

7/29/80

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| FORM OF DOCUMENT | CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|------------------|---|---------|-------------|
| memo | From Dep. Sec. of Defense to The President (3pp.) re: Activities of Sec. of Defense /enclosed in Hutcheson to Brzezinski 7/29/80 | 7/25/80 | A |

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers- Staff Offices, Office of the Staff Sec. Pres. Hand-writing File 7/29/80 BOX 197

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Tuesday - July 29, 1980

7:15 Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.

7:45 Mr. Frank Moore - The Oval Office.

✓ 8:00 Breakfast with Congressional Leadership.
(60 min.) (Mr. Frank Moore) - First Floor Private Dining Room.

10:00 Mr. Jack Watson and Mr. Frank Moore - Oval Office.

no sign
11:15 Mr. D. W. Brooks - The Oval Office.

✓ 11:40 Judge W.E. Beaumont. (Mr. Eugene Eidenberg)
(3 min.) The Oval Office.

✓ 11:45 Photograph with Dr. Eugene Fanta, Family Doctor
(3 min.) of the Year. (Ms. Anne Wexler) - Oval Office.

✓ 11:50 Greet Winners of the First National Student
(3 min.) Exposition on Energy Resources. (Ms. Anne Wexler).
The Roosevelt Room.

no sign
2:25 Mr. Grant Fitts and Mr. Fred Gregg - The Oval Office.
(5 min.)

✓ 2:30 White House Ceremony Marking the 5th Anniversary
(20 min.) of the Helsinki Accords. (Dr. Stephen Aiello).
The East Room.

✓ 5:30 Briefing for the 95th Caucus. (Mr. Frank Moore).
(60 min.) The Cabinet Room.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

29 Jul 80

FOR THE RECORD

STU EIZENSTAT RECEIVED A COPY
OF THE ATTACHED (ALSO FRANK
MOORE VIA STU). ORIGINAL
TO EIZENSTAT FOR HANDLING
AND DELIVERY.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT 

SUBJECT:

Gasoline Rationing Plan Letters

Attached are letters to Congressman O'Neill and Senator Byrd expressing your strong support for the gasoline rationing plan. As you know, both Houses of Congress must act tomorrow if they wish to veto the plan that you proposed.

On the House side, the situation is very volatile. The House Commerce Committee today defeated Congressman Bud Brown's Resolution of Disapproval by a vote of 22 to 20. Congressman Brown will introduce a motion to discharge on the Floor tomorrow afternoon, and our best counts indicate that there are about 170 votes for his motion and 172 against. Even if he loses this vote, Congressman Brown may introduce his Resolution of Disapproval as a privileged motion on the Floor.

In the Senate, Senator Percy will introduce a similar motion to discharge at 3:00 p.m. tomorrow. DOE is confident that we can win this vote, and so prevent formal Congressional disapproval of the plan.

DOE and CL are lobbying intensively today and tomorrow in both Houses to defeat these motions.

Recommendation

CL joins me in recommending that you sign the attached letters for immediate transmittal to Congressman O'Neill and Senator Byrd. They have been approved by Secretary Duncan and by the speechwriters.

Attachments

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1980

Dear Mr. Speaker:

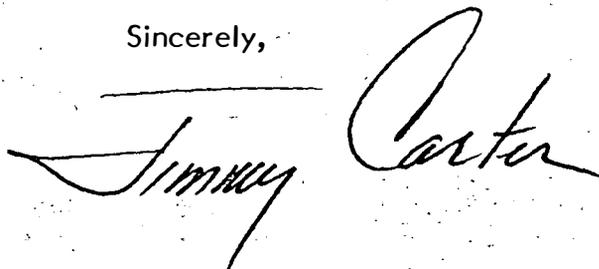
I am asking for your support of the standby gasoline rationing plan now before the Congress. This plan was developed pursuant to the Congressional mandate contained in the Emergency Energy Conservation Act (EECA) passed less than one year ago.

Under EECA, the rationing plan, if not disapproved by Congress, would remain in standby status, available for implementation in a severe energy shortage. Before the plan could be implemented, however, the decision to activate it would have to be submitted for Congressional review.

Because of this Nation's size and diversity, gasoline rationing would be a complex and difficult undertaking. It is certainly not an action to be taken lightly. As drafted, the plan would equitably distribute ration rights among the states, based upon their historical usage, and would provide for ration rights to businesses on a historical basis in order to minimize disruption of the economy. Substantial responsibilities are placed on state and local governments to make the implementation as responsive to local needs as possible.

The standby gasoline rationing plan is critically important in providing security against possibly substantial interruptions of foreign supplies of petroleum. Accordingly, preparing ourselves for dealing with such a contingency is a straightforward requirement of our national security, and, as such, deserves bipartisan support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.
Speaker of the
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 29, 1980

Dear Senator Byrd:

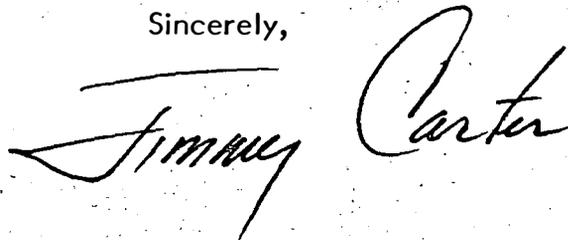
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United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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WASHINGTON

July 29, 1980

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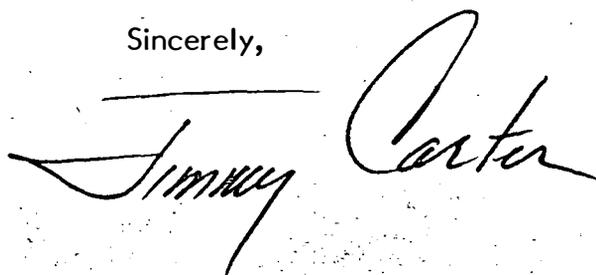
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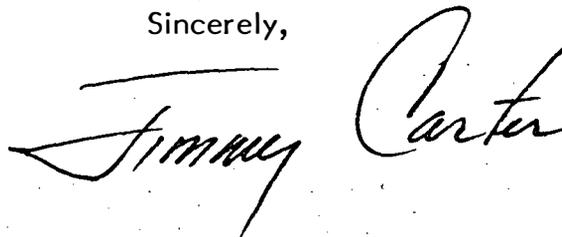
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United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1980

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze ^{CLS}

Subject: Merchandise Trade Balance in June
(to be released at 2:30 p.m. Tuesday)

The merchandise trade deficit, which jumped sharply in May, fell back in June, from \$4.0 to \$2.3 billion.

Exports rose by \$1 billion. Both farm and manufactured exports increased; exports of machinery and transport equipment expanded very rapidly and are now more than 25 percent higher than a year ago.

Imports of petroleum and products remained roughly unchanged; imports of manufactured goods fell.

E45
.53
v.2
WH

Mr. President

This is what Ed
Muskie recalled last Friday

CARL SANDBURG

Lloyd
7/29/8



Abraham Lincoln

VOLUME II
THE WAR YEARS, 1861-1864

THE PRAIRIE YEARS and THE WAR YEARS
in three volumes



A Laurel Edition

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to national affairs . . . I went to the capital, and . . . soon discovered that their real object was to find means by which the President could be impeached and turned out of office . . . I was asked for my advice. I gave it, stating . . . that it would be a little short of madness to interfere with the Administration."

The talk of a Southern woman spy in the White House arrived at the point where Senate members of the Committee on the Conduct of the War set a secret morning session for attention to reports that Mrs. Lincoln was a disloyalist. One member of the committee told of what happened. "We had just been called to order by the Chairman, when the officer stationed at the committee room door came in with a half-frightened expression on his face. Before he had opportunity to make explanation, we understood the reason for his excitement, and were ourselves almost overwhelmed with astonishment. For at the foot of the Committee table, standing solitary, his hat in his hand, his form towering, Abraham Lincoln stood. Had he come by some incantation, thus of a sudden appearing before us unannounced, we could not have been more astounded." There was an "almost unhuman sadness" in the eyes, and "above all an indescribable sense of his complete isolation" which the committee member felt had to do with fundamental senses of the apparition. "No one spoke, for no one knew what to say. The President had not been asked to come before the Committee, nor was it suspected that he had information that we were to investigate reports, which, if true, fastened treason upon his family in the White House."

At last the caller spoke slowly, with control, though with a depth of sorrow in the tone of voice: "I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, appear of my own volition before this Committee of the Senate to say that I, of my own knowledge, know that it is untrue that any of my family hold treasonable communication with the enemy." Having attested this, he went away as silent and solitary as he had come. "We sat for some moments speechless. Then by tacit agreement, no word being spoken, the Committee

dropped all consideration of the rumors that the wife of the President was betraying the Union. We were so greatly affected that the Committee adjourned for the day."

The author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came to the White House, and Lincoln, as she related it, strode toward her with two outreached hands and greeted her, "So you're the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war," and as they seated themselves at the fireplace, "I do love an open fire; I always had one to home." They talked of the years of plowshares beaten into swords. Mrs. Stowe felt about him "a dry, weary, patient pain, that many mistook for insensibility." He said of the war, "Whichever way it ends, I have the impression I shan't last long after it's over."

"Rest," he said to Noah Brooks after a horseback ride. "I don't know about 'the rest' as you call it. I suppose it is good for the body. But the tired part of me is *inside* and out of reach."

Lincoln had been daily riding the three miles between the White House and Soldiers' Home, where the family lived through the hot-weather months. Lamon had been urging that the President have a military escort, the President each time laughing it off. One morning he met Lamon. While still on the horse Lincoln said, "I have something to tell you"; they went to the President's office, locked the doors. As Lamon later wrote down the talk of Lincoln, he said he would not be sure of the exact words but was giving them to the best of his recollection: "Understand me, I do not want to oppose my pride of opinion against light and reason, but I am in such a state of 'betweenity' in my conclusions that I can't say that the judgment of *this court* is prepared to proclaim a reliable 'decision upon the facts presented.'" He paused. Lamon: "Go on, go on."

"Last night, about 11 o'clock, I went out to the Soldiers' Home alone, riding *Old Abe*, as you call him (a horse he delighted in riding), and when I arrived at the foot of the hill on the road leading to the entrance of the Home grounds, I was jogging along at a slow gait . . . when suddenly I was aroused—I may say the arousal lifted me

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP BREAKFAST

Tuesday, July 29, 1980

8:00 a.m.

Family Dining Room

From: Frank Moore

I. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer.

II. PARTICIPANTS

See attached list.

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for Preservation Purposes**

III. INTRODUCTION

This paper mentions several key legislative issues that you should discuss at the Leadership Breakfast. It does not discuss the political points you will want to make on Billy Carter and the movement to void delegate commitments at the convention.

Senator Byrd has insisted for some time that you do not have the nomination locked up. He may be toying with the idea of publicly supporting the so-called "open convention" movement at his press conference next Saturday, although we have no firm evidence of that.

IV. AGENDA

A. FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATIONS FY'81

The FY'81 Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill was reported out of the House Appropriations Committee last week and should be brought to the House Floor as soon as possible. The longer floor action is delayed the more apparent it becomes to Members that the choice is between foreign and domestic programs.

B. RAILROAD DEREGULATION

The Administration has been working with Congressman Florio on an approach to address the problems created by House passage of the Eckhardt amendment (204-197). The outlook at present is favorable. A group of Northeastern Democrats, whose area of the country will benefit from rail deregulation, voted for the Eckhardt amendment. Jim Wright helped in the ill-fated efforts to find a compromise suitable to Eckhardt and Florio. When that fell

apart he and the other House Leadership supported Eckhardt. (The Speaker was absent.) You should indicate your desire for a good rail deregulation bill before the Convention if possible.

C. ALASKA LANDS

Behind the scenes negotiations continued over the weekend. Indications are that progress is being made toward an acceptable compromise although some problems remain. Senator Byrd should be asked the prospects for final Senate action before the Convention recess.

D. YOUTH EMPLOYMENT

House action is tentatively scheduled for late this week, however, the press of other business seems all but certain to delay action until after the Convention -- unless there is a strong push from the Leadership.

Support for the legislation in the House is strong, especially in light of a unanimous endorsement last week by the Republican Policy Committee. Prompt passage in the House will put the kind of pressure on the Senate that we need to have the legislation enacted this year.

E. FAIR HOUSING

The Senate Judiciary Committee intends to take up and complete action on the Fair Housing legislation Wednesday, July 30. If necessary, Committee members will be polled on outstanding amendments.

It should be emphasized to Senator Byrd the significance placed on passage of this legislation by minority groups, and the importance of the issue in Congressional races.

F. SUPERFUND

The Senate Environment and Public Works Committee has reported Superfund legislation, which passed the House earlier this year. Two Senate Committees, Finance and Commerce, may attempt to have the legislation referred to them. If this occurs, the legislation will probably not be enacted this year.

You should request of Senator Byrd that he discourage these additional referrals, perhaps by holding the bill at the desk until early September so that the Committees will have a fair opportunity to formulate possible amendments.

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP BREAKFAST

Tuesday, July 29, 1980

PARTICIPANTS

The President

Senator Robert Byrd
Senator Warren Magnuson
Senator Daniel Inouye
Senator Alan Cranston

Congressman Jim Wright
Congressman John Brademas
Congressman Tom Foley
Congressman Dan Rostenkowski

Stu Eizenstat
Jack Watson
Zbig Brzezinski
Jim McIntyre
Frank Moore
Alonzo McDonald
Bill Smith
Dan Tate
Bob Maher
Bob Schule
Bob Thomson

8:00 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP BREAKFAST

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Frank Moore
Alonzo McDonald
Bill Smith
Dan Tate
Bob Maher
Bob Schule
Bob Thomson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

29 Jul 80

FOR THE RECORD

FRANK MOORE RECEIVED A COPY
OF THE ATTACHED.

35
NAME PAUL E. TSONGAS

1606

TITLE Senator

CITY/STATE Democrat - Massachusetts

Phone Number--Home ()

Work (202) 224-2742

Other ()

Requested by Frank Moore *FM/m*

Date of Request 7/25/80

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INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)
Purpose

To show your continued interest in the Alaska Lands Bill and to express your thanks to Senator Tsongas for his hard work.

Background

Along with Senator Cranston, Senator Tsongas has been leading the effort for our side in the negotiations attempting to reach a compromise on

NOTES: (Date of Call 7-28)

Setback today to Stevens. Jackson trying to be helpful.

the Alaska Lands Bill. Closed door meetings have been going on since Wednesday and are expected to continue through the weekend.

Talking Points

1. Thank Tsongas for the time and effort he has put into the Alaska Lands Bill.
2. Mention the generous comments that Tsongas made about your leadership on the Alaska Lands Bill at the White House last Monday. These were made after your departure for Kentucky.
3. Ask for a status report on negotiations and for his views on timing and the prospects for success.

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

29 Jul 80

Zbig Brzezinski/H. Owen
Frank Moore
Phil Wise

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

Rick Hutcheson

ID 3852

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/29/80

Mr. President:

Frank Moore concurs.

Phil Wise has no comment.

Rick

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTONINFORMATIONJuly 17, 1980 

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY OWEN 

SUBJECT: Bill Miller's Request for
White House Meetings on MDBs

I strongly endorse Bill Miller's request that we hold two breakfast meetings in the White House at which Secretaries Muskie and Miller can discuss the Multilateral Development Banks with members of Congress, and at which you would make a walk-in appearance.

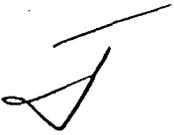
Increasingly the development banks have emerged as the centerpiece of our approach to North-South problems. The energy, food, and recycling initiatives agreed at Venice depend for their success on full funding for these banks.

This Administration has done more than any of its predecessors to expand the role of the banks, despite problems on the Hill. So far we have been able to overcome these problems in getting the money we need.

The meetings that Bill Miller proposes are, in my view, essential to maintain this record. Our friends on the Hill say that they cannot win this year without this kind of White House involvement.

I realize that you are pressed for time. On the other hand, I know how you feel about helping the billion people in the world who live in degrading poverty. The World Bank is the main means of helping these people. Whether we hold these meetings will have a lot to do with what happens to the Bank.

approve

disapprove 



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON 20220

July 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE FRANK MOORE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON

In the near future, the House will consider separate bills to authorize and appropriate funds for agreements the Administration has negotiated for continued U.S. participation in the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Both international institutions are extremely important to U.S. foreign policy and economic interests, and Congressional failure to support the agreements as negotiated with our allies could be disastrous. Prospects in the House are very uncertain, particularly for the World Bank. (There are no problems anticipated in the Senate where the authorizations have already been approved.)

The health of our domestic economy is increasingly dependent upon expanding markets for U.S. exports, particularly in the Third World. The world's economy is threatened by balance of payments problems, rising energy costs, and inflation. The IMF is the major institution relied upon to strengthen and stabilize the international monetary system; and the World Bank is the major source for development assistance for the poorest countries of the world.

The IMF and World Bank programs were the subject of much discussion at the recent Summit in Venice, and much concern about Congressional approval of U.S. participation has been expressed over the past six months. Although these programs are clearly in our self-interest, Congressional support for these multilateral programs has been eroding in recent years. I am presently engaged in a major educational effort on the Hill to win understanding and support for these vital institutions. I am also working closely with

business and labor groups to generate support. However, the stakes are enormous, and both I and our supporters in the House are convinced that direct and substantial White House involvement is necessary, if Members are to overcome the tendency to vote against "foreign aid" legislation close to an election.

I have discussed these bills with Secretary Muskie who has agreed to join me for a few breakfasts with undecided Members of Congress. We believe that it is important to schedule these breakfasts in the White House to emphasize the White House's involvement and to allow the President to drop in for a few minutes. Of course, I would hope that you would be able to join us at these breakfasts as well.

The timing for floor consideration is not yet certain. The IMF legislation (both authorization and appropriation) will probably come up in late August with the World Bank legislation to follow in mid-September.

I request that time be scheduled for at least two White House breakfasts for Secretary Muskie and myself to discuss the IMF and World Bank legislation with Members of Congress and at which the President would stop by.



G. William Miller

WASHINGTON

DATE: 25 JUL 80

FOR ACTION: FRANK MOORE

PHIL WISE

concur
no comment

FRAN VOORDE

INFO ONLY: STU EIZENSTAT

GENE EIDENBERG

JACK WATSON

ZBIG BRZEZINSKI

JIM MCINTYRE

SUBJECT: OWEN MEMO RE BILL MILLER REQUEST FOR WHITE HOUSE MEETINGS
ON MDBS

+++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 28 JUL 80 +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <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 |

ACTION
FYI

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

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|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | VICE PRESIDENT |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | JORDAN |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | CUTLER |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | DONOVAN |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | EIDENBERG |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | MCDONALD |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> | MILLER |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> | RECORDS |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> | STRAUSS |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | TORRES |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | VOORDE |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WISE |

WASHINGTON

DATE: 25 JUL 80

FOR ACTION: FRANK MOORE

PHIL WISE

FRAN VOORDE

INFO ONLY: STU EIZENSTAT

GENE EIDENBERG

JACK WATSON

ZBIG BRZEZINSKI

JIM MCINTYRE

SUBJECT: OWEN MEMO RE BILL MILLER REQUEST FOR WHITE HOUSE MEETINGS
ON MDBS

+++++

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

+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 28 JUL 80 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/29/80

Mr. President:

OMB, Watson, McDonald and
Wexler concur.

Rick

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
29 Jul 80

Director Campbell

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Jim McIntyre
Stu Eizenstat
Anne Wexler
Al McDonald
JACK WATSON



United States
**Office of
Personnel Management**

Washington, D.C. 20415

Scotty
ok

In Reply Refer To:

Your Reference:

July 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alan K. Campbell
Director

Scotty
ok
[Signature]
J
Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 provides for conferring the Presidential Ranks of Distinguished and Meritorious Executive in the Senior Executive Service in order to recognize outstanding performance on the part of career Senior Executive Service members. The Distinguished Rank, with a \$20,000 stipend, may go to no more than 1 percent (85) of the Senior Executive Service. The Meritorious Rank, with a \$10,000 stipend, can be awarded to no more than 5 percent (425) of the Senior Executive Service.

A. Distinguished Executive in the Senior Executive Service

Executive branch agencies have nominated 86 career Senior Executive Service members for Distinguished Rank. The Distinguished nominations were reviewed by 14 people representing the business, academic, government and civil communities. This group included:

William F. Bolger, Postmaster General
David Cohen, President, Common Cause
Don Conley, Vice President, Public Affairs, Honeywell, Inc.
Dr. John Funari, Dean, School of Public Administration, University of Pittsburgh
Dr. Robert C. Holland, President, Committee for Economic Development
Wes Liebttag, Director of Personnel Programs, IBM
Major General Lucien Theus, USAF (Ret.), Assistant Corporate Controller, Bendix Corporation
Dr. Clinton Oster, President, National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration
John Patriarche, Executive Director, Michigan Municipal League and past President of International City Management Association
Jack Peltason, President, American Council on Education
Jessie Rattley, President, National League of Cities
Elmer Staats, Comptroller General
Dr. Anita Summers, Associate Chair, Public Management, Wharton School
Dr. Robert White, formerly, Administrator, National Research Council and Executive Officer, National Academy of Science; now President, University Corporation for Atmospheric Research

Panels drawn from this group reviewed and scored the Distinguished nominations. Panel scores were then weighted by a factor reflecting agency priority. Thirty-six Distinguished nominees, about 42% of the total, who received the lowest scores by this process, were also reviewed for Meritorious Rank.

B. Meritorious Executive in the Senior Executive Service

Executive branch agencies nominated 350 career Senior Executive Service members for Meritorious Rank. These nominations were reviewed by panels comprised of Senior Executive Service members who were peers of the nominees. In no case, however, did panelists review nominations from their own agencies. As with the Distinguished scoring, Meritorious panel scores were weighted by a factor reflecting the priority ranking given by the nominating agency.

C. Cutoff Score -- Presidential Decision Needed

The panel review and agency priority rating result in a register in numerical order. The issue is what proportion of those rated should be selected by you. We have already experienced a great deal of difficulty in the Congress over some earlier agency decisions on Senior Executive bonuses and came perilously close to losing authority for those bonuses; an action that -- in my judgment -- would have marked the death knell of the Reform Act. I have subsequently imposed guideline-limitations on the agencies which are one-third below those finally agreed to by Congress.

D. OPM Director's Recommendation

I feel strongly that we should be very conservative in this first round of Presidential nominations.

| | <u>Distinguished Rank</u> | <u>Meritorious Rank</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Statutory Limitation | 86 (1%) | 425 (5%) |
| Agency Recommendation | 86 (1%) | 386 (4.2%) |

Possible Alternatives

| | | |
|-------------------------------|----|-----|
| 1) 75% of what the law allows | 64 | 338 |
| 2) 50% of what the law allows | 43 | 212 |
| 3) 40% of what the law allows | 31 | 144 |

I recommend Alternative 2. This is consistent with the 50 percent reduction Congress has imposed on the regular bonuses.

PRESIDENTIAL ACTION:

Alternative 2 (Recommended)

Alternative 1

Alternative 3

Another Alternative



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for Preservation Purposes**

WASHINGTON

DATE: 25 JUL 80

FOR ACTION: STU EIZENSTAT

AL MCDONALD *concur*

FRANK MOORE *concur*

JACK WATSON

ANNE WEXLER

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

JIM MCINTYRE *concur*

SUBJECT: CAMPBELL MEMO RE DISTINGUISHED AND MERTIORIOUS EXECUTIVE
IN THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE SERVICE

++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 28 JUL 80 +
++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jack Watson
+
al McDonald
think this is
ready to go
forward.

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

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ACTION
FYI

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| | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | VICE PRESIDENT |
| | | JORDAN |
| | | CUTLER |
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| | | SANDERS |
| | | SHEPPARD |
| | | SPETH |
| | | STRAUSS |
| | | TORRES |
| | | VOORDE |
| | | WISE |

WASHINGTON

DATE: 25 JUL 80

FOR ACTION: STU EIZENSTAT

FRANK MOORE

ANNE WEXLER

AL MCDONALD

JACK WATSON

CONCUR

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

JIM MCINTYRE

SUBJECT: CAMPBELL MEMO RE DISTINGUISHED AND MERTIORIOUS EXECUTIVE
IN THE SENIOR EXECUTIVE SERVICE

+++++
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +
+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 28 JUL 80 +
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

28 Jul 80

Stu Eizenstat
Lloyd Cutler
Anne Wexler
Phil Wise

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/28/80

Mr. President:

Phil Wise recommends against
yet another Olympic meeting.

Rick

Phil
born

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
LLOYD CUTLER *L.C.*
ANNE WEXLER *Anne*

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

SUBJECT:

Reception for Virgin Islands and
Puerto Rican Olympic Teams

As you know, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico have their own Olympic Committees, even though the athletes are American citizens. The Virgin Islands Olympic Committee was a strong supporter of non-participation in Moscow from the outset. The leadership of the Puerto Rican Olympic Committee opposed the boycott and will send three athletes and one official to Moscow, although not under the Puerto Rican flag. Nevertheless, the large majority of Puerto Rican sports officials and athletes have responded positively to your call for a boycott.

It is appropriate that the governments of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands honor their own athletes. We are meeting with the respective Governors to encourage them to do so.

At the same time, we believe that it would be appropriate for you to recognize and honor the athletes of the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico who, in the national interest of the United States, are also sacrificing their opportunity to compete at the Olympics. NSC agrees in this judgment.

We recommend a White House reception for these athletes and coaches -- approximately 100 in all. This reception should be separate from the July 30 event scheduled for the U.S. team and would likely take place in August. Your involvement would consist of brief remarks and a presentation to each athlete of a Presidential letter of appreciation.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

WASHINGTON

DATE: 25 JUL 80

FOR ACTION: PHIL WISE

attached

FRAN VOORDE

INFO ONLY: THE FIRST LADY

THE VICE PRESIDENT

JODY POWELL

JACK WATSON

SUBJECT: EIZENSTAT CUTLER WEXLER MEMO RE RECEPTION FOR VIRGIN ISLANDS AND PUERTO RICAN OLYMPIC TEAMS

+++++

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

+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 28 JUL 80 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

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| | FOR STAFFING |
| | FOR INFORMATION |
| | FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX |
| | LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY |
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| | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | VOORDE |
| | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | WISE |

* *Poston*

WASHINGTON

DATE: 25 JUL 80

FOR ACTION: PHIL WISE

FRAN VOORDE

INFO ONLY: THE FIRST LADY

THE VICE PRESIDENT

JODY POWELL

JACK WATSON

SUBJECT: EIZENSTAT CUTLER WEXLER MEMO RE RECEPTION FOR VIRGIN ISLANDS AND PUERTO RICAN OLYMPIC TEAMS

+++++

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

+ BY: 1200 PM MONDAY 28 JUL 80 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

The P will have to decide but I'm not in favor of yet another Olympic honors request on the P's schedule Phil

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
29 Jul 80

FOR THE RECORD

SARAH WEDDINGTON RECEIVED A
COPY OF THE ATTACHED.

JD 3937

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for Preservation Purposes

Chairman 1939-1957—James M. Cox Jr., Chairman 1957-1974

Tom Wood, President
Atlanta Newspapers

Hal Gulliver
Editor
The Atlanta Constitution

JULY 13, 1980

Listen to Sadat

...ranging interview
...television network,
...war Sadat made
...which should be
...states.

...difficult foreign problem. The result has
...been the net gains by the Soviet Union.
...President Sadat did point to our reaction
...to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
...as a realization that we must shuck the
...Vietnam complex. But he noted that we
...have yet to take the necessary urgent
...steps to check the Soviet Union.

...It is deceptively easy to lean on the
...Vietnam experience as a crutch to
...justify not making difficult decisions and
...not taking forceful steps which carry a
...degree of risk. But to do so is merely to
...postpone the inevitable while allowing
...the Soviet Union to progress at our
...expense.

...President Sadat's observation on our
...Vietnam complex is well taken. It was
...made to a Japanese television network.
...But it was directed toward Washington
...and the American people—as well it
...might be.

Urban Grants

...ly considering an
...gram which would
...help the cities in
...ted. The proposal
...ount of funds to
...ons to use their
...expertise to solve

...proved the concept, and so do we. The
...problem is funding. At a time of tight
...budgets, no one expects to launch an
...urban program on the scale attained by
...the agricultural extension programs of
...an earlier day. The Urban Grant
...proposal is now before a conference
...committee because there are differences
...in the amounts voted by the two houses.
...It is significant that the higher amount,
...\$50 million voted by the House, is very
...small by present-day standards for gov-
...ernment programs.

...We think it's time to adopt the concept
...even if only a token amount of funding
...can be provided in the beginning. Insti-
...tutions like Georgia State University
...deserve the recognition the program could
...provide—Dr. Kerr said in a recent ad-
...dress here that Georgia State could well
...serve as a model for the nation in this
...respect—and they also deserve whatever
...financial encouragement can be provided
...at this time

Gesture to a True Friend

To Sarah -
A good cartoon J



**Durwood
McAlister**

AS PRESIDENT CARTER was prepar-
ing to wing his way back home from
the Far East, ABC television news corre-
spondent Sam Donaldson delivered a
quick-and-shallow judgment for his
American audience. "The accomplish-
ments of this trip are debatable," he
said, "but it probably did no harm."

Donaldson, like most of his colleagues,
was concentrating on the sideshow of

*Durwood McAlister's column appears
in The Atlanta Journal.*

Carter's trip and in doing so he missed
the main event.

The attention lavished on Carter's
brief meeting with China's Prime Min-
ister Hua Guofeng obscured the signifi-
cance of the real purpose of the Presi-
dent's long journey.

He was in Tokyo to attend memorial
services for Japan's late Prime Minister
Masayoshi Ohira and if the "accomplish-
ments" of his talk with Hua are

debatable there is no question about the
value of his gesture of respect for
Ohira's memory.

That sensitive gesture is precisely
what was needed at a time when exces-
sive political rhetoric over Japanese
penetration of the U.S. auto market is
putting an unwelcome strain on relations
between the two countries.

Japan is an economic superpower, a
remarkably reliable ally and the bastion
around which America's Asian policy
must be built for years to come.

We need—we must have—Japan as a
friend and President Carter's sensitivity
to Japanese feelings has done much to
assure the continuation of that friend-
ship.

His solemn visit to Tokyo came at a
propitious time.

The Japanese press, reflecting the
mood of the people, had for some time
been critical of the "vassal visits" paid
regularly by Japanese prime ministers

to Washington. The fact that so few high-
ranking U.S. officials ever found their
way to Tokyo had become a sore point
for many Japanese.

Now the U.S. President, with the U.S.
secretary of state at his side, had come
halfway around the world to pay tribute
to their fallen leader.

That is a dramatic show of respect
that will not be lost on the Japanese peo-
ple.

The visit was even more meaningful
for the Japanese because it was made at
a time when they have no sitting prime
minister and thus was accepted as a
clear gesture of goodwill to all of the
people, not just to a leader.

Carter's presence was further drama-
tized by the absence of most other world
leaders. Protocol did not demand his
presence. In contrast to the funeral of
Yugoslavia's President Tito, most of the
nations were represented by someone
other than a head of state. Only the lead-
ers of the governments of Australia,

Bangladesh and Thailand joined Carter
and Hua at the ceremonies.

Carter has been criticized for his fail-
ure to attend Tito's funeral, but from the
strictly selfish perspective of long-range
American interests his journey to Japan
is infinitely more productive than the
trip to Belgrade would have been.

According to Secretary of State Ed-
mund Muskie, the decision to go to
Japan was "a personal decision" of the
President.

It was a good decision and an impor-
tant one and it should not be kissed off
with a casual judgment that "it probably
did no harm."

At a time when we find ourselves buy-
ing "friendship" by propping up question-
able regimes, ignoring the trampling of
human rights and arming nations dedi-
cated to the destruction of other nations,
it is refreshing and remarkable that the
bonds of a key alliance can be secured
by a simple sympathetic gesture to a
true friend. It should not go unnoticed.



95th Congress 7-29-80

3 1/2 years - experience

Billy Libby

Convention -

30 mil Closed = broked open

Reagan/Bush - ENERGY - TAX -

DETENTE - AFGHAN - SALT

ECON/TAX

40 DAYS - EMB - UTIL OIL B'out

RR dereg. YOUTH. FORAID '81

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for Preservation Purposes

Congressional Leaders
(Democrat)

July 29, 1980

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cong Leaders

7-29-80

Libya

Convention

Youth bill

Rail dereg

Alaska

Fair housing

Superfund

Confirmations - Zimmerman

Housing - energy standards

Olympics

> 11/4 2nd budget req.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1980

STUDENT EXPOSITION ON ENERGY RESOURCES WINNERS
Tuesday, July 29, 1980

11:50 a.m.

~~Cabinet Room~~
Roosevelt Room

From: Anne Wexler AW

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for Preservation Purposes

I. PURPOSE

To greet the state and national grand prize winners in the first National Student Exposition on Energy Resources.

II. BACKGROUND, AUDIENCE, AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: For the past three years, the National Energy Foundation has sponsored an Energy Education Program for high school and junior high school students. This year, the first National Student Exposition on Energy Resources was conducted, and 25-30 winners were chosen for developing projects designed to conserve energy and develop alternative energy sources. This year, five states participated in this program: New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Virginia, and California. From among the state winners, two national grand prize winners were selected this year as well.

This year, the program has been especially successful, receiving national attention. Last month, Newsweek featured this program in its section on Business.

The two grand prize winners this year are: Paul Oei, and Gretchen Alspach. Paul is a high school junior from New York. Paul's winning project was the "Convection of Air as a New Source of Energy". Gretchen is a junior high school student from New Jersey. Her winning project was "Making More Use Out of the Sun". It involved attaching a TV antenna to a solar panel, and allowing the panel to "follow" the sun and catch extra rays.

B. Audience:

Paul Oei, New York - 1980 Grand Prize Winner
 Gretchen Alspach, New Jersey - 1980 Grand Prize Winner
 (both seated to your right)

Alan Smith - President, National Energy Foundation
 Ann Borden - Executive Director, National Energy Foundation
 (both seated to your left)

25 State winners from this year's contest

John Sawhill - Deputy Secretary of Energy
 (and former Chairman of the National Energy Foundation)
 Erica Ward - Domestic Policy Staff

C. Press Plan: There will be a photo session with the White House Press Corps for the first few minutes of your meeting with this group.

III. AGENDA

| | | |
|-------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| 10:45 | WELCOME | Mike Chanin |
| 10:50 | Overall Energy Program | John Sawhill |
| 11:10 | Energy Conservation | Erica Ward |
| 11:25 | Q & As Energy and the Future | Sawhill/Ward |
| 11:50 | DROP-BY | THE PRESIDENT |
| 11:55 | GROUP PHOTOGRAPH | |

IV. TALKING POINTS

1. President Alan Smith, Executive Director Ann Borden, Gretchen Alspach, Paul Oei (Oy), and you other young inventors who've given time and imagination to alternative forms of energy production---welcome to the White House.
2. I am proud to have this opportunity to greet all of you and while I'm not at all surprised by the genius of American youth, I continue to be impressed and renewed by the products of that genius.
3. While Gretchen Alspach and Paul Oei have won the grand prizes, I am proud of all of you for your efforts and your contributions.
4. The single most important cause of inflation has been the price of foreign oil. We must continue to search for alternative sources of energy.

While we've made significant progress in the last couple of years, our major challenges are still ahead of us.

We have created major new legislation (the Windfall Profits Tax), which will make it possible to provide the resources needed for our country to solve the energy crisis.

Your efforts today constitute a significant beginning to helping your country achieve energy independence and consequently, a secure economy. Thank you.

Now I would be very pleased to pose with you for a group photograph.

OVAL OFFICE

Paul Oei
SEER winner

Gretchen Alspach
SEER winner

POTUS

Allan Smith
President
Nat'l Energy
Foundation

Ann Borden
Ex. Director
NEF

ROOSEVELT ROOM TABLE

John Sawhill

Erica Ward

CABINET ROOM

WH PRESS CORPS

11:40 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1980

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE EIDENBERG *Gene*

SUBJECT: Photo Opportunity for Judge Bill Beaumont,
Pulaski County (Little Rock), Arkansas
Tuesday, July 29, 1980
11:40 a.m. (3 minutes)
Oval Office

Purpose

To provide Judge Beaumont with an opportunity to say hello and to express his continued support. This brief meeting will also allow you to thank him for his work on your behalf.

Background

Judge Beaumont requested this photo opportunity in late May, and it was scheduled on the recommendation of Phil Wise and Craig Campbell, our long time supporter in Arkansas. One of our principal campaign leaders in 1976, Beaumont continues to work hard for us. In fact, he had a luncheon for Chip a couple of months ago.

Judge Beaumont is 45 years old and entering his second two-year term as County Judge. He is a popular figure in the Little Rock area, having won his most recent contest with a 65% landslide. A former State Representative, he has built his reputation on championing the rehabilitation of capital structures, especially roads and public buildings. He is a businessman by profession and formerly the owner of a successful chain of nursing homes.

Judge Beaumont is in Washington to discuss the rehabilitation of the Pulaski County Courthouse. He has appointments at the Departments of Interior, HUD, and HHS. He is not expected to raise with you any funding issue related to the project.

Format/Talking Points

You might thank Judge Beaumont for his continuing support and congratulate him on his recent re-election landslide. If the Courthouse project is raised, you might indicate your knowledge of the project, express support for his actions to preserve an historic county landmark, and indicate that I will assure speedy federal review of the project.

Press

The media will be notified of your meeting, but will not be invited to attend.

Participants

Judge W. E. "Bill" Beaumont
(Pulaski County (Little Rock), Arkansas)

Ms. Shirley Smith
(Administrative Assistant to the Judge,
County Clerk-elect of Pulaski County)

Mr. Kie (pronounced kī) D. Hall
(Pulaski County Comptroller - appointed position)

Ms. Amy Hall
(Mr. Hall's 7 year old daughter)

11:45

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 28, 1980

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GREETING OF FAMILY DOCTOR OF THE YEAR - DR. EUGENE FANTA

Tuesday, July 29, 1980

11:45 a.m.

The Oval Office

FROM: ANNE WEXLER *Anna*

I. PURPOSE

To honor Dr. Eugene Fanta, the winner of the American Academy of Family Physicians' and Good Housekeeping's 1980 Family Doctor of the Year Award.

II. BACKGROUND

In 1977 and 1978 you greeted the Family Doctor of the Year. Last year, the First Lady met with the group due to your tight schedule. The picture of this meeting appears traditionally in the October issue of "Good Housekeeping".

This year's winner, Dr. Eugene Fanta, is one of the few family doctors practicing in New York City. Dr. Fanta has been practicing for over thirty years, and has spent the last ten years teaching Family Practice at Lutheran Hospital. He founded the first family practice residency program in the New York area in 1968.

The American Academy of Family Physicians has 50,000 members across the United States. AAFP state chapters recommend the recipients of the Family Doctor of the Year award, and Good Housekeeping makes the final selection.

III. PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Participants:

Dr. Eugene Fanta of Brooklyn, New York and Kinnelon, New Jersey - Family Doctor of the Year;

Elizabeth Fanta, his wife;

Thomas Fanta, his son, Susan, his daughter-in-law and Christine, his granddaughter;

Christopher Fanta, his son, and Carol, his daughter-in-law;

Dr. John Derryberry of Shelbyville, Tennessee, President of the American Academy of Family Physicians, and his wife, Susan;

John Mack Carter, editor, "Good Housekeeping";

Leo Zeferetti (D-NY);

William Delay, Public Affairs Director, AAFP; and

Sandra Panther, Secretary, AAFP.

B. Press Plan: AP, UPI, and White House photographer.

IV. TALKING POINTS

1. I take great pleasure in congratulating Dr. Fanta for his devotion to the practice of family medicine.
2. The practice of family medicine is now beginning to return to the United States as we have come to realize the limits of specialization. The American Academy of Family Physicians and Good Housekeeping should be commended for their encouragement of family medicine.
3. My Administration has consistently supported family medicine as part of my emphasis on primary care. In Fiscal Year 1981, over \$36 million has been requested for family medicine training programs, and \$9.5 million for family medicine departments. In fact, my Fiscal Year 1980 budget was the first time funds were provided for family medicine departments.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

29 Jul 80

Phil Wise

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 |

ACTION
FYI

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| | VICE PRESIDENT |
| | JORDAN |
| | CUTLER |
| | DONOVAN |
| | EIDENBERG |
| | EIZENSTAT |
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| | MOORE |
| | POWELL |
| | WATSON |
| | WEDDINGTON |
| | WEXLER |
| | BRZEZINSKI |
| | MCINTYRE |
| | SCHULTZE |
| | |
| | ANDRUS |
| | ASKEW |
| | BERGLAND |
| | BROWN |
| | CIVILETTI |
| | DUNCAN |
| | GOLDSCHMIDT |
| | HARRIS |
| | HUFSTEDLER |
| | LANDRIEU |
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| | MILLER |
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| | BUTLER |
| | CAMPBELL |
| | H. CARTER |
| | CLOUGH |
| | FIRST LADY |
| | HARDEN |
| | HERTZBERG |
| | HUTCHESON |
| | KAHN |
| | MARTIN |
| | MILLER |
| | MOE |
| | MOSES |
| | PETERSON |
| | PRESS |
| | RECORDS |
| | SANDERS |
| | SHEPPARD |
| | SPETH |
| | STRAUSS |
| | TORRES |
| | VOORDE |
| | WISE |

PULASKI



COUNTY

OFFICE OF THE COUNTY JUDGE, W. E. "BILL" BEAUMONT ■ PULASKI COUNTY COURTHOUSE ROOM 100
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS 72201 (501) 374-4805

July 26, 1980

*Phil
J*

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

Dear Mr. President:

You are cordially invited to participate in the Pulaski Day celebration in Pulaski County, Arkansas, October 11, 1980. For many years, you and previous Presidents have proclaimed October 11 as General Pulaski Memorial Day.

Realizing that Pulaski Day will be a short time before the General Election, we will work closely with your campaign and official staff to maximize your exposure as well as pay honor to the great patriot, Casimir Pulaski.

We know because of the heavy burdens of your office, you will not be able to campaign in Arkansas to the same extent you did in 1976. Therefore, we are offering our help in this small way to aid in your re-election campaign.

3:00 P.M. Public Address - Metrocentre Mall (heart of downtown Little Rock)

4:00 P.M. Reception-Pulaski County Courthouse Rotunda
(For all elected officials in Arkansas - State, County, City, School Boards, et al)

The President
July 26, 1980
Page Two

6:00 P.M. Fund Raising Fish Fry or Dinner-Barton Coliseum
or the Convention Center

7:30 P.M. Pre-Game or Halftime introduction at the Arkansas vs.
Witchita State football game (sell out 53,000 plus)

All of the above would be covered by all the media in Arkansas
with the football appearance covered throughout the Southwest
Conference and Kansas. The substantial national Polish community
would note the General Pulaski recognition.

Please let us know what we can do to help you in Arkansas.

Yours very truly,



W. E. Beaumont
County Judge

WEB:ss
cc: Mr. Lyndell E. Lay
Mr. Jackson T. Stephens

5:30 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

BRIEFING FOR MEMBERS OF THE 95TH CAUCUS

Tuesday, July 29, 1980
5:30 p.m. (60 minutes)
The Cabinet Room

From: Frank Moore

I. PURPOSE

To discuss various relevant legislative issues

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

Background: The Democratic Members of the 95th Caucus met with the President in 1978. They feel a particular affinity with the President since they were all elected to office in the same year. They felt that their first meeting here was particularly successful, and are open to a discussion of any issues you select.

We plan to do the briefing first with a question and answer period to follow. Backing you up will be Stu Eizenstat, Zbigniew Brzezinski and Jim McIntyre.

Participants: List of Members on attached page

Press Plan: White House photographer

III. TALKING POINTS

Attached

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MEMBERS OF CONGRESS EXPECTED TO ATTEND:

Dan Akaka

Doug Applegate

Doug Barnard

Anthony Beilenson

Adam Benjamin

John Cavanaugh

Baltasar Corrada

Norm Dicks

Allen Ertel

Billy Lee Evans

Ronnie Flippo

Wyche Fowler

Bob Garcia

Dick Gephardt

Dan Glickman

Al Gore

Lamar Gudger

Cecil Heftel

Jerry Huckaby

Ed Jenkins

Dale Kildee

Peter Kostmayer

Ray Lederer

Tom Luken

Ed Markey

Jim Mattox

Barbara Mikulski

Austin Murphy

Mary Rose Oaker

Leon Panetta

Don Pease

Nick Joe Rahall

Ike Skelton

Bob Stump

Bruce Vento

Harold Volkmer

Doug Walgren

Wes Watkins

Ted Weiss

Charles Whitley

Robert Young

INTRODUCTION

The meeting was originally scheduled to discuss our legislative agenda. Intervening events have insured that much of the discussion will revolve around the campaign and convention.

I suggest that you first touch on the issues mentioned below, then invite questions including any on the campaign and convention. Finally, I suggest you close the meeting as you did in this morning's Leadership Breakfast.

Some of the 95th Caucus are participating in the Moffett-Barnes "open convention" effort; some present attended this morning's Strauss-Caddell meeting. (see lists below)

AGENDA

A. LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

Talking Points attached.

B. CONVENTION AND CAMPAIGN

This morning Bob Strauss effectively used portions of the attached Chronology of the Fair Reflection Rule. I suggest you use it to respond to "open convention" questions.

The attached "Kennedy's Ten Worst Arguments on the Delegate 'Binding' Rule" also may be useful.

C. CONFIDENCE STATEMENT

I suggest you conclude the meeting as you did this morning -- summarizing some of the reasons for our present low standing in the polls then expressing your confidence about this fall's campaign and your reelection.

Members of the Moffett-Barnes Group

John Cavanaugh
Norm Dicks
Dan Glickman
Al Gore
Ed Markey
Barbara Mikulski
Doug Walgren

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Attendees at Strauss-Caddell Meeting

John Cavanaugh
Norm Dicks
Allen Ertel
Ronnie Flipppo
Bobby Garcia
Ed Jenkins
Tom Luken
Harold Volkmer
Charles Whitley

TALKING POINTS FOR 95TH CAUCUS MEETING

I. INTRODUCTION

Pleased to speak to group with whom have so much in common (elected same time, learned great deal over past 3-1/2 years) tonight's session could not come at more appropriate time -- we have a good deal to discuss, frankly and openly.

1. Billy Carter Matter

- o Commitment to full disclosure policy -- through the Administration -- no executive privilege -- contrast is absolute with Watergate.
- o Discussion of forthcoming Senate and House processes -- eager to get process underway -- will cooperate fully -- will provide Resolution of Inquiry responses to House promptly.
- o Recognition of political impact -- has hurt somewhat -- but will have only temporary, short-term impact.

2. Convention

- o Assessment of Convention outcome -- will be nominee; delegates holding firm.
- o Discussion of open Convention movement -- Concerned about wrong signals being sent to country -- that following mandate of 30 million voters is "closed" but a brokered Convention is "open" -- unfair to disenfranchise voters this way -- our delegates agree and are holding -- have not panicked because of a poll or a few bad headlines.

3. Republican Convention and Ticket

- o Review of Republican Convention -- handling of Vice-Presidency pointed up Reagan weaknesses -- no real understanding of Presidency -- makes snap decisions (Bush) -- whole Convention was unrepresentative of America -- too few Blacks, Hispanics, women, moderate income individuals.
- o Discussion of Republican Platform -- ERA, abortion and judge appointment provisions are unfortunate -- they received most of the attention, but rest of Platform is equally backward-looking, right-wing -- this needs to be continually pointed out -- do not let Reagan-Bush run away from Platform.

- o Need to attack Republicans -- Democrats need to spend more time now attacking Republicans -- we need to unify around idea that Republicans want to take country back to 19th century -- need to make their simplistic positions and right-wing Platform the issue in the campaign.

4. Campaign

Eager to begin campaigning -- recognize it will be a tough campaign and will be underdog -- but was underdog at beginning of this primary season and when began campaign in '75 -- expect momentum to turn after our Convention and gap to be closed steadily -- '76 closing of gap after our Convention shows how quickly that can happen -- will be campaigning throughout country -- not conceding any regions to Republicans -- and not California, and not Texas (despite Reagan-Bush's home base advantages there).

5. Economy

- o Economic Outlook - Mid-session budget update provided our judgment about economic outlook -- showed expectation of high deficits in '80, (\$61 billion), '81 (\$30 billion), high unemployment (8.5% by year end and through next year), and high inflation (12% in '80) -- this is unacceptable forecast.
- o New Economic Program - Did not include provision in Mid-Session update for legislative actions to counter forecast in order to have time to consult with Members about what, if any, additional actions should be taken -- process is underway -- need to be concerned about re-igniting inflation or taking actions which will be too late to have impact.
- o Tax Cut - Continue strong opposition to enacting tax cut before election -- but not too early to plan for type of tax cut that might be appropriate after election -- want your advice.
- o Legislative Situation - Less than 40 legislative days are left before election -- too little time to enact all we would like -- and Republicans can be expected to be particularly partisan, delay-oriented -- need to be united against Republicans if we are to pass key bills in August and September -- and need to move much more promptly than in the past, for Republicans will see their leverage increasing every day as Session draws to end.

- o Post-Election Session - If business cannot be finished, may need post-election session -- they are always difficult and not desirable -- too early to know now what will happen.

6. Legislative Initiatives

Before election, House needs to take action on:

- o Foreign Aid Appropriations FY '81
- o Railroad Deregulation
- o Youth Employment
- o Utility Oil Conversion
- o General Revenue Sharing
- o EMB
- o All Appropriations Bills

2:30 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING TO COMMEMORATE THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

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Tuesday, July 29, 1980
East Room
2:30 PM

Stephen R. Aiello M
Al Moses AIM (MS, MC)
Bernie Aronson

I. PURPOSE

To address a gathering of over 250 representatives of various ethnic -- including Jewish -- and human rights groups on the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPATION AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background

The fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords provides an important opportunity to make a major statement on human rights and to signal the Administration's clear intention to pursue a strong U.S. position on this issue at the Madrid follow-up conference scheduled to begin on November 11, 1980.

There is already a movement to portray the U.S. participation at Madrid as a weakening of U.S. concern over the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and to demand that the Administration boycott the Conference. The Conference will provide a major international forum at which the Soviet Union and other Eastern block countries can be held to account for their compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Final Act. You have directed the U.S. delegation, under Judge Bell, to take a strong human rights position at the Conference.

A strong human rights policy is advocated by these participants. Jewish groups as well as other ethnic groups -- primarily Eastern Europeans of Catholic, Orthodox and Baptist background -- have been continually working for the release of their own people. Religious and cultural freedom, and family reunification are important to all these groups. (Among non-Jewish groups, there is a common concern that the Administration has not been as forceful in working toward the release of their people as it has in its policy toward Soviet Jews. This is especially true of Catholics of Lithuanian, Polish, Ukranian, etc. background.)

B. Participants

About 300 persons will be attending, representing East European, Jewish, religious, nongovernmental, labor, international law groups, and scholars to whom the human rights issue and the Madrid Conference is of paramount concern. Included will be the 30 person public delegation attending the Madrid conference, the Chairman of the U.S. delegation, Judge Bell, the co-chairman, Max Kampelman, ~~Chairman Congressman Fiascell~~, co-chairman Senator Pell of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and Arthur Goldberg, Chairman of the U.S. Delegation to the Belgrade conference in 1978.

C. Press Plan

White House photographers will be present, and the event will be open to the press. The major ethnic -- including Jewish -- press will also cover the event.

III. AGENDA

Your address at the White House will be the culmination of a day-long briefing with ranking U.S. government and congressional officials. The agenda for the day is attached.

Dr. Brzezinski will be the speaker prior to you. Your address will be concluding the formal event of the day. A reception will follow in the State Dining Room of the White House.

IV. TALKING POINTS

Submitted separately with our concurrence.

Meeting to Commemorate
the Fifth Anniversary of the Signing
of the Helsinki Accords

July 29, 1980

State Department Function 8:45 AM-- 12:15 PM

White House Function 1:45 PM - 4:00 PM

AGENDA

DEAN ACHESON AUDITORIUM
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

8:45 AM Registration
Moderator: Max M. Kampelman, Co-Chairman
U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Review Conference

9:30 AM Welcoming remarks, Secretary Muskie

10:00 AM Representative Dante Fascell, Chairman
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

10:15 AM Arthur Goldberg, Chairman
U.S. Delegation to the Belgrade Review Conference

10:30 AM Griffin Bell, Chairman
U.S. Delegation to the Madrid Review Conference

10:45 AM Break

11:15 AM Rozanne L. Ridgway
Counselor of the Department of State

11:30 AM Questions and Answers Panel
Griffin Bell
Max M. Kampelman
Rozanne L. Ridgway
Warren Zimmerman
Senior State Department Representative
on the U.S. Delegation to Madrid
Review Conference
R. Spencer Oliver
Staff Director and General Counsel
Commission on Security and Cooperation
in Europe

12:15 PM Luncheon Break

continued

WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING
EAST ROOM

1:45 PM

Enter via Southwest Gate

2:00 PM

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

2:30 PM

President Carter

3:00 PM

Reception in the White House State Dining Room

Helsinki Event
Tue, 7/29/80

SECRETARY MUSKIE, JUDGE BELL, AMBASSADOR KAMPELMAN,
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE MADRID DELEGATION, MEMBERS OF
THE HELSINKI COMMISSION, JUSTICE GOLDBERG, LADIES
AND GENTLEMEN:

1. I AM PLEASED THAT YOU COULD COME TO WASHINGTON TODAY ↗
2. TO DISCUSS THE PROCESS THAT BEGAN IN HELSINKI 5 YEARS AGO.
3. YOU HAVE NOW MET THE PEOPLE WHO WILL BE HEADING
4. THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE MADRID REVIEW MEETING.
5. THEY AND THE NEW PUBLIC MEMBERS WHO ARE HERE
6. ARE ALL PART OF THE TEAM ON WHICH WE RELY TO ADVANCE THE
7. HELSINKI CAUSE AGAINST ANY OPPOSITION IT MIGHT FACE ABROAD --
8. AND THE SKEPTICISM IT MEETS AT HOME FROM
9. SOME OTHERS WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTH THAT
10. PEACE & THE PURSUIT OF HUMAN RIGHTS GO HAND-IN-HAND. //
11. PEACE & THE PURSUIT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ARE MUTUALLY REINFORCING.
12. THEY CANNOT BE SUCCESSFULLY ADVANCED INDEPENDENTLY OF ONE ANOTHER.

1. THAT BELIEF IS ABOVE PARTY --
2. AS THE HISTORY OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS PROVES.
3. A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION SIGNED THE ACCORDS;
4. A DEMOCRATIC ONE IS CARRYING THEM OUT.
5. THE ACCORDS EMBODY GOALS & VALUES IN WHICH AMERICANS BELIEVE
6. AS HUMAN BEINGS STRUGGLING TO BUILD A MORE DECENT,
MORE HUMANE WORLD.
7. THE PLEDGES GIVEN BY 35 NATIONS
8. AT THE HELSINKI SUMMIT 5 YEARS AGO
9. WERE NOT UNDERTAKEN LIGHTLY.
10. THEY CANNOT BE LIGHTLY ABANDONED OR IGNORED.

1. THE DOCUMENT THAT WAS SIGNED THERE,
2. EVEN THOUGH IT IS CALLED THE FINAL ACT,
3. WAS NOT AN END TO OUR WORK.
4. IT WAS A FRESH START.
5. THE MADRID MEETING THIS YEAR
6. IS DESIGNED TO ASSESS WHAT PROGRESS ^{HAS} ~~HAVE~~ BEEN MADE
7. AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO SPEED ITS PACE
& WIDEN ITS SCOPE.
8. LIKE THE BELGRADE MEETING IN 1977-78,
9. MADRID IS AN OPPORTUNITY
10. TO LOOK CAREFULLY BACKWARD
11. SO THAT WE CAN PUSH VIGOROUSLY FORWARD.

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1. SOME HAVE SAID THAT WE SHOULD STAY AWAY FROM MADRID --
THAT WE SHOULD DROP OUT OF THE HELSINKI PROCESS.
2. SUCH IDEAS SPRING FROM
3. IGNORANCE OF THE MEANING OF MADRID.
4. SOME HAVE EVEN COMPARED THE MEETING TO THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS,
5. SUGGESTING THAT SINCE
6. AMERICAN ATHLETES DID NOT GO TO MOSCOW,
7. AMERICAN DIPLOMATS SHOULD NOT GO TO MADRID. /

1. THE REASONING IS CONFUSED.
2. AS HOST TO THE OLYMPICS,
3. THE SOVIET UNION SOUGHT TO ENJOY
4. BOTH THE FRUITS OF AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN
5. AND THE PRESTIGE & PROPAGANDA VALUE OF OLYMPIC ORGANIZER
AT THE SAME TIME.
6. AMERICAN ATHLETES
7. AND THOSE OF SOME 50 OTHER NATIONS
8. REJECTED THAT EQUATION AS INDECENT.
9. I COMMEND THEM.
10. THEY STAYED HOME, AT GREAT SACRIFICE --
11. AND WITHOUT THEM,
12. THE MOSCOW SPECTACULAR BECAME A PATHETIC SPECTACLE.

1. BUT MADRID WILL NOT BE AN
2. AGGRESSOR'S PROPAGANDA FESTIVAL.
3. THE SPANISH -- NOT THE SOVIETS -- WILL BE HOST.
4. THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE THERE,--
5. AS THE OTHER 34 STATES WILL BE THERE,
6. TO GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE
7. MANNER IN WHICH IT HAS FULFILLED
OR NOT FULFILLED
ITS UNDERTAKINGS.

1. IT WOULD CERTAINLY PLEASE THOSE
2. MOST GUILTY OF VIOLATING HUMAN RIGHTS
3. TO BE FREED FROM THEIR OBLIGATION
4. TO ACCOUNT FOR THEIR ACTIONS
5. BEFORE WORLD OPINION AT MADRID.

6. THERE WILL BE NO MEDALS AWARDED IN MADRID.
7. IT IS NOT A WRESTLING MATCH
8. OR A GYMNASTIC TOURNAMENT FOR DIPLOMATS.
9. WHAT IT WILL TEST IS THE
10. PROGRESS MADE ON THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA OF SECURITY & COOPERATION
11. AND THE FIRMNESS OF THE PRINCIPLES
BY WHICH THE 35 PARTICIPANTS AGREED TO BE BOUND. /

1. IN PURSuing THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
THROUGH THE HELSINKI ACCORDS,
THERE ARE NO SHORT CUTS.
2. THE ROAD WE ARE ON IS THE RIGHT ONE.
3. AS THE BELGRADE MEETING WAS ENDING,
4. DANTE FASCELL OBSERVED THAT
5. "ADVOCACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT A QUICK FIX.....
6. "IT HOLDS NO PROMISE OF EASY VICTORIES."
7. YET IT MUST BE PURSUED.
8. AND IN MADRID, IT WILL BE PURSUED.

1. WHEN I BECAME PRESIDENT,
2. I EMPHASIZED OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS
3. AS A FUNDAMENTAL TENET OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.
4. THAT COMMITMENT IS AS IMPORTANT TO ME TODAY
AS IT WAS THEN.
5. IT IS AS CENTRAL TO AMERICA'S INTERESTS NOW
AS IT WAS WHEN OUR COUNTRY WAS BORN.
6. THEN, AS NOW,
7. OUR COMMITMENT IS WORLD-WIDE.

1. BEYOND EUROPE,
2. WE HAVE SOUGHT IN AFRICA... ASIA... & LATIN AMERICA
3. TO STAND BEHIND BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RESPECT
FOR EACH PERSON,
FOR FAIR TRIALS,
FOR POLITICAL LIBERTY,
& FOR ECONOMIC & SOCIAL JUSTICE.
4. WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR
5. THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES
6. THAT TORTURE CANNOT BE TOLERATED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES...
7. THAT OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED "DISAPPEARANCES"
ARE ABHORRENT IN ANY SOCIETY.

1. AND AS WE HAVE INSISTED ON THE
2. RIGHT OF FREE MOVEMENT EVERYWHERE, --
3. SO HAVE WE WORKED HARD
4. TO GIVE AID TO THE WORLD'S REFUGEES,
5. COMPELLED TO FLEE OPPRESSION & HARDSHIP. /
6. WE PURSUE THESE POLICIES
7. BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT
8. BOTH OUR COUNTRY & OUR WORLD
9. ARE MORE SECURE WHEN BASIC HUMAN VALUES
ARE RESPECTED INTERNATIONALLY. /
10. IN PURSUING OUR VALUES,
11. WE ENHANCE OUR SECURITY. /

1. LET NO ONE DOUBT
2. THAT OUR WORDS & ACTIONS
3. HAVE LEFT THEIR MARK.
4. MANY GOVERNMENTS HAVE RELEASED POLITICAL PRISONERS.
5. OTHERS HAVE LIFTED STATES OF SIEGE,
CURTAILED INDISCRIMINATE ARRESTS,
REDUCED THE USE OF TORTURE.
6. BECAUSE OF OUR LEADERSHIP,
7. THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS
8. NOW HAS ITS RIGHTFUL PLACE
9. ON THE MORAL AGENDA OF OUR TIME.

1. THOSE WHO SEEK TO DENY INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS
2. MUST NOW ANSWER FOR THEIR ACTIONS.
3. THOSE BRAVE MEN & WOMEN
4. STRUGGLING FOR LIBERTY --
5. OFTEN AGAINST GREAT ODDS --
6. KNOW THEY ARE NOT ALONE.
7. IN WORKING WITH THE 35 HELSINKI STATES IN
8. NORTH AMERICA...EASTERN EUROPE...& WESTERN EUROPE --
9. WE PURSUE THE SAME VALUES
10. WITH THE SAME VIGOR.
11. THE HELSINKI ACCORDS COMMIT THE SIGNATORIES
12. TO EASE MILITARY THREATS & INTERNATIONAL TENSION...
13. TO PROMOTE PROGRESS...
14. AND TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS,
 FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS,
 & THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES.

1. WE HAVE NEVER EXPECTED AN
2. UNINTERRUPTED RECORD OF PROGRESS.
3. THE BEHAVIOR OF THE SOVIET UNION, IN PARTICULAR,
4. HAS DISHONORED THE PRINCIPLES OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS --
5. BOTH INSIDE & BEYOND ITS OWN BORDERS.
6. THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN
7. AND THE INCREASINGLY BRUTAL OCCUPATION OF THAT ONCE-FREE NATION
8. CAN NO MORE BE RECONCILED WITH THE HELSINKI PLEDGES
9. THAN IT CAN WITH THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. /

1. FOR INVADING A NEIGHBOR,
2. THE SOVIET UNION ALREADY STANDS CONDEMNED BEFORE THE WORLD --
3. AND THE WORLD HAS CALLED FOR
4. THE FULL & PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF THE SOVIET FORCES.
5. IF THEY ARE STILL THERE AT THE TIME OF THE MADRID CONFERENCE,
6. WE WILL CONTINUE THE PRESSURE FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL.
7. AT HOME, AS WELL,
8. SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE INTENSIFIED
9. THEIR REPRESSION OF THE FREEDOMS
10. THEY PLEGGED AT HELSINKI TO PROMOTE.

1. THE BANISHMENT INTO INTERNAL EXILE OF ANDREI SAKHAROV,
2. A GREAT SCIENTIST & A GREAT HUMANIST,
3. IS THE BEST-KNOWN
4. BUT SADLY NOT THE ONLY
5. INSTANCE OF SUCH VIOLATIONS
6. OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.
7. MORE THAN 40 COURAGEOUS MEN & WOMEN
8. ARE NOW IN PRISON OR EXILE
9. BECAUSE THEY WORKED IN PRIVATE GROUPS
10. TO ENCOURAGE THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT
11. TO LIVE UP TO ITS HELSINKI PLEDGES.
12. THEY ARE SILENCED:
13. BUT AT MADRID,

NO ONE CAN SILENCE THEIR CAUSE. /

1. MADRID WILL BE A SOBER MEETING.
2. THE TALK WILL BE FRANK & STRAIGHTFORWARD --
3. BUT, WE HOPE, WITHOUT POLEMICS.
4. WE WILL BE SEEKING PROGRESS,
NOT PROPAGANDA.
5. THERE IS SOME PROGRESS, OF COURSE, WHICH WE CAN WELCOME.
6. SOME CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED.
7. THE HELSINKI ACCORDS HAVE GIVEN SOME IMPETUS
8. TO THE LONG-TERM PROCESS OF
9. BREAKING DOWN EAST-WEST BARRIERS
10. AND EASING THE FLOW OF PEOPLE & IDEAS
ACROSS ONCE-CLOSED FRONTIERS.

1. FOR EXAMPLE, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE
2. EMIGRATED TO THE WEST LAST YEAR
3. FROM EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
4. IN ACCORD WITH THE HELSINKI UNDERTAKINGS.
5. THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT EFFORTS BY A NUMBER OF STATES
6. TO RESOLVE OUTSTANDING FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES WITH THE UNITED STATES --
AND WE WELCOME THOSE TOO.
7. THE HELSINKI PROVISIONS HAVE ALSO
8. HELPED SOVIET JEWS TO EMIGRATE,
9. ALTHOUGH THE ENCOURAGING RECORD LEVEL ACHIEVED IN 1979
IS BEING REDUCED THIS YEAR.
10. AT MADRID WE WILL SEEK
11. AN EXPLANATION FOR THAT DECLINE
12. AND A COMMITMENT TO REVERSE IT.

1. ON ALL THESE ISSUES AT MADRID
2. WE CAN COUNT ON THE SUPPORT OF THE
3. GREAT MAJORITY OF THE PARTICIPANTS.
4. THEY SHARE THE PHILOSOPHY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
5. THAT UNDERLIES THE HELSINKI ACCORDS.
6. INDEED, THE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE THE ACCORDS
7. AND NOW TO ASSURE THEIR IMPLEMENTATION
8. HAS MADE WESTERN EUROPE & THE UNITED STATES
9. MORE AWARE THAN EVER OF THE
10. POLITICAL & MORAL VALUES & INTERESTS
WHICH WE SHARE.
11. IN A TIME WHEN THERE IS MUCH GLIB TALK OF WESTERN DISHARMONY,
12. THE MADRID MEETING CAN GIVE CLEAR EXPRESSION
TO OUR UNITY ON FUNDAMENTAL VALUES & GOALS.

1. WITH THAT SUPPORT
2. WE CAN CONTINUE AT MADRID
3. TO PURSUE THE AIMS TO WHICH WE COMMITTED OURSELVES AT HELSINKI.
4. WE WANT TO ENCOURAGE PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE
BY THE SOVIET UNION & ITS ALLIES --
5. AND WE HAVE NO HESITATION
6. ABOUT SUBMITTING OUR OWN RECORD TO EXAMINATION
BY OTHERS AT MADRID.
7. WE ARE NOT PERFECT,
8. AND WE ARE MAKING A STRONG & CONTINUING EFFORT TO IMPROVE --
9. BECAUSE PRESERVING & EXTENDING HUMAN RIGHTS
10. IS THE HEART & SOUL OF OUR WHOLE SYSTEM.

1. AT MADRID WE WILL USE THE "CSCE" PROCESS
2. TO BREAK DOWN EVEN MORE BARRIERS TO HUMAN CONTACTS BETWEEN EAST & WEST,
3. TO HELP THE REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES,
THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE & IDEAS,
THE RESOLUTION OF EMIGRATION ISSUES.
4. WE WILL TRY, AS PART OF A BALANCED RESULT,
5. TO ACHIEVE PRACTICAL PROGRESS IN THE MILITARY SECURITY FIELD.
6. THE HELSINKI SETTING SHOULD NOT BECOME
7. PRIMARILY AN ARMS CONTROL FORUM,...
8. BUT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO TEST
9. THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING SIGNIFICANT,
VERIFIABLE,
& COMPREHENSIVE
CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES
WHICH CAN HELP ENHANCE SECURITY IN EUROPE.

1. MADRID GIVES US AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY
2. TO RESTATE BOTH OUR GENUINE DESIRE FOR
BETTER EAST-WEST RELATIONS,
3. AND OUR FIRM VIEW
4. OF THE PRINCIPLES OF RECIPROCITY & MUTUAL RESTRAINT
5. ON WHICH WORKABLE TIES MUST BE BUILT.

6. THERE WILL BE SHARP DIFFERENCES AT MADRID
7. BETWEEN THE VALUES WE ESPOUSE
8. AND THOSE COMMUNIST NATIONS SEEK TO ADVANCE. //
9. BUT WE WILL NOT GO TO MADRID
LOOKING FOR CONFLICT.

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1. WE APPROACH THAT MEETING INSTEAD
2. EAGER FOR PROGRESS
3. AND COMMITTED TO ONLY ONE CONTEST:
4. THE STRUGGLE TO ADVANCE FREEDOM
AND -- THROUGH FREEDOM -- MUTUAL SECURITY.
5. THE HELSINKI ACCORDS, TO US,
6. HOLD THE PROMISE OF A FREER,
MORE HUMANE,
& THUS MORE SECURE EUROPE --
7. BASED NOT JUST ON SUPERPOWER ACCOMMODATION
8. BUT ON FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES
OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT.

1. THOSE PRINCIPLES REQUIRE THAT
2. STATES EARN THE RESPECT OF THEIR NEIGHBORS
3. BY TREATING THEIR CITIZENS WITH FULL RESPECT
4. FOR THEIR RIGHTS & DIGNITY AS PERSONS. /
5. MY OWN FAITH IN THE
6. ULTIMATE OUTCOME OF THIS LONG STRUGGLE
IS UNDIMMED.
7. OUR COUNTRY'S ROLE MUST NEVER BE IN DOUBT. /
8. IN THE WORDS OF ARCHIBALD MACLEISH --
9. "THERE ARE THOSE WHO WILL SAY
10. "THAT THE LIBERATION OF HUMANITY,
"THE FREEDOM OF MAN & MIND,
"IS NOTHING BUT A DREAM.
11. "THEY ARE RIGHT.
12. "IT IS.
13. "IT IS THE AMERICAN DREAM." /

#

Hertzberg/Friendly
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Tue, July 29, 2:30 PM
Rose Garden or East Room

Remarks for anniversary of the Helsinki Accords

*Sessan - Have
some Christopher
or someone from
State check
language -
Put in box J*

I am pleased that you could come to Washington today to
discuss
~~hear from us and to let us hear from you~~ on the process that
began in Helsinki five years ago.

[I am especially pleased that you have had a chance to
hear Ambassadors Griffin Bell and Max Kampelman, to discuss
the Belgrade Review Conference with Arthur Goldberg, and to
renew your acquaintance with Dante Fascell, the chairman of
the Helsinki Commission.] You have now met the people who

will be heading the United States delegation to the Madrid
and the new public members who are here
review meeting. They are all part of the team on which we

rely to advance the Helsinki cause against ^{any} the opposition it *might*

faces ^{abroad} ~~abroad from some~~ -- and the skepticism it meets at

home from ^{some} others who do not understand the fundamental truth

that peace and the pursuit of human rights go hand in hand.

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~~Finally, I am very glad to see so many of the 30 new public members of the Madrid delegation here today. You symbolize the broadly-based support in the United States for the spirit of the Helsinki Accords. Your presence reflects America's commitment to that basic belief that the pursuit of peace and the promotion of human rights go together.~~

Peace and the pursuit of human rights

~~They are mutually reinforcing.~~

They are mutually reinforcing. They cannot be successfully advanced independently of one another.

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That belief is above party -- as the history of the Helsinki process proves. A Republican Administration signed the Accords; a Democratic one is carrying them out. ~~In the Congress and the country, support for their implementation is non-partisan.~~ The Accords embody goals and values ^{in which} ~~that~~ *American* we believe in not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans and as human beings struggling to build a more decent, more humane world.

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The pledges given by 35 nations at the Helsinki Summit five years ago were not undertaken lightly. They ^{can,} ~~will~~ not be lightly abandoned or ignored. ³ The document that was signed there, even though it is called the Final Act, was not an end to our work. It was a fresh start.

The Madrid meeting this year is ^{designed to assess} ~~set to see~~ what progress has been made, and, if possible, to speed its pace and widen its scope. Like the Belgrade meeting in 1977-78, Madrid is an opportunity to look carefully backward so that we can push vigorously forward. ⁴ ~~It is an occasion to measure the distance the 35 countries have come so that we can all renew our commitment to go further and faster.~~

Some have said that we should stay away from Madrid -- that we should drop out of the Helsinki process. Such ideas spring from ignorance of the meaning of Madrid. Some have even compared the meeting to the Moscow Olympics, suggesting

that since American athletes, ^{did not go to} ~~boycotted~~ Moscow, American
diplomats should, ^{not go to} ~~boycott~~ Madrid.*

The reasoning is confused. As host to the Olympics, the Soviet Union sought to enjoy both the fruits of aggression in Afghanistan and the prestige, ^{and propaganda value} of Olympic organizer at the same time. American athletes and those of some 50 other nations rejected that equation as indecent. I commend them. They stayed home, at great sacrifice -- and without them, the Moscow spectacular became a pathetic spectacle.

But Madrid will not be an aggressor's propaganda festival. The Spanish, not the Soviets, will be host. The Soviet Union will be there -- as the other 34 states will be there -- to give an account of the manner in which it has fulfilled or not fulfilled its undertakings.

~~I can think of nothing that would more~~ ^{few things that} please those ^{It would certainly}

~~*Reagan said this in an interview in Time, June 30.~~

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most guilty of ~~systematically~~ violating ~~their citizens'~~ human rights ~~than~~ to be freed from their obligation to account for their actions ^{before} ~~in the course of~~ world opinion at Madrid.

There will be no medals awarded in Madrid. It is not a wrestling match or a gymnastic tournament for diplomats. What it will test is the progress made on the international agenda of security and cooperation and the firmness of the principles by which the 35 participants agreed to be bound. ~~For this test, what America needs is staying power.~~

In pursuing the cause of human rights through the Helsinki Accords, there are no short cuts. The road we are on is the right one. As the Belgrade meeting was ending, Dante Fascell observed that "advocacy of human rights is not a quick fix ... it holds no promise of easy victories." Yet it must be pursued. And in Madrid, it will be pursued.

When I became President, I ^{emphasized} ~~reinstated~~ our commitment to

human rights as a fundamental tenet of our foreign policy.
That commitment is as important to me today as it was then.
It is as central to America's interests now as it was when our
country was born.

Then, as now, our commitment is world-wide. Beyond
Europe, we have sought in Africa, Asia and Latin America to
stand behind basic principles of respect for ~~the sanctity of~~^{each}
~~the person,~~ for fair trials, for political liberty and for
economic and social justice. We have made it clear that the
United States believes that torture cannot be tolerated
under any circumstances, that officially sanctioned
"disappearances" are abhorrent in any society. And as we
have insisted on the right of free movement everywhere, so
have we worked hard to ^{give to} aid the world's ~~millions of~~ refugees,
compelled to flee oppression and hardship.

We pursue these policies because we recognize that both

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our country and our world are more secure when basic human values are respected internationally.

SR

~~That is what the human rights policy of my Administration~~
is about. That is why we have sought to ensure that people around the world see America as our forebears meant it to be seen -- as a friend to peaceful change, a defender of human rights, a champion of fundamental freedoms and justice. Such an America will have far better relations with states in the world's turbulent zones of change -- and ultimately with all nations. In pursuing our values, we enhance our security.

Let no one doubt that our words and actions have left their mark. Many governments have released political prisoners. Others have lifted states of siege -- curtailed indiscriminate arrests -- reduced the use of torture. ~~Perhaps as important as any single step,~~ ^{our} Because of United States leadership, the ^{now} defense of human rights has its rightful place on the moral

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agenda of our time. Those who seek to deny individual rights must now answer for their actions. Those brave men and women struggling for liberty, often against great odds, know they are not alone.

In working with the 35 Helsinki states in North America, Eastern Europe, and Western Europe, we pursue the same values with the same vigor. The Helsinki Accords commit the signatories to, *ease military threats and international tension, to promote economic progress, and to* respect human rights, fundamental freedoms, and the self-determination of peoples. ~~Madrid gives us the forum; Helsinki gave us the framework. We will use both to continue our advance.~~

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We have never expected an uninterrupted record of progress. The behavior of the Soviet Union, in particular, has dishonored the principles of the Helsinki Accords -- both inside the USSR and beyond its ^{own} borders.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the increasingly

brutal occupation of that once-free nation can no more be reconciled with the Helsinki pledges than it can with the Charter of the United Nations. ¹⁵ For invading a neighbor, the Soviet Union already stands condemned before the world -- and the world has called for the full and prompt withdrawal of the Soviet forces. If they are still there at the time of the Madrid conference, we will ^{continue} ~~renew~~ the pressure for their withdrawal.

At home, as well, Soviet authorities have intensified their repression of the freedoms they ^{pledged} ~~undertook~~ at Helsinki to promote. ~~Free expression, even by the constricted standards of the Soviet system, is under renewed attack.~~ ¹⁴

The banishment into internal exile of Andrei Sakharov, a great scientist and a great humanist, is the best-known but sadly not the only instance of such violations of the Helsinki Accords. More than 40 courageous men and women are

now in prison or exile because ~~in Moscow, in the Baltic~~⁹
~~States, in the Ukraine, in Georgia and in Armenia~~ they
worked in private groups to encourage the Soviet government
to live up to its Helsinki pledges. They are silenced; but
at Madrid, no one can silence their cause.

S17

More broadly, but just as importantly, we will also
press a full agenda of human rights goals at Madrid and
after. Among those goals are the right of every person to
be free from governmental tyranny and arbitrary interference
with privacy; to have the right to travel; to have freedom
of thought, conscience and religion; to have the freedom to
exercise and express opinion individually and in peaceful
assembly; to have access to a fair and impartial system of
justice. These and other rights must be respected. They
are essential to genuine peace on this earth.

Madrid will be a sober meeting. The talk will be frank

and straightforward -- but, we hope, without polemics. We will be seeking progress, not propaganda. And I want to make clear that significant action in resolving human rights problems before Madrid would improve the atmosphere at the ~~review meeting.~~

There is some progress, of course, which we can welcome. *Some confidence building measures have been implemented.* The Helsinki Accords have given some impetus to the long-term

process of breaking down East-West barriers and easing the flow of people and ideas across once-closed frontiers. For *thousands of people* example, ~~more than 50,000~~ *a large number of* ethnic Germans emigrated, last year *to the west*

~~to West Germany~~ from East European countries in accord with the Helsinki undertakings. There have been recent efforts by a number of states to resolve outstanding family reunification cases with the United States, and we welcome those too. The Helsinki provisions have also helped Soviet Jews to emigrate, although the encouraging record level achieved in 1979 *is being* ~~has~~ ~~been alarmingly~~ reduced this year. At Madrid we will seek an

explanation for that decline and a commitment to reverse it.

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On all these issues at Madrid we can count on the support of the great majority of the participants. ~~Most of the nations at Madrid are Western.~~ They share the philosophy of international relations that underlies the Helsinki Accords.

Indeed, the effort to negotiate the Accords and now to assure their implementation has made Western Europe, ^{and The United States} more aware than ever of the political and moral values and interests ~~it~~ ^{which we} shares ~~with the United States.~~ In a time when there is much glib talk of Western disharmony, the Madrid meeting can give clear expression to our unity on fundamental values and goals.

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With that support we can continue at Madrid to pursue the aims to which we committed ourselves at Helsinki.

First, ~~We~~ ^{and we} want to encourage progress in human rights performance by the Soviet Union and its allies, ~~we~~ have no hesitation about submitting our own record to examination by

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others at Madrid. We are not perfect, ^{and} ~~but there is simply no~~
comparison between the status of human rights in the United
States and the other Western democracies on the one hand and
the status of human rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern
Europe on the other.

~~Nevertheless,~~ ^{and continuing} we are making a strong effort to improve,
~~-- not because we want to please the participants in an~~
~~international meeting, but~~ because preserving and extending
human rights is the heart and soul of our whole system. ~~That~~
is why so many of us are fighting to make the Equal Rights
Amendment part of our Constitution. And that is why I once
again urge the Senate to take favorable action on the International
Human Rights Covenants, the Convention on Racial Discrimination,
~~and the Genocide Convention.~~

~~Our second goal~~ ^{we will} ~~at Madrid, will be to use the CSCE process~~
to break down even more barriers to human contacts between

East and West, ^{to help} CSCE ~~helps~~ the reunification of families, the movement of people and ideas, the resolution of emigration issues. ²¹ This is a long-term process. If progress is often slow, if it is often affected by the international climate -- as today in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan -- that is no reason not to pursue it with vigor.

^{We will}
~~Our third goal at Madrid will be to try, as part of a~~ balanced result, to achieve practical progress ~~also~~ in the military security field. The Helsinki setting should not become primarily an arms control forum, ^{but} the United States is prepared to test the possibility of achieving significant, verifiable, and comprehensive confidence-building measures which can help enhance security in Europe.

Security in Europe ~~is~~ part of our overall vision of a better international order -- an order that promotes peaceful change, deters violence and the threat of violence against

sovereign nations, and protects all men and women who look to their governments and the world community to ensure their chance to live in dignity and freedom.

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~~Productive East-West relations are necessary to the attainment of such an international order, and Madrid gives us an important opportunity to restate both our genuine desire for ^{better East-West} such relations and our firm view of the principles of reciprocity and mutual restraint on which workable ties must be built.~~

There ^{will} ~~may~~ be ^{differences} ~~a confrontation~~ ^{sharp disagreement} at Madrid between the values we espouse and those Communist nations seek to advance.

But we will not go to Madrid ^{looking} ~~hungering~~ for conflict. We ^{eager} ~~anxious~~ approach that meeting instead for progress and committed to only one contest: the struggle to advance freedom and, through freedom, ^{mutual} security.

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The Helsinki Accords, to us, hold the promise of a freer,

more humane and thus more secure Europe -- based not just on superpower accommodation but on fundamental principles of international conduct. ²⁹ Those principles require that states earn the respect of their neighbors by treating their citizens with full respect for their rights and dignity as persons.

My own faith in the ultimate outcome of this long struggle is undimmed. Our country's role must never be in doubt.

In the words of Archibald MacLeish --

"There are those who will say that the liberation of humanity, the freedom of man and mind, is nothing but a dream. They are right. It is. It is the American dream."

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