

**9/10/77**

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THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Saturday - September 10, 1977

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8:40

Depart South Grounds via Helicopter  
en route Andrews Air Force Base and  
Newark and Trenton, New Jersey.

3:35

Return to the South Grounds.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

rick--

please file in  
confidential file  
for a while.

thanks -- susan

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
DIVISION OF LANGUAGE SERVICES

(TRANSLATION)

LS NO. 64068  
JEK/WD  
Spanish

REMARKS BY GENERAL TORRIJOS DURING THE CEREMONY OF THE SIGNING OF THE  
PANAMA CANAL TREATY AT THE PAN AMERICAN UNION ON SEPTEMBER 7, 1977

[Note: All quotations have been translated without reference to  
original English text. - LS]

MR. PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

I quote: You and I know well how many points there are in the Treaty to which any Panamanian patriot would object. Letter from John Hay, United States Secretary of State, to Senator Spooner, January 20, 1904. Unquote.

My presence here together with the most representatives leaders and statesmen of the Hemisphere attests to the end of many struggles by several generations of Panamanian patriots.

Our people, who have struggled with heroic perseverance to complete their independence, harbor no feelings of animosity against this nation which through gigantic feats of technology, pierced the Isthmus of Panama and connected two oceans 8 hours apart.

However, what was for mankind a technological conquest became, through a distortion of history, a colonial conquest of our country. I say distortion of history because President Theodore Roosevelt himself stated publicly in Panama, I quote:

President Amador Guerrero, we have not the slightest intention of establishing an independent colony in the Canal Zone. October 18, 1904.  
Unquote.

Basically what sustained the hopes of the Panamanian people and strengthened their patience during all these years was the firm conviction that the people of the United States were not colonialists at heart, because you yourselves had been a colony and had fought heroically for your freedom.

We feel that you, Mr. President, in raising the banner of morality over our relations, are representing the true spirit of your people.

Latin America has stood by us both loyally and impartially. Its leaders have come to attend this ceremony in testimony of the fact that the religion and the cause of the Panamanian people are the religion and the cause of the hemisphere.

The presence of these leaders must herald a new and different era among us who live and sleep together in the hemisphere, so that all traces of the injustices which prevent us from dealing as equals may disappear. If one would be strong, one must also be just. You have changed imperial strength into moral strength.

Mr. President: There are two types of truths, logical truth and pleasant truth. In the name of logical truth, I want you to know that this Treaty, which I shall sign and which repeals a treaty not signed by any Panamanian, does not enjoy the approval of all our people, because the 23 years agreed upon as a transition period are 8,395 days, because during this time there will still be military bases which make my country a strategic reprisal target, and because we are agreeing to a treaty of

neutrality which places us under the protective umbrella of the Pentagon.  
This pact could, if it is not administered judiciously by future generations, become an instrument of permanent intervention.

However, what has been agreed is the product of an understanding between two leaders who believe that their nations should live together peacefully and who have the courage and the leadership to stand before their people armed only with the truth and their deep conviction of what is just.

In Panama the instrument of ratification will be a plebiscite which, more than just a plebiscite, will be the purest example of civic participation ever recorded in the political history of the Republic. Ratification by this country will depend on the consensus of the Congress.

Esteemed friends of the Senate:

Before leaving you, I should like to recall a thought of a man which is today more pertinent than ever. Abraham Lincoln said: "A statesman is one who thinks of future generations and a politician is one who thinks of the next elections." I return to my country convinced that the future of our relations rests in the hands of excellent statesmen.

Thank you very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

PERSONAL

9-10-77

To Sen Goldwater

It is very important to me as President and Commander in Chief that you support the Panama Canal Treaty.

I would like to make a few points frankly and privately to you:

a) Your judgment and your patriotism have made you a strong leader to many Americans, and your decision as one Senator may well be the crucial factor in the

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

decision of other Senators.

b) I have worked hard on this treaty negotiation under the presumption that your expression of support last year and more recently would continue as a major factor in my struggle for ratification. The terms of the treaty plus Torrijos' own public statements are a vast improvement over the prospective terms of several months ago.

c) I recognize clearly the enormous political pressures



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

which have been building up,  
but there is no doubt that  
it is easier for you to  
withstand them than for  
most other men, and there  
is no doubt that your  
stature and influence could  
survive easily an unpopular  
decision.

d) More simply put, I  
need your help, and ask  
you - if you have doubts  
to give me the benefit  
of them.

Your friend

Jimmy

encl: Torrips OAS speech

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

p.s. Although I invited  
you to come by to see  
me, I am glad to wait  
until later when it is  
more desirable for you -

J

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1977

Stu Eizenstat

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Hamilton Jordan  
Bunny Mitchell  
Frank Moore

RE: LETTER FROM BLACK CAUCUS  
ON BAKKE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.  
Congressional Black Caucus

306 House Annex  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
202-225-1691

*See -  
Prepare answer  
J*

Parren J. Mitchell, Md., Chairperson  
Shirley Chisholm, N.Y., Vice-Chairperson  
Cardiss Collins, Ill., Treasurer  
Ronald V. Dellums, Calif., Secretary

September 9, 1977

Yvonne B. Burke, Calif.,  
William Clay, Mo.  
John Conyers, Mich.  
Charles Diggs, Mich.  
Walter E. Fauntroy, D.C.  
Harold Ford, Tenn.  
Augustus Hawkins, Calif.  
Barbara Jordan, Texas  
Ralph Metcalfe, Ill.  
Robert N.C. Nix, Pa.  
Charles Rangel, N.Y.  
Louis Stokes, Ohio

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

Dear Mr. President:

Reports indicate that the government will file an amicus curiae brief in support of Allan Bakke in the case of The University of California v. Allan Bakke. We understand that that brief takes the position that the University of California acted in an unconstitutional and discriminatory manner in its establishment of a special admissions program to benefit "economically and socially disadvantaged" applicants to its medical school. We strongly oppose this position apparently taken by the government. This position is not only contrary to the relevant civil rights law, but will also have the effect of irretrievably undermining the affirmative action programs of public and private entities.

We urge the Administration to reconsider and reverse its reported decision to support Allan Bakke's position in this case. As indicated in the memorandum left with you at our meeting on Wednesday, we believe that future generations would come to regard a government brief supporting Bakke's position in the way the nation would now view a government brief in support of segregation in Brown v. The Board of Education. A government brief opposing affirmative action programs would be a statement to the black community indicating the government's reversal of its commitment to civil rights in this country.

In April, the Congressional Black Caucus wrote to the Attorney General asking for an amicus brief in support of the University of California's position in this case. Six months ago, when the Supreme Court decided to grant certiorari in the Bakke case, a delegation of concerned minority citizens asked the Justice Department to intervene on behalf of the University. It was their feeling that the real parties at interest -- minority Americans who stand to lose most from a policy of retrenchment -- had never been adequately represented in the litigation. Now, without the opportunity for those groups and for the Caucus to review and question the arguments in this reported brief, the Justice Department is apparently ready to immediately file a brief against our interests.

We ask that such filing be delayed to allow for further discussions with appropriate officials on this vital matter. It is imperative that the government file with the Supreme Court a strong and persuasive brief in support of the University of California's position in the Bakke case, particularly since the Federal government brief could be the deciding factor in arguments before the Supreme Court.

Sincerely,

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

*Yvonne B. Burke*

Yvonne B. Burke

*Shirley Chisholm*

Shirley Chisholm

*William Clay*

William Clay

*Cardiss Collins*

Cardiss Collins

*Ronald V. Dellums*

Ronald V. Dellums

John Conyers

*John Conyers*

Charles Diggs

*Walter Fauntroy*

Walter Fauntroy

*Harold Ford*

Harold Ford

*Augustus F. Hawkins*

Augustus Hawkins

*Barbara Jordan*

Barbara Jordan

*Ralph N. Metcalfe*

Ralph Metcalfe

*Parren J. Mitchell*

Parren J. Mitchell

*Robert N.C. Nix*

Robert N.C. Nix

*Charles Rangel*

Charles Rangel

*Louis Stokes*

Louis Stokes

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Sunday - September 11, 1977

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9:50 Depart South Grounds via Motorcade  
en route First Baptist Church.

10:00 Sunday School.

11:00 Morning Worship Service.