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memo w/ attach.	From Brzezinski to The President (16 pp.) re:UN Speech	10/1/77	A
drafts	United Nations Speech (7 copies 275 pp.)	10/3/77	A

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

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MR. PRESIDENT

I WISH ~~FIRST OF ALL~~ TO OFFER ~~TO YOU~~ MY
CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR ELECTION AS PRESIDENT OF THE
32ND GENERAL ASSEMBLY. IT GIVES MY GOVERNMENT
PARTICULAR SATISFACTION TO WORK UNDER THE LEADERSHIP
OF A REPRESENTATIVE OF YUGOSLAVIA, WITH WHICH THE
UNITED STATES HAS SUCH ~~CLOSE AND~~ VALUED RELATIONS.

WE PLEDGE OUR ~~EVERY~~ COOPERATION AND WILL
DEPEND HEAVILY ON YOUR EXPERIENCE AND SKILL IN
LEADING THE DISCUSSIONS WE ARE ~~COMMENCING~~ BEGINNING.

MR. PRESIDENT, I ALSO WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS AGAIN
THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH WE HOLD SECRETARY GENERAL
WALDHEIM. WE CONTINUE TO BENEFIT GREATLY FROM OUR
CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH HIM AND PLACE GREAT TRUST
IN HIS LEADERSHIP OF ^{THIS} ~~THE~~ ORGANIZATION.

MR. PRES.

DUR U.N. DELEGATION URGE THESE INTRODUCTORY
REMARKS FOR YOUR SPEECH.
ALSO DURENANT IS ~~BY~~ DURENANT.

July

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
OCTOBER 4, 1977

1

MR SECRETARY GENERAL, MR
PRESIDENT, ASSEMBLED DELEGATES
AND DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

THIRTY-TWO YEARS AGO, IN THE COLD DAWN OF THE
ATOMIC AGE, THIS ORGANIZATION CAME INTO BEING.
ITS FIRST AND MOST URGENT PURPOSE HAS BEEN TO SECURE
PEACE FOR AN EXHAUSTED AND RAVAGED WORLD.

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN SOME RESPECTS APPEAR
QUITE HOPEFUL, YET THE ASSURANCE OF PEACE STILL
ELUDES US. BEFORE THE END OF THIS CENTURY,

A SCORE OF NATIONS COULD POSSESS NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
IF THIS SHOULD HAPPEN, THE WORLD WE LEAVE OUR
CHILDREN WILL MOCK OUR HOPES FOR PEACE.

-- THE LEVEL OF NUCLEAR ARMAMENTS COULD GROW
BY TENS OF THOUSANDS, AND THE SAME SITUATION
COULD WELL OCCUR WITH ADVANCED CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS.
THE TEMPTATION TO USE THEM, OR FEAR THAT SOMEONE
ELSE WILL DO IT FIRST, ^{would} ~~will~~ BE ALMOST IRRESISTIBLE.

-- THE EVER-GROWING TRADE IN CONVENTIONAL ARMS
SUBVERTS INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE FROM A FORCE FOR
PEACE TO A CATERER FOR WAR.

-- VIOLENCE, TERRORISM, ASSASSINATION,
UNDECLARED WARS -- ALL THREATEN TO DESTROY THE

RESTRAINT AND MODERATION THAT MUST BECOME THE
DOMINANT CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR AGE.

UNLESS WE ESTABLISH A CODE OF INTERNATIONAL
BEHAVIOR IN WHICH THE RESORT TO VIOLENCE BECOMES
INCREASINGLY IRRELEVANT TO THE PURSUIT OF NATIONAL
INTERESTS, WE WILL CRUSH THE WORLD'S DREAMS FOR
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND THE FULL FLOWERING OF HUMAN
FREEDOM.

WE HAVE ALREADY BECOME A GLOBAL COMMUNITY --
BUT ONLY IN THE SENSE THAT WE FACE COMMON PROBLEMS
AND SHARE, FOR GOOD OR ILL, A COMMON FUTURE.
IN THIS COMMUNITY, POWER TO SOLVE THE WORLD'S
PROBLEMS -- PARTICULARLY ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
POWER -- NO LONGER LIES SOLELY IN THE HANDS OF

A FEW NATIONS.

A FEW NATIONS. POWER IS NOW WIDELY SHARED
AMONG MANY NATIONS WITH DIFFERENT CULTURES,
HISTORIES AND ASPIRATIONS. THE QUESTION IS
WHETHER WE WILL ALLOW OUR DIFFERENCES TO DEFEAT
US OR WHETHER WE WILL WORK TOGETHER TO REALIZE
OUR COMMON HOPES FOR PEACE.

TODAY, I WANT TO ADDRESS THE MAJOR DIMENSIONS
OF PEACE, AND THE ROLE THE UNITED STATES INTENDS
TO PLAY IN LIMITING AND REDUCING ALL ARMAMENTS,
CONTROLLING NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, RESTRICTING THE
ARMS TRADE, AND SETTLING DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

THE CONTROL OF NUCLEAR ARMS

WHEN ATOMIC WEAPONS WERE USED FOR THE
~~WINSTON CHURCHILL, UPON FIRST HEARING OF THE~~

FIRST TIME, WINSTON CHURCHILL DESCRIBED
~~SPLITTING OF THE ATOM, DESCRIBED THAT AWESOME~~
 THE POWER OF THE ATOM AS A "REVELATION... LONG
~~DISCOVERY AS "KNOWLEDGE WHICH UNTIL NOW HAS BEEN~~

MERCIFULLY WITHHELD FROM MAN. SINCE THEN
 WE HAVE LEARNED, IN ^{..} DÜRRENMATT'S ^(MATT) CHILLING WORDS,
 THAT "WHAT HAS ONCE BEEN THOUGHT CAN NEVER BE
UN-THOUGHT."

IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY ASSURANCE THAT OUR
 CHILDREN ARE TO LIVE OUT THEIR LIVES IN A WORLD
 WHICH SATISFIES OUR HOPES -- OR THAT THEY WILL
 HAVE A CHANCE TO LIVE AT ALL -- WE MUST FINALLY
 COME TO TERMS WITH THIS ENORMOUS FORCE AND TURN
 IT ^{EXCLUSIVELY} TO BENEFICIAL ENDS.

PEACE WILL NOT BE ASSURED UNTIL THE WEAPONS
 OF WAR ARE FINALLY PUT AWAY. WHILE WE WORK

TOWARD THAT GOAL, NATIONS WILL WANT SUFFICIENT ARMS
TO PRESERVE THEIR SECURITY. THE UNITED STATES'
PURPOSE IS TO ENSURE PEACE. IT IS FOR THAT
REASON THAT OUR MILITARY POSTURE AND OUR ALLIANCES
WILL REMAIN AS STRONG AS NECESSARY TO DETER ATTACK.

HOWEVER, THE SECURITY OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY
CANNOT FOREVER REST ON A BALANCE OF TERROR. IN THE
PAST, WAR HAS BEEN ACCEPTED AS THE ULTIMATE ARBITER
OF DISPUTES AMONG NATIONS.

IN THE NUCLEAR ERA, WE CAN NO LONGER THINK OF
WAR AS MERELY THE CONTINUATION OF DIPLOMACY BY
OTHER MEANS. NUCLEAR WAR CANNOT BE MEASURED BY
ARCHAIC STANDARDS OF "VICTORY" AND "DEFEAT."
THIS STARK REALITY IMPOSES ON THE UNITED STATES AND

THE SOVIET UNION AN AWESOME AND SPECIAL
RESPONSIBILITY•

THE UNITED STATES IS ENGAGED ALONG WITH OTHER
NATIONS IN A BROAD RANGE OF NEGOTIATIONS• IN
STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, WE AND THE SOVIETS
ARE WITHIN SIGHT OF A SIGNIFICANT AGREEMENT IN LIMITING
THE TOTAL NUMBERS OF WEAPONS AND IN RESTRICTING
CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF WEAPONS OF SPECIAL CONCERN
TO EACH OF US• WE CAN ALSO START THE CRUCIAL
PROCESS OF CURBING THE RELENTLESS MARCH OF TECHNOLOGICAL
DEVELOPMENT WHICH MAKES NUCLEAR WEAPONS EVER MORE
DIFFICULT TO CONTROL•

WE MUST LOOK BEYOND THE PRESENT, AND WORK
TO PREVENT THE CRITICAL THREATS AND INSTABILITIES

OF THE FUTURE•

OF THE FUTURE. IF THE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-RESTRAINT,
RECIPROCITY, AND MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION OF INTERESTS
ARE OBSERVED, THEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET
UNION WILL NOT ONLY SUCCEED IN LIMITING WEAPONS,
BUT WILL ALSO CREATE A FOUNDATION FOR BETTER RELATIONS
IN OTHER SPHERES OF INTEREST.

THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO GO AS FAR AS
POSSIBLE, CONSISTENT WITH OUR SECURITY INTERESTS,
IN LIMITING AND REDUCING OUR NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS WE ARE WILLING NOW TO REDUCE
THEM BY 10 PERCENT, BY 20 PERCENT, EVEN BY
50 PERCENT. THEN WE WILL WORK FOR FURTHER
REDUCTIONS TO A WORLD TRULY FREE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

* * *

THE UNITED STATES ALSO RECOGNIZES THE THREAT
OF CONTINUED TESTING OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON NUCLEAR
EXPLOSIONS ARE NOW BEING CONDUCTED BY THE UNITED STATES,
THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE SOVIET UNION. AS IN
OTHER AREAS WHERE VITAL NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS
ARE ENGAGED, AGREEMENTS MUST BE VERIFIABLE AND FAIR.
THEY MUST BE SEEN BY ALL THE PARTIES AS SERVING
A LONGER TERM INTEREST THAT JUSTIFIES THE RESTRAINTS
OF THE MOMENT.

THAT LONGER TERM INTEREST IN THIS INSTANCE
IS TO CLOSE ONE MORE AVENUE OF NUCLEAR COMPETITION,
AND THEREBY DEMONSTRATE TO ALL THE WORLD THAT THE

MAJOR NUCLEAR

MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS TAKE SERIOUSLY OUR OBLIGATIONS
TO REDUCE THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR CATASTROPHE.

MY COUNTRY BELIEVES THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO
END ALL EXPLOSIONS OF NUCLEAR DEVICES, NO MATTER WHAT
THEIR CLAIMED JUSTIFICATION -- PEACEFUL OR MILITARY.
WE APPRECIATE THE EFFORTS OF OTHER NATIONS TO REACH
THIS SAME GOAL.

* * *

DURING THE PAST NINE MONTHS, I HAVE EXPRESSED
THE SPECIAL IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO CONTROLLING
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. BUT I FEAR THAT MANY DO NOT
UNDERSTAND WHY THE UNITED STATES FEELS AS IT DOES.

WHY IS IT SO IMPORTANT TO AVOID THE CHANCE
THAT ONE OR TWO OR TEN OTHER NATIONS MIGHT ACQUIRE
ONE OR TWO OR TEN NUCLEAR WEAPONS OF THEIR OWN?
LET ME TRY TO EXPLAIN, FOR I DEEPLY BELIEVE THAT THIS
IS ONE OF THE GREATEST CHALLENGES THAT WE FACE IN THE
NEXT QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

IT IS A TRUISM THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE A
POWERFUL DETERRENT. THEY ARE A DETERRENT BECAUSE
THEY THREATEN. THEY COULD BE USED FOR TERRORISM
OR BLACKMAIL AS WELL AS WAR. BUT THEY THREATEN
NOT JUST THE INTENDED ENEMY, THEY THREATEN EVERY
NATION -- COMBATANT AND NON-COMBATANT ALIKE.
THIS IS WHY ALL OF US MUST BE CONCERNED.

LET ME BE FRANK.

LET ME BE FRANK. THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS IN THE U.S. AND ^{SOVIET UNION} ~~U.S.S.R.~~, AND IN GREAT BRITAIN,
FRANCE AND CHINA, IS SOMETHING WE CANNOT UNDO
EXCEPT BY THE PAINSTAKING PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION.
BUT THE EXISTENCE OF THESE WEAPONS DOES NOT MEAN
THAT OTHER NATIONS NEED TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN WEAPONS,
ANY MORE THAN IT PROVIDES A REASON FOR THOSE OF US
WHO HAVE THEM TO SHARE THEM WITH OTHERS.

RATHER IT IMPOSES TWO SOLEMN OBLIGATIONS
ON THE NATIONS WHICH HAVE THE CAPACITY TO EXPORT
NUCLEAR FUELS AND TECHNOLOGIES -- THE OBLIGATIONS
TO MEET LEGITIMATE ENERGY NEEDS AND, IN DOING SO,
TO ENSURE THAT NOTHING WE EXPORT CONTRIBUTES --
DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY -- TO THE PRODUCTION

OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVES. THAT IS WHY THE SUPPLIER
NATIONS ARE SEEKING A COMMON POLICY, AND THAT IS
WHY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, EVEN
AS WE STRUGGLE TO FIND COMMON GROUND IN THE SALT
TALKS, HAVE ALREADY MOVED CLOSER TOWARD AGREEMENT
AND COOPERATION IN OUR EFFORTS TO LIMIT NUCLEAR
PROLIFERATION.

I BELIEVE THAT

I BELIEVE THAT THE LONDON SUPPLIERS GROUP
MUST CONCLUDE ITS WORK AS IT IS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED,
SO THAT WORLD SECURITY WILL BE SAFEGUARDED FROM
THE PRESSURES OF COMMERCIAL COMPETITION. WE
HAVE LEARNED THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO SAFEGUARD
JUST SOME FACILITIES, OR SOME MATERIALS. FULL
SCOPE COMPREHENSIVE SAFEGUARDS ARE NECESSARY.

TWO WEEKS FROM NOW, MORE THAN THIRTY
SUPPLIER AND CONSUMING NATIONS WILL CONVENE FOR
THE INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE EVALUATION WHICH WE
PROPOSED LAST SPRING. FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL
YEARS EXPERTS WILL WORK TOGETHER ON EVERY FACET
OF THE NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE.

THE SCIENTISTS AND POLICY-MAKERS OF THESE
NATIONS FACE A TREMENDOUS CHALLENGE. WE KNOW

THAT BY THE YEAR 2000, NUCLEAR POWER REACTORS
COULD BE PRODUCING ENOUGH PLUTONIUM TO MAKE TENS
OF THOUSANDS OF BOMBS EVERY YEAR. I BELIEVE,
FROM MY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF THIS ISSUE, THAT
THERE ARE WAYS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS WE FACE.
I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE ALTERNATIVE FUEL CYCLES
THAT CAN BE MANAGED SAFELY ON A GLOBAL BASIS.
I HOPE THEREFORE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL FUEL CYCLE
EVALUATION WILL HAVE THE SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT
OF EVERY NATION.

I HAVE HEARD IT SAID THAT EFFORTS TO CONTROL
NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION ARE FUTILE; THAT THE GENIE IS
ALREADY OUT OF THE BOTTLE. I DO NOT BELIEVE
THIS TO BE TRUE. IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN
THAT FOR 25 YEARS THE NUCLEAR CLUB DID NOT EXPAND

ITS MEMBERSHIP.

ITS MEMBERSHIP. BY GENUINE COOPERATION
WE CAN MAKE CERTAIN THAT IT GROWS NO FURTHER.

CONVENTIONAL ARMS

I HAVE TALKED ABOUT THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS
OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION
AT SOME LENGTH. NOW LET ME TURN TO THE PROBLEM
OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS CONTROL. THIS IS NOT
A MATTER OF THE FUTURE -- NOT EVEN OF THE NEAR
FUTURE -- BUT OF THE IMMEDIATE PRESENT.
WORLDWIDE MILITARY EXPENDITURES ARE NOW IN THE
NEIGHBORHOOD OF \$300 BILLION A YEAR. LAST YEAR
THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD SPENT MORE THAN 60
TIMES AS MUCH EQUIPPING EACH SOLDIER AS WE DID
EDUCATING EACH CHILD. THE INDUSTRIALIZED
NATIONS SPEND THE MOST MONEY, BUT THE RATE OF
GROWTH IN MILITARY SPENDING IS FASTER IN THE

DEVELOPING WORLD. ~~AND~~ WHILE ONLY A HANDFUL
OF STATES PRODUCE SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, THE
NUMBER OF NATIONS WHICH SEEK TO PURCHASE
THEM IS INCREASING RAPIDLY.

THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE BOTH CAUSES
AND FEEDS ON THE THREAT OF LARGER AND MORE DEADLY
WARS. IT LEVIES AN ENORMOUS BURDEN ON AN
ALREADY TROUBLED WORLD ECONOMY.

FOR ITS PART, THE UNITED STATES HAS NOW
BEGUN TO REDUCE ITS ARMS EXPORTS. OUR AIM
IS TO REDUCE BOTH THE QUANTITY AND DEADLINESS OF
THE WEAPONS WE SELL. WE HAVE TAKEN THE FIRST
FEW STEPS, BUT WE CANNOT GO VERY FAR ALONE.
NATIONS WHOSE NEIGHBORS ARE PURCHASING LARGE
QUANTITIES OF ARMS FEEL CONSTRAINED TO DO THE

SAME. SUPPLIER

SAME. SUPPLIER NATIONS WHO PRACTICE
RESTRAINT IN ARMS SALES SOMETIMES FIND THAT
THEY SIMPLY LOSE VALUABLE COMMERCIAL MARKETS
TO OTHER SUPPLIERS.

WE HOPE TO WORK WITH OTHER SUPPLIERS
TO CUT BACK ON THE FLOW OF ARMS AND TO REDUCE
THE RATE AT WHICH THE MOST ADVANCED AND
SOPHISTICATED WEAPON TECHNOLOGIES SPREAD
AROUND THE WORLD. WE DO NOT EXPECT THIS
TASK TO BE EASY OR TO PRODUCE INSTANT RESULTS.
BUT WE ARE COMMITTED TO STOP THE SPIRAL OF
INCREASING SALES.

EQUALLY IMPORTANT, WE HOPE THAT
PURCHASER NATIONS, INDIVIDUALLY AND THROUGH
REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, WILL LIMIT THEIR ARMS

IMPORTS• WE ARE READY TO PROVIDE TO SOME
NATIONS THE NECESSARY MEANS FOR LEGITIMATE
SELF-DEFENSE, BUT WE ARE ALSO EAGER TO WORK
WITH ANY NATION OR REGION IN ORDER TO DECREASE
THE NEED FOR MORE NUMEROUS, MORE DEADLY AND
EVER MORE EXPENSIVE WEAPONS•

REGIONAL CONFLICT

FOURTEEN YEARS AGO, ONE OF MY PREDECESSORS
SPOKE IN THIS ROOM UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES THAT IN
CERTAIN WAYS RESEMBLED THESE• IT WAS A TIME,
HE SAID, OF COMPARATIVE CALM AND THERE WAS AN
ATMOSPHERE OF RISING HOPE ABOUT THE PROSPECT
OF CONTROLLING NUCLEAR ENERGY• THE FIRST
SPECIFIC STEP HAD BEEN TAKEN TO LIMIT THE NUCLEAR
ARMS RACE -- A TEST-BAN TREATY SIGNED BY
NEARLY A HUNDRED NATIONS•

BUT THE SUCCEEDING

BUT THE SUCCEEDING YEARS DID NOT LIVE UP
TO THE OPTIMISTIC PROSPECT JOHN F. KENNEDY
PLACED BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY BECAUSE, AS A
COMMUNITY OF NATIONS, WE FAILED TO ADDRESS
THE DEEPEST SOURCES OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT
AMONG US.

AS WE SEEK TO ESTABLISH THE PRINCIPLES
OF DETENTE AMONG THE MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS,
WE BELIEVE THAT THESE PRINCIPLES MUST ALSO
APPLY IN REGIONAL CONFLICTS. THE UNITED
STATES IS COMMITTED TO THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT
OF DIFFERENCES. WE ARE COMMITTED TO THE
STRENGTHENING OF THE PEACE-MAKING CAPABILITIES
OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
SUCH AS THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY AND
THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES.

THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTS GREAT
BRITAIN'S EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL,
RAPID TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE AND
INDEPENDENCE IN ZIMBABWE. WE HAVE JOINED
OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND
THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT
INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRATIC RULE IN NAMIBIA.
WE ARE PLEASED WITH THE LEVEL OF COOPERATION
WE HAVE ACHIEVED WITH THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONS
IN THE AREA, AS WELL AS THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE
STRUGGLING FOR INDEPENDENCE. WE URGE SOUTH
AFRICA AND OTHER NATIONS TO SUPPORT THE
PROPOSED SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS IN ZIMBABWE,
AND TO COOPERATE STILL MORE CLOSELY IN PROVIDING
FOR A SMOOTH AND PROMPT TRANSITION IN NAMIBIA.

BUT IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT ALL OUTSIDE NATIONS
EXERCISE RESTRAINT IN THEIR ACTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

AND NAMIBIA,

AND NAMIBIA, SO THAT WE CAN BRING ABOUT
MAJORITY RULE AND AVOID A WIDENING WAR THAT
 COULD ENGULF THE SOUTHERN HALF OF THE AFRICAN
 CONTINENT.

* * *

OF ALL THE REGIONAL CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD,
NONE HOLDS MORE MENACE THAN THE MIDDLE EAST.
WAR THERE HAS ^{ALREADY} CARRIED THE WORLD TO THE EDGE OF
NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION. IT HAS DISRUPTED
 THE WORLD ECONOMY AND IMPOSED SEVERE HARDSHIPS
 ON THE PEOPLE IN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING
 NATIONS ALIKE. SO TRUE PEACE -- PEACE
 EMBODIED IN BINDING TREATIES -- IS ESSENTIAL.
 IT WILL BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE ISRAELIS AND
 THE ARABS. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF
THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL HAS
PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR PEACE IN RESOLUTIONS 242
AND 338, BUT NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH BY ALL
PARTIES IS NEEDED TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO PEACE•

SUCH GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE
INSPIRED BY A RECOGNITION THAT ALL NATIONS IN
THE AREA -- ISRAEL AND THE ARAB COUNTRIES --
HAVE A RIGHT TO EXIST IN PEACE, WITH EARLY
ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS,
ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE• PEACE MUST
INCLUDE A PROCESS IN WHICH THE BITTER DIVISIONS
OF GENERATIONS -- HATREDS AND SUSPICIONS --
CAN BE OVERCOME• NEGOTIATIONS CANNOT BE
SUCCESSFUL IF ANY OF THE PARTIES HARBOR THE
DECEITFUL VIEW THAT PEACE IS SIMPLY AN INTERLUDE
IN WHICH TO PREPARE FOR WAR•

GOOD FAITH NEGOTIATIONS ALSO REQUIRE
ACCEPTANCE BY ALL SIDES OF THE FUNDAMENTAL
RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF EVERYONE INVOLVED.

-- FOR ISRAEL, THIS MUST MEAN BORDERS
THAT ARE RECOGNIZED AND SECURE. SECURITY
ARRANGEMENTS ARE CRUCIAL TO A NATION THAT HAS
FOUGHT FOR ITS SURVIVAL IN EACH OF THE LAST
FOUR DECADES. THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED
STATES TO ISRAEL'S SECURITY IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

-- FOR THE ARABS, THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS
OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MUST BE RECOGNIZED.
ONE OF THE THINGS THAT BINDS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
TO ISRAEL IS OUR SHARED RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
AND THE COURAGE WITH WHICH ISRAEL HAS DEFENDED
SUCH RIGHTS. IT IS CLEAR THAT A TRUE AND

LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST MUST ALSO
RESPECT THE RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE
AREA. HOW THESE RIGHTS ARE TO BE DEFINED
AND IMPLEMENTED IS, OF COURSE, FOR THE
INTERESTED PARTIES TO DECIDE IN NEGOTIATIONS,
AND NOT FOR US TO DICTATE.

WE DO NOT INTEND TO IMPOSE FROM THE
OUTSIDE A SETTLEMENT ON THE NATIONS OF THE
MIDDLE EAST.

THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN MEETING WITH
THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF ISRAEL AND THE ARAB
NATIONS INVOLVED IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE.
WE ARE STAYING IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE SOVIET
UNION, WITH WHOM WE SHARE RESPONSIBILITY
FOR RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. AS A

RESULT OF THESE

RESULT OF THESE CONSULTATIONS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE AGREED TO CALL FOR THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BEFORE THE END OF THIS YEAR. WHILE A NUMBER OF PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS REMAIN, IF THE PARTIES CONTINUE TO ACT IN GOOD FAITH, I BELIEVE ~~THEY~~ ^{THESE QUESTIONS} CAN BE ANSWERED.

* * *

THE MAJOR POWERS HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO ACT WITH RESTRAINT IN AREAS OF THE WORLD WHERE THEY HAVE COMPETING INTERESTS, BECAUSE THE ASSOCIATION OF THESE INTERESTS WITH LOCAL RIVALRIES AND CONFLICTS CAN LEAD TO CONFRONTATION. IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA NEITHER WE NOR THE SOVIET UNION

HAS A LARGE MILITARY PRESENCE, NOR IS THERE
A RAPIDLY MOUNTING COMPETITION BETWEEN US.
RESTRAINT IN THE AREA MAY WELL BEGIN WITH
A MUTUAL EFFORT TO STABILIZE OUR PRESENCE AND
TO AVOID AN ESCALATION IN MILITARY COMPETITION.
THEN BOTH SIDES CAN CONSIDER HOW OUR MILITARY
ACTIVITIES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA MIGHT BE EVEN
FURTHER REDUCED.

THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DIFFERENCES
IS, OF COURSE, ESSENTIAL. THE UNITED STATES
IS WILLING TO ABIDE BY THAT PRINCIPLE, AS IN
THE CASE OF THE RECENTLY SIGNED PANAMA CANAL
TREATIES. ONCE RATIFIED, THESE TREATIES CAN
TRANSFORM THE U.S.-PANAMA RELATIONSHIP INTO
ONE THAT PERMANENTLY PROTECTS THE INTERESTS AND
RESPECTS THE SOVEREIGNTY OF BOTH COUNTRIES.

* * *

WE HAVE SURVIVED

* * *

ALL
 WE HAVE SURVIVED AND SURMOUNTED
MAJOR CHALLENGES SINCE THE U.N. WAS FOUNDED,
 BUT WE CAN ACCELERATE PROGRESS EVEN IN A
WORLD OF EVER INCREASING DIVERSITY. A
COMMITMENT TO STRENGTHEN INTERNATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS IS VITAL, BUT PROGRESS LIES ALSO
 IN OUR NATIONAL POLICIES. WE CAN WORK
 TOGETHER AND FORM A COMMUNITY OF PEACE IF WE
 ACCEPT THE KIND OF OBLIGATIONS I HAVE SUGGESTED:

TO SUMMARIZE:

-- FIRST, AN OBLIGATION TO REMOVE THE
THREAT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONRY, TO REVERSE THE
BUILD-UP OF ARMAMENTS AND THEIR TRADE, AND
 TO CONCLUDE BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ARMS
CONTROL AGREEMENTS THAT CAN BRING SECURITY TO
 ALL OF US.

IN ORDER

[^] TO REDUCE THE RELIANCE OF NATIONS ON
NUCLEAR WEAPONRY I HEREBY SOLEMNLY DECLARE
ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES THAT WE WILL
NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS EXCEPT IN SELF-DEFENSE;
THAT IS, IN CIRCUMSTANCES OF AN ACTUAL NUCLEAR
OR CONVENTIONAL ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES,
OUR TERRITORIES OR ARMED FORCES, OR ^{SUCH} AN ATTACK
ON OUR ALLIES.

IN ADDITION, WE HOPE THAT ~~NEW~~ INITIATIVES
BY THE WESTERN NATIONS TO SECURE MUTUAL AND
BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS IN EUROPE WILL BE
MET BY EQUAL RESPONSE FROM THE WARSAW PACT
COUNTRIES.

-- SECOND, AN OBLIGATION

-- SECOND, AN OBLIGATION TO SHOW
RESTRAINT IN AREAS OF TENSION, TO NEGOTIATE
DISPUTES AND TO SETTLE THEM PEACEFULLY, AND
TO STRENGTHEN PEACEMAKING CAPABILITIES OF
THE UNITED NATIONS AND REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS•

-- AND, FINALLY, AN EFFORT BY ALL
NATIONS, EAST AS WELL AS WEST, NORTH AS WELL
AS SOUTH, TO FULFILL MANKIND'S ASPIRATIONS FOR
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN FREEDOM• IT IS
TO MEET THESE BASIC DEMANDS THAT WE BUILD
GOVERNMENTS AND SEEK PEACE•

WE MUST SHARE THESE OBLIGATIONS FOR
OUR MUTUAL SURVIVAL AND PROSPERITY•

WE CAN SEE A WORLD AT PEACE. WE
CAN WORK FOR A WORLD WITHOUT WANT. WE
CAN BUILD A GLOBAL COMMUNITY DEDICATED TO
THESE PURPOSES AND TO HUMAN DIGNITY.

THE VIEW THAT I HAVE SKETCHED FOR YOU,
TODAY, IS THAT OF ONE LEADER IN ONLY ONE NATION.
HOWEVER WEALTHY AND POWERFUL THE UNITED STATES
MAY BE -- HOWEVER CAPABLE OF LEADERSHIP --
THIS POWER IS INCREASINGLY RELATIVE, THE
LEADERSHIP INCREASINGLY IN NEED OF BEING SHARED.
NO NATION HAS A MONOPOLY OF VISION, OF
CREATIVITY, OF IDEAS. BRINGING THESE TOGETHER
FROM MANY NATIONS IS OUR COMMON RESPONSIBILITY
AND CHALLENGE. FOR ONLY IN THESE WAYS CAN
THE IDEA OF A PEACEFUL GLOBAL COMMUNITY GROW
AND PROSPER.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1977

*Start 8:15 Jim
Limit speech to nukes,
Weapons/peace, specifically
arms x fess, non-prolif,
SALT, CDB, first use of
Nukes*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM FALLOWS *Jim*

SUBJECT: UN Speech

Our concern is for the style, focus, and structure of the speech, not about the particular policy points you want to make. The first two points below are our recommendations for the approach the speech should take; the third is a list of possible subjects you could choose:

1. The speech should have a clear, definite, limited subject, rather than attempting to be another comprehensive discussion of all our foreign policy goals -- a job you have already done, especially at Notre Dame. We think there is no reason to work that same ground again, since there is no doubt about your overall goals. Instead, we would like to have you give a speech beginning, "Tonight I want to discuss X" -- where X is one specific issue, such as those we list below. Choosing a specific topic would give the speech a purpose other than simply touching base at the UN; it would mean that no one will be left asking, "why did he give this speech?"

2. The speech should go with some depth into the subject you choose -- analyzing the problems, announcing our policies, explaining how international institutions can help -- but you should not feel obliged to run down a list of all the other elements of our foreign policy. In your domestic speeches, if you are talking about energy you do not have to make a brief mention of welfare reform; but the temptation with a foreign policy address is to be reluctant to omit anything, so that, by the time we have stopped briefly at every required base, there is not much time for anything new. A speech like this one could be substantially better if this temptation is resisted.

3. Possible Subjects:

A. THEME: The Relationship of the Industrial Democracies to the Third World

You could summarize the massive economic and social problems foreseeable in the underdeveloped world, and indicate the nature of our interest in helping to solve them. You could set forth our view of what our obligations toward the developing world actually are. (Commitment to negotiate, increase in U.S. resources for development,

trade liberalization, increased participation by Third World countries in decision-making, attitude toward a common fund, etc.). You could outline the purpose of our aid programs, our new emphasis on meeting basic human needs, our proposals for solving the world hunger problems, our response to the UN Water conference recommendations, and the criteria (such as equity) that inform our outlook. You could stress the reciprocal obligations which the developing world has toward us, and the steps which they must take in their own long-term interest. This could also be a logical opportunity to discuss the need for stable growth in the industrial countries, the steps we have taken at London and elsewhere to promote that, and the rationale behind our general trade policies.

B. THEME: Human Development

You could deal with some of the same problems and policies from the point of view of "Human Development." This is a way to couple our concern about economic deprivation -- and our belief that people all over the world deserve the material necessities of life -- with our simultaneous concern for their political and intellectual rights as human beings. Often these issues are discussed as if they were unrelated, or even contradictory: if a dictatorship is what it takes to raise the GNP, then so be it. We can explain that, instead, we believe in both goals and will pursue them at once.

C. THEME: Nuclear Issues

In September, 1963 President Kennedy addressed the General Assembly and concentrated on the threat of nuclear war. The nuclear question has, if anything, become more complicated since then; and the subject is particularly apt for you to discuss, since you have so often spoken about proliferation and arms control. If you chose this issue, you could explain how we believe the world must cope with the three great challenges posed by nuclear energy: first, using its tremendous peaceful power in a safe, sustainable way; second, doing everything possible to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and third, acting responsibly to reduce the strategic arsenals of the major powers.

D. THEME: Basic Western Political Values

You could acknowledge that although the nations of the West have sins to account for in their historical treatment of the developing world -- avarice, economic self-centeredness, insensitivity to the developing world's customs and beliefs and ways of life -- we also have certain principles about the dignity of the individual and his relation to the state which we believe have universal value and which we are proud to espouse. In the past we have been too hesitant in doing so. As a spokesman and advocate for these values, you could urge a better

understanding of them by other nations -- not because we think we are always right in all things, but because we believe they do show a profound recognition of human worth.

(Although this sounds like a "human rights" speech, it need not be a recitation of human rights nor even claim that the values are all "rights" -- simply that they are desirable in themselves and part of the accumulated wisdom of our cultural heritage that we want to share.

(Examples: freedom of conscience and of thought, freedom from torture and imprisonment without trial, freedom to leave one's country, etc.)

E. THEME: Energy and the Environment

Taking your cue from the fact that the United States is becoming aware of its responsibility -- to ourselves and to the world -- to conserve energy and develop new sources of supply, you could discuss the need for international cooperation in this field. Noting the adverse impact of rising oil prices on the economic development of poor countries, you could stress the importance of developing alternate sources -- but avoiding nuclear energy development that could lead to nuclear weapons proliferation. You could then move to a broader discussion of environmental policy, which raises many issues of recent concern to the international community (desertification, oceanic resources, etc.) And you could appeal to the less developed countries, eager for quick industrial development, to recognize that the deterioration of the environment anywhere has grave long-term consequences for all of us.

#

from 2.3.

UN

CONFIDENTIAL

SPEECH OUTLINE

I. Theme: need to act as a global community to deal with common challenges. Global community requires:

- Code of obligations
- Institutional structures
- Common programs

II. The Challenge to Peace

Code of obligations applied to:

- Africa
- Middle East
- Nuclear Arms Control

Role of UN and regional organizations

III. The Challenge of Peace

Code of obligations and human development

- North South Issues
- Energy
- Food
- Water
- Human Rights

IV. Conclusion

V. Specific initiatives cited:

CONFIDENTIAL

Challenge to Peace

1. The code obligations, including restraint in areas of tension, negotiations, peaceful settlement of differences, strengthening peacemaking capabilities of the UN and regional organizations.
2. Announce resumption of the Geneva peace conference.
3. Mutual obligations regarding nuclear threat, conventional arms, and arms agreements.
4. Commitment to SALT, CTB, MBFR, Non-proliferation, and International restraint on Conventional Arms Transfers.
5. Your nuclear initiative.

Challenge of Peace:

Human Development

1. Energy proposals include support for multilateral energy and natural resource development and dissemination of ERDA research.
2. Mutual obligations with developing world include specifics on:
 - commitment to negotiate in designated forums
 - increase in resources for development
 - trade liberalization and commodity policy advances
 - enhancement of LDC participation in decision making
 - support for action on a common fund
3. Commitment to refocus aid programs to reach poor and those most in need.
4. Support for UN Water Conference recommendations.

5. Major commitment to solution of world hunger problem, principally through:
 - increase of food production in developing countries
 - foreign assistance
 - research
 - creation of international system of national grain reserves
6. Support for Third Development Decade.
7. Support for restructuring of the United Nations.

THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Tuesday - October 4, 1977

7:40

Depart South Lawn via Helicopter
en route Andrews Air Force Base and
New York City.

11:30

Signing of Human Rights Covenants

10/5/77

1

I AM HONORED ~~[THAT IT HAS FALLEN TO ME]~~ TO SIGN ON BEHALF OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THESE TWO INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON
HUMAN RIGHTS.

OF THE MANY AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE
UNITED NATIONS, PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT IS THAT BOTH HAD THEIR
ORIGINS IN A VISION OF THE GREATNESS OF HUMAN POSSIBILITY.

THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE SPEAKS OF THE IDEA
THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL;ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH

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CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPEAKS OF "FAITH IN FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS, IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF THE HUMAN PERSON, IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF MEN AND WOMEN AND OF NATIONS LARGE AND SMALL." THOUGH ~~I~~ SEPARATED BY A CEUTNRY AND A HALF IN TIME, THESE VISIONS ARE IDENTICAL IN SPIRIT.

THE COVENANTS I SIGN TODAY ARE UNUSUAL IN THE WORLD OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY. THEY SAY NOTHING ABOUT

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POWERFUL GOVERNMENTS, OR MILITARY ALLIANCES, OR THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF STATESMEN AND HIGH OFFICIALS. INSTEAD, THEY ARE CONCERNED WITH THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN BEINGS, AND THE DUTIES OF GOVERNMENTS TO THE PEOPLE THEY ARE CREATED TO SERVE.

THE COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS CONCERNS WHAT GOVERNMENTS MUST NOT DO TO THEIR PEOPLE; THE COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS CONCERNS WHAT GOVERNMENTS MUST DO FOR THEIR PEOPLE.

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BY RATIFYING THE COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS,
A GOVERNMENT PLEDGES, AS A MATTER OF LAW, TO REFRAIN FROM SUBJECTING
ITS PEOPLE TO ARBITRARY IMPRISONMENT OR EXECUTION OR TO CRUEL OR
DEGRADING TREATMENT. IT RECOGNIZES THE RIGHT OF EVERY PERSON TO
FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, CONSCIENCE, AND RELIGION; FREEDOM OF OPINION,
EXPRESSION AND ASSOCIATION; AND THE RIGHTS OF PEACEFUL ASSEMBLY AND
OF EMIGRATION. A GOVERNMENT ENTERING THIS COVENANT STATES EXPLICITLY
THAT THERE ARE SHARP LIMITS TO ITS POWERS OVER THE LIVES OF ITS PEOPLE;

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BUT, AS THOMAS JEFFERSON ONCE WROTE ABOUT THE BILL OF RIGHTS, ~~TO~~ WHICH
 BECAME PART OF OUR
 THE CONSTITUTION OF ~~THE INFANT~~ AMERICAN REPUBLIC, "THESE ARE FETTERS
AGAINST DOING EVIL WHICH NO HONEST GOVERNMENT SHOULD DECLINE."

BY RATIFYING THE COVENANT ON ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL
 RIGHTS, A GOVERNMENT COMMITS ITSELF TO ITS BEST EFFORTS TO SECURE
 ITS CITIZENS A BASIC STANDARD OF MATERIAL EXISTENCE, SOCIAL JUSTICE,
 AND CULTURAL OPPORTUNITY. THIS COVENANT [~~IMPLICITLY~~] RECOGNIZES THAT
 GOVERNMENTS ARE THE INSTRUMENTS AND SERVANTS OF THEIR PEOPLE.

BOTH OF THESE COVENANTS EXPRESS VALUES IN WHICH THE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY HAVE BELIEVED FOR A LONG TIME. I WILL SEEK RATIFICATION BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE.

IT WOULD BE IDLE TO PRETEND THAT THESE TWO COVENANTS REFLECT THE WORLD AS IT IS. BUT TO THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT INSTRUMENTS OF THIS KIND ARE FUTILE, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THERE ARE HOPEFUL LESSONS TO BE LEARNED IN THE HISTORY OF MY OWN COUNTRY.

OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND BILL OF RIGHTS EXPRESSED A LOFTY STANDARD OF LIBERTY. *AND EQUALITY.*

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YET IN PRACTICE THESE RIGHTS WERE ENJOYED ONLY BY A SMALL SEGMENT OF THE PEOPLE. IN THE YEARS AND DECADES THAT FOLLOWED, THOSE WHO STRUGGLED FOR UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS, AND FOR RACIAL EQUALITY DREW THEIR INSPIRATION FROM THESE GREAT DOCUMENTS. BECAUSE THE BELIEFS EXPRESSED IN THESE DOCUMENTS WERE AT THE HEART OF WHAT WE AMERICANS MOST VALUED ABOUT OURSELVES, THEY CREATED A MOMENTUM TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF THE HOPES THEY OFFERED.

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MY HOPE, AND MY BELIEF, IS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS
I SIGN TODAY CAN PLAY A SIMILAR ROLE IN THE ADVANCEMENT AND ULTIMATE
REALIZATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD AT LARGE.

#

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4:15 PRES KYPRIANOU - CYPRUS

MATT NIMETZ / CLARK CLIFFORD

10/5/77

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3:30 Poland FM WOJTASZEK
1ST SEC GIEREK VOY TAN sek

Visit in December

Close coop & support

CCO credits. \$110M/8

>1000 divided families

10/5/77

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10/5/77
3:00 Lebanon - FM Boutros
(Pres Sarkis) → Radio/TV

Lebanon → Geneva?

Shataa agreement
Lebanese troops → PLO out

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→ 12:00 Waldheim 10/5/77

Huang Hua - Qaddafi -
Arafat - Owen - Brezhnev

Rhodesia - appt UN Rep.

Namibia - UN → Namibia

Mid East - PLO

UN Resolutions - obstacles

Cyprus - UN role vs US role

N/S - Jamaica/US

UN efficiency/budget

→ 12:20 SG staff - GA officials
Specialized agencies

Bilat vs regional vs UN Aid
Effic/budget

1:00 Asian lunch 10/5/77

Oldest civil → New gov'ts

Mid East Peace

S Asia - Econ dev - coop

SE Asia - War → Peace - US

\$75 B trade - Raw materials,
textiles, autos, electronics

Resist protectionism MTN

Population - Nat res - poverty - disease

Pres Cyprus - India (Pres SC) -

SRI Lanka - Syria - Mrs Marcos

145177
Latin Am Reception
OAS Gen Assy. '90 d
El Salvador / Honduras
Bolivia / Peru / Chile
Andean Pact
Human rts
Tlatelolco

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5:30 MRS MARCOS - Philippines
FM Romulo

Ltr from Pres Marcos
Radar - FS's - Patrol boats - Plan

1951 Mutual Defense Treaty
Amb David Newsom → Phil

Philippine sovereignty over bases
Criminal jurisdiction

10/5/77

8:45 AM



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1977

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

Dear Mr. President:

Frank Moore and I will meet with you Thursday morning prior to your meeting with the western Senators.

I suggest that you listen, but not acquiesce to their demands on water policy and water problems. By saying that you solicit and welcome their comments, you will receive favorable press without them announcing your proposals. Then by October 20, we will have received and reviewed the public comments on water policy and you will be able to present your Administration's update in Denver on the 22nd. Once again, receiving favorable press and showing clearly that you have not ignored the West.

We will be playing offense then and it will be easier to maintain positive visibility.

Respectfully yours,


CECIL D. ANDRUS

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

C
/

October 4, 1977

NOTE FOR: Mr. Frank Moore
The White House

Frank:

Attached are talking points prepared here in our office. They have not been cleared by our Middle East bureau. I thought they might be helpful in giving you an idea of what we think might be on the minds of the Members.

Brian
Brian Atwood

Attachment:

Talking Points

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TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT

--First, let me express my apologies for not consulting you in advance on the nature of our joint statement with the Soviet Union on the Middle East. It has been our intention to consult with the Congress as fully as possible as this process unfolds. Somehow we failed to do this as the pressure of time of Gromyko's stay here pressed upon us. I think it was a good statement and very helpful to the peacemaking process. I will go into it in more detail later if you wish.

--Tuesday night, or early Wednesday morning, we reached a provisional agreement on a working paper with Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan. The Israeli Cabinet is now considering this working paper and we are in consultation with the Arab Governments about it.

1. Last night's events make it clear that we are in the midst of delicate negotiations in very close consultations with the Israelis.

2. Last night's discussions with Dayan resulted in progress in what is of necessity an ongoing process. We are cautiously optimistic and obviously more diplomatic activity will be required in the future.

3. It should be very clear from the UNGA speech and our joint statement with Dayan that the basis of our discussions with Dayan is Resolutions 242 and 338.

4. Finally, the US-Israeli joint statement of last night should make clear that we are proceeding in very close consultation with Israel and that we are and will respect all of our understandings and agreements with Israel concerning the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference.

--I would like to share with you the key elements of this working paper.

(The President can provide details.)

--This paper is a procedural step which we believe removes a key obstacle to the convening of the Geneva Conference. We hope it will be helpful in reconvening the Conference. As you may know Foreign Minister Dayan has submitted to the Israeli cabinet for approval the working paper. Secretary Vance will be presenting it to the Arab Governments. If we can reach agreement on the formulation, the next step would be for the co-chairman to schedule a conference.

--I realize that you are concerned that the US-USSR statement and the development of procedures for Geneva presage a U.S. plan which we will seek to impose at Geneva. I have said many times that we are not going to try to impose a settlement on Israel or any of the parties. In order to be lasting, the settlement must be agreed to freely by all the parties concerned. As I have said before, I believe that a workable solution must include the Palestinians. We must, therefore, find a way to involve them directly in the negotiating process.

--When we speak of the rights of the Palestinians we speak of the fundamental human rights that all people should have a say in their own future. This is so fundamental a precept that it hardly needs repeating. The mechanism we use to secure that right for the Palestinian people will hopefully evolve at Geneva and be the product of an Arab-Israeli negotiation.

--It is my belief that the Palestinian people will not in the end choose the PLO as its ultimate representative. We are trying to create an atmosphere through a procedure at Geneva which will minimize PLO influence over the final settlement and maximize the opportunities of the moderate Palestinians after the settlement. This does not lead

necessarily to a conclusion that we support the formation of a Palestinian state. I can tell you privately that we think such a state on Israel's border would be a constant source of tension.

--Let me go on then to the original purpose of this meeting which is to describe the purpose of our joint statement with the USSR and explain in some detail some of the points which have generated criticism:

Involving USSR in Negotiations

--We start with the fact that it was agreed in October 1973 that the Russians are co-chairman with us of the Geneva Conference. Everyone involved has accepted them in that role, and in this sense they are already in the negotiations. At a time when all efforts are focused on reconvening the Conference, we felt it important and in fact necessary to engage them in those efforts.

--If they are totally excluded, the Russians have a potential for disrupting our efforts to move negotiations between the parties forward.

--They also have a potential for influencing the Palestinians to be more flexible. We are trying to put them in a position where they will have an incentive to use that influence constructively.

--The joint statement is carefully balanced. For the first time it puts the Russians on record that peace means more than the end of the state of war and must include "normal peaceful negotiations" as the end result of the peace negotiations--a position held by both the U.S. and Israel.

Legitimate Rights

--The language on "legitimate rights" is not standard Soviet or Arab language. They talk of "legitimate national rights" of the Palestinians, with all its implications for statehood for the Palestinians. No such formulation is in the statement, which makes clear that "legitimate rights" of the Palestinians are but one component of the kind of agreement we support, and are not to be achieved at the expense of Israel's rights to sovereignty.

Palestinian Representation

--The two Chairmen endorse Palestinian participation at the Conference, how that representation is to come about, or who the representatives should be, is a matter of consultation between ourselves and the parties--including, of course, Israel.

--The statement in no way commits us, or Israel, to a

particular formula for participation. Our position remains that additional participants must be agreed by all the original participants in the conference.

UNITED
NATIONS
PLAZA
HOTEL



Guest Stationery
One United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017
Telephone 212 355-3400

10-4-77

Deyan

PALESTINIAN REP

KNOWN PLO - UNIFIED DEL
LET IS KNOW IDENTITY

EGYPT NEGOT E ISRAEL

PREG - INDIRECT, POSTG - DIRECT

US/INT GUARANTEE

= US/UN statement - no Δ

negot on 242/338

No imposed settlement

Direct negot

Peace treaties

Palestinian rights

Borders - secure

- SU Δ

omit: national rights
mention PLO

1967 lines

mere termination of war

add:

Normal relations

Contractual formal relat

int guarantees, if wanted

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US Delegation → UN
Heard about Andy?
Inter. service loyalties
US principles
My Strong Commitment → UN
UN central role
UN doing well
Acrimony less
N/S dialogue
Spec Session on Disarmament
US made up of diff people
N/S → Southerners can win

European Dinner
PEACE - COOP
You people in U.S.
Preserving heritage
UN focuses → Common Probs
BELGRADE - HELSINKI
WAR - COMMERCE / COMMUNISM
POL, SOC, ECON, Cult Rights

* Sao Tomé & Principe
Botswana = VP - VP = Zimbabwe
Malawi - Pres Banda - Jim
Zambia. Kaunda - Spring visit
Swaziland. econ plans
* Lesotho - S Africa probs = 1² mil
Angola - Jim - Cuba / S Af
Tanzania. Nyerere
Rwanda. region des
Burundi - rural des
Zaire - Mobutu.
Congo - Brazzaville = better US relat.
Gabon - Pres Bongo ok
Cent Af Empire. Hum Rts
Cameroon - Pres Ahidjo → China
Nigeria - Obasanjo → US
Liberia - Pres Tolbert
Ivory Coast - P. Houphouët / Bourguiba
Gambia - Alex Haley
Morocco King Hassan → US
Algeria - Pres Boumediene → US
Tunisia - P. Min Mavris → US
Kenya - Kenyatta
* Sierra Leone - 3 mil

African Leaders 10/4/77
Africa / Global Concerns
Andy Young. Consult & all
Your Council valuable
Strong / prosperous continent
Rhodesia / Zimbabwe
Namibia
S Africa - Steve Biko
org Af Unity - Pres Bongo
Horn - Peace Corps
Non-interference

Luxembourg. PM Thorn
EC repes @ Econ Summit
Lux steel industry

Machel Mozambique
likes UN force & Jim
dislikes use of Smith's police
Helped @ Lusaka Nam
SWAPO be reasonable
Indian Ocean
Mid East
My ph → Machel 4/77

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

rick--

for file

thanks -- susan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1977

*Jody -
ok, but check
underlined words
on p. 2 with
Blumenthal
J.C.*

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
SUBJECT: New York City Assistance
(At your Request)

Attached is a proposed press release indicating the extent of federal assistance provided, or certain to be provided, to New York City during your Administration. The figures set forth in the release have been cleared by OMB.

If you approve the text, the release can be issued in New York tomorrow morning. Rex Granum has been informed of these plans.

A member of my staff, who is familiar with the figures in the release (Orin Kramer) will be in the press office tomorrow morning to answer any questions Jody or the press may have.

cc: Jody Powell

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~~PRESS RELEASE~~

When I addressed the United States Conference of Mayors last year, I committed this Administration to develop a long-term comprehensive urban policy. I pledged an overall strategy to improve the quality of life and strengthen the economic base of this nation's cities.

In the first eight months of my Administration I believe that we have taken significant steps to begin to fulfill that commitment, while at the same time preserving sound budget policy. The brief list below of the new fiscal and economic assistance provided to New York this year indicates the importance that I attach to helping our distressed urban areas.

The steps this Administration has taken over the past eight months represent a strong beginning, but they will not substitute for a comprehensive urban policy. The Cabinet-level Urban and Regional Policy Group is formulating a long-term program that will address the critical problems facing residents of urban areas. The initiatives this group will recommend will provide particular benefits for cities such as New York.

Summarized below are significant Administration actions which will provide fiscal or economic relief for New York City:

1. New Social Services Authorization

I am announcing today my approval of a settlement of \$543 million against \$2.6 billion in claims under the Title XX Social Services program, subject to Congressional concurrence. New York State is expected to receive at least \$214 million of this settlement. A substantial portion of this amount is expected to be passed through to New York City to provide significant new fiscal relief. The Administration will send the necessary legislation reflecting the agreement to Congress in the next two weeks.

This agreement settles the largest outstanding financial dispute between the Federal government and the States. I believe that this settlement, which involved close consultations with state officials, reflects a new atmosphere of cooperation between this Administration and state and local officials. (Attached is a detailed description of the background and terms of the settlement.)

2. Seasonal Financing Loans

The Federal government is continuing to provide loans to New York City under the New York City Seasonal Financing Act. A total of \$1.5 billion has been loaned the City since July 1, including a \$325 million loan on October 4. An additional \$575 million is expected to be loaned during the remainder of the year.

The Treasury Department is working closely with State and City officials to facilitate the City's return to the public market.

The Administration is also reviewing the City's borrowing needs for the post-FY 1978 period, and remains committed to working with the City to assure that those needs are met.

3. Countercyclical Revenue Sharing

The Administration's extension of countercyclical assistance, which provided \$121 million for the City in its fiscal year 1977, is expected to increase to over \$130 million in fiscal year 1978. These funds are used by the City to maintain vital services, to prevent municipal employee layoffs, and to relieve the burden of local taxation.

4. Employment Training

The Administration is increasing the City's funding under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act from \$180 million in the City's fiscal year 1977 to \$411 million in 1978. These funds have significantly helped the City to provide important services during its fiscal crisis, and to create jobs for the unemployed.

5. Local Public Works

Under the Administration's \$4 billion public works program, assistance in the City will nearly double from \$102 million in the City's fiscal year 1977 to \$192 million in 1978. This assistance will provide a particularly critical boost to the City's depressed construction industry.

6. Community Development Block Grant

This special revenue sharing program supports a wide range of community and economic development activities. The Administration proposed, and the Congress has now enacted, a dual distribution formula which increases aid for older distressed cities. This will add some ~~6~~ million more to the City's grant in the next federal fiscal year, for a

total of \$229 million.

The City will also be eligible for assistance under the newly enacted \$400 million Urban Development Action Grant program, which permits the Secretary of HUD to make discretionary grants to stimulate private sector investment in distressed cities.

This proposal should be effective in leveraging significant private investment in cities such as New York.

7. Urban Mass Transit

On Monday, Secretary Adams announced discretionary mass transit grants totalling \$280 million to the City's transit system and the commuter rail network surrounding the City. Most of the assistance is for the modernization of existing facilities, with the balance going to further progress on major additions to their system which began in previous years.

8. Westway Highway

The Administration has approved an \$800 million grant for this highway project, which State and City public officials believe will stimulate economic development on Manhattan's West Side.

In addition, the Federal Department of Transportation has approved the sale of the right-of-way of the Westway Interstate Highway to New York State. This sale is expected to result in approximately \$80 million in revenues to the City, 90% of which is financed by the Department of Transportation and 10% ^{per cent} of ~~10%~~ ^{per cent} by New York State. These funds will provide significant budget relief to the City.

9. Mitchell-Lama Housing

The Federal government is in the process of insuring Mitchell-Lama housing projects, which will enable the City to raise \$280 million in 1978 either through the sale of the projects or issuance of bonds.

10. Child Health Assessment

The Administration's proposed Child Health Assessment Program, if enacted by Congress, in Federal fiscal year 1978, will provide \$8.8 million in increased health services for children in New York City. This program is a major reform of Medicaid's periodic diagnostic program for children.

11. Welfare Reform

The Administration's welfare reform package will result in an estimated \$525 million in fiscal relief to New York State, with approximately \$175 million of that going to New York City. This added relief would be effective in 1981 under the proposal.

12. Fuel Bill Payments

A new program under the Community Services Administration assists people who had difficulty meeting last winter's large fuel bills. Of the \$200 million available, \$21.1 million went to New York State, including \$1.1 million to New York City, to supplement other funds also available to help City residents.

13. Trends in Federal Grants

New York City's Financial Plan Statements show the following trends in total federal grants:

<u>City Fiscal Year</u>	<u>Federal Grants^a</u> (in millions)	<u>Federal Grants^b as a percent of City Revenue:</u>
1976	\$2750	19.9% <i>per cent</i>
1977	3188	22.2% -- --
1978	3670	24.5% -- --

In two years, from FY 1976 through 1978, total Federal grants are projected to increase by 33%. *percent.* In the same period, Federal non-capital grants will provide over 4.5% *percent* more of current City revenues.

a Including capital grants.

b Excluding capital grants.

###



THE UNDER SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

October 4, 1977

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE RETROACTIVE SOCIAL SERVICES CLAIMS SETTLEMENT

President Carter has approved an agreement, negotiated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with state representatives, to settle the largest outstanding financial dispute between the Federal government and the states. The agreement involves payments to 28 states for the cost of social services provided to low income families and individuals from 1969 to 1975.

Under the agreement, 19 states will receive Federal payments totaling \$532 million and 22 states (13 of them also members of the group of 19) will have Federal government claims against them dropped. The states, in turn, will drop all further actions against the Federal government.

The Congress will be asked to authorize \$543 million for the settlement. Eleven million dollars will be held as a contingency figure to be allotted as a part of the final agreement.

The action, contingent upon the approval of Congress, is part of a settlement between HEW and a total of 28 states of some \$2.4 billion in disputed payments. Of this \$2.4 billion, \$1.56 billion represented state claims that were never paid by HEW and the balance represented payments that had been made by HEW but whose validity the Department disputed.

The dispute over these claims goes back into prior administrations. It has resulted in years of expensive and inconclusive litigation between the States and the Federal government. It has been a nagging irritant in the relations between HEW and the States.

The dispute began in the early 1970's when HEW took two actions: (1) it refused to pay 19 of the States some \$1.56 billion in social services claims; and (2) it sought reimbursement from 13 of these 19 States, plus nine other States, of Federal funds already paid to the States for social services.

The focus of the dispute has chiefly been over the types of social services for which the Federal government should reimburse the States and whether certain State procedures were proper.

These services were covered under the old Titles I, IV, VI, X, XIV, and XVI of the Social Security Act which became obsolete on October 1, 1975, when Title XX became effective. Title XX of the Social Security Act is the new consolidated Title authorizing Federal payments for social services provided by the States.

The social services covered such areas as day care for children; protective services for neglected or abused children; drug and alcohol abuse services, counselling on family planning, and a variety of services for aged, blind, or

disabled persons.

The agreement now reached would pay, on a formula worked out between the Department and the States, a portion of the pending unpaid claims. In addition, 22 affected States will not be asked for reimbursement of funds already given them. (See attached table.)

The amounts to be paid to the states may be adjusted slightly if existing claims by the states are adjusted, or if additional claims are filed.

PROPOSED SETTLEMENTS BY STATE
(In Millions)

<u>STATE</u>	<u>CLAIMED PAYMENT DUE FROM HEW (1969-75)</u>	<u>PROPOSED PAYMENT</u>	<u>U.S. CLAIMS AGAINST STA DROPPED</u>
Alabama	--	--	\$ 1
Alaska	--	--	\$.7
Arizona	--	--	\$ 5.2
Arkansas	\$ 3.8	\$ 2.2	\$ --
California	\$ --	\$ --	\$ 1.5
Connecticut	\$ 38	\$ 22	\$ 6
Florida	\$ 28.7	\$ 11	\$ 29.1
Georgia	\$.7	\$.3	\$ 6
Idaho	\$ 1.1	\$.6	\$ --
Illinois	\$ 87.3	\$ 32.1	\$188.4
Kentucky	\$ --	\$ --	\$ 2.4
Louisiana	\$ --	\$ --	\$ 16.7
Maine	\$ 2.2	\$ 1.3	\$ --
Maryland	\$ 24.7	\$ 14.3	\$ --
Massachusetts	\$142	\$ 75	\$ --
Michigan	\$ 57.1	\$ 32.6	\$ 8.4
Minnesota	\$ 49.4	\$ 28.6	\$ 4
Missouri	\$ --	\$ --	\$.2
New Jersey	\$ 1.3	\$.7	\$ --
New York	\$914	\$214.4	\$490
Ohio	\$ 15.1	\$ 5.7	\$ 5
Oklahoma	\$ --	\$ --	\$ 13.8
Pennsylvania	\$ 4.2	\$ 1.6	\$ 2.8
Rhode Island	\$ --	\$ --	\$ 1.2
Tennessee	\$.004	\$.0015	\$.5
Texas	\$ 92.7	\$ 34	\$ 34.7
Washington	\$ 32.8	\$ 19	\$ 5.6
Wisconsin	\$ 65	\$ 36.5	\$ 6.3
TOTAL	\$1,560	\$532	\$830

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TRIP BOOK OUTLINE

- I SCHEDULE
- II NEW YORK CITY POLITICAL OVERVIEW
- III NEW YORK CITY FISCAL OVERVIEW
- IV ARRIVAL - WALL STREET HELOPAD

SCHEDULE

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Tuesday and Wednesday

October 4 - 5, 1977

SUMMARY SCHEDULE FOR TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977

7:40 a.m. Depart South Lawn via helicopter for Andrews AFB.
8:00 a.m. Depart Andrews AFB aboard Air Force One for
JFK International
(Flying Time: 45 minutes)
8:45 a.m. Arrive JFK International. Board helicopter.
9:05 a.m. Helicopter arrives Wall Street helopad. Board motorcade.
9:35 a.m. Motorcade arrives United Nations Building.
9:40 a.m. Meeting with Secretary General Waldheim.
(Mrs. Carter to be present) - 10 minutes duration.
PERSONAL TIME: 20 minutes
10:10 a.m. Photographic Session with General Assembly
President Mojsov (Mrs. Carter to be present). *(for Poland)*
10:20 a.m. Address before the U.N. General Assembly.
11:04 a.m. Motorcade departs U.N. General Assembly Bldg.
en route U.N. Plaza Hotel.
11:10 a.m. Arrive Suite. PERSONAL TIME: 50 minutes
12:00 Noon Bilateral with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy
Duration: 1 hour
PERSONAL TIME: 10 minutes
1:10 p.m. Proceed on foot to U.S. Mission
1:15 p.m. Luncheon with African Foreign Ministers and Heads of
Delegation - REMARKS
2:15 p.m. Luncheon concludes. Return to U.N. Plaza Hotel.
PERSONAL TIME: 10 minutes

SUMMARY SCHEDULE FOR TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

2:30 p.m. Courtesy Call - Prime Minister Thorn of Luxembourg.
Duration: 10 minutes
PERSONAL TIME: 20 minutes

3:00 p.m. Bilateral with Mozambique President Machel
Duration: 1 hour
PERSONAL TIME: 1 hour, 40 minutes

5:40 p.m. Remarks to U.N. and U.S. Mission Officials and Employees

6:20 p.m. Arrive Suite.
PERSONAL TIME: 25 minutes

6:45 p.m. Bilateral Meeting with Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan.
Duration: 1 hour, 15 minutes
PERSONAL TIME: 10 minutes

8:10 p.m. Working Dinner with Western and Eastern European Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegation at U.S. Mission

9:55 p.m. Arrive Suite.
OVERNIGHT.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Tuesday and Wednesday

October 4 - 5, 1977

Departure: 7:40 a.m.

From: Tim Kraft

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977

7:40 a.m. You board helicopter on South Lawn and depart en route Andrews AFB.

7:55 a.m. Helicopter arrives Andrews AFB. Board Air Force One.

8:00 a.m. Air Force One departs Andrews AFB en route JFK International Airport, New York.

(Flying Time: 45 minutes)

8:45 a.m. Air Force One arrives JFK International Airport.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

Board helicopter.

8:50 a.m. Helicopter departs JFK International Airport en route Wall Street helopad.

9:05 a.m. Helicopter arrives Wall Street helopad.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

You will be met by:

Mayor Abe Beame
Congressman Ed Koch
State Senator Carol Bellamy
Comptroller Harrison J. Goldin (Jay)
Assemblyman Irwin J. Landes
Westchester County Executive Alfred
DelBello
Bess Myerson

9:17 a.m.

You proceed to motorcade for boarding.
Congressman Koch and Mayor Beame
will ride with you.

9:20 a. m.

Motorcade departs Wall Street helopad
en route United Nations.

(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

9:35 p.m.

Motorcade arrives United Nations
(Secretariat Entrance).

You will be met by:

Mrs. Carter
Secretary of State Cyrus Vance
Secretary General Kurt Waldheim
Ambassador Andrew Young
Ambassador Evan Dobelle
Mr. Pedro Churruca, U.N. Chief of
Protocol

3.

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM

You and Mrs. Carter, escorted by Secretary Vance, Secretary General Waldheim, Ambassador Young and Mr. Churruca, proceed via elevator to the Secretary General's office (38th floor).

NOTE: En route, you will pause in the lobby for a brief photo session.

9:40 a.m.

You and Mrs. Carter arrive Secretary General's office and proceed inside for a brief meeting.

U.N. PRESS POOL COVERAGE

9:50 a.m.

Meeting concludes.

You and Mrs. Carter bid farewell to the Secretary General and proceed to the Secretary General's private quarters.

PERSONAL TIME: 20 minutes

PHOTOGRAPHIC SESSION WITH GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT MOJSOV

10:10 a.m.

Escorted by Secretary Vance, the Secretary General, Ambassador Young and Mr. Churruca, you and Mrs. Carter depart the Secretary General's office en route elevator area, where you are greeted by General Assembly President Mojsov.

10:11 a.m.

You and Mrs. Carter and General Assembly President Mojsov proceed to the Office of General Assembly President for photographs.

U.N. PRESS POOL COVERAGE

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

NOTE: All other members of the party will wait at the elevators during the photographic session.

10:14 a.m. You and Mrs. Carter and General Assembly President Mojsov depart General Assembly President's office and proceed to elevators, where you are joined by the remainder of the party, and proceed to the offstage holding area (second floor).

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS BEFORE THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

10:19 a.m. Escorted by Mr. Churruca, you proceed inside General Assembly hall and take your seat at the U.N. General Assembly.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 2200

10:20 a.m. The General Assembly President recognizes you.

10:20 a.m. PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

11:00 a.m. Your remarks conclude.

Escorted by the Secretary General and Mr. Churruca, you and Mrs. Carter depart U.N. General Assembly en route motorcade for boarding.

11:04 a.m. You and Mrs. Carter board motorcade, bidding farewell to the Secretary General and Mr. Churruca.

Motorcade departs United Nations en route U.N. Plaza Hotel.

5.

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

11:07 a.m.

Motorcade arrives U.N. Plaza Hotel.

You and Mrs. Carter will be met by:

Mr. Helmut Horn, General Manager
Mr. Horst Gaumert, Executive Assistant
Manager

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

You and Mrs. Carter proceed to suite
(36th floor).

11:10 a.m.

You and Mrs. Carter arrive suite.

PERSONAL TIME: 50 minutes

BILATERAL MEETING WITH EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ISMAIL FAHMY

11:55 a.m.

Secretary Vance, Dr. Brzezinski
and Ambassador Dobelle arrive
suite for meetings.

12:00 Noon

Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail
Fahmy arrives suite for bilateral.

12:00 Noon

You greet Foreign Minister Fahmy and
meeting begins.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

1:00 p.m.

Bilateral meeting concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 10 minutes

LUNCHEON WITH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF DELEGATION

1:10 p.m.

Accompanied by Secretary Vance,
Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle,
proceed on foot en route U.S. Mission
for luncheon with African Foreign
Ministers and Heads of Delegation.

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

1:12 p.m. You arrive U.S. Mission where
Ambassador Young will meet you.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

You and your party proceed via elevator
to 12th floor.

1:14 p.m. You and party arrive 12th floor, proceed
to luncheon room and take your seats.

1:15 p.m. Luncheon begins.

1:45 p.m. You circulate throughout the room,
greeting the guests. Ambassador Young
and Secretary Vance will accompany you.

2:04 p.m. You return to your seat.

2:05 p.m. PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

2:15 p.m. Remarks conclude. You proceed on foot
to the U.N. Plaza Hotel.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

2:20 p.m. You arrive suite.

PERSONAL TIME: 10 minutes

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

COURTESY CALL - PRIME MINISTER THORN OF LUXEMBOURG

2:30 p.m. Prime Minister Thorn of Luxembourg arrives suite for courtesy call.

2:30 p.m. You greet Prime Minister Thorn and begin meeting.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

2:40 p.m. Courtesy call concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 20 minutes

BILATERAL MEETING WITH MOZAMBIQUE PRESIDENT MACHEL

2:55 p.m. Secretary Vance, Ambassador Young, Dr. Brzezinski and Amb. Dobelle arrive your suite for meetings.

3:00 p.m. Mozambique President Machel arrives suite for bilateral.

3:00 p.m. You greet President Machel and begin meeting.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

4:00 p.m. Bilateral meeting concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 1 hour, 40 minutes

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS TO U.N. AND U.S. MISSION OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES

5:40 p.m. You, Secretary Vance, Ambassador Young, Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle depart suite en route motorcade for boarding. Ambassador Young will ride with you.

5:45 p.m. Motorcade departs U.N. Plaza Hotel en route U.N. Building.

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

5:49 p.m. Motorcade arrives U.N. Building.
PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

5:50 p.m. You, Secretary Vance, and Ambassador Young proceed inside U.N. Building Public Entrance and onto platform.

5:51 p.m. Ambassador Young introduces you.

5:53 p.m. PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

6:03 p.m. Remarks conclude.
You, Secretary Vance, and Ambassador Young depart stage right, greeting U.N. and U.S. Mission officials and employees along the way.

6:11 p.m. You depart en route motorcade for boarding.

6:13 p.m. Motorcade departs United Nations Building en route U.N. Plaza Hotel.

6:17 p.m. Motorcade arrives U.N. Plaza Hotel.
PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

6:20 p.m. You proceed to suite.
PERSONAL TIME: 25 minutes

BILATERAL MEETING WITH ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER MOSHE DAYAN

6:40 p.m. Secretary Vance, Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle arrive suite

6:45 p.m. Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan arrives suite for bilateral.

6:45 p.m. You greet Foreign Minister Dayan and begin meeting.
PRESS POOL COVERAGE

8:00 p.m. Bilateral concludes.
PERSONAL TIME: 10 minutes

TUESDAY - OCTOBER 4, 1977 - Continued

WORKING DINNER WITH WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN FOREIGN
MINISTERS AND HEADS OF DELEGATION AT U.S. MISSION

- 8:05 p.m. Secretary Vance, Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle arrive at your suite for departure.
- 8:10 p.m. You, Secretary Vance, Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle depart suite and proceed on foot to working dinner with Western and Eastern European Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegation at U.S. Mission.
- 8:12 p.m. You arrive U.S. Mission.
- PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL
- You will be met by:
- Ambassador Young
Marife Hernandez, Deputy Chief of Protocol
for the United States (in New York)
- You and party, accompanied by Ambassador Young and Marife Hernandez, proceed via elevator to 12th floor.
- 8:14 p.m. You and party arrive 12th floor, proceed to dinner room and take your seats.
- PRESS POOL COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 90
- 8:15 p.m. Dinner begins.
- 8:53 p.m. Dessert is served.
- 9:03 p.m. Accompanied by Secretary Vance and Ambassador Young, circulate among the tables, greeting your guests.
- 9:22 p.m. You return to your seat.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Tuesday and Wednesday

October 4 - 5, 1977

From: Tim Kraft

SUMMARY SCHEDULE FOR WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977

8:30 a.m. Meeting with Mayor Beame.
Duration: 20 minutes

8:50 a.m. Beame Meeting concludes. Accompanied by
Beame and Secretary Harris, you depart
en route South Bronx Tour.

PERSONAL TIME: 2 hours, 30 minutes

11:20 a.m. Depart U.N. Plaza Hotel via motorcade en route
U.N. Building (accompanied by Amb. Young).

11:30 a.m. Signing of Human Rights Covenants.
Remarks.

11:48 a.m. Reception for attendees at the Human Rights Signing.

12:05 p.m. Reception concludes. Depart en route Secretary
General's office.

12:10 p.m. Private Meeting with Secretary General.
Duration: 25 minutes.

12:35 p.m. Informal meeting with Immediate Members of the
Secretary General's Staff, General Assembly
Officials and Heads of U.N. Specialized Agencies.
Duration: 25 minutes

1:05 p.m. Depart U.N. Building via motorcade en route
U.S. Mission.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE FOR WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

1:10 p.m. Working Luncheon with Asian Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegation - U.S. Mission.
REMARKS.

2:10 p.m. Depart on foot for U.N. Plaza Hotel.

2:15 p.m. Arrive Suite, U.N. Plaza Hotel.
PERSONAL TIME: 45 minutes

3:00 p.m. Courtesy Call by Lebanon Foreign Minister Boutros
Duration: 10 minutes
PERSONAL TIME: 20 minutes

3:30 p.m. Bilateral with Polish Foreign Minister Wojtaszek
Duration: 20 minutes
PERSONAL TIME: 25 minutes

4:15 p.m. Courtesy Call by Cyprus President Kyprianou
Duration: 10 minutes
PERSONAL TIME: 1 hour, 5 minutes

5:30 p.m. Bilateral with First Lady Imelda Marcos and Foreign Minister Romulo of the Philippines
Duration: 20 minutes
PERSONAL TIME: 35 minutes

6:25 p.m. Reception for Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegation - hosted by Secretary Vance.
Duration: 30 minutes

7:00 p.m. Proceed to motorcade, depart for Wall Street helopad.
(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

7:20 p.m. Motorcade arrives Wall Street helopad. Board helicopter, depart for JFK International Airport.
(Flying Time: 15 minutes)

7:50 p.m. Air Force One departs JFK International Airport en route Andrews AFB.
(Flying Time: 50 minutes)

8:40 p.m. Arrive Andrews AFB. Board helicopter.

9:00 p.m. Arrive South Lawn.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

VISIT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Tuesday and Wednesday

October 4 - 5, 1977

First Event: 8:30 a.m.

From: Tim Kraft

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977

8:30 a.m.

Mayor Beame arrives your suite.

8:30 a.m.

Your meeting with Mayor Beame begins.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
DURATION: 20 minutes

SPECIAL NOTE:

Hamilton Jordan, Stuart Eizenstat and Jack Watson recommended - and you agreed - that when you meet with Mayor Beame today, you offer him the Chairmanship of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (ACIR).

You will have the opportunity to appoint the Chairman (who serves at the pleasure of the President) early next year when "two private citizen" positions become vacant (one on February 2 and the other in August). Both positions are now held by Republicans. The Chairman must be selected from the category of "private citizens" as opposed to the various public members comprising elected officials.

This appointment is for three years and does not require Senate confirmation. As you know, the ACIR is purely an advisory body, but it carries considerable prestige in the intergovernmental field.

8:50 a.m.

Meeting with Mayor Beame concludes.
PERSONAL TIME: 2 hours, 30 minutes

2.

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

SIGNING OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COVENANTS - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
COUNCIL CHAMBER, U.N. BUILDING

11:15 a.m. Secretary Vance, Ambassador Young,
Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador
Dobelle arrive suite for departure.

11:20 a.m. You, Secretary Vance, Ambassador Young,
Ambassador Dobelle and Dr. Brzezinski
depart suite en route motorcade for
boarding.

11:23 a.m. Motorcade departs U.N. Plaza Hotel en
route U.N. Building. Ambassador Young
will accompany you in your car.

11:26 a.m. Motorcade arrives U.N. Building.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

You and Ambassador Young will be met by:

Secretary General Waldheim
Mr. Pedro Churruca

You, Secretary Vance, Ambassador Young,
Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle,
escorted by Secretary General Waldheim
and Mr. Churruca, proceed to Economic
and Social Council Chamber.

11:30 a.m. You and your party arrive Economic and
Social Council Chamber for signing of
Human Rights Covenants.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 300

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

11:31 a.m. You are escorted to your seat by Mr. Churruca. Secretary General Waldheim will be seated on your left; Ambassador Young will be to your right. Mr. Churruca, and Deputy Secretary General Eric Suy will be standing behind you, Secretary General Waldheim and Ambassador Young, to hand you pens and aid in the exchange of documents. You and Ambassador Young will each sign twice (two documents).

11:32 a.m. Ceremony begins.
You and Ambassador Young each sign two covenants.

11:34 a.m. You and Ambassador Young, escorted by Secretary General Waldheim, proceed to microphone area.

11:35 a.m. The Secretary General introduces you.

11:36 a.m. PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE

11:39 a.m. Remarks conclude.

11:40 a.m. Remarks by the Secretary General.

11:45 a.m. Secretary General's remarks conclude.

11:45 a.m. You and Ambassador Young, escorted by the Secretary General and Mr. Churruca, depart Economic and Social Council Chambers en route Security Council South Lounge.

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

RECEPTION FOR ATTENDEES AT THE HUMAN RIGHTS SIGNING

11:48 a.m. You and your party arrive South Lounge and proceed inside for reception with attendees at the Human Rights Signing.

12:05 p.m. You and party, escorted by the Secretary General and Mr. Churruca, depart South Lounge and proceed en route the Secretary General's office.

PRIVATE MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL

12:10 p.m. You and party arrive the Secretary General's office and proceed inside for private meeting.

U.N. PRESS POOL COVERAGE

12:35 p.m. Meeting concludes.

INFORMAL MEETING WITH IMMEDIATE MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S STAFF, GENERAL ASSEMBLY OFFICIALS AND HEADS OF U.N. SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

12:35 p.m. You and party, escorted by the Secretary General and Mr. Churruca, proceed to adjoining conference room for informal meeting with immediate members of the Secretary General's staff, General Assembly officials and heads of U.N. Specialized Agencies.

1:00 p.m. You and party, escorted by the Secretary General and Mr. Churruca, proceed to motorcade for boarding. Ambassador Young will ride with you.

WORKING LUNCHEON WITH ASIAN FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF DELEGATION

1:05 p.m. Motorcade departs U.N. Building en route U.N. Mission.

1:08 p.m. Motorcade arrives U.S. Mission.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

You will be met by:

Marife Hernandez

You and party, escorted by Marife Hernandez, proceed via elevator to 12th floor to working luncheon with Asian Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegation.

1:10 p.m.

You and party arrive 12th floor, proceed to luncheon room and take your seats.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 90

1:11 p.m.

Luncheon begins.

1:40 p.m.

Accompanied by Amb. Young and Secretary Vance, you circulate throughout the room, greeting the guests.

1:59 p.m.

You return to your seat.

2:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

2:10 p.m.

Remarks conclude. You proceed on foot to U.N. Plaza Hotel.

2:15 p.m.

Arrive suite.

PERSONAL TIME: 45 minutes

6.

COURTESY CALL BY LEBANON FOREIGN MINISTER BOUTROS

2:55 p.m. Secretary Vance, Dr. Brzezinski
and Ambassador Dobelle arrive
suite.

3:00 p.m. Lebanon Foreign Minister Boutros
arrives suite for courtesy call.

3:00 p.m. You greet Foreign Minister Boutros
and begin meeting.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

3:10 p.m. Courtesy call concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 20 minutes

BILATERAL MEETING WITH POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER WOJTASZEK

3:30 p.m. Polish Foreign Minister Wojtaszek
arrives suite for bilateral.

3:30 p.m. You greet Foreign Minister Wojtaszek
and begin meeting.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

3:50 p.m. Bilateral concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 25 minutes

COURTESY CALL BY CYPRUS PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU

4:15 p.m. Cyprus President Kyprianou arrives
suite for courtesy call.

4:15 p.m. You greet President Kyprianou and
begin meeting.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

4:25 p.m. Courtesy call concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 1 hour, 5 minutes

7.

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

BILATERAL MEETING WITH FIRST LADY IMELDA MARCOS AND FOREIGN
MINISTER ROMULO OF THE PHILIPPINES

5:30 p.m. First Lady Imelda Marcos and Foreign Minister Romulo of the Philippines arrive suite for bilateral.

5:30 p.m. You greet Mrs. Marcos and Foreign Minister Romulo and begin meeting.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

5:50 p.m. Bilateral concludes.

PERSONAL TIME: 35 minutes

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

RECEPTION FOR LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF DELEGATION - HOSTED BY SECRETARY VANCE

6:25 p.m. Accompanied by Secretary Vance, Dr. Brzezinski and Ambassador Dobelle, you depart suite on foot en route U.S. Mission for reception for Latin American and Caribbean Foreign Ministers and Heads of Delegation, hosted by Secretary Vance.

6:27 p.m. You and party arrive U.S. Mission.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

You will be met by:

Ambassador Young
Marife Hernandez

Escorted by Ambassador Young and Marife Hernandez, you proceed via elevator to 12th floor.

6:30 p.m. You and party arrive 12th floor and proceed to reception room to greet guests.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 75

NEW YORK DEPARTURE - WASHINGTON, D.C. ARRIVAL

7:00 p.m. You proceed to motorcade for boarding.

7:05 p.m. Motorcade departs U.S. Mission en route Wall Street helopad.

(Driving Time: 15 minutes)

WEDNESDAY - OCTOBER 5, 1977 - Continued

7:20 p.m. Motorcade arrives Wall Street helopad.
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED DEPARTURE
You greet a group of New York City policemen and firemen.
Board helicopter and depart Wall Street helopad en route JFK International Airport.
(Flying Time: 15 minutes)

7:45 p.m. Helicopter arrives JFK International Airport.
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED DEPARTURE
Board Air Force One.

7:50 p.m. Air Force One departs JFK International Airport en route Andrews AFB.
(Flying Time: 50 minutes)

8:40 p.m. Air Force One arrives Andrews AFB.
You board helicopter and depart en route South Lawn.

9:00 p.m. Arrive South Lawn.

#

NEW YORK CITY
POLITICAL OVERVIEW

NEW YORK CITY OVERVIEW

MAYOR'S RACE

Edward Koch, a liberal mid-Manhattan Congressman and a moderate pro-capital punishment mayoral candidate, ran an almost totally media-oriented campaign choreographed by New Yorker David Garth. Koch was given only a slight chance of surviving the primaries as late as two months ago.

In those two months the race became so close that not one so-called expert in the media or the political field called the race. In the end, New Yorkers awoke to find the 71 year old Abe Beame a lame duck mayor. The bombastic Bella Abzug was stunned and silent at finding herself a surprised fourth and the liberal anti-death penalty candidate endorsed (if not created) by the Democratic Governor finishing second to an ex-liberal espousing the death penalty.

In the ten days between the primary and run-off election, Koch completely outpoliticked Cuomo, gathering a number of endorsements from unions and politicians while the Cuomo camp appeared to be unable to sit down and gain endorsements and unable to get out and campaign with the fervor they so recently had shown.

Koch beat Cuomo by 10% points gaining 431,849 votes to Cuomo's 354,222 (55%-45%) and beating Cuomo in four out of five boroughs (counties); Cuomo won only Staten Island and lost his home borough of Queens by 2%.

Koch still faces Cuomo who remains on the ballot as the Liberal Party candidate as well as Republican Roy Goodman, a State Senator from mid-Manhattan, and the erratic conservative Barry Farber, a radio talk show host big on law and order.

Barring a substantial onslaught by Cuomo, Koch should win handily in November. Koch has been endorsed by a united Democratic organization. The Governor has walked away from his friend Cuomo as has Congressman Mario Biaggi. Even longtime Koch foe Bella Abzug has endorsed the Democratic ticket. Beame and Badillio had signed on prior to the runoff.

Only Manhattan borough President Percy Sutton is unhappy with Koch, because of statements Koch made in the primary which Sutton took as racist-motivated, e.g. "Let's get rid of the welfare pimps." Sutton is a consummate Democrat and should come around.

NEW YORK CITY OVERVIEW

COUNCIL PRESIDENT'S RACE

In the Democratic race for Council President, Brooklyn State Senator Carol Bellamy upset incumbent Paul O'Dwyer. Bellamy beat O'Dwyer 435,635 to 305,987 votes, winning 59% to 41% and winning all five boroughs. Bellamy, like Koch, is single and an attorney. In addition to winning the Democratic Party's nominee, she has the endorsement of the Liberal Party.

The nominee should win with ease over Republican John Esposito, a conservative Queens Assemblyman. Perennial office-seeker Abe Hirschfield, who lost the Democratic nomination, was given a spot by the Conservative Party.

COMPTROLLER'S RACE

The City's Comptroller Harrison Goldin was unopposed for the Democratic nomination. He is popular, liberal and looks to running statewide someday. Goldin will sweep over Republican William Larkin and Conservative nominee Michael McSherry. Goldin has the endorsement of the New York Liberal Party.

STATUS OF PARTY

Democratic State Party Chairman Domenic Barranello was adamant about staying out of the primary and runoff election. Barranello has now orchestrated the reunification of City Democrats. There will be some problems with Cuomo loyalists and Stein haters, but overall considering the four party system in New York, the Democratic Party should emerge strong and vital.

CAREY

Governor Carey will do as well with Koch as he would have with Cuomo. Carey quietly assisted Koch while openly campaigning with Cuomo. Carey must pay more attention to New York City as he looks toward his own re-election.

CAMPAIGN POST-MORTEM

The campaign was anything but issued-oriented. Indeed, the major issue discussed was the death penalty which obviously is not a mayoral issue.

Koch won city-wide support among Jewish voters, won 60% of the Hispanic vote and split the Black vote almost even. Cuomo won the Catholic vote but only 25% of the eligible Italian voters in the city bothered to vote.

MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENT

In the Primary Race for the borough presidency vacated by Percey Sutton, Assemblyman Andrew Stein won over Councilman Robert Wagner, Jr., 66,800 to 63,300 votes. Stein, the son of Jerry Finkelstein, millionaire businessman and publisher, will again face Wagner, the son of former Mayor Wagner, in the General Election. Wagner will be running on the Liberal and Republican line. This is considered to be a very tough and close race.

18th DISTRICT CONGRESSIONAL RACE

Although it is premature, there is a great deal of speculation over potential candidates for Koch's Congressional seat. If Koch wins the Mayoralty, the Governor must call for a special election within 90 days. Prior to the election, the County Committee will meet to decide who will get the party lines and endrosements. Possible Democratic contenders are: Bella Abzug; former Councilman Carter Burden; Assemblyman Mark Siegel; and Peter Berle, head of the State Environmental Protection Agency. If Roy Goodman loses the Mayor's race, it is expected he will run on the Republican ticket. (The 18th District was originally a Liberal/Republican seat held by John Lindsay until he was elected Mayor. Koch has held this seat since.)

NEW YORK CITY OVERVIEW

MAYORAL CANDIDATES

Edward Koch

- Liberal Congressman/Moderate Mayoral candidate
- A bachelor
- Endorsed by Carey

Mario Cuomo

- Liberal Party candidate
- Disavowed by organization
- Money is now a problem
- Uphill battle

Roy Goodman

- Liberal Republican State Senator
- Blooded by Farber in primary
- Could benefit if Cuomo/Koch

Barry Farber

- Conservative Party candidate
- Tough on crime
- Will take votes from Goodman
- Radio talk show host

PRESIDENT OF CITY COUNCIL

Carol Bellamy

- Upset winner over Paul O'Dwyer
- Has both Democratic and Liberal endorsement
- State Senator from Brooklyn

John Esposito

- Queens Assemblyman
- Hard on crime, pro-capital punishment
- Anti-abortion advocate
- Not given much of a chance

Abe Hirschfield

- Conservative Party candidate
- Will draw some from Esposito
- Wealthy/perennial office-seeker

NEW YORK CITY OVERVIEW

NEW YORK (COUNTY) BOROUGH PRESIDENT

Andy Stein

- Democratic nominee
- A renegade
- Wealthy Assemblyman from Manhattan - Lower East Side
- Not liked or trusted by regulars

Robert Wagner, Jr.

- Liberal Party nominee
- Lost Democratic primary to Stein
- Given Republican Party endorsement
- Could upset Stein with Democratic votes
- Son of former Mayor

NEW YORK CITY
FISCAL OVERVIEW

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 30, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: ORIN KRAMER
SUBJECT: New York City Fiscal Situation

Brief History

In November, 1975, New York City confronted possible bankruptcy because it was unable to borrow in the public markets either to redeem its maturing short-term notes or to fund its operating deficit. An emergency rescue plan was developed, including (a) the imposition of a State-dominated Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) to oversee the City's finances; (b) the creation of a new financing entity (MAC) to finance the City by selling bonds backed by receipts from State sales taxes and stock transfer taxes collected in New York City; (c) \$2.5 billion of loans to New York City through June 1978 by its municipal union pension funds; and (d) the Federal Seasonal Financing Act.

The Seasonal Financing Act

The Seasonal Financing Act provides up to \$2.3 billion annually in short-term loans from the Treasury to New York City. The loans are designed to meet New York City's seasonal cashflow needs, but do not cover operating deficits. Any amounts borrowed during a given fiscal year must be repaid within that year.

Treasury's credit agreement with New York City, which was negotiated in November 1975, required that (a) the Secretary of Treasury certify that "there is a reasonable prospect of repayment" before any seasonal loans are made; and (b) the City exhaust all efforts to obtain seasonal financing in the public markets before it borrows from the Treasury in FY 1978.

The Seasonal Loan Program in New York City's Fiscal Year 1978

New York City expects to borrow up to \$2.1 billion from Treasury to meet its FY 1978 (July 1, 1977, through June 30, 1978) seasonal needs. The City already has borrowed \$1.15 billion in the months of July, August, and September. They will borrow an additional \$325 million on Tuesday, October 4. The interest rate on these loans is set by the legislation at one percentage point above Treasury borrowing costs. To date, the City has complied with the provisions of the Seasonal Financing Act and the Credit Agreement and we have encountered no major difficulties with the loan program.

New York City's Attempts to Return to the Public Markets

A major objective of the Administration during the last year of the Seasonal Financing Act is to encourage New York City to return to the public markets and borrow on its own. The City has made progress toward this end over the last two months. It now appears that State legislation to provide adequate security to purchasers of City notes is the last major obstacle before a public sale of these notes will be attempted. We have encouraged City and State officials to seek such legislation later this month and anticipate that it will be enacted.

If all goes as expected, the City will attempt a public offering of up to \$500 million of seasonal notes this fall. This would be the first New York City security to be sold publicly since the fiscal crisis and would be a strong step by the City toward financial stability and financial independence. It should be pointed out, however, that these securities will be short-term seasonal notes which will mature in less than six months and will meet only a relatively small portion of the City's seasonal borrowing needs. Moreover, the City still will experience significant problems in selling a long-term bond. To the extent that the City is able to sell these notes, the amount of loans made this year by the Federal Treasury will be reduced.

Financing Outlook Beyond Fiscal Year 1978

The Seasonal Financing Act expires at the end of New York City's FY 1978 budget (June 30, 1978). In the years ahead, New York City must annually borrow more than \$3 billion--\$2.3 billion in short-term notes for seasonal needs and \$1.0 billion in long-term bonds for capital projects. It is unlikely that these borrowing needs can be fully met by the public markets. Thus, some extension of the Act, in its current or modified form, will probably be required. Our public position, however, has been that the City may be able to finance itself without an extension of Federal lending.

Budget Outlook Beyond FY 1978

While the City's FY 1978 budget is "balanced", as defined by State law, it will be difficult to maintain a balanced budget in the ensuing years. Projections of the City's FY 1979 budget deficit vary from \$400 million to \$700 million, and the projected budget deficit will increase in each ensuing year. Significant and continuing budget cutbacks will be required to maintain a balanced budget, a condition which we believe the Congress will require and which should be a prerequisite for any extension of financing assistance to New York City.

But it will be exceedingly difficult to balance the City's FY 1979 budget. The three-year freeze on municipal workers' wages expires next spring; a settlement generous enough to avoid a citywide strike could cost perhaps \$250-\$350 million. We are following the labor problem closely and will be under great pressure to intervene privately to limit wage hikes and force movement toward pension/benefit reform.

The SEC Report on New York City's Financial Practices

The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) released its report on New York City's financial practices on Friday, August 26. The report was critical of the City's financial practices and of Mayor Beame's and Comptroller Goldin's stewardship of the City. The report also criticized the marketing practices of the City's underwriters and financial advisors. While the report is an accurate description of the City's financing practices two years ago, it should be pointed out that many of these practices have been reformed.

Other Key Issues

There are several questions which may be raised during your visit to New York City. They are:

- 1) Does the Administration expect to propose renewal of the Seasonal Financing Act? The City must borrow in excess of \$3 billion annually. Treasury, privately, is somewhat skeptical about the City's ability to finance fully this amount in the private markets. We, however, have avoided taking a public position about extension and/or modification of the Seasonal Financing Act, because: (a) there is great uncertainty about the amount and nature (i.e., seasonal financing or long-term loans) of financing that the City can obtain privately and, thus, about the financing role that the Federal Government may be asked to fill; and (b) any Administration proposal now to extend Federal financing

assistance would be a tactical mistake, because it would reduce the pressure on all local participants (City officials, State officials, banks, unions, etc.) to take whatever measures are needed to keep the budget in balance and help the City finance itself.

Our public position, therefore, has been that, while there is a great deal of uncertainty, we are cautiously optimistic about the City's ability to finance itself and avoid bankruptcy in the post-FY 1978 period.

- 2) Welfare Reform - City and State officials and the New York media view "welfare reform" as a key to resolving their fiscal difficulties. They are relatively pleased with the basic elements of the Administration's welfare reform package, but are hostile to the Administration's apparent decision to delay implementation of the package.
- 3) Labor Negotiations, Rent Control, etc. There are a number of politically sensitive issues which could be raised during your visit. Most of these issues are local issues which do not affect Treasury's seasonal loan program. Despite our strong private interest in these matters, which will affect Congressional attitudes toward further aid, we have publicly taken the position that these issues should be resolved by the local parties and without Federal involvement.

ARRIVAL - WALL STREET
HELIPAD

VIP COMMITTEE AT NEW YORK HELOPAD

Abe Beame

- Democratic Mayor of New York
- Defeated in New York Democratic Primary for Re-election
- Supporting ticket

Ed Koch

- Democratic nominee for New York Mayor
- Considered an almost sure winner in the General Election
- Advocated austerity and sacrifice for the City in view of the City's fiscal crisis
- Liberal Congressman from mid-Manhattan, 18th C.D.

Carol Bellamy

- Democratic nominee for President of New York City Council
- Upset winner over incumbent Paul O'Dwyer
- Has both Democratic and Liberal endorsement
- State Senator from Brooklyn
- Important political figure in New York and among women's movement
- Considered an almost sure winner in the General Election

Harrison Goldin

- Democratic nominee for City Comptroller
- Unopposed in the Democratic Primary
- Considered sure winner in General Election
- Hard Line on fiscal responsibility
- Outspoken and critical of Beame
- Considered to have state-wide ambitions
- Former state senator

Al Delbello

- Incumbent Westchester County Executive
- First Democrat to hold this position
- Running for Re-election against Gordon Burrows, a State Assemblyman who has the endorsements of the Republicans, Conservatives, and Liberals
- Favored to win
- Early Carter supporter
- You narrowly lost Westchester Co. to Ford, 208,527 to 173,153 votes

Irwin Landes

- Running for County Executive in Nassau County
- Early Carter supporter
- Cmpn. Mngr. is cousin of your Maryland St. Coord., Arnie Miller
- You lost Nassau Co. to Ford, 329,176 to 302,861 votes
- Opposing incumbent Ralph Caso (running on Conservative ticket) and Republican candidate Francis Purcell

(NOTE: This is Koch's appearance with you. The New York press will be present for your arrival at Helopad. Koch and Beame will ride to the UN with you, but will remain in car as you are greeted by UN Greeting Committee.)

SOUTH BRONX TOUR

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TO: The President
FROM: Tim Kraft
RE: Motorcade Tour of the Bronx - October 5, 1977

Included herein are:

- A. Schedule of Motorcade Tour --- TAB A.
- B. Description of Neighborhoods --- TAB B.
- C. Letter of Information from Secretary Harris ---
TAB C.

SOUTH BRONX TOUR

(Insert at Personal/Staff time, bottom of page 12)

- 8:50 am The President, accompanied by Mayor Beame and Secretary Harris, departs suite en route motorcade for boarding.
- 9:00 am MOTORCADE ARRIVES corner of East 138th Street and Grand Concourse to begin driving tour of Grand Concourse Section.
- 9:10 am Motorcade enters Bathgate Section.
POSSIBLE STOP: The park at the corner of 168th Street and Washington Avenue is active with area residents at this time of the morning. The President may wish to stop and talk with them.
- 9:25 am Motorcade enters Boston Road - Charlotte Street Section.
POSSIBLE STOP: An elevated area on the route provides an excellent view of the decay in the neighborhood. The President may wish to stop at this area.
- 9:45 am Enter Southern Boulevard - 163rd Street - Fox Street Section.
- 9:55 am Enter Plaza Boulevard Section.
- 10:05 am Motorcade tour ends at the corner of Willis Avenue and 137th Street.
- 10:20 am MOTORCADE ARRIVES U. N. Plaza Hotel.
- 10:25 am The President arrives suite.

B

Grand Concourse

The proposed route for the visit to the South Bronx begins on the Grand Concourse. This is a residential corridor of high density lined with well constructed six to eight story elevator buildings, many of which were constructed in the "art deco" style of the 1930's with garden court yards, entrance arcades of German-Moorish brick work, and many architectural details. Originally opened in 1919, it is a 4.5 mile thoroughfare.

After World War I, this area attracted many aspiring Jewish families from the Lower East Side of Manhattan and an apartment on the Grand Concourse was a status symbol.

The Concourse Hotel at the beginning of the route used to serve as the headquarters for visiting baseball teams which would play at Yankee Stadium across the way. This building is now deteriorated, but will be restored and rehabilitated as housing for low income elderly people.

The Grand Concourse is a principal thoroughfare of the Bronx and the housing stock on either side is basically sound and an important resource for future renewal. It is a residential strip which should be maintained and used as a building block for the restoration of surrounding areas.

Bathgate Section

As the route turns East on East Tremont Avenue and South on Bathgate Avenue, the extensive deterioration of the South Bronx comes clearly into view. Bathgate is primarily residential and characterized by dilapidated and decayed tenements and garbage strewn lots. Any future development of this area would require the demolition of deteriorated buildings and construction of new housing of low density.

At the corner of 168th Street and Washington Avenue is a park and a rehabilitated building developed by the Peoples Development Corporation with solar energy panels for use in the heating of the building. The Peoples

Development Corporation redeveloped a building located on this block with government loans and "sweat equity." It is a unique group headed by young leadership involving low income residents of the neighborhood. It plans to carry out additional rehabilitation in this area and is one of the hopeful redevelopment efforts underway. The employment program is funded through CETA.

Boston Road-Charlotte Street

The intersection of Boston Road and Charlotte Street provides a vantage point from which can be seen the end result of the process of urban disinvestment and decay. In every direction the view is of abandoned and burned-out apartment buildings and the area is completely dilapidated.

The entire area south of this point and bounded by Boston Road and Bruckner Boulevard is the South Bronx Model Cities area. The population is approximately 260,000. Once populated almost entirely by European immigrants, it is now Black and Puerto Rican. It is characterized by its severely deteriorated and overcrowded housing, chronic unemployment, estimated at 30 percent and much higher for minority youth. Public assistance is triple the city average, approximately 35 percent. Delinquency, disease, alcoholism, infant mortality and addiction are the highest in the city. There is more crime and more police than in any other district.

More than 1,200 buildings in the area stand vacant and abandoned. In the past two years the South Bronx has been the scene of more than 7,000 fires.

In recent years community groups have begun to organize and marshal resources. These groups are the foundation on which rebuilding efforts by all levels of government and the private sector must rest.

Southern Boulevard-163rd Street-Fox Street

This is an area where community-based rehabilitation efforts have resulted in the restoration of approximately 1,000 units of low moderate income housing. These projects were undertaken by private developers in a working partnership with community organizations involved in the ownership

and management of the buildings. Considerable private investment, \$3 - 4 million, was made in the development of this area. These rehabilitated projects were constructed between 1970 and 1976 and are an important housing resource in this otherwise deteriorated area.

Two groups involved are the South East Bronx Community Organization which is made up of approximately fifteen local organizations and the Southern Boulevard Redevelopment Corporation which is a subsidiary of the Hunts Point Local Development Corporation in partnership with the nonprofit Center for Housing Partnerships. Both of these groups are planning additional rehabilitation projects in this neighborhood. All of this development was carried out with federally insured loans and housing subsidies.

Plaza Borinquen

At 137th Street between Brook and Willis Avenues and in surrounding blocks is the Plaza Borinquen project developed by the South Bronx Housing Community Development Corporation. It illustrates the desire of the community for low-rise, new construction of basically two-family units each with its own entrance and private yard. The advantages of this type of project are economic as well as social, since the costs for low-rise housing are considerably less than high-rise construction.

The South Bronx Community Housing Corporation is a non-profit corporation formed over six years ago and is a very capable local housing corporation engaged in new and rehabilitated construction. It has carried out a number of rehabilitation projects and manages over 1,000 units of housing in the South Bronx using community-based management.

C



THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20410

October 1, 1977

Dear Mr. President:

I understand that you are considering visiting the South Bronx area of New York. I personally visited this area a few days ago and toured the route that has been suggested. I thought it might be useful to provide you with some background on this area and some thoughts on its meaning as it relates to this Administration's policies and the purpose of your visit.

What is seen in the South Bronx is the end product of a process of decline and decay which is taking place in many older American cities. The area is unique only in that it is at the final stage of this process.

The decline of the South Bronx took place over the last fifteen - twenty years. It is the end result of the interplay of a variety of social and economic forces. These forces involved:

- a marked shift to a poorer, less skilled, less educated population.
- the physical deterioration of already old and inadequate housing.
- high density.
- lack of jobs and insufficient income to maintain properties.
- disinvestment - inability to attract private capital, abandonment of housing, erosion of the tax base.

The resulting devastation did not happen overnight and it cannot be reversed overnight. There are no instant solutions. Just as there was a process of deterioration, there must now be a process for rebuilding involving a long-term policy to achieve the goal of providing a decent urban life for people who live in cities.

At the most basic level, we should have a national commitment to allow people to have urban life as a real choice -- not only the option of the rich or the fate of the poor. We must have a commitment to the continued existence of urban life for people of all income levels and of all backgrounds. Without this commitment, the final meaning of places like the South Bronx is that the city will not survive.

Second, the social and economic infrastructure of urban areas must be restored and maintained. All the elements which lead to decline must be addressed by all levels of government and the private sector -- the infrastructure consists of jobs, a decent place to live, adequate social services. There is no single solution, but the interplay of all these things.

Third, the federal government must give direction, establish a framework for addressing these multiple problems and provide some of the resources. Most of all it can be consistent in its commitment to these goals and consistent in the commitment of resources. Because the process of rebuilding and achieving visible results takes time and progress is incremental, the process is greatly damaged by interruption of effort and investment. The policies of the Nixon Administration which shut-off federal investment in the cities accelerated the decline of areas like the South Bronx and were a great set-back to development. The most serious decline in the South Bronx took place in the last five years.

I believe that the most important points that can be made by a visit to this area are that this Administration is committed to a continuing process of investment and development in our urban life and that it will commit

and focus the resources and programs of the federal government in a rational and predictable manner to create jobs, revitalize communities, build and restore housing, and invest in the future of American cities.

Respectfully,



Patricia Roberts Harris

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20501

Enclosure