asbury Stemberidge  
Herb Mabry  
Lee Sessions  
Tom Plunckett  
Jim Hunt  
Harriet Zimmerman  
Herb Green  
Gene Stuckey  
Herman Russell  
Ivan Allen, III  
Fred Taylor  
Charles Harris  
Bob Miles  
Marvin Singletary  
Simon Selig, Jr.  
Sidney Feldman  
Morris Bryan, Jr.  
Bill Schwartz  
Dot Padgett

TENNESSEE

Fred Langley  
C.H. Butcher  
Earl Shacklett  
Bill Ferres  
Stanley Rogers  
Ned McWhorter  
John Love  
Senator James Sasser  
Karl Schledwitz

ALABAMA

Mike House  
Lou Odom

SOUTH CAROLINA

Samuel Jay Tenenbaum  
Warren Thompson Kent  
Donald Fowler  
William J. Arvay  
Clarence Danile (CD) Sexton  
Carl S. Holland

FLORIDA

Thomas Greene  
Richard Pallot  
Richard Swann  
Charles Whitehead  
Louis Murray

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/1/79

Hedley Donovan

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

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

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY

ACTION  
FYI

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
X	DONOVAN
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	KREPS
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	VANCE
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	CRUIKSHANK
	FIRST LADY
	FRANCIS
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	LINDER
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	SANDERS
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
X	VOORDE
X	WISE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10/31/79

Mr. President:

No comment from Phil Wise  
on the proposed meeting.

Rick

October 25, 1979

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HEDLEY DONOVAN  
cc: Alonzo McDonald

---

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

~~I attach a draft of a letter which you might care to  
send to the people who have agreed to serve on the 1980's  
Commission.~~

*(Hedley agreed we would send photostatic copies to members  
from the Commission, Savin, President for completion  
accomplish-  
ment later*

Bill McGill's present plan is to convene the first  
meeting of the Commission within two weeks. He and I both think  
it would be very helpful if the next meeting after that could be  
with you, sometime in the November 13-21 period if that fitted  
your schedule.

H.D.

*ok*  
*J*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

10/25/79

To \_\_\_\_\_

I am pleased that you have agreed to serve on the Presidential Commission on a National Agenda for the 1980's. I believe this Commission will make a significant contribution to the progress of our country over the coming decade.

Thank you for your interest and willingness to give your time to this effort.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be the initials 'M' or 'R' with a flourish.

<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	FOR STAFFING
<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR INFORMATION
<input type="checkbox"/>	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
<input type="checkbox"/>	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
<input type="checkbox"/>	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
<input type="checkbox"/>	NO DEADLINE
<input type="checkbox"/>	FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
<input type="checkbox"/>	LAST DAY FOR ACTION

<input type="checkbox"/>	ADMIN CONFID
<input type="checkbox"/>	CONFIDENTIAL
<input type="checkbox"/>	SECRET
<input type="checkbox"/>	EYES ONLY

*B. S. / k*

ACTION  
FYI

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	KREPS
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

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<input type="checkbox"/>	CAMPBELL
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<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CLOUGH
<input type="checkbox"/>	CRUIKSHANK
<input type="checkbox"/>	FIRST LADY
<input type="checkbox"/>	FRANCIS
<input type="checkbox"/>	HARDEN
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<input type="checkbox"/>	MILLER
<input type="checkbox"/>	MOE
<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSON
<input type="checkbox"/>	PRESS
<input type="checkbox"/>	SANDERS
<input type="checkbox"/>	SPETH
<input type="checkbox"/>	STRAUSS
<input type="checkbox"/>	TORRES
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VOORDE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WISE

ID 794710

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 26 OCT 79

FOR ACTION: FRAN VOORDE *nc.*

PHIL WISE

*nc*  
*going over*  
*2 week*  
*schedule*  
*tomorrow*

INFO ONLY: SUSAN CLOUGH

SUBJECT: DONOVAN MEMO RE DRAFT LETTER TO THE 1980'S COMMISSION

+++++

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

+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 29 OCT 79 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

ID 794710

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: 26 OCT 79

FOR ACTION: FRAN VOORDE

PHIL WISE

INFO ONLY: SUSAN CLOUGH

SUBJECT: DONOVAN MEMO RE DRAFT LETTER TO THE 1980'S COMMISSION

+++++  
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +  
+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 29 OCT 79 +  
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

October 25, 1979

TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: HEDLEY DONOVAN  
cc: Alonzo McDonald

---

I attach a draft of a letter which you might care to send to the people who have agreed to serve on the 1980's Commission.

Bill McGill's present plan is to convene the first meeting of the Commission within two weeks. He and I both think it would be very helpful if the next meeting after that could be with you, sometime in the November 13-21 period if that fitted your schedule.

H.D.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/1/79

Frank Moore

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

Rick Hutcheson

4850

8:30 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Frank  
①

MEETING WITH SENATOR COCHRAN

Thursday, November 1, 1979  
8:30 a.m. (20 minutes)  
The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *FM,*

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the upcoming SALT Treaty debate.

II. BACKGROUND, POLITICAL CONCERNS, PARTICIPANTS, AND  
PRESS ARRANGEMENTS

- A. Background: He is concerned about verification, Soviet missile advantage, and increased Defense spending, which are most often cited. He has little working knowledge of the Treaty. He has shown some interest in Kissinger approach and will probably support some of Baker's amendments, e.g., equal numbers of heavy missiles.
- B. Political Concerns: He has shown some surprising moderations since coming to the Senate. He wants to shed Right Wing label. He continues to tell colleagues he wants to support SALT if his substantive concerns can be answered. In fact, though, in a pinch he tends to be very partisan. Without some moderate/conservative Republican cover, his tendency would be to oppose SALT. However, if Stennis supports SALT, Cochran will have the political room back home to support SALT--if he wants to.

Cranston believes that Cochran would be helpful with other conservative freshman Republicans. He has shown an interest in the Byrd/Cranston Defense Subcommittee and will be influenced substantially by the 1981 Defense Budget and Five-Year Defense Plan. Although we do not expect you to get a commitment from Cochran, a pledge of neutrality through the debate would be a great accomplishment.

FYI: He feels somewhat slighted by the Administration, particularly our ignoring him during the Mississippi hurricane relief effort. He needs some stroking.

- C. Participants: Senator Thad Cochran (D-Mississippi),  
Bob Beckel
- D. Press Arrangements: White House photographer only

### III. ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION

As appropriate

Thad has no problems with the  
Treaty. He is concerned about Miss.  
political reaction & wonders if a  
delay until 1981 would be better  
to separate from the Presidential Contest.

I offered to have Gen David  
Jones make a speech in Jackson re  
SALT. Thad said "Great!" I'll do  
this, being careful of Stennis's  
sensitivities -

J

11:30 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH ELI GINZBERG  
AND MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION  
FOR EMPLOYMENT POLICY

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1979  
11:30 a.m. (20 minutes)  
CABINET ROOM

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

I. PURPOSE

To be briefed on the Commission's forthcoming recommendations on youth employment.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: The National Commission for Employment Policy is a Congressionally mandated body, with responsibility for providing advice on employment and training policy to the President, Congress and the Secretary of Labor. The Commission includes nine public members appointed by you, as well as the administrators of five Cabinet-level agencies.

A year ago we asked the Commission to undertake a comprehensive review of the problem of youth unemployment and make recommendations to us on appropriate policy initiatives. In conducting their study, the Commission has worked closely with the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment. The findings and recommendations of the Task Force, which will be forwarded to you shortly, are similar in many respects to the Commission's. The Commission's recommendations are summarized in attachment A.

These recommendations will form the basis for a major legislative initiative this coming year. The opportunity for this initiative arises from the need to reauthorize the Youth Employment Act, which was proposed as part of the economic stimulus package and signed into law in August, 1977.

Since taking office we have increased youth employment spending from less than \$2.5 to over \$4 billion. As a result of these initiatives we have:

- o Doubled the size of the Job Corps to 44,000
- o Created a modern CCC program, Senator Jackson's Youth Adult Conservation Corps
- o Required Mayors to spend 22% of the funds on programs worked out with local school system
- o Developed a vast number of innovative programs involving HUD, ACTION, OE and Vocational Education
- o Experimented in 17 cities with an "Entitlement" program that guarantees part-time work for those youngsters 16-19 who are poor and who stay in, or return to school

In 1978, as part of the CETA amendments, we established Private Industry Councils in each city (Congress just approved \$400 million for the Council program) and passed the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit, providing up to \$3,000 in tax credits for hiring disadvantaged young workers, and people on welfare.

The result of these programs is that for the first time in 20 years minority youth labor force participation is sharply up. In addition, schools and the private sector are talking and planning with each other and with the CETA system as never before.

However, youth unemployment, especially among the poor and minorities, continues to be an extremely serious problem. Black youth unemployment is 32%, over twice the rate for white teens. Unemployment among Hispanic youth is also substantially higher than for whites. As participants in your Camp David meeting on employment indicated, there is little prospect for improvement without a sustained and expanded effort by the public and private sectors.

B. Participants: Commission members who will participate are listed in attachment B.

C. Press Plan: Photo with Commission members.

### III. TALKING POINTS

#### Opening Remarks

Welcome the Commission to the White House and indicate the high priority you assign to the youth employment issue. When you took office, one of the first assignments you gave Ray Marshall was to develop a youth employment program. Since January 1977, we have more than doubled the resources for youth employment and training programs. As a result of these efforts much progress has been made, but unemployment, especially for minority youth, continues at unconscionable levels. As we look ahead to the 80's, we must develop the programs and policies to meet this challenge. The Commission is to be commended for the significant contribution they have made to moving our thinking forward on this critical problem.

#### Overview of Commission Recommendations

Eli Ginzberg (who participated in your Camp David meeting on Employment) will introduce the Commission members and briefly summarize their findings and recommendations.

#### Suggested Questions for Discussion

After presentations of the recommendations, a discussion of the following issues would be useful:

- Demographers indicate that there will be a significant decline in the number of young people in the next five years as the baby boom ages. What effect will this have on youth unemployment.
- Employers have indicated to the Vice President's Task Force that too many young people leave high school who can't read and write. What should we do to address this serious problem in our proposals?

- As we look to the '80's, the Hispanic population will increase significantly. Some say Hispanics will soon become our largest minority. What are the implications of this trend for our youth employment policies?
- We know that four of every five jobs are in the private sector, yet fewer and fewer minority youth are getting these jobs. Why has this happened and what can we do about it?
- Our employment and training programs have come under some criticism in the past. How can we improve the quality of these programs to insure that those who participate really benefit?



SUMMARY OF THE COMMISSION'S YOUTH EMPLOYMENT  
RECOMMENDATIONS

General Principles

- o The education and employment problems of disadvantaged youth be given high priority on the nation's domestic agenda. The Federal government must take the lead but state and local government and the private sector must assume more responsibility.
- o Federal resources be targeted on youth most in need - the poor, minorities and those living in areas of substantial poverty.
- o These resources should be spent to provide these youth with the skills they need to improve their long term employment prospects.
- o The nation should review its commitment and redouble its effort to eliminate discrimination and cultural stereotyping.
- o Greater emphasis be placed on moving disadvantaged youth who are ready into unsubsidized private and public jobs.

The Commission is calling for specific initiatives to:

- o Provide adequate job opportunities for youth in such national priority fields as energy conservation by requiring contractors to hire a certain percentage of disadvantaged youth.
- o Improve basic educational competencies through new funding for compensatory education in secondary schools.
- o Broaden opportunities for minority and female youth, with special attention to the needs of teenage mothers.
- o Establish performance standards for young people in education and training programs and reward achievement of these standards with increased stipends and permanent placement.
- o Improve quality of employment training programs by:

- consolidating current categorical programs
- encouraging prime sponsors to invest in more intensive remedial programs
- targeting on youth with low family incomes, but permitting some help for those youth who aren't poor but face other serious barriers
- forward funding of programs
- o Move disadvantaged youth into regular jobs by:
  - allowing subsidized work experience in the private sector
  - authorizing non-competitive appointments to entry-level federal jobs for youth who successfully complete a training program
  - encourage DOD to build on experience of Project 100,000 to bring disadvantaged youth into military service
  - encourage or require recipients of federal grants to hire disadvantaged youth
  - consider modifying government procurement process to provide incentives to employers to hire disadvantaged youth.

Attachment B

PARTICIPANTS

Eli Ginsberg, Chairman: Professor of Economics and Director,  
Conservation of Human Resources, Columbia University, New  
York

Ray Marshall, Secretary of Labor

Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chair, Equal Employment Opportunity  
Commission

Graciela Olivarez, Director, Community Services Administration

Roy R. Escarcega, Senior Vice President, The East Los Angeles  
Community Union

Patsy F. Fryman, Communications Workers of America

Sam Lena, Vice Chairman, Pima County Board of Supervisors,  
Tucson, Arizona

Austin P. Sullivan, Jr., Vice President, General Mills, and  
Chairman of the Minnesota Governor's Council on Employment  
and Training

Julius B. Thrower, Vice Chairman, American Association of  
Minority Veterans Program Administrators, Mobile, Alabama

Isabel V. Sawhill, Director

White House Staff

Stu Eizenstat

Bill Spring

Kitty Higgins

12:15

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Madeline MacBean

SUBJECT: Thursday, November 1, 12:15 p.m., Meeting with  
Mrs. Carter, Lamar Dodd and Bob Edge

BACKGROUND: Some time ago, Rosalynn talked with Bob Edge about the possibility of obtaining a Lamar Dodd painting for your private study. Bob subsequently sent a catalog of available Dodd paintings from which you and Rosalynn selected either of his "Cosmic Force" paintings.

I then learned from Bob that there were actually four "Cosmic Force" paintings, and Lamar would like to send all of them so that you could select the one you preferred. He has done so, and the paintings will be displayed in the Family Dining Room on the second floor of the residence tomorrow at 12:15 p.m.

After your selection of the painting, Lamar and Bob will join Rosalynn for lunch.

mfm  
10-30-79

cc: Mrs. Carter

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for Preservation Purposes**

2:25pm

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 1, 1979

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for Preservation Purposes

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH DEAN W. JEFFERS, NATIONWIDE INSURANCE CO.

November 1, 1979  
2:25 p.m. (3 minutes)  
The Oval Office

From: ANNE WEXLER *Ann*

I. PURPOSE

To thank Dean Jeffers, General Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Nationwide Insurance, for his help with Administration priorities and for his support of you.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Dean Jeffers is 63 years-old and has been Chairman of Nationwide since 1972. He is a former Marine and has been with the company since 1942.

While the insurance industry in general has been actively supportive of our hospital cost containment legislation, Nationwide has been particularly helpful. Mr. Jeffers endorsed our proposal last year and again this year, and his Washington lobbyist, Ted Rodgers, has been active on the Hill and has organized his fellow insurance lobbyists. A few months ago, you wrote a letter praising the work on this issue of the Nationwide Civic Action Program (copy attached); this letter was distributed to over 10,000 employees of Nationwide.

Mr. Jeffers recently wrote a letter to the chief executives of the nation's 200 largest insurance companies, urging them to support you for re-election and to contribute to the campaign. He is now following up with personal phone calls.

Mr. Jeffers is also supportive of the Administration on SALT and is planning to discuss SALT with Senator Glenn, to whom he is close (Nationwide is headquartered in Columbus, Ohio).

B. Participants: Dean Jeffers and Anne Wexler

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

III. TALKING POINTS

You should simply thank Mr. Jeffers for the work that he has been doing:

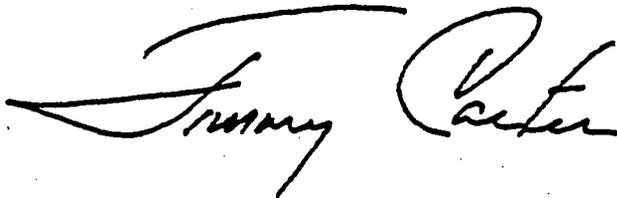
- for hospital cost containment;
- for SALT;
- for your campaign

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

There can be little doubt that inflation is the number one problem facing our nation today. In looking at areas of our economy where inflation is most rampant we cannot help but notice the outrageous increases in hospital costs which our citizens must bear. As you know, I have proposed the Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1979, which I feel not only addresses the specific problem of soaring health care costs, but will be a cornerstone of this Administration's efforts to combat inflation.

I want to thank all the members of the Nationwide Civic Action Program for the effort they have put forth in helping me seek passage of this vital piece of legislation. It has been a difficult fight to date, and the key battles are still ahead. Our goal is to contain hospital costs, and in order to accomplish this goal we need to have broad citizen understanding of how much their own best interests are involved in having a strong hospital cost containment bill passed. I trust I can count on all of you to continue to work with me toward the achievement of these goals.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
01 Nov 79

Gretchen Poston

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

Rick Hutcheson

Susan

Gretchen wants  
Jimmy to decide  
on this -

Received by Hand

11/11/79

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/1/79

Mr. President --

Although the First Lady  
sent directly, would you like  
to have staffed for further  
input or comment by Rick H.

--SSC



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
01 Nov 79

Tim Kraft

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

Rick Hutcheson

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

*TRK  
VIA  
Alicia*

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY

ACTION  
FYI

VICE PRESIDENT
JORDAN
CUTLER
DONOVAN
EIZENSTAT
MCDONALD
MOORE
POWELL
WATSON
WEDDINGTON
WEXLER
BRZEZINSKI
MCINTYRE
SCHULTZE
ANDRUS
ASKEW
BERGLAND
BROWN
CIVILETTI
DUNCAN
GOLDSCHMIDT
HARRIS
KREPS
LANDRIEU
MARSHALL

MILLER
VANCE
BUTLER
CAMPBELL
H. CARTER
CLOUGH
CRUIKSHANK
FIRST LADY
FRANCIS
HARDEN
HERTZBERG
HUTCHESON
KAHN
LINDER
MARTIN
MILLER
MOE
PETERSON
PRESS
SANDERS
SPETH
STRAUSS
TORRES
VOORDE
WISE

done  
J

Telephone Calls - October 30, 1979 - Page three

Steve Ross  
(o) 212/484-8045

11/1/79

As you know, New York is a scheduled stop in the Announcement swing the first week in December. Steve Ross is heading up this event and has already sold a number of tables. He is extremely enthusiastic and along with our New York committee plans to raise \$500,000.00. Ross is also a major influence on Governor Carey.

Talking points:

-- We have appreciated his past help. His help for the December event is appreciated and will surely ensure its success; remind him of how hard we all worked for Governor Carey's re-election and tell him we would like some cooperation from Carey.

NOTES: Strauss has called = 7/1/79 tomorrow in N.Y.  
Hopeful re 12/5 dinner in N.Y.  
In L.A., Kennedy dinner in Dec. = Little Carter activity in L.A.  
Can Ros. come to USC = to honor David Wolper  
Pres Ford, Ken, others will be there.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1979  
6:00 pm

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: AL MCDONALD *AM*

SUBJECT: Social Security Resignation

Secretary Pat Harris telephoned a few minutes ago to say that she is sending over the resignation of Social Security Commissioner Stanford Ross. He is resigning to become one of three senior partners in Califano's new firm.

Because of the related concerns she expressed to you this morning at the Domestic Policy breakfast, she suggests we hold making any announcement. She is hopeful to come to you in the morning with a recommendation for a successor. I believe she is considering Bob Ball, a former Social Security Commissioner. Ideally, she said, it would be good to combine an announcement of the resignation with an announcement of a new appointment.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRANK MOORE

FROM: BECKIE MCGOWAN *BM*

RE: Suggested Talking Points for the President's  
November 1 Luncheon with Congressman Rostenkowski

---

What follows is Jim Johnson's, Bob Torricelli's and my cumulative judgment on the political points the President should raise with Congressman Dan Rostenkowski at their November 1 luncheon:

BACKGROUND:

The Cook County Democratic Organization will meet next Monday, November 5. Following on Mayor Jane Byrne's recent announcement of support for Senator Kennedy with the full backing of Cook County Democratic Chairman George Dunne, it is almost a foregone conclusion that the Organization will endorse Senator Kennedy and set about to slate delegates in each of the county's Congressional districts committed to Kennedy. At stake within Cook County (city plus suburban Cook County) are ~~49~~<sup>78</sup> delegate spots out of a total for Illinois of 179.\*

Illinois is a winner-take-all primary set for March 11. We will need to do well in the suburbs and downstate to offset projected losses in Chicago. We expect to run slates in each of Illinois' 24 Congressional districts, including the districts in the city-county itself. Such an effort in the city, following the Byrne action, will be difficult at best; we are going to need to come up with as many quality names per district as possible.

The following talking points are suggested with an eye towards how Rostenkowski can be helpful to the President in the Illinois Primary process:

\*total delegates to be elected statewide on March 11 =

Memorandum for Frank Moore  
October 31, 1979  
Page 2

TALKING POINTS:

Ask that Rostenkowski:

- Argue at Monday's meeting of the Organization that they run uncommitted slates in all districts in the city.

Although such an argument by Rostenkowski to the Organization may well be futile, it needs to be laid on the table and Rostenkowski would be the most effective spokesman.

- Commit to/endorse the President and, importantly and at the least, pledge not to be slated by the Organization as a Kennedy delegate.
- Provide Carter-Mondale Illinois Coordinator Bob Torricelli as soon as possible names of residents of Rostenkowski's 8th Congressional District who are known to be connected with Rostenkowski and could run as Carter delegates in the 8th.
- Ask that other sympathetic members of the Organization (or members of Chicago Congressional Delegation) do the same. In particular:
  - Congressman Marty Russo is very close to Congressman Rostenkowski; a discussion of how Rostenkowski could be helpful to us with Russo would be useful. Most of Russo's chiefly suburban district lies within Cook County. If Russo would help us, by providing names for the Carter-Mondale slate, we'd be far better off in Russo's 3rd Congressional District.

12:00 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEETING AND PHOTO WITH TOM JOE AND FAMILY  
Thursday, November 1, 1979  
12:00 p.m. (2 minutes)  
The Oval Office

From: Stu Eizenstat *Stu*

I. PURPOSE

To meet briefly with Tom Joe and his wife and children.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Tom Joe is now with the Center for the Study of Welfare Policy. He expressed a desire to come by and introduce his family to you.

B. Participants:

Tom Joe  
Barbara Joe (wife)  
Andrew (12)  
Melanie (10)  
Stephanie (7)  
Jonathan (5)

C. Press Plan: White House photo only

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
11/1/79

Henry Owen/Zbig Brzezinski

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Beckel/Frank Moore

11/1/79

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November 1, 1979

done -  
"Will try -  
will talk  
to Obey  
J

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: Henry Owen AO  
SUBJECT: Phone Call to Congressman Whitten

1. Problem. Bob Beckel just phoned from the Hill to say that things are going badly in the conference between the House and Senate Appropriations Committees regarding foreign aid: The conference is now addressing the issue of direct and indirect restrictions. The compromise that has been proposed by Congressman Obey is not fairing well. Bob asks that you immediately phone Congressman Whitten to urge his support of Obey's compromise. Otherwise, the Conference will go back to the two houses in disagreement on this issue, in which case Bob thinks we will lose out.
2. Background. The House earlier voted a prohibition on direct and indirect aid to certain countries. The Senate rejected this prohibition. If the House view prevails, the World Bank could not accept future U.S. contributions. The Obey compromise would deduct from the U.S. contribution to Ida the U.S. share of IDA's past loan to Vietnam, which comes to \$20 million.

RECOMMENDATION: That you phone Congressman Whitten, urging him to support Congressman Obey's compromise.

The Conference reconvenes at 2 p.m.

2:30 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 31, 1979

MEETING WITH OPINION LEADERS FROM THE STATE  
OF MARYLAND

---

Thursday, November 1, 1979  
2:30 P.M. (20 minutes)  
The East Room

From: Sarah Weddington *SW*.

I. PURPOSE

To promote among these Maryland 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 fourteenth 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: Maryland press will be in attendance for the entire meeting. They have been told the session is on the record.

III. TALKING POINTS

Your standard presentation to these state groups will be appropriate.

Attachments:

Agenda  
Guest List

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AGENDA

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1979

- 9:50 A.M. SARAH WEDDINGTON, Host  
Assistant to the President
- 10:00 A.M. DR. ALFRED KAHN  
Advisor to the President on Inflation
- 10:45 A.M. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE
- 11:00 A.M. COFFEE BREAK
- 11:15 A.M. DAVID AARON  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs
- 12:00 Noon STU EIZENSTAT  
Assistant to the President for  
Domestic Affairs and Policy
- 12:50 P.M. AMBASSADOR ROBERT STRAUSS  
Personal Representative of the President
- Walk to State Floor, The White House
- 1:30 P.M. BUFFET LUNCH in State Dining Room
- 2:30 P.M. PRESIDENT CARTER

Attendees at the Maryland State Constituents Briefing - November 1, 1979

Governor Harry Hughes

Pat Welsh - State Senator

Frank Shore - State Senator

David Greene - attorney

Maurice Berk - Berk Enterprises

Jim Simpson - State Senator

Harry James McGuirk - State Senator

Paul Bernstein - fluorescent lighting manufacturer

Marge Stanley - Member, Montgomery County Democratic State Central Committee

Chipper Debuskey - Young Democrats of America

Frank Coakley - Assistant Vice President, Maryland National Bank

David Lloyd Kreeger - Honorary Chairman of the Board, Government Employees Companies

Francis Kelly - State Senator

June Rogul - former lobbyist, American Israel Public Affairs Committee

Marvin Rogul - Acting Chief, Department of Veterinary Microbiology, Walter Reed Army Institute of Research

Margaret Uberman - President, National Souvenir Center

Gail Talmadge - Bagley, Soule and Lee, Architects

Richard Bright - Professor of Political Science, Coppin State College

Brian Scott - seminary student

Mathias DeVito - President and Chief Executive Officer, The Rouse Company

Saul Stern - Secretary Treasurer, Stern Office Furniture, Inc.

Victor Cushwa - State Senator

Timothy Hickman - State Senator

Anne Robbins - Rockville

Larry Gibson - Professor, University of Maryland Law School

Charles E. Smith - Chairman of the Board, Charles E. Smith Companies

Robert H. Smith - President, Charles E. Smith Building Corporation

Robert P. Kogod - President, Charles E. Smith Management, Inc.

Gerald Greenwald - President, Greenwald Industrial Products Company, Inc.

Richard Cohen - President, Willco Construction Company; Partner, William Cohen Investments

Margaret Schweinhaut - State Senator

Mary Robinson - Deputy Chief, Clinical Infant Research Section, Mental Health Study Center, National Institute of Mental Health

Michael McWilliams - attorney

Robert Meyerhoff - land and apartment developer

Howard Majeve - attorney

Paul McGuckian - County Attorney, Montgomery County

Tom Bradley - President, Metropolitan Baltimore Council, AFL-CIO Unions

John Daniel - Director, Environmental Programs, American Paper Institute  
Ron Young - Mayor of Frederick  
William H. Murphy - attorney  
Charles Updike - Associate Pastor, Chevy Chase Baptist Church  
Cathy Riley - Member, House of Delegates  
Dominic Di Pietro - City Councilman, Baltimore  
Rosalie Abrams - Majority Leader, Maryland State Senate  
Clarence M. Mitchell III - State Senator  
Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr. - attorney; former Senator  
Jerome Connell - State Senator (Anne Arundel County, 31st District)  
Jack Kay - President, Kay Management Company, Inc.  
Catherine Milner - interior decorator  
Juanita Williams - Baltimore  
Rosalie Reilly - Register of Wills, Montgomery County  
Maurice Lipnick - President, South Decatur, Inc., and Lipnick Construction Company  
Michael Bowen Mitchell - City Councilman, Baltimore  
Syd Polakoff - President, Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington  
John Garrity - State Senator  
Thomas V. "Mike" Miller - State Senator  
Dennis Rasmusen - State Senator  
Jack Sexton - attorney  
Verda Welcome - State Senator  
Neal Potter - Councilman  
Dolores Bungori - Havre de Grace  
Lowell Jackson - Special Assistant to the Montgomery County Executive  
Maurice Feldman - Senior Vice President and Managing Director, Beitzell and Company, Inc.  
Michael Canning - Executive Secretary to the Governor's Cabinet  
Louise Keely - Governor's Appointments Officer  
William Donald Schaefer - Mayor of Baltimore  
Melvin Steinberg - State Senator  
Paula Hollinger - Member, House of Delegates  
Morris Rodman - real estate  
Scarlett Mower - Chairman, Charles County Democratic Central Committee  
Victorine Adams - City Councilwoman, Baltimore (4th District)  
Esther Gelman - Member, Montgomery County Council  
Herbert Haft - President, Dart Drug Corporation  
B. W. "Mike" Donovan - State Senator  
Samuel Feldman - President and Chief Executive Officer, Beitzell and Company, Inc.

Isaiah Dixon - Member, House of Delegates  
Charles Smelser - State Senator  
Nate Landow - Owner, Landow and Company  
Thomas O'Reilly - State Senator  
Bernard Goldstein - President, District Hotel Supply Company  
Richard Schifter - attorney  
Clarence DuBurns - Vice President, Baltimore City Council  
Frank Gallagher - Member, Baltimore City Council (3rd District)  
Jerry Menapace - President, Meatcutters Union, Local 117  
Larry Young - Member, House of Delegates  
Stanley Sollins - Baltimore  
Ruth Hurwitz - Baltimore  
David Scull - Member, House of Delegates  
Roy Dyson - Member, House of Delegates  
Judith Majerus - Administrative Assistant to Nate Landow  
Yolande Ford - Director of Human Relations Programs for the College  
Park Campus, University of Maryland  
Thomas Farrington - attorney  
Caswell Caplan - President, The Time Group  
Jeffrey Cohen - President, JNC Enterprises; attorney  
Bob Harris - Member of the Council on Environmental Quality (designate)  
Gregory Cousteau - Easton Star-Democrat  
John Golden  
Ruth Keeton - Chairman, Howard County Council  
Richard Mackie - Member, House of Delegates; farmer  
Herman Stevens - Cambridge Banner  
Harvey Zorbaugh - Maryland State Teachers Association

Attendees at Maryland State Constituents Briefing - November 1, 1979

Philip Merrill - Arnold

Tom McNutt - President of Retail Store Employees Union -  
Local 400

Joy B. Colegrove - Annapolis

Warren R. Colegrove - Annapolis

Julie Stagliano - Bethesda

Morton Fungler - President of Michael Enterprises; Chevy Chase

J. Hugh Nichols - County Executive for Howard County

Pauline Menes - Delegate to General Assembly

Laurence Levitan - Senator

Barbara Hoffman - Executive Director of Md. Democratic Party

Henry H. Goldberg - President of the Artery Organization Inc.;  
Director of Madison National Bank

Toni Cook - Deputy Director of the D. C. Criminal Justice  
Planning Agency

Bruce Dunton - Division Director of Amalgamated Clothing &  
Textiles Workers Union

Susan Taylor - Management Consultant

Steven Smith - Charles E. Smith Company

Wayne Dernoncourt - Vice President of Amalgamated Clothing  
& Textiles Workers Union; Lynchburg, Va.

Peter A. Bozick - Senator

John Hanson Briscoe - attorney; Speaker of the House

Leo Green - attorney

Walter Baker - Senator

Fae Claire Beloff - Secretary of Commercial Carpentry Corp.

Gerard Belanger - President of Local 2108 Communications  
Workers of America

Virginia Clark - Ellicott City

Arthur Dorman - Senator

Howard Pete Rawlings - Delegate

Louis Goldstein - State Comptroller

Phyllis Blanks Douglass - Assistant Professor of Education

Nathaniel Goldberg - attorney

Cornell Dypski - Senator

Eugene Goldberg - Vice President of Dean Witter Reynolds Inc.

Sidney Kramer - Senator

Herbert Fierst - Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington

Sholom Marvin Shefferman - President of Shefferman & Bigelson  
Company; Silver Spring

Sol Goldstein - Vice Chairman, National Conference on Soviet  
Jewry; Chair, Jewish Labor Committee

Jim Lighthizer - Delegate

Tommie Broadwater - Senator

Margaret Hahn - Margaret Hahn Interior Design

Raquel Sanudo - Administrative Assistant to County Executive  
for Howard County

John Carroll Byrnes - Senator

Walter Zachariasiewicz - Past President, American Council of  
Polish Cultural Clubs

Attendees at Maryland State Constituents Briefing - November 1, 1979

Dr. Andrew Billingsley - President, Morgan State University  
Harold Kahn - Wheaton  
Dr. Jose Solano - President of Mid-Atlantic Nephrology Center  
John P. Corderman - Circuit Court Judge  
Jeffrey Gallagher - Trecor Inc.  
Dr. Leon Gerber - physician  
Joseph A. Chester Sr. - Baltimore  
Homer Favor - Dean, School of Urban Studies & Human Development,  
Morgan State University  
Joseph Curran - Senator  
Charles Buscher - Silver Spring  
Troy Brailey - State Representative  
Joseph Long - Senator  
Jack A. Cohen - architect  
Ed Crawford - Investment Banker  
H. Erle Schafer - Senator  
Anne Baker - Delegate  
Evelyn Fox - Salisbury  
Julian Lapidus - Senator  
Ellen Berlow - Bethesda  
Robert Douglass - Senator  
Delaphine Henson - Baltimore  
Edward Pariseau - Mt. Ranier  
Louis B. Knecht - Secretary - Treasurer of Communications  
Workers of America  
Mano Swartz - Cockeysville, Md.  
John Newmann - attorney  
Claire Bigelow - State Chair - Maryland Women's Political  
Caucus  
Shirley Alonso - Columbia  
Dorothy Hofmann Streaker - West Friendship  
Brian Barkley - attorney  
Fred L. Wineland - Secretary of State  
Charles W. Gilchrist - Montgomery County Executive  
Kenneth O. Wilson - Vice President of Afro-American Newspaper  
group; Baltimore  
Joseph G. Anastasi - President, Montgomery Realty Company Inc.  
Lillian Lewis - Department of Corrections  
Leon Adler - Rabbi  
Gerald J. Miller - Gerald Miller Management Company  
William S. James - State Treasurer  
Dr. Leonard Berger - physician  
William Lang - President, Maryland Classified Employees Assoc.  
Tillman R. Sease - Landover  
Norman Stone - Senator

Maryland Attendees Continued:

Connie Caplan - Baltimore  
Esther Coopersmith - Representative to the U.N.; Potomac  
Steve Diamond - Executive Director of Maryland Classified  
Employees Association  
Robert N. Smelkinson - President of Smelkinson Brothers  
Jacqueline Smelkinson - Baltimore  
Nancy E. Luse - Frederick Post  
Jeffery W. Valentine - Baltimore Evening Sun  
Herman Greenberg - Southern Engineering Corporation  
Keith Haller - Congressman Mike Barnes staff  
Ronnie Ann Wainwright - Severna Park  
Francis N. Iglehart - Monkton  
Howard J. Thomas - Silver Spring  
Governor Blair Lee - former Governor

natl commission on employment  
policy 11/1/79

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11-1-79

Eli Ginzberg Electrostatic Copy Made  
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Young people decline  
HS grads. not read/write

Hispanic

Young → private jobs

Govt training, employment

= 800,000 youth/yr 1/2 minorities

> Ed/empl closer

Training too this = Job Corps ok

EEOC can help

Sec Def - proj 100,000

Empl link = contracts/prov~~ment~~

White males getting scarce

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

01 Nov 79

FOR THE RECORD

CHIP CARTER RECIEVED A COPY  
OF THE ATTACHED.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

chip  
J

Mr. President:

Billy wanted me to follow up on a phone call request to Buddy about getting involved in the re-election effort and also a contact person for Billy in the campaign.

Phil

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Phil has  
Seen

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 1, 1979

MR. PRESIDENT:

Since both Secretary Vance and  
Zbig will not be here, do you  
wish to cancel the foreign  
policy breakfast tomorrow?

Cancel ✓

Hold, with Warren Christopher  
and David Aaron attending \_\_\_\_\_

PHIL

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/1/79

Frank Moore/Bill Cable

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: The Vice President  
Susan Clough

12:45 PM  
Frank -  
C  
—

October 31, 1979

LUNCH WITH REPRESENTATIVE DAN ROSTENKOWSKI  
Thursday, November 1, 1979  
12:45 p.m. (30 minutes)  
Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *FM*

I. PURPOSE

To discuss the political situation in Chicago.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: See memorandum attached
- B. Participants: The President  
Rep. Rostenkowski
- C. Press Plan: White House photographer only.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: FRANK MOORE  
FROM: BECKIE MCGOWAN *BM*  
RE: Suggested Talking Points for the President's  
November 1 Luncheon with Congressman Rostenkowski

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What follows is Jim Johnson's, Bob Torricelli's and my cumulative judgment on the political points the President should raise with Congressman Dan Rostenkowski at their November 1 luncheon:

BACKGROUND:

The Cook County Democratic Organization will meet next Monday, November 5. Following on Mayor Jane Byrne's recent announcement of support for Senator Kennedy with the full backing of Cook County Democratic Chairman George Dunne, it is almost a foregone conclusion that the Organization will endorse Senator Kennedy and set about to slate delegates in each of the county's Congressional districts committed to Kennedy. At stake within Cook County (city plus suburban Cook County) are ~~49~~ <sup>78</sup> delegate spots out of a total for Illinois of 179.\*

Illinois is a winner-take-all primary set for March 11. We will need to do well in the suburbs and downstate to offset projected losses in Chicago. We expect to run slates in each of Illinois' 24 Congressional districts, including the districts in the city-county itself. Such an effort in the city, following the Byrne action, will be difficult at best; we are going to need to come up with as many quality names per district as possible.

The following talking points are suggested with an eye towards how Rostenkowski can be helpful to the President in the Illinois Primary process:

\* Total delegates to be elected statewide on March 11 = 152 of 179 total for Illinois. Remaining 27 delegates (11 at large and 16 party officials) selected after March 11 proportionately.

TALKING POINTS:

Ask that Rostenkowski:

- Argue at Monday's meeting of the Organization that they run uncommitted slates in all districts in the city.

Although such an argument by Rostenkowski to the Organization may well be futile, it needs to be laid on the table and Rostenkowski would be the most effective spokesman.

- Commit to/endorse the President and, importantly and at the least, pledge not to be slated by the Organization as a Kennedy delegate.
- Provide Carter-Mondale Illinois Coordinator Bob Torricelli as soon as possible names of residents of Rostenkowski's 8th Congressional District who are known to be connected with Rostenkowski and could run as Carter delegates in the 8th.
- Ask that other sympathetic members of the Organization (or members of Chicago Congressional Delegation) do the same. In particular:
  - Congressman Marty Russo is very close to Congressman Rostenkowski; a discussion of how Rostenkowski could be helpful to us with Russo would be useful. Most of Russo's chiefly suburban district lies within Cook County. If Russo would help us, by providing names for the Carter-Mondale slate, we'd be far better off in Russo's 3rd Congressional District.

- a) Most of Danny's family will not support Ken.
- b) Danny & others will push (how hard?) for uncommitted slate
- c) Danny will not be a Kennedy delegate
- d) Danny will help me. will call Torricelli
- e) Other Congressmen will not be slated K. delegates

12:05 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Meeting with Larry Gilson  
Thursday, Nov. 1, 1979  
(3 minutes)  
The Oval Office  
12:05 p.m.

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(by Fran )

- I. PURPOSE:           farewell call
- II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS:
- A. Background:       Larry Gilson has served  
                                  you as a Deputy to Jack Watson  
                                  since the beginning of this  
                                  Administration. He did not  
                                  seek other employment but, when  
                                  offered the position of Vice  
                                  President of Government Affairs  
                                  (AMTRAK), could not refuse the  
                                  opportunity.
- This is his last day on the  
                                  White House Staff
- B. Participants:     Larry Gilson  
                                  Cathy Gilson, his wife
- C. Press:               White House Photographer
- III. SPECIAL NOTE:   Attached is a personal letter  
                                  from Larry to you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 29, 1979

Dear Mr. President:

Last month I informed Jack Watson that I would be leaving the White House Staff on November 1, 1979 to accept the position of Vice President for Government Affairs of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (AMTRAK).

I have been privileged to serve on your staff for the past three years. Although I am eager to assume my new responsibilities, I leave the White House with a bittersweet feeling because there is so much left to be done here. I want you to know that I remain dedicated to the goals you have set for the nation and for your Administration and to your pursuit of those goals. That is why I greatly hope that if there is a contribution you think I can make, now or in the future, toward the fulfillment of that unfinished agenda you will call on me.

It has been an honor to serve you.

Sincerely,



Lawrence D. Gilson

The President

Washington, D.C. 20500

2:25 p.m.

October 19, 1979

*Done*  
*J*

Mr. Archie R. Boe  
Chairman of the Board and CEO  
Allstate Insurance Company  
Allstate Plaza  
Northbrook, ILL 60062

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Dear Archie:

I firmly believe that all of us as insurance business leaders have a responsibility to help the political system in this country work effectively. This includes striving to see that we have the best candidates for President...Democrat and Republican. I am hopeful that when the election is held, the voters will have a tough choice to make between two outstanding candidates.

After considering the qualifications and records of those who may seek the nomination, I have concluded that President Carter is the best candidate of the Democratic Party. These times are so difficult that no President could always be popular or completely successful. President Carter has proved himself to be dedicated and tireless, and has restored much needed integrity to the Presidency. He has tackled many major problems that existed when he became President. There have been no easy solutions, but progress has been made, especially on matters involving our industry. He has sought our advice on issues and has been available for our personal conferences. We know him to be intelligent, well informed, articulate, a good listener, and supportive of the free enterprise system. His value systems bring needed stability to a nervous society.

As contrasted to other candidates, President Carter will be expected to enter every primary. The costs of doing this will be staggering. As you know, individuals may contribute up to \$1,000 for the Carter/Mondale campaign, with the first \$250 being matched by federal funds.

I hope that after thinking about what I have said you will help by returning the enclosed card to me with your contribution.

Sincerely,

Dean W. Jeffers

*National Ins Coys*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/1/76

Jack Watson  
Arnie Miller

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

||  
Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK WATSON  
ARNIE MILLER

SUBJECT:

Mississippi River Commission

There are seven members on the Mississippi River Commission appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. The law provides that one member shall represent the National Ocean Survey. A vacancy exists for this member.

Secretary Kreps has recommended the appointment of Rear Admiral H. R. Lippold, Jr., Director of the National Ocean Survey to the Mississippi River Commission.

RECOMMENDATION:

Proceed with the appointment of Rear Admiral H. R. Lippold, Jr. as a member of the Mississippi River Commission.

approve

disapprove

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"ACTION"

24 OCT 1979

Dear Mr. President:

Rear Admiral Allen L. Powell, former Director of the National Ocean Survey, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and a member of the Mississippi River Commission, has retired. I have the honor of recommending the appointment of Rear Admiral H. R. Lippold, Jr., the new Director of the National Ocean Survey, as his replacement on the Mississippi River Commission.

The Mississippi River Commission, consisting of seven members, was established by the Act of June 28, 1879, 21 Stat. 37, 33 USC §641-647. The Act requires that one member shall be selected from the Coast and Geodetic Survey. By Presidential Reorganization Plan #4 of 1970, that organization was consolidated into the National Ocean Survey.

A full field investigation of Admiral Lippold was satisfactorily completed by the Civil Service Commission and became effective on November 19, 1973, and a reinvestigation was completed and became effective on February 2, 1978. A biographical sketch of Admiral Lippold is enclosed.

Respectfully,

  
Juanita M. Kreps

Enclosure

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

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Rear Admiral H. R. Lippold, Jr., NOAA, was born in Methuen, Massachusetts, on April 9, 1926. He graduated from Edward F. Searles High School in Methuen, Massachusetts, in 1944, spent two years in the Army Air Corps, and graduated from New England College, Henniker, New Hampshire, with a bachelor of science (1949) and the University of New Hampshire with a bachelor of civil engineering (1950).

He joined the Coast and Geodetic Survey, now the National Ocean Survey, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and has had a rewarding career. During the last 29 years, he has done research and surveying on land and sea in the Atlantic, Pacific, and Arctic Oceans and in most of the conterminous United States, Alaska, and Hawaii. This was highlighted by 9 years of sea duty on eight vessels, three of which he commanded. He surveyed the north Arctic coast by cat train, spent 8 years in geodesy, accomplishing basic surveys, established a satellite triangulation worldwide network, and served as liaison with the Air Force, bringing horizontal and vertical control to intercontinental ballistic missile sites in the United States. He conducted liaison with the Navy at Pearl Harbor on the Pacific tide and seismic sea wave system, supervised ship construction at Pt. Pleasant, West Virginia, and served as Director of the NOS Pacific Marine Center, Seattle, Washington. As Associate Director, Office of Fleet Operations in Rockville, Maryland, he directed the operations of NOAA's research and hydrographic survey fleet of 25 vessels. He is currently Director of the National Ocean Survey.

During 1965-1966, he was a Department of Commerce Scientific and Technical Fellow, assigned to the National Bureau of Standards. He has completed Government courses in management and equal employment opportunity, and geodesy courses at Ohio State and Georgetown Universities. The latest was the Executive Leadership and Management Program at the Federal Executive Institute, Charlottesville, Virginia.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

Independent

AUTHORITY: 33 U.S.C. 642,  
80 Stat. 1423, November 7, 1966

METHOD: Nominated to the Senate

MEMBERS: SEVEN Commissioners, three of whom shall be selected from the Engineer Corps of the Army; one from the Environmental Science Services Administration, Coast and Geodetic Survey; and three from civilian life, two of whom shall be civil engineers.

PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION: The President shall designate one of the Commissioners appointed from the Engineer Corps of the Army to be President of the Commission. He shall have the qualifications prescribed by law on May 15, 1928, for the Assistant Chief of Engineers, shall have the title Brigadier General, Corps of Engineers, and shall have the pay, rank, and allowances of a brigadier general while actually assigned to such duty.

TERM: Each Commissioner appointed from civil life after the date of November 7, 1966, shall be appointed for a term of NINE YEARS.

SALARY: Positions are in the classified Civil Service and subject to the applicable compensation schedules.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11/1/79

Dick Moe

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

Rick Hutcheson





OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

October 31, 1979

*Dick - good -  
Keep up-to-date  
Let Rosalynn, Chip,  
others have  
cc.*

*J*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT ✓  
THE FIRST LADY

FROM: RICHARD MOE *Rm*

Attached is the final version of the document I showed you over the weekend. The Vice President used many of these points in his lunch with newsmen yesterday, I believe with some success. It has been distributed to the Cabinet and Senior Staff.

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## THE CASE FOR CARTER

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### THE TESTS

The American people are mature and shrewd. They know how to judge a candidate for President. They know what leadership means. I'm confident that President Carter will meet the tests of the American people -- and win renomination and re-election.

### LEADERSHIP MEANS PERFORMANCE

First, it will be asked, Is this man a leader? Is he effective? Is he competent? Can he get things done? Promises and personality are nice; performance is everything.

President Carter meets that test. His record is a stunning series of breakthroughs.

- o After years of negotiation, it was Jimmy Carter who concluded the SALT treaty -- and signed a far better document than the draft he inherited.
- o After 15 years of talks, it was Jimmy Carter who concluded a Panama Canal treaty -- and got it ratified against overwhelming odds.
- o After 40 years of inaction, four decades of haggling between producing and consuming states, it was Jimmy Carter who resolved the natural gas pricing and distribution dilemma.
- o After a generation and more of rhetoric and posturing about government waste, it was Jimmy Carter who said no to the pork-barrels and sacred cows -- and despite all predictions, he made his vetoes stick.
- o Candidates love to talk about fiscal responsibility -- but when the campaign is over, they love their popularity even more. It was Jimmy Carter who inherited the biggest deficit in our history -- and despite the pain, despite the controversy, he cut it in half.

Not clear

- o Complaints about government inefficiency and intrusiveness have become an election-year institution -- but promises are soon forgotten. It was Jimmy Carter who cut paperwork at HEW by 25%...who reduced the Federal payroll by 20,000 people...who eliminated 1000 nit-picking OSHA regulations...who deregulated the airlines...and who got the Congress to pass the first overhaul of the Civil Service System in a century.

The examples go on and on. But don't listen to me on Jimmy Carter's effectiveness..

- o Listen to Forbes, the business magazine, which says, "Shouldn't we credit Carter with fat dividend checks, record high employment, cheaper airline fares, and a general level of economic well-being without parallel in the history of the world?"
- o Listen to Congressional Quarterly. One reporter examined over thirty years of data compiled by that journal, and found that Carter outranks every post-war Republican President; and that his congressional success rate stands shoulder-to-shoulder with the Kennedy-Johnson years, when resources were plentiful, and committee chairmen ruled the Congress.

#### LEADERSHIP MEANS PROGRESSIVE VALUES

The second question the American people will ask their candidates for President is this: Does he put his leadership in the service of progressive values? Is he committed to the needy, the marginal, and the vulnerable in American society? Does his record carry on our great tradition of compassion, and decency, and social justice?

President Carter meets that test.

- o Where we inherited tragic unemployment, we have created a record-breaking 8 million new jobs.
- o Where we inherited a legacy of vetoes and impoundments, we have secured the largest increase in support for education in American history -- a 60% boost.

- o To replace despair with hope, and inaction with solutions, we have created an unprecedented \$4 billion youth employment effort.
- o We have saved the Social Security System -- on which 35 million aged and disabled Americans depend -- from imminent bankruptcy.
- o Virtually every Democratic mayor in the country will tell you that we have fashioned the first pro-cities policy in our history.
- o With net income up over 35% since 1976, American farmers are having one of their best years ever.
- o President Carter has done more than any other American political leader alive today to ensure that our need for energy, food, fiber, timber, minerals, and room to grow will never ride roughshod over our priceless natural heritage and environment.
- o We have returned the government and its intelligence agencies to the rule of law.
- o We have made an all-out commitment to civil rights enforcement -- from cease-and-desist in housing, to support for ERA.
- o We have appointed more women and minorities to top administration positions than any prior President; and we have appointed more women and minority judges than all previous 38 Presidents combined.

#### LEADERSHIP MEANS STRENGTH

The third question the American people will ask their candidates for President is this: Can he strengthen America? Can he increase our security? Can he add stability to the global community?

President Carter meets that test as well.

- o Our predecessors talked about American strength. But in 7 out of 8 years they let defense spending decline.

It was Jimmy Carter who joined with our NATO allies to produce a 3% real defense increase each year.

- o Our predecessors built grand geopolitical theories. But when they were through, America was supporting colonial powers in Africa; we had practically no relations with Nigeria, one of our major oil suppliers; and around the third world, we were met with harshness and suspicion.

Today we have put American values at the heart of foreign policy. We stand for human rights and majority rule. And in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia and the Pacific, we are reaping the powerful dividends of cooperation and respect.

- o Our predecessors were proud of their diplomatic wizardry and intricate consultations.

But it was Jimmy Carter who won the trust of the parties in the Middle East; who entered the fray against the experts' advice; and who emerged with the sons and daughters of Abraham united for the first time in 2500 years.

- o Our predecessors believed in peace. But they risked American lives for the sake of macho politics, and gave us the Mayaguez disaster.

It is Jimmy Carter who has steered our foreign policy with maturity and restraint. And I am deeply proud to serve with a President who is the first President in 56 years in whose term no American boy has fallen in combat.

#### LEADERSHIP MEANS A VISION FOR THE FUTURE

A fourth test the American people will ask their candidates for the presidency to meet is this: Does he have a vision of the future? Does he anticipate problems? Can he lead us into the American '80s?

Jimmy Carter meets that test.

- o When they said the energy crisis was a hoax, a conspiracy, who said it was real? When they said we could just cut some deal with another country, who said America had to cut her imports? When they said there had to be some cheap answer, who had the courage to say it would be painful for all of us? The answer is Jimmy Carter.

- o To keep price controls in place might be politically attractive. But it would increase our dependence on OPEC and produce not a single new drop of oil. Is that leadership? To turn windfall profits over to the oil companies would be simple. But it would be utterly without benefit to our future energy security. Is that leadership?
- o When President Carter proposed his energy program, he mapped out a vision for the 1980s. They said that this country would never move on it. Yet today, we have already made dramatic progress toward stand-by rationing; toward an Energy Mobilization Board; a windfall profits tax; an Energy Security Corporation; emergency fuel assistance for the poor; and toward a new Solar Bank. I say that's leadership.

We didn't want a \$67 billion deficit -- but that's what the Republicans gave us. We didn't want the energy problem -- but that's what we inherited. We didn't want to raise social security taxes -- but the impending bankruptcy of that program was the time bomb we found ticking when we arrived. We are dealing with the real problems of the real world in which we live.

You don't measure a President against impossible abstract standards. When you run against the Lord, He always looks better. Instead, you ask, Is the President right on the issues? Is he dealing with them?

You don't measure a President against perfection. In our system, thank God, the President isn't a czar. And our Constitution never once enshrines the goal of efficiency in our legislative process. You measure a President on the record he achieves -- and we're proud of ours.

## THE QUESTIONS

To those in either Party who wish to be President, I ask this:

- o When OPEC raised its prices by 60% this year, causing a quarter of the inflation we are enduring today, what would they have done? Pretend the problem wasn't there? Perpetuate forever a creaky controls system that was stifling domestic production and misallocating our petroleum products? Would they have us go to war?
- o Would they champion a huge, irresponsible, across-the-board tax cut -- one that sounds good on the stump, but would be disastrous to our fight against inflation? Would they write a gimmicky balanced-budget amendment into the Constitution -- one that promises a quick fix, but would forever destroy our capacity to ride through tough times in the business cycle?

## KENNEDY

Today we face unique political circumstances. A challenger seeks to take the nomination from an incumbent President of his own Party -- but no serious differences on issues divide the challenger from the President.

No single dominating issue -- no Vietnam -- splits our Party or our nation. No disagreement exists about the paramount problems we face -- energy, inflation, national security. Our challenger has been in substantial agreement with us on most of the questions facing the nation -- and he has said as much. He has been one of our strongest supporters in the Senate. He has not been critical of our economic policy, of our foreign policy, of our domestic initiatives. In nearly three years, he has found little fault with us. Where there have been

differences, such as on health insurance, they have been marginal -- disagreements which can easily be accommodated within the Democratic Party's wide-open tradition. Both of us, together, have pursued policies we thought best for the country -- policies which have received broad support both within the Party and across the nation.

If our challenger doesn't want the Presidency in order to alter our priorities or our policies -- what is it about the White House that attracts him? What drives him to seek the defeat of a sitting President, of his own Party, with whom he largely agrees?

*There are some* That question is for the challenger to answer.

*differences - Big spender, 0% NSI, etc* In our system, of course, anyone who wants to run is entitled to run -- and that's how it should be. We welcome debate -- for we are happy to compare what we propose to do in the future with the proposals of any and all challengers. We invite scrutiny -- for in three years, we have compiled a record of which any Democratic President could be proud.

Our Democratic challenger must state how he would do things differently -- to hold down inflation, to meet the energy crisis, to strengthen our national security. Because he has broadly supported us on these and so many other issues over three years, it is up to him to fill the vacuum in public debate he has opened -- up to him to spell out in detail the ways his proposals for the future differ from ours.

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For generalities aren't enough when you're talking about the Presidency. The cost of a market basket, the bill for foreign oil -- these are real problems, and the American people want real answers.

The more our record is debated, the better it looks. It stands up to the tests of leadership. We have performed. We have been true to progressive values. We have built America's strength. And we have a vision for the future.

And if that isn't leadership, then what is? Rhetoric? Emotional speeches? Inspiration? Will stem-winders pull down OPEC prices? Will emotion create new barrels of oil? Will inspiration stall inflation?

We have made important beginnings in tackling head-on these difficult problems. We never thought it would be easy--and it's not. We have never tried to mislead the American people into believing that there are quick and simple solutions -- for there aren't any. These problems require responsible long-term solutions, and persistence in seeing them through. They don't lend themselves to quick fixes -- and anyone who suggests they do is wrong.

#### A SECOND TERM

We don't claim perfection. We don't claim to have done everything right or to have all the answers. But I'm convinced we have the best answers available. And we're going to stick with them. That's why this Administration deserves a

second term. It's not just because we have a good record -- as impressive as that record is. It is because we have set in motion a set of policies that are in the long-term best interests of our country. We must see those policies through if we're to have any hope of licking our most serious problems. These are policies that have the support of the Congress and of the country. The record proves that beyond any doubt. Equally important, no one -- absolutely no one -- has come forth with any better answers.

The question of this campaign is whether we are going to persist in pursuing those policies, or whether we will allow ourselves to be distracted from them by the emotional rhetoric of a campaign. I believe the vast majority of people want to see us persist, because they know there are no quick or easy answers. They know there are only difficult and often painful choices which require fair solutions and decisive leadership.

Americans have a history of being tough on our Presidents, and perhaps that's as it should be. We should hold them accountable. But in recent years perhaps we've had a tendency to be too tough on them; increasingly, we expect our President, whoever he may be, to solve nearly every conceivable problem on the horizon -- and to solve it at once. But we're living in a complex, interdependent world. We can't control OPEC, or so many of the other forces at work in the world.

What we can do is to develop responsible and progressive policies which sustain and strengthen our national interests. What we can do is to see these policies through -- forcefully and vigorously and fairly.

That's what this President is doing, and that's why we're confident as we face the future. We look forward to a tough and open fight. We will go the distance. And we are encouraged by what we see all over the country.

In Florida, we won a 2-to-1 victory, even in counties where we frankly didn't think we'd do so well.

Democratic county chairmen across the country were polled -- and we're leading Kennedy 2-to-1.

In national polls, we've gained ground in recent weeks. And besides, if opinion polls were right, Tom McIntyre and Mike Dukakis were going to win, and Brendan Byrne, Ella Grasso, Hugh Carey, and Hugh Gallen might as well have thrown in the towel.

The support I saw at the Carter dinner in Washington from a broad cross-section of Senators, Congressmen, Governors, mayors, county commissioners, civil rights and labor and religious leaders -- that support is encouraging, and it's growing.

Everywhere I travel around the country I'm discovering a broad and deep regard for the President. I'm convinced we will win a second term -- because the American people recognize strong and responsible leadership when they see it...and because they want this Administration to have the opportunity to finish the work it has begun.