

3/21/80 [1]

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

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY

ACTION
FYI

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

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21 Mar 80

~~Stu Eizenstat~~
Frank Moore

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc Wise
Voerde

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1980

*Whatever
it takes -
The differences
are substantively
minor -
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: FRANK MOORE *SM/BH*
STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
SUBJECT: EMB

The situation has changed in important ways since our last memorandum to you on this subject (A attached). We had indicated that the environmental community might accept conversion of the House waiver into a statute, with an expedited procedure for consideration, but subject to being killed by majority vote in any committee with jurisdiction. This is no longer the case.

As you know:

- o The original House Commerce Committee bill provided for waiver of Federal, State and local laws with respect to a priority energy project subject to one-House veto.
- o This was modified on the House floor, through our efforts, to apply only to Federal laws (and State laws implementing Federal laws), and to require two-House concurrence under expedited procedures through a Joint Resolution, which is in fact a statute.
- o The further modification which was discussed informally would allow any single committee, in addition to the House and Senate floors, to kill the joint resolution by majority vote. Under this procedure:
 - The Board would recommend a substantive law exemption to the President.
 - The President if he chose to do so would forward the request to Congress.
 - Committees would have a period of time (perhaps 60 days) to approve or reject the measure.

- If the Committee approves or takes no action the measure would go to the floor of the House or Senate. If any Committee voted against the measure, it would be dead. For the resolution to take effect it would require approval by both Houses and Presidential signature as with any law.

Although they had indicated to us and to key members of Congress that the above approach might allay their worst fears on the waiver issue, the environmental groups no longer hold this view. However, Chairman Dingell and a majority of the House Conferees now appear ready to make an offer to the Senate and Administration along these lines.

The environmentalists argue that any procedure for exempting specific projects from substantive laws will encourage companies to request exemptions, and encourage the President to seek them. They argue that the Board should focus on procedural expedition, not case-by-case exemption from substantive laws. On the merits we argue with their analysis -- although we note that the latest potential compromise has come a very long way from the original Commerce Committee bill. For this reason the Administration has consistently opposed any procedure for changing substantive law and has successfully urged the Senate to stand firm.

At the present time, however, the environmental community is urging your active efforts to pry four House members (Sharp and Santini on the Democratic side, Lujan and Carlos Moorhead on the Republican side) away from John Dingell, to beat Dingell on this issue and recede to the Senate position.

Failure to accede to this request will likely result in public criticism from environmental groups and their supporters on the Hill (including Wirth, Udall, Muskie, Eckhardt and Metzenbaum) who have asked to meet with you on this issue.

However, the open confrontation with Dingell this would create is very unlikely to produce the needed additional votes; it is more likely to lead Dingell to delay or even kill the EMB legislation. It could also cost us crucial cooperation on the ESC/Conservation bill and on utility oil backout. Dingell views himself, legitimately, as having moved a great way in our direction, and wants to avoid a break with his Republican members and most business supporters of the bill.

Recommendation

At this time we recommend that you authorize us to send the attached letter (B attached) to all members of the Conference Committee restating our position. This will at least help with the environmental community.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

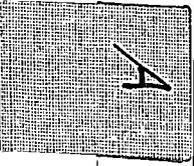
We also recommend that, to go the last mile, you meet early in the week with Dingell and other key House moderates to urge them to recede to the Senate position. This meeting may produce substantive results -- but we do not predict this. At the least it will show that you have personally demonstrated your commitment.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

We recommend against efforts at this time to wrest control of the Conference away from Dingell.

NOTE: We are attaching a fact sheet (C attached) prepared by the environmental coalition giving their reasons for opposing the compromise. We note that some of these objections (e.g. no limit on number of projects) could be addressed in the compromise process.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1980

cc Stu
Frank
✓

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: STU EIZENSTAT
FRANK MOORE *F.M. Stu*
SUBJECT: EMB

Overview

At this point the Conference Committee has completed action on virtually all of the lesser issues. The results, acceptable to the Administration, are if anything more to the liking of the environmental community than our original proposal. However, the Conference is now at loggerheads on the issue of substantive waiver.

- o The Senate, at our strong urging, has stuck by its bill which would allow the EMB to "grandfather" projects, as we proposed, against changes in law or regulation which are adopted after construction begins. The "grandfather" could last only so long as compliance by the project is technically or financially infeasible.
- o The House-passed bill, through the "Santini amendment," allowed the President, on the advice of the EMB, to recommend a "waiver" of substantive law or regulation (Federal only, not state or local). The waiver would become effective on adoption of a joint resolution by majority vote of both Houses. While a joint resolution is a law, subject to veto by the President, the House procedure would differ from the normal legislative process in the following ways:
 - The resolution could not be bottled up in Committee, but must go to the floor of the two Houses.

- The Resolution could not be amended either in Committee or on the floor.
- The Resolution could not be filibustered or tabled but must be voted up or down.

The House-passed bill is an improvement on the original House Commerce Committee bill which provided for waiver of Federal, state and local laws subject only to one-House veto. The House Committee -- arguing that the Santini amendment is not a "waiver" but enactment of a legislative exemption, is also standing by its position.

Positions of the Key Conferees

At this point the Senate Conferees, led by Senators Johnston and Domenici, are united behind the Senate position. A majority (Senator Jackson, Senator Johnston and Senator Ford from the Democratic side, and all the Republicans with the possible exception of Senator Wallop) can support some form of "substantive waiver" on the merits. However, they are anxious to retain the support of more environmentally-minded members of the Conference (Senators Bumpers, Bradley, Metzenbaum, Matsunaga, Tsongas and Durkin) in order to avoid a bruising fight led by Senator Muskie when the Conference Report returns to the Senate. In addition, both Senator Johnston and Senator Domenici are personally committed to working with the Administration, and have been very helpful.

The House Conferees are divided into three groups:

- o Udall's minority, which opposes any form of substantive waiver (Udall, Wirth, Eckhardt, Carr)
- o Dingell's group. which strongly supports substantive waiver (Dingell, Staggers, Sattersfield, Graham on the Democratic side and all six Republicans led by Bud Brown)
- o Several moderates, (Sharp, Santini, Ottinger, Moffett). Of this group Sharp and Santini have supported Dingell down the line in the Conference so far. While Ottinger and Moffett would likely support Udall on the waiver issue, they can be expected to have a moderating influence as the Conference goes on. The most influential of these, Phil Sharp, has strongly indicated that he will not leave Dingell.

Dingell's dilemma is this: to have a majority he must retain the support of the moderate group plus either solid Republican support or solid support from the Udall-Wirth group. Yet the Republicans will not support much if any retreat from the House-passed waiver provision. They would probably welcome the chance to oppose the Conference Report, on partisan grounds. The Udall-Wirth group, on the other hand, will not go much beyond the original Senate bill. And the moderates clearly prefer some form of substantive waiver on the merits.

Recommended Approach

So far we have strongly urged the Senate to hold firm and have watched the cross-currents in the House side of the Conference develop. It is clear that the major differences are not between the House and Senate but within the House Conferees. If we want a bill without objectionable substantive waiver we must form a coalition in the House which includes the Dingell group, the Sharp group and the Udall-Wirth group. This coalition must be formed either:

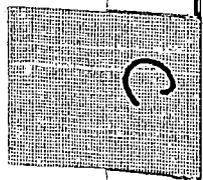
- o Around a somewhat expanded "grandfather" provision (for example, permitting the EMB to suspend some laws and regulations adopted before construction begins) or
- o Around a watered-down version of the House waiver provision. If, for example, the Resolution were made subject to amendment in Committee and the Floor and subject to being held in Committee by majority vote, the result would clearly be simply an expedited legislative process.

While we do not believe a choice should be made between these alternatives at the present, it appears the second option would calm the worst fears of the environmental community and would be an acceptable compromise for a broad range of moderates in the Conference. Unless you object, we will continue to quietly explore this approach with key Conferees.

It would probably be a good idea for you to meet with Representative Dingell in the near future and if appropriate, after the Dingell meeting with other key House Conferees. The purpose of these meetings would be to urge that a consensus be developed which will produce an effective bill which a broad cross-section of Democrats can support.

ok
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is
reference
work is
done

B



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear :

The Energy Mobilization Board remains essential to achieving energy security for our Nation. I appreciate the hard work and long hours that you and the other Conferees have put into the EMB Conference, and the difficulty of your task. Yet more than fourteen weeks have passed since the Conference began. I must call on you to redouble your efforts and finish the job.

My own positions are clear. To be effective the EMB legislation must contain:

- o Consolidated judicial review to prevent years of delay in duplicative court suits;
- o "Streamlining" provisions to cut through procedural red tape;
- o An effective "grandfather" provision to keep critical national energy projects from being brought to a standstill by changes in law or regulation adopted after construction begins.

We have concluded that effective energy mobilization does not require by-passing the normal legislative process to waive substantive law, and I, therefore, oppose such provisions.

I appreciate the progress that already has been achieved. The tentative agreements reached by the Conference to this point are constructive and fully acceptable to the Administration. I urge the Conference Committee to resume meeting on a regular basis until the remaining issues are resolved.

Sincerely,

Waiving Laws Is Not "Mere" Legislation

Advocates of the waiver-of-law mechanism contained in the House EMB bill and the proposal made by the House conferees on February 21, 1980, argue that it is nothing more than an accelerated process for legislative action. However, while accelerated legislative action is involved, it is deceptive to consider only the process without the substance. The purpose of the process is to exempt individual projects from laws that others must obey. It is a departure from the traditional legislative process with considerable institutional significance. It will inevitably encourage Priority Energy Projects to seek to be exempted from rather than to comply with existing laws. If waivers are granted, there will be enormous pressure from non-energy industries to create a similar mechanism for them.

Erosion of the Separation of Powers

For two centuries we have relied on the doctrine of separation of powers as a check on abuse of power by any single branch of government. The separation of powers doctrine is based upon the notion that governmental powers are distributed by function. It is the function of the Legislative Branch to enact (and, when necessary, amend) laws of general application. It is the function of the Executive Branch to implement the laws (and, when necessary, seek legislative authority from the Legislative Branch). It is the function of the Judicial Branch, in individual cases and controversies, to apply and interpret the laws. The three Branches are structured differently reflecting their different functions.

The proposed waiver process would jumble those functions.

- It would only be initiated by the Executive, not by the Legislative.
- It would only be available to provide special treatment for individual projects, not for general legislation.
- It would be a negative, rather than a positive, process, that is it could be used only to waive the laws, not to improve them.
- It would permit the Executive rather than the Legislative Branch to shape legislation, since the EMB would determine which provisions should be waived subject to what terms and conditions, and Congressional amendment would be prohibited.

- It would substitute the Executive for the Judicial Branch in making case-by-case interpretation of the laws.

Divide and Conquer

The detrimental effects of a project-specific waiver would be localized, but the project itself would be anointed by its priority status as an energy boon to the entire Nation. In each case the argument would be "the dangers of this one waiver are insignificant in light of the Nation's need for energy." The time for analysis and debate would be too short, and the pressure too great for effective examination of the merits of a waiver proposal. Logrolling and porkbarrel politics would prevail, to the detriment of legitimate efforts to make regulatory legislation more workable.

Regulatory Uncertainty

The possibility of a waiver would virtually compel Priority Projects to seek waivers. The financial incentives to do so would be enormous and there would be few disincentives. The argument made in favor of the "grandfather" waiver is that it is essential to eliminate regulatory uncertainty; yet the possibility of a waiver of existing laws would create exactly that, by leaving project planners free to weigh the benefits of obtaining a waiver of existing laws against the "costs" involved in seeking a waiver. Until the waiver was granted or denied the Project would not know whether to plan on compliance. Even if no waiver were eventually granted, the possibility of a waiver would overshadow the entire permitting process.

An Impossible Burden for Opponents

Although each waiver proposal would require an affirmative vote of approval in each House of Congress, the political realities of the Nation's energy hunger, combined with the accelerated legislative process, would put the burden on opponents of a waiver proposal to show why it should not be approved. There would be no limit on the number of waiver proposals that may be submitted, and, while the EMB and the applicant could be expected to lobby effectively in support of the proposal, the resources of opponents would be inadequate for repeated battles.

Energy Coalition
3/10/80

Regular Foreign Affairs Breakfast
Friday, March 21, 1980

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

For Ref 3-21-80

Shah = Gergas - US - Ep = Lloyd + Shah

Salat - 4/8 then begin

Encourage ECQ - Dip. relations

Olympics next week UK + Olymp

Philip Bros Grain

Declare emergency?

CP Salvador - White sec com

OSCE - Scranton = Kampelman?

Int Organ - Mrs Strauss / Petrie

Tow → Oman = 20/July

SA weapon types - US vs French

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21 Mar 80

Jim McIntyre

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

March 21, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

My Dear Mr. President:

I appeal to you to recognize the existing mandatory reduction of 500 equivalent full-time employees as the Education Department's contribution to the anti-inflation one-for-two government-wide freeze.

The Education Department is unique among your departments for several reasons:

- o We are still in formation and urgently need to hire staff to support those people you have nominated to the top-level positions.
- o The Education Department Organization Act requires a reduction of 500 equivalent full-time employees by the end of FY 1981. At the same time, the Act forbids us from either separating or reducing in grade any of the employees transferred into this Department from the component agencies during the first year of departmental life.
- o I imposed a hiring freeze almost three months ago with respect to positions to be moved into the Department.

If we are required, in addition to these very severe personnel limitations, to absorb the one-for-two cut, we simply cannot build the effective department that you want to create.

I have discussed this matter with Jim McIntyre, and I am raising it for your personal consideration at his suggestion.

Respectfully,



Shirley M. Hufstедler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21 Mar 80

Lloyd Cutler

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1980

ok
J

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

LLOYD CUTLER

LNC

RE:

Response to Senator Byrd's Letter
Re Judicial Selection

Attached is my response to the Majority Leader's inquiry concerning our progress in judicial selection. You had indicated that you wished to see a copy of this response.

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1980

Dear Mr. Majority Leader:

President Carter has asked that I respond to your letter of February 27 concerning judicial vacancies.

The President has submitted nominations for 133 of the 152 new positions created by the Omnibus Judgeship Act (P.L. 95-486), leaving 19 for which nominations must still be sent to the Senate. In addition, nominations must be made for some 38 vacancies caused by normal attrition in preexisting judgeships. This latter figure fluctuates regularly; it increases as judges retire or die and decreases as nominations are made.

Candidates are in the clearance process for 18 of the 19 remaining positions created by the Omnibus Judgeship Act, and nominations for most of these will be submitted in the near future. The only position for which no tentative selection has been made is a seat on the Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. We have recently reconstituted and are now activating the First Circuit Nominating Panel, and the President will make a selection soon after the panel reports with its list of recommended candidates. It is also possible that new selections will need to be made for a few of the other 18 positions because of information developed during the clearance process.

Of the 38 additional vacancies caused by attrition, candidates are in background in 33. Of the remaining five, three are district court positions for which we have not yet received Senatorial recommendations. The other two are appellate vacancies--one in the Second Circuit and one in the Eighth. The Eighth Circuit Nominating Panel has already been activated and the Second Circuit panel is about to be.

We greatly appreciate the expeditious manner in which the Senate has considered the exceptionally large volume of judicial nominations over the past year, and we welcome your assurance that future nominations will be treated in the same fashion.

If you have further questions concerning judicial nominations,
please let me know.

Sincerely,

LLOYD N. CUTLER
Counsel to the President

The Honorable Robert C. Byrd
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

SUMMARY OF CONGRESSIONAL MAIL TO THE PRESIDENT

DATE: FEB 28, 1980

PAGE: - 4-

FROM

SUBJECT

DISPOSITION

COMMENTS

SEN. ROBERT BYRD
(D) - WEST VIRGINIA

CONCERNED THAT THE JUDICIARY WILL BE UNABLE TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY UNLESS THE REMAINING 47 VACANCIES ARE FILLED; URGES YOU TO SUBMIT YOUR NOMINATIONS FOR THESE POSITIONS; OFFERS HIS ASSURANCE THAT THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE AND THE FULL SENATE WILL ACT EXPEDITIOUSLY ON ALL PENDING NOMINATIONS AND CONFIRMATIONS.

ACKNOWLEDGED BY FM
REFERRED TO:
LLOYD CUTLER

*Let me see
reply*

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

United States Senate
Office of the Majority Leader
Washington, D.C. 20510

February 27, 1980

Ack FM/Cutler
CONGRESSIONAL
LIAISON

FEB 28 1980

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

001842 CL

a: Tate

Dear Mr. President:

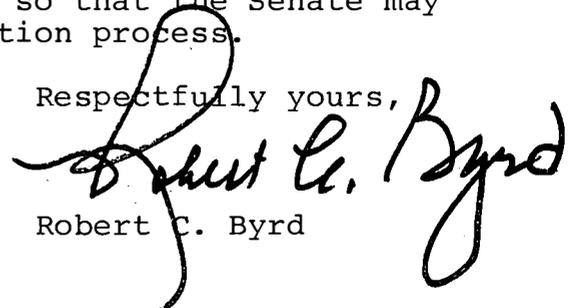
The Federal Judiciary was expanded by the creation of 152 new judicial positions when Congress enacted H.R. 7843 which you signed into law (P.L. 95-486) on October 20, 1978. Of these 152 new positions, you have submitted the nominations for 132 of them, and the Senate has confirmed 119.

In addition, there are 36 vacancies in pre-existing judgeships in the Federal Judiciary. The Senate is currently considering the nominees for three of these positions.

I am concerned that the Judiciary will be unable to operate most effectively unless the remaining vacancies are filled. I have been assured by members of the Judiciary Committee that the pending nominations will be acted on as expeditiously as possible, and I can assure you that the Senate will act on the confirmation of those nominees which that Committee reports with all deliberate speed.

I am anxious to avoid the politicization of the confirmation process for what will be 7% of the entire Federal Judiciary. I urge you to submit the nominations for the 47 vacancies which remain, so that the Senate may speedily complete the confirmation process.

Respectfully yours,


Robert C. Byrd

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEETING WITH SUMMER OLYMPIC ATHLETES

FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1980
EAST ROOM
2:15 P.m.

FROM: LLOYD CUTLER *LNC*
ANNE WEXLER *Ann*

I. PURPOSE

To brief summer Olympic athletes on the Afghanistan crisis and its relation to the summer Olympic games.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPATION, AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Background: The Administration has never explained its position on non-participation in the Moscow Olympics directly to Olympic hopefuls. Furthermore, many of the athletes, in part because of statements by the USOC, still believe there is a possibility they will compete in Moscow. It is, therefore, important that the Administration explain its position and make absolutely clear that American athletes will not be participating in Moscow. Only then will the athletes focus their energies on plans for a post-Olympics international sports festival.

Starting at 1 p.m., Zbigniew Brzezinski will discuss with the athletes the seriousness of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the appropriateness of the Olympic boycott as a response, and what other measures are being taken in response to the invasion. Lloyd Cutler will follow with a discussion of the status of the boycott and our plans for the post-Olympics festival. Both Brzezinski and Cutler will answer questions from the athletes.

You are scheduled to make your remarks at 2:15. The athletes will probably want to put questions to you as well, and if there is time before your scheduled departure, we believe you should take several questions.

An agenda is attached.

- B. Participants: About 150 summer Olympic hopefuls and former Olympic Gold Medal winners.
- C. Press Plan: The press will cover only your remarks.

III. TALKING POINTS

A speech rather than talking points has been prepared for this event. Since the event will receive enormous press coverage, we believe that a more formal speech is desirable.

In the event that you wish to respond to questions, we are enclosing Qs and As we have prepared for your press briefings.

BRIEFING FOR SUMMER OLYMPIC ATHLETES

MARCH 21, 1980

THE EAST ROOM

AGENDA

1:00 p.m.	Opening Remarks	Anne Wexler
1:05 p.m.	The Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. Response	Zbigniew Brzezinski
1:25 p.m.	Questions and Answers	Zbigniew Brzezinski
1:45 p.m.	Status of Alternative Games	Lloyd Cutler
2:00 p.m.	Questions and Answers	Lloyd Cutler
2:15 p.m.	Remarks	The President
3:00 p.m.	Reception - The State Dining Room	

March 20, 1980

DEATH OF BOXERS

Q: Mr. President, what is being done about the boxers who were killed in the Polish airplane crash?

A: We've been working with Polish officials to arrange for the proper identification of the victims and for transportation. We are also working with boxing officials here to make arrangements for an appropriate ceremony.

March 20, 1980

- Q: Mr. President, if American athletes are not permitted to participate in the Moscow Olympics, why were Russian athletes permitted to come to Lake Placid, and why have they been allowed to compete in other events in the United States?
- A: We do not oppose competition with Russian athletes. We do oppose holding the Olympics in the capital of a nation which is now engaged in invading its neighbor and which has stated that the award of the Games to Moscow is a tribute to the correctness of its foreign policy. We welcomed the Soviet athletes to Lake Placid, we will welcome them to Los Angeles in 1984, and we would be delighted to compete with them in the 1980 Summer Olympics at a site other than Moscow. But to go to Moscow, in light of the Soviet invasion, would violate Olympic principles and undermine our efforts to deter future Soviet aggression.
- Q: Mr. President, a few years ago, the United States was involved in a war in Vietnam. Does that mean that the nations of the world should have boycotted Olympic Games here?
- A: -- The United States' involvement in Vietnam was very different from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Perhaps the clearest proof of that is that the Soviet invasion has been condemned by the General Assembly of the United Nations by an overwhelming 104-18 vote. There was no comparable U.N. condemnation of the American involvement in Vietnam.

- The United States' Government would not, and, given our free press, could not pretend that the participation of Russian or other athletes in Olympic Games in the U.S. constituted their support for Soviet foreign policy. But the Soviet Government and the Soviet press have said and will say that the participation of Americans or Western European athletes in the Moscow Olympics constitutes support for Soviet foreign policy.
- Finally, I should point out that the Soviet Union in fact refused to compete in athletic events in the United States in 1966 because of its opposition to the Vietnam War.

March 20, 1980

BOYCOTT: POLITICS AND SPORTS

Q: Isn't your position on non-participation in Moscow an improper mixing of politics and sports?

A: -- My decision has nothing to do with the internal policies of the Soviet Union. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan constitutes a violation of Olympic principles, as well as of international law. No nation in Olympic history has hosted the Games while it is still invading a neighboring country. To participate in the Moscow Games under these circumstances would be to repudiate what the Olympics stand for, and to cast a cloud over the 104-18 UNGA vote condemning the invasion.

-- The Soviet Union has publicly criticized the quaint Western notion that sports and politics should not be mixed, and has boasted of its refusal to send its athletes to what it calls reactionary and repressive countries. As for the Moscow Olympics, the Soviet Union itself has mixed sports and politics by asserting that its selection to host the Games is recognition of the correctness of its foreign policy and of its contributions to peace. If American and other athletes participate in Moscow, we know that the Soviet Union will mix sports and politics by asserting that although the imperialist, reactionary governments of the world condemned the Soviet invasion, the peoples of the world have shown their approval of the Soviet Union's foreign policy by coming to Moscow.

March 20, 1980

OLYMPIC-RELATED EXPORTS

Q.: Mr. President, you've asked companies not to export certain goods to the Moscow Olympics. How have the companies responded to your request? Will your request have any impact on the Moscow Olympics or will Moscow be able to get the goods from other sources?

A: I believe that all American companies will comply with my request. In some instances, the Soviets will be able to obtain these goods from other sources, and, in any event, this request will not prevent them from carrying on the Olympics. However, it is important as a matter of equity that, since our athletes are not going to Moscow, our businesses should not participate or contribute to the Games either.

March 20, 1980

ALTERNATIVE GAMES

Q: Mr. President, in light of the Geneva Conference, could you tell us more about plans for alternative games?

A: At Geneva, several key governments agreed to continue studying the practical arrangements necessary for a Post-Olympic International Sports Festival. They concluded that such a festival would be feasible, and that it would be desirable to provide such an opportunity for the athletes of nations which decide not to send teams to Moscow. This Sports Festival would be held at several sites throughout the world, and would be linked by world television coverage. We expect that it will provide our athletes with the kind of world-class competition and world recognition they deserve.

Q: Mr. President, the USOC still has not reached a final decision on whether to send a team to Moscow. Doesn't this undermine efforts to organize a boycott or alternative games?

A: The leaders of the USOC have stated publicly that they will abide by my decision on participation in Moscow. My decision is firm and final. Because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the Soviet failure to withdraw its forces, Americans ^{will} ~~should~~ not participate in the Olympian festival of peace in the capital of the invader. I expect the USOC to formalize its decision not to participate and to do so promptly consistent with its procedures.

Q: Mr. President, any alternative games would require the approval of the International Federations in the various sports. We have heard that most of the Federations are opposed to alternative games. Under those circumstances, how would it be possible to have such Games?

A: We hope that we will be able to obtain any necessary approvals from the International Federations. For some sports, further approvals may not be needed. In any event, the Post-Olympic International Sports Festival that we are proposing is not a challenge to the Olympic movement and therefore there is no reason that the IFs should oppose it. The festival will not be run by governments, but by promoters and national sports organizations which themselves belong to the International Federations. The purpose of the Federations is to provide athletes with the best competition possible. If the athletes and national organizations desire to participate in the festival and the International Federations oppose, they will bear the responsibility for denying this opportunity to a large part of their constituency.

MOSCOW BOYCOTT

Q: Mr. President, could you explain once again to the athletes of this country what good it will do to boycott the Moscow Olympics?

A: -- The Soviets must understand how seriously we view the invasion of Afghanistan and how committed we are to deterring further aggression. The Soviets will not understand this if we continue with business as usual in sports, in trade, or in other areas. That is why the grain embargo is necessary; that is why draft registration is necessary; and that is why non-participation in the Moscow Olympics is necessary.

-- The Soviet people are not yet aware of the world's outrage at the Afghanistan invasion. They do not know about the 104-18 U.N. vote condemning that invasion. But if the U.S. and the other major Olympic teams do not appear in Moscow, that and the reasons behind it cannot be hidden from the Russian people.

-- The Soviet Union has already stated that the award of the Games to Moscow is a tribute to the correctness of its foreign policy and to its contributions to peace. If American athletes participate in Moscow, there is no doubt that the Soviet press would state that this indicates that the American people have rejected their government's advice and approve of Soviet foreign policy.

Q: Mr. President, can you tell us how many countries are not going to Moscow?

A: Some 50 countries have indicated publicly or privately that they will not go to Moscow. In the end, we believe that most of the major nations outside the Soviet bloc -- in terms of Olympic athletes -- will not send teams to Moscow.

Q: Mr. President, aren't athletes being singled out in your efforts to punish the Soviets for the invasion of Afghanistan?

A: No. Every sector of our society is being called upon to make sacrifices in order to deal with the Afghanistan crisis. Before calling on the Olympic Committee and the athletes, I imposed trade restrictions on exports of agricultural and high technology items to the Soviet Union. I have also called for draft registration for young men and women and I have called for higher defense expenditures, which all Americans will have to pay for. While athletes are being asked to make a special sacrifice by giving up what they have trained so long to achieve, all of us are being asked to sacrifice something to achieve our national goals.

AFRICAN BOYCOTT

Q: Mr. President, why should any nations -- particularly African nations -- support an American boycott of Moscow when we didn't support the African boycott of the 1976 Montreal Games over the South African issue?

A: -- First of all, South Africa does not participate in Olympic Games. The United States supports that position.

-- The African boycott arose because New Zealand participated at Montreal and a New Zealand rugby team had gone to South Africa. Rugby is not an Olympic sport and neither the New Zealand Government nor the New Zealand athletes at Montreal were responsible for the rugby team's action. Under those circumstances, there was no reason for us to support the African nations' boycott.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Chris Matthews *Chris*

Subject: Presidential Talking
Points: Meeting with
Olympic Athletes

Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, March 21, 1980
2:30 PM, East Room

The Presidential Talking Points for
this occasion are attached.

Clearances

Anne Wexler
David Rubenstein
Ray Jenkins
Joe Onek
NSC Staff

[Salutations, if any, will
be supplied by Joe Onek,
x6611, by 10:30 AM Thurs.]

Chris Matthews
Draft A-2, 3/20/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, March 21, 2:45 PM
East Room

Summer Olympic Athletes

Former Olympic champions, American athletes of today:

This is a sad time for those involved with amateur sports in our country. Last week, a tragic airline accident took place in Warsaw, Poland. Among those killed were 22 members of the United States Amateur Boxing Team.

I would like to express my condolences to the parents of the team, to those who knew and loved them, to those who will miss them. The team went overseas to give it their best. They were a spirited and determined group that exemplified what is best in our country. They represented us well -- and we will feel their loss.

It is hard to accept this kind of tragedy, to face its brutal reality. These young athletes and their coaches might

just as easily be sitting here among us today. Instead, they are gone.

In the normal course of our lives, we very often take the wonders of life for granted. We take most for granted those parts of our lives that are really the most precious: our feelings toward those close to us, our families, our good health, our freedoms and opportunities.

When we are confronted with stark tragedies such as this we have to stop for a brief moment and put our lives and values in full perspective.

I have asked you here today to talk with you about a serious, vital matter -- in which the ultimate stakes are quite literally a matter of life-and-death.

When I took office as President, I accepted one all-important responsibility: to protect our nation and its

people. Every decision I make, every action I direct, is dominated by this one overriding objective -- to keep our nation safe.

That is why I -- and every President who follows me in this office -- must do all we can to protect the peace. Ours is a nuclear age. Like it or not, we must take every precaution we can to prevent war, to avoid any actions -- or inactions -- that might lead to war.

I am determined to keep these vital national interests paramount. I am determined that our nation remain secure. I am determined to keep our nation at peace. It is for these life-and-death reasons that our nation must make a strong and resolute stand against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. It is for these reasons that the United States must make its opposition as clear and as dramatic as possible. It is for these reasons that we and other nations must not -- and will

not -- participate in any Olympic games held in Moscow this summer.

I want all Americans to understand the facts behind this national decision. I believe that you, the athletes and officials who will be most affected, deserve to get those facts from me directly, in the most personal way I can present them to you.

Let's look at what is happening in Southwest Asia in the most human terms possible.

In the city of Kabul, people have been lined up before firing squads. In the countryside of Afghanistan, whole villages have been destroyed, the villagers executed. All this is happening because the Soviet Union made a decision: to invade an independent, sovereign nation along its borders.

Because the Soviet Union made that decision, many thousands

of people are dead -- already. More than a half a million people are refugees -- already. As the invasion continues, there is more death, more repression.

This is the life-and-death reality of what is taking place in Southwest Asia. We have to face up to that reality, to see it for what it is, to deal with its consequences.

The world has seen before what happens when aggression of the kind we are now seeing is allowed to proceed unanswered.

The existence of nuclear weapons makes it even more urgent to ensure that aggression does not go unanswered. These weapons make it even more vital that we not allow any aggressor nation to miscalculate, to assume that it can continue to invade nations with impunity. We cannot allow any nation to proceed unchallenged on a course that might someday lead to dangerous confrontation.

For the Soviet Union to host Olympic games at the same time they are conducting a brutal invasion of their weaker neighbor constitutes at the very least a betrayal of Olympic principles. For Americans or anyone else to participate in such games would be to actively join in that betrayal.

The Soviet government has made a great investment in the Olympic games. Unfortunately for the games -- unfortunately for Afghanistan, unfortunately for the world -- it has failed to invest that one essential ingredient: a commitment to the Olympic spirit, the spirit of peace, of international brotherhood. It has built the giant arenas, the great stadiums. It has built the grand facilities to house the Olympics, the public and the press. But then it undermined these superficial constructions, these outward trappings of the Olympic games, with a calculated strategy of aggression, a strategy that runs counter to all that the games are meant to celebrate.

For Americans or anyone else to participate in the games would be to ratify that strategy as a success. Today in Moscow, the people are told very little about the invasion of Afghanistan. They are told a great deal about the Olympics and what they symbolize. Government handbooks inform them that the holding of the games in their capital city represents "convincing testimony" of the "correctness" of Soviet foreign policy, that it reflects a general recognition by the world of the "enormous services of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace."

For Americans and other world athletes to participate in Moscow on such a basis would send a message that is equally inaccurate -- to the Soviet Government itself. It would be the most vivid demonstration possible that it could carry out aggression and still reap all the benefits of peace, indeed that it could even host the world in celebrating that peace. For the sake of our own safety, we cannot allow such a fateful

message to be transmitted.

I asked you all to come here today because I need help, help that only you can give me. Americans look up to our Olympic athletes as representing our nation's highest ideals. I share this admiration. I respect athletes for the determination they put into their efforts, for the spirit with which they compete.

Today I am asking you to show that great spirit and determination in helping our nation stand up against aggression, to stand up for peace in the world.

I am concerned for those athletes who have trained so hard for this year's Olympic games. I will do everything I can to ensure that you have the opportunity to participate in the Post-Olympic International Sports Festival this year, games that will offer world-class competition and world recognition -- and that will pose no threat to the future

of the unitary Olympic movement.

I will do something else, that I feel myself is even more important. I know the enormous sacrifice involved in missing the Olympic games this year. I am determined that the American people recognize that sacrifice. The process of selecting an Olympic team is continuing. When that team enters post-Olympic, world-class competition, the American people will recognize the nobility of those who are making this great sacrifice for their country and for peace. I intend to do everything I can to ensure that they receive this recognition.

I cannot assure our nation's athletes that they will experience the same kind of honor as that of competing in a normal year's Olympic games. This year, there will be no such honor to be had -- because the Soviet invasion has already tarnished the Moscow Olympics beyond recall. Your

honor will be of a different kind. You will be honored, and remembered, as citizens who stood up for their country, who stood up for peace -- for all mankind.

Certainly, that is how I will look upon your sacrifice.

#

1. FORMER OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS, AMERICAN ATHLETES OF TODAY:
2. THIS IS A SAD TIME FOR THOSE INVOLVED WITH AMATEUR SPORTS IN OUR COUNTRY. /
3. LAST WEEK A TRAGIC AIRLINE ACCIDENT TOOK PLACE IN WARSAW, POLAND.
4. AMONG THOSE KILLED WERE 22 MEMBERS OF THE U.S. AMATEUR BOXING TEAM. /
5. I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY CONDOLENCES TO THE PARENTS OF THE TEAM,
TO THOSE WHO KNEW & LOVED THEM,
TO THOSE WHO WILL MISS THEM. //
6. THE TEAM WENT OVERSEAS TO GIVE IT THEIR BEST.
7. { THEY WERE A SPIRITED & DETERMINED GROUP ↘
8. { THAT EXEMPLIFIED WHAT IS BEST IN OUR COUNTRY.
9. THEY REPRESENTED US WELL -- AND WE WILL FEEL THEIR LOSS. //
10. { IT IS HARD TO ACCEPT THIS KIND OF TRAGEDY, ↘
11. { TO FACE ITS BRUTAL REALITY. /
12. { THESE YOUNG ATHLETES & THEIR COACHES ↘
13. { MIGHT JUST AS EASILY BE SITTING HERE AMONG US TODAY. /
14. INSTEAD, THEY ARE GONE. //

1. { IN THE NORMAL COURSE OF OUR LIVES ↘
 2. { WE VERY OFTEN TAKE THE WONDERS OF LIFE FOR GRANTED.
 3. { WE TAKE MOST FOR GRANTED THOSE PARTS OF OUR LIVES ↘
 4. { THAT ARE REALLY THE MOST PRECIOUS:
 5. OUR FEELINGS TOWARD THOSE CLOSE TO US,
 6. OUR FAMILIES,
 7. OUR GOOD HEALTH,
 8. OUR FREEDOMS & OPPORTUNITIES. //
-
9. { WHEN WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH STARK TRAGEDIES SUCH AS THIS ↘
 10. { WE HAVE TO STOP FOR A BRIEF MOMENT ↘
 11. { AND PUT OUR LIVES & VALUES IN FULL PERSPECTIVE. //
-
12. { I HAVE ASKED YOU HERE TODAY TO TALK WITH YOU ABOUT A SERIOUS, VITAL MATTER...
 13. { --IN WHICH THE ULTIMATE STAKES ARE QUITE LITERALLY A MATTER OF ↘
LIFE-AND-DEATH. //
-
14. { WHEN I TOOK OFFICE AS PRESIDENT,
 15. { I ACCEPTED ONE ALL-IMPORTANT RESPONSIBILITY:
 16. { TO PROTECT OUR NATION AND ITS PEOPLE.
 17. { EVERY DECISION I MAKE, EVERY ACTION I DIRECT,
 18. { IS DOMINATED BY THIS ONE OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE --
 19. { TO KEEP OUR NATION SAFE.

1. { THAT IS WHY I, AND EVERY PRESIDENT WHO FOLLOWS ME IN THIS OFFICE,
2. { MUST DO ALL WE CAN TO PROTECT THE PEACE.
3. OURS IS A NUCLEAR AGE,
4. { LIKE IT OR NOT, WE MUST TAKE EVERY PRECAUTION WE CAN TO PREVENT WAR,...
5. { TO AVOID ANY ACTIONS -- OR INACTIONS -- THAT MIGHT LEAD TO WAR.

6. I AM DETERMINED TO KEEP THESE VITAL NATIONAL INTERESTS PARAMOUNT.
7. I AM DETERMINED THAT OUR NATION REMAIN SECURE.
8. I AM DETERMINED TO KEEP OUR NATION AT PEACE.
9. { IT IS FOR THESE LIFE-&-DEATH REASONS
10. { THAT OUR NATION MUST MAKE A STRONG & RESOLUTE STAND
11. { AGAINST THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.
12. { IT IS FOR THESE REASONS
13. { THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST MAKE ITS OPPOSITION
AS CLEAR AND AS DRAMATIC AS POSSIBLE.

14. { IT IS FOR THESE REASONS
15. { THAT WE & OTHER NATIONS MUST NOT -- & WILL NOT --
16. { PARTICIPATE IN ANY OLYMPIC GAMES HELD IN MOSCOW THIS SUMMER.

17. I WANT ALL AMERICANS TO UNDERSTAND THE FACTS BEHIND THIS NATIONAL DECISION.
18. { I BELIEVE THAT YOU --
THE ATHLETES & OFFICIALS WHO WILL BE MOST AFFECTED --
19. { DESERVE TO GET THOSE FACTS FROM ME DIRECTLY,
IN THE MOST PERSONAL WAY I CAN PRESENT THEM TO YOU.

*Comp. people
9-15-00*

1. LET'S LOOK AT WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SOUTHWEST ASIA
IN THE MOST HUMAN TERMS POSSIBLE.
2. IN THE CITY OF KABUL, PEOPLE HAVE BEEN LINED UP BEFORE FIRING SQUADS.
3. IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF AFGHANISTAN,
WHOLE VILLAGES HAVE BEEN DESTROYED, THE VILLAGERS EXECUTED.
4. ALL THIS IS HAPPENING BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION MADE A DECISION:
5. TO INVADE AN INDEPENDENT, SOVEREIGN NATION ALONG ITS BORDERS.
6. { BECAUSE THE SOVIET UNION MADE THAT DECISION
7. { MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE DEAD -- ALREADY.
8. MORE THAN HALF A MILLION PEOPLE ARE REFUGEES -- ALREADY.
9. AS THE INVASION CONTINUES, THERE IS MORE DEATH, MORE REPRESSION.
10. THIS IS THE LIFE-&-DEATH REALITY OF WHAT IS TAKING PLACE IN SOUTHWEST ASIA.
11. { WE HAVE TO FACE UP TO THAT REALITY,
12. { TO SEE IT FOR WHAT IT IS,
13. { TO DEAL WITH ITS CONSEQUENCES.

1. { THE WORLD HAS SEEN BEFORE
2. { WHAT HAPPENS WHEN AGGRESSION OF THE KINDS WE ARE NOW SEEING
3. { IS ALLOWED TO PROCEED UNANSWERED.

4. { THE EXISTENCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS MAKES IT EVEN MORE URGENT
5. { TO ENSURE THAT AGGRESSION DOES NOT GO UNANSWERED.
6. { THESE WEAPONS MAKE IT EVEN MORE VITAL
7. { THAT WE NOT ALLOW ANY AGGRESSION NATION TO MISCALCULATE, *OR ESCALATE*
TO ASSUME THAT IT CAN CONTINUE
TO INVADE NATIONS WITH IMPUNITY.

8. { WE CANNOT ALLOW ANY NATION
9. { TO PROCEED UNCHALLENGED ON A COURSE
10. { THAT MIGHT SOMEDAY LEAD TO DANGEROUS CONFRONTATION.

11. { FOR THE SOVIET UNION TO HOST OLYMPIC GAMES
12. { AT THE SAME TIME THEY ARE CONDUCTING A BRUTAL INVASION OF THEIR WEAKER NEIGHBOR
13. { CONSTITUTES AT THE VERY LEAST A BETRAYAL OF OLYMPIC PRINCIPLES.
14. { FOR AMERICANS OR ANYONE ELSE TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH GAMES
15. { WOULD BE TO ACTIVELY JOIN IN THAT BETRAYAL.

1. THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS MADE A GREAT INVESTMENT IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES.
2. UNFORTUNATELY FOR THE GAMES,
3. UNFORTUNATELY FOR AFGHANISTAN,
4. UNFORTUNATELY FOR THE WORLD --
5. IT HAS FAILED TO INVEST THAT ONE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT:
6. A COMMITMENT TO THE OLYMPIC SPIRIT,
THE SPIRIT OF PEACE,
OF INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD.
7. IT HAS BUILT THE GIANT ARENAS, THE GREAT STADIUMS.
8. IT HAS BUILT THE GRAND FACILITIES TO HOUSE THE OLYMPICS,
THE PUBLIC & THE PRESS.
9. BUT THEN IT UNDERMINED THESE SUPERFICIAL CONSTRUCTIONS,
THESE OUTWARD TRAPPINGS OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES,
10. WITH A CALCULATED STRATEGY OF AGGRESSION, ...
11. A STRATEGY THAT RUNS COUNTER TO ALL THAT THE GAMES ARE MEANT TO CELEBRATE.

1. ~~FOR AMERICANS OR ANYONE ELSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GAMES~~
2. ~~WOULD BE TO RATIFY THAT STRATEGY AS A SUCCESS.~~
3. TODAY IN MOSCOW, THE PEOPLE ARE TOLD VERY LITTLE
104
ABOUT THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.
4. THEY ARE TOLD A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE OLYMPICS & WHAT THEY SYMBOLIZE.
5. GOVERNMENT HANDBOOKS INFORM THEM ↘
6. THAT THE HOLDING OF THE GAMES IN THEIR CAPITAL CITY ↘
7. REPRESENTS "CONVINCING TESTIMONY" OF THE "CORRECTNESS" OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY,
8. THAT IT REFLECTS A GENERAL RECOGNITION BY THE WORLD ↘
9. OF THE "ENORMOUS SERVICES OF THE SOVIET UNION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE."
10. FOR AMERICANS & OTHER WORLD ATHLETES ↘
11. TO PARTICIPATE IN MOSCOW ON SUCH A BASIS ↘
12. WOULD SEND A MESSAGE THAT IS EQUALLY INACCURATE --
TO THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ITSELF.
13. IT WOULD BE THE MOST VIVID DEMONSTRATION POSSIBLE ↘
14. THAT IT COULD CARRY OUT AGGRESSION ↘
15. AND STILL REAP ALL THE BENEFITS OF PEACE, ...
16. INDEED THAT IT COULD EVEN HOST THE WORLD IN CELEBRATING THAT PEACE.
17. FOR THE SAKE OF OUR OWN SAFETY,
18. WE CANNOT ALLOW SUCH A FATEFUL MESSAGE TO BE TRANSMITTED.

1. { I ASKED YOU ALL TO COME HERE TODAY BECAUSE I NEED HELP,
2. { HELP THAT ONLY YOU CAN GIVE ME.
3. { AMERICANS LOOK UP TO OUR OLYMPIC ATHLETES
4. { AS REPRESENTING OUR NATION'S HIGHEST IDEALS.
5. { I SHARE THIS ADMIRATION.
6. { I RESPECT ATHLETES FOR THE DETERMINATION THEY PUT INTO THEIR EFFORTS,
7. { FOR THE SPIRIT WITH WHICH THEY COMPETE.
8. { TODAY I AM ASKING YOU TO SHOW THAT GREAT SPIRIT & DETERMINATION
9. { IN HELPING OUR NATION STAND UP AGAINST AGGRESSION,
10. { TO STAND UP FOR PEACE IN THE WORLD.
11. I AM CONCERNED FOR THOSE ATHLETES WHO HAVE TRAINED SO HARD
FOR THIS YEAR'S OLYMPIC GAMES.
12. { I WILL DO EVERYTHING I CAN
13. { TO ENSURE THAT YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE
14. { IN THE POST-OLYMPIC INTERNATIONAL SPORTS FESTIVAL THIS YEAR --
15. { GAMES THAT WILL OFFER WORLD-CLASS COMPETITION & WORLD RECOGNITION,
16. { AND THAT WILL POSE NO THREAT TO THE FUTURE OF THE UNITARY OLYMPIC MOVEMENT.

1. I WILL DO SOMETHING ELSE, THAT I FEEL MYSELF IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT.
2. I KNOW THE ENORMOUS SACRIFICE INVOLVED IN MISSING THE OLYMPIC GAMES THIS YEAR.
3. I AM DETERMINED THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE RECOGNIZE THAT SACRIFICE.
4. THE PROCESS OF SELECTING AN OLYMPIC TEAM IS CONTINUING.
5. { WHEN THAT TEAM ENTERS POST-OLYMPIC, WORLD-CLASS COMPETITION,
6. { THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL RECOGNIZE ↴
7. { THE NOBILITY OF THOSE WHO ARE MAKING THIS GREAT SACRIFICE ↴
FOR THEIR COUNTRY & FOR PEACE.
8. { I INTEND TO DO EVERYTHING I CAN ↴
9. { TO ENSURE THAT THEY RECEIVE THIS RECOGNITION.

1. { I CANNOT ASSURE OUR NATION'S ATHLETES
2. { THAT THEY WILL EXPERIENCE THE SAME KIND OF HONOR
3. { AS THAT OF COMPETING IN A NORMAL YEAR'S OLYMPIC GAMES.
4. { THIS YEAR, THERE WILL BE NO SUCH HONOR TO BE HAD --
5. { BECAUSE THE SOVIET INVASION ↴
6. { HAS ALREADY TARNISHED THE MOSCOW OLYMPICS BEYOND RECALL.

7. YOUR HONOR WILL BE OF A DIFFERENT KIND.
8. { YOU WILL BE HONORED, AND REMEMBERED,
9. { AS CITIZENS WHO STOOD UP FOR THEIR COUNTRY,
WHO STOOD UP FOR PEACE --
FOR ALL MANKIND.

10. CERTAINLY, THAT IS HOW I WILL LOOK UPON YOUR SACRIFICE.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Thurs.
9 pm

Rick -

This is a new
draft (A-2) of the
Olympics speech. The
President has his.
Phil Wise has his.
Please see that Susan
gets hers.

Tom

[Salutations, if any, will
be supplied by Joe Onek,
x6611, by 10:30 AM Thurs.]

Chris Matthews
Draft A-2, 3/20/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, March 21, 2:45 PM
East Room

Rick Hutcheson

Summer Olympic Athletes

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people. Every decision I make, every action I direct, is dominated by this one overriding objective -- to keep our nation safe.

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I am determined to keep our nation at peace. It is for these life-and-death reasons that our nation must make a strong and resolute stand against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

It is for these reasons that the United States must make its opposition as clear and as dramatic as possible. It is for these reasons that we and other nations must not -- and will

not -- participate in any Olympic games held in Moscow this summer.

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of people are dead -- already. More than a half a million people are refugees -- already. As the invasion continues, there is more death, more repression.

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of the unitary Olympic movement.

I will do something else, that I feel myself is even more important. I know the enormous sacrifice involved in missing the Olympic games this year. I am determined that the American people recognize that sacrifice. The process of selecting an Olympic team is continuing. When that team enters post-Olympic, world-class competition, the American people will recognize the nobility of those who are making this great sacrifice for their country and for peace. I intend to do everything I can to ensure that they receive this recognition.

I cannot assure our nation's athletes that they will experience the same kind of honor as that of competing in a normal year's Olympic games. This year, there will be no such honor to be had -- because the Soviet invasion has already tarnished the Moscow Olympics beyond recall. Your

honor will be of a different kind. You will be honored, and remembered, as citizens who stood up for their country, who stood up for peace -- for all mankind.

Certainly, that is how I will look upon your sacrifice.

#

21 Mar 80

Secretary Andrus

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

Rick Hutcheson



ANSEL ADAMS

cc To Cecil Andrus
Brief Comment
J.C.

ROUTE 1, BOX 181, CARMEL, CALIFORNIA 93923 TELEPHONE (408) 624-2558

March 7, 1980

President James Earl Carter, Jr.
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20006

067612

Dear Mr. President,

I very much appreciated your thoughtful note about the portrait as well as the "P.S." concerning Secretary Andrus' withdrawal of 40,000,000 additional acres of Alaska's wildlands. It goes without saying that I am delighted and proud of this important decision. It is my honor to know you and to salute your leadership in protecting 96,000,000 acres of Alaska through executive action. 17 national monuments and 12 national wildlife refuges -- it is a record unlikely to be surpassed.

I must say, Mr. President, that I am deeply distressed by the Senate's recent time-agreement delaying action on the Alaska Lands Bill for 5 more months, at least. Given the pressures of this election year, we will be fortunate if the Senate acts before September. After that, we must expect a long and difficult conference. Frankly, I am not optimistic that the 96th Congress will enact an Alaska Lands Bill. I am even less hopeful that the final product will be acceptable. If it is not, I would encourage you to take the courageous and responsible action of vetoing the legislation, as you indicated you would do when we met in November. Adherence to the ideal goals is especially important at this time. I have observed near-disasters because of the acceptance of inadequate legislation in the past.

My close friend and advisor, Bill Turnage (Executive Director of the Wilderness Society) was visiting with me last week and we discussed the need to ask you to take one vital additional step to fully protect the Alaska Lands. Your administration's withdrawal of Alaska's wildlands may well prove to be the final act in this historic conservation campaign. The sheer boldness of your concepts will, I am sure, influence Congress to favorably respond. I understand that the lands hopefully preserved comprise less than 25% of the entire state of Alaska. I was pleased to learn that Secretary Andrus is considering the establishment of 2 more wildlife refuges on the Alaska peninsula and in the vicinity of Lake Iliamna and that he will also withdraw corridors along 11 wild rivers.

President James Earl Carter, Jr.

Page 2

When these withdrawals are made, and in the absence of Congressional action, 13 areas proposed for protection in Alaska's 2 existing national forests will still be endangered in the long run by clear-cut logging, mining, and other forms of development. When you proclaimed establishment of 17 national monuments in December 1978, many conservationists felt the 2 national forest monuments, Admiralty Island and Misty Fjords, stood out as extraordinarily important and innovative actions. Following this precedent, I urge you to establish at this time national monuments protecting these 13 smaller, yet critical, areas in Alaska's national forests: in the Chugach National Forest, Copper River; in the the Tongass National Forest, West Chichagof-Yakobi, Stikine-LeConte, Tebenkof, Petersburg Creek-Duncan Canal, Endicott River, Rocky Pass, Karta, Russell Fjord, South Prince of Wales, Tracy Arm-Fords Terro, South Baranoff, the King Salmon Capes. The 13 national forest monuments proposed do complete your record of acting wisely and imaginatively to conserve the wildlands of our nation's last frontier. I must be honest with you and clearly state that I have not visited many of these areas, but feel I know them well from perusing text and photographs and enjoying verbal descriptions. I do know by direct experience Southeastern Alaska, from Katchikan to Anchorage as well as much of the area between Anchorage and Fairbanks. I have spent a lot of time in McKinley National Park.

Thank you again for considering my recommendations on the Alaska Lands issue. It pleases me immensely that you continue to make preservation of Alaska's wilderness a very high priority. If I can be of assistance in any way, please let me know. Bill Turnage and Chuck Clusen (Conservation Director of The Wilderness Society and Chairman of the Alaska Coalition) are, of course, headquartered just 3 blocks from the White House and are at your command. I will be in Washington myself on April 23-25 to work with Senator Alan Cranston on the bill to establish a Big Sur National Scenic Area. It would be a great delight if I could call on you, and I would, of course, be available at your convenience.

I look forward to hearing from you about this letter and my visit to Washington.

Warmest personal regards,



AA:ag

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for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21 Mar 80

Jack Watson

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

Rick Hutcheson

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	BRZEZINSKI
	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
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	MARSHALL

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



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
HARRISBURG, PA. 17120

REP. STEPHEN R. REED

[Handwritten signature]
Jack -
Quick assessment
J

March 20, 1980

Honorable Jimmie Carter
The President
The White House
Washington, District of Columbia

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the present and future residents of Central Pennsylvania, ~~I seek your intercession to prevent the release of 57,000 curies of radioactive Krypton 85~~ into the atmosphere around Three Mile Island. The U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission yesterday conducted formal hearings in Middletown, PA at which they announced they plan to release such contaminants. /

It is an understatement to say that the majority of persons anywhere near Three Mile Island oppose such a release.

I also oppose such a release for a variety of reasons which include:

- (1) its health impact is not known; even the best experts cannot agree on the effects of low level radiation on humans and animals and to be sure, 57,000 curies is a massive amount defying adequate description;
- (2) during the TMI accident, on March 28, 1979, radiation releases occurred which, according to the eight stack monitors, exceeded 1000 REMS per hour--and the stack monitors stuck at that level because that is all the higher they could measure radiation; today there are growing reports of unexplained health effects and ailments involving humans and animals which, it has not been conclusively proven, may be directly related to those releases; the planned release of Krypton 85 and other contaminants now, before the real or full story of TMI's short-term or long-term effects is known, is unwise, a clear threat to health and with disregard to the public's interests here;
- (3) there were a number of ways the containment building of TMI Unit 2 could be decontaminated; the outright release of the radiation was one of them and it happens it is by far the cheapest way too---costly an estimated \$75,000 compared to millions for other ways; it would appear that the fastest, most economical method has been chosen which smacks of favoritism to the interests of the TMI owners, the Metropolitan Edison Company;

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Page Two
Honorable Jimmie Carter
March 20, 1980

(4) assurances that "a little Krypton 85 gas and other contaminants" will not harm one comes from the same people who told this area and the world last March that "very little" radiation had been released, no real accident had happened and that TMI Unit 2 would be "back on line in a matter of days or a week at the most." The credibility of Metropolitan Edison, and indeed, that of the NRC now, has dissipated; the colossal mishandling of the TMI accident by Met Ed was preceded by construction and operational errors that clearly established a pattern of mismanagement of a major nuclear facility; Met Ed's aftermath activities have only served to reinforce public opinion about their abilities and a good case in point is the February 13, 1980 discovery of Krypton 85 releases that had been happening since last April--and the subsequent delay by Met Ed in notifying Civil Defense and others of their on-site "alert" when it was discovered.

(5) the independent Heidelberg Study of NRC and nuclear industry radiation measurement standards verified, which the NRC subsequently agreed to, that those standards were based on falsely represented experiments from twenty years ago conducted by the former Atomic Energy Commission; it would therefore seem clear that even the best calculations given us today about TMI's radiation releases planned for next month cannot be valid

At the very least, planned Krypton 85 releases should be held up until valid and accurate independent analysis by the best non-aligned experts available can be had and it may well be that the conclusion from such analysis would be that we cannot determine what real impact the planned releases will have.

Such uncertainty, such disregard for public opinion and such lack of credible information and informational disseminators is an outrage to the people of Central Pennsylvania who have been subjected to as yet undefined exposures and who do not volunteer their bodies and their children's bodies to be a receptor for Met Ed and TMI radiation. Clearly, the issue becomes whether Government will represent the public's interests or those of monied, vested interests.

The handling of the TMI aftermath clearly sets precedent for policy in any future accidents and the people who live near nuclear power plants, nearly 100 million in the United States, need to know that the NRC cannot go ahead with their capricious and expedient action of Krypton 85 releases. Indeed, we should be holding NRC hearings on the performance of Met Ed and as to whether they should be allowed to hold a nuclear plant license.

I cite the calming and stabilizing effect your personal visit to Middletown, PA had after the accident. Your personal interest in this crisis is well remembered by us all. We ask, at minimum, that the planned Krypton 85 release be held up until independent analysis is done, but far more desirable, we ask a complete cancellation of such a plan for now and the future.

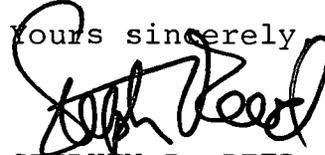
Page Three
Honorable Jimmie Carter
March 20, 1980

I respectfully beseech your effort to prevent the NRC plan to release radioactive Krypton 85 from Three Mile Island.

Enclosed are copies of various editorials appearing across the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on this issue, along with a recent article describing, in layman's terms, the effect of a curie of Krypton on human beings.

With warmest regards, I remain

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Stephen R. Reed". The signature is written in a cursive, somewhat stylized font.

STEPHEN R. REED
State Representative

Attachments

Monday, March 17, 1980

Page 10-A

'Venting' gas at TMI: Playing the cruelest game

The staff of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has recommended that krypton gas trapped in the damaged reactor at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant be released into the atmosphere as soon as possible. There is a "strong possibility" that the five-member commission will soon approve the staff proposal, according to one commission member.

It is imperative that no radioactive gas be vented. The potential for harm to the residents of the area around Three Mile Island, and the health threat such a release poses to their offspring, is too great to permit that to happen. Despite claims by NRC officials that the levels of radiation to be vented are within federal safety limits, it is a scientific fact that all exposure to radiation poses potential harm to present and future generations.

The NRC and Metropolitan Edison Co., operators of the reactor, are playing out the cruelest of all psychological games with the people of Pennsylvania by asserting that the alternative to venting is a far more terrible risk, involving leaks of highly radioactive water also trapped in the reactor. In other words, get radiated now at low doses, or face the prospect of massive doses later. That is the option being given to individuals living near the reactor.

Officials have known since a few days after the accident last March 28 that the krypton gas had to be removed before clean-up could occur. From that time on, Metropolitan Edison has remained steadfast in its plan to vent the radioactivity into the atmosphere. It may be a futile exercise now to point out that if someone in authority had rejected that idea outright, and instead demanded that the company begin a search for equipment to remove the gas safely, that the equipment could be nearing readiness now.

There is technology to do so. Philadelphia Electric Co. has purchased cryogenic equipment — which liquefies gases through use of extremely low temperatures, facilitating their

containment and safe removal — for its Limerick reactors under construction in Montgomery County. After the accident, the company offered to make that equipment available to Metropolitan Edison officials, according to a PE spokesman. Adapting the cryogenic equipment to the enormous clean-up operation at Three Mile Island would take time and money, but technically it is possible, experts say.

NRC officials now admit operators are "flying blind" in their job of monitoring conditions inside the reactor because measuring equipment there no longer functions. They say that equipment must be repaired and repaired soon to assure that the reactor core doesn't overheat. Again, they raise a specter so terrible that, they hope, it reduces the hazards of venting to relatively small levels of risks to the public.

The NRC plans to solicit public comment on the staff proposal to vent the krypton gas. NRC Commissioner Victor Gilinsky has suggested that the commission itself go to Middletown — site of the reactor — to hear what the public has to say about the plan and to carefully explain it to area residents. His proposal is a good one. The people of central Pennsylvania have every right to believe that their safety and concerns are being completely ignored by those persons making decisions about TMI. Perhaps if the NRC members see and hear the fears many people have about the venting plan, they will not be so casual in shrugging off the potential health hazards of the proposal.

There is one question the residents near the reactor should most definitely ask the five commission members: Why has the NRC resumed licensing nuclear plants without requiring them to have equipment on hand, or at least readily available, to treat radioactive gases like krypton in the event of future accidents such as Three Mile Island? It is an answer the NRC owes to the people of central Pennsylvania and all Americans.

Venting TMI's krypton: An unacceptable risk

"You can't sit around here and calculate environmental impact while we have a disaster waiting to happen in Central Pennsylvania." — Joseph Hendrie, federal Nuclear Regulatory Commissioner.

When did Mr. Hendrie, who pounded the table in frustration as he said that, say it? On March 28, 1979, when the nuclear "accident" at the reactor on Three Mile Island first occurred? A week later, after a mysterious bubble had developed, had been made light of, after NRC officials and, repeatedly, officials of Metropolitan Edison Co., operator of the plant, had publicly lied about both the details and the gravity of the accident and the danger it posed to the people of Pennsylvania?

No.

He said it Wednesday. That was March 5, 1980 — just 18 days short of one year since the worst U.S. commercial nuclear power accident occurred.

In fairness to Mr. Hendrie, he later qualified the implication of that remark by insisting "there is no real and present danger." He was frustrated, he said, by the length of time and the technical difficulty of cleaning up the mess left by the accident. "We should have been inside the containment (building) to check the condition of the primary system," he said, "to replace essential instruments and we should have done it two months ago."

Well, two months ago, and 11 months ago, for that matter, what is purported to be an accumulation of the best brains and experience available in American government and industry had been brought together to work out not only what happened at TMI, but more pressingly to figure out how to clean up after it.

The results?

Among them is that a massive amount of radioactive krypton 85 gas, as Mr. Hendrie complained, is preventing access to the ruined plant. Before the still hot, still dangerous nuclear

core material can be approached, examined and ultimately disposed of, that gas must be removed. And, at the same Wednesday meeting, Harold Denton, NRC's reactor regulation chief, said there is no known technique for removing that radioactive gas which would take less than "a couple of years" to put into operation.

Mr. Denton is going to report again to all five NRC commissioners next week on the quest for a safe removal method. But the message which came clearly — ominously — from this week's deliberations was that Mr. Hendrie, Mr. Denton and others in charge of federal oversight of nuclear matters are leaning heavily toward issuing an order which would permit Metropolitan Edison to vent the gas. That is, to let it run freely into the atmosphere of Central Pennsylvania, over a period of about two months.

The premise of such a decision would be that the radiation dosage Pennsylvanians would be exposed to would be slow, gentle and mild.

The problem with that premise is that no responsible medical or nuclear scientist knows with certainty — or with convincing confidence — that such gradual release cannot do deadly damage to the long-term health of the people exposed or to the genetic future of those people and their descendants for generations yet unimagined.

Venting the radioactive gas without such certainty would be grossly irresponsible. Yet the NRC people want not only to go ahead, but to do so, as Mr. Hendrie insisted, by bypassing the requirement that an environmental impact study first be made.

If the NRC does that, and is allowed to go forward, not only will immense numbers of people be exposed to unknown but dreadful risks, but the precedent of suspending what few existing safeguards are on the regulation books will have been achieved — to haunt others for no one knows how long.

Somebody must decide the real TMI issue

TMI

Trapped inside the damaged reactor building at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant are gases containing 50,000 curies of radiation, along with many thousands of gallons of highly radioactive water. Whether that radioactive gas remains inside the plant or is intentionally vented into the atmosphere of central Pennsylvania is a question for which there is only one responsible answer: It must not be released.

A decision to spew the gas into the atmosphere and onto tens of thousands of people would represent the most indefensible form of expediency. It would be frightening, additional proof that the officials running the operations at TMI are like a bunch of boys playing mechanic in a back lot, trying to repair a derelict car by trying anything. When one thing doesn't work, they dream up another scheme.

In the TMI instance, mistakes can prove deadly for the people of Pennsylvania today and in the future.

Someone must decide whether the TMI plant is going to be returned to service or abandoned. The decision must not be made by the operating utility, which would profit from its reopening, or by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, whose credibility to make such a decision is suspect. Perhaps that final decision must, by default, fall into the lap of Gov. Thornburgh who should have the best interests of the people uppermost in mind.

The decision will be difficult and controversial. But no one thus far has given any indication of considering it seriously. It would be an immense tragedy if sometime in the next year — after the residents near the plant have been exposed to radiation vented intentionally or unintentionally — the utility or the federal government decided simply to walk away from the plant because the clean-up process was

not working or had grown too costly.

The gas trapped in the reactor building is radioactive krypton. Despite all sorts of benign assurances that exposure to the gas would be no more dangerous than taking a long airplane ride, any exposure to radiation poses a potential risk to health.

No one knows what the genetic legacy of TMI will be; only time will tell.

Officials at the crippled plant have warned repeatedly that unless they are permitted to vent the krypton under controlled circumstances the threat of uncontrolled releases increases. Considering the sloppy management and lax attitudes toward public safety already exhibited at the reactor, that possibility can't be ignored. But it cannot — and must not — be legitimized.

The Governor's Commission on Three Mile Island has done precisely that by tentatively endorsing the plant owner's plan to vent the gas, pending approval by the NRC. Not surprisingly, commission member Robert Reid, mayor of Middletown, TMI's nearest neighbor, dissented.

Venting the gas is a cheap way out of the dilemma — cheap for the utility. Equipment to filter out the radioactive particles isn't immediately available — telling testimony that the nuclear industry plans only for the routine and not for the unexpected. Technology does exist in other fields, however, to remove radioactivity from gas and it could be adapted — at great cost — to the TMI reactor.

The NRC will decide this spring whether the krypton gas can be vented by the utility. It must not be. Safety, public welfare and the genetic future of millions of Americans have been neglected far too long in the scramble for easy answers to the problems of nuclear power.

In the aftermath of TMI, a need for expert answers

The weight of medical evidence and experience is on the side of coincidence in the recent disclosure by state health officials that 13 babies born after the accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant suffer from serious thyroid defects. But the possibility that radiation given off last March by the damaged reactor did cause the condition, known as hypothyroidism, cannot be dismissed regardless of how remote it is.

An exhaustive epidemiological study — drawing on the best minds in the nation's medical field — must be conducted — immediately. Health officials must determine whether other cases have occurred. Above all, it is crucial that all these experts first rid themselves of any existing predisposition to believe that low-level radiation cannot produce such a condition.

The American public has been assured since day one of the nation's worst accident at a commercial reactor that the radiation emitted from the plant posed no health hazard to current or future generations. The validity of those and other assurances dished out to the public since the accident properly has been subjected to much skepticism.

Health experts, including leading authorities on hypothyroidism, doubt that there is any connection between the accident and the deformity in the babies. The amount of radiation fell far below the levels the federal government considers hazardous. The cases

were reported in Lancaster, Lehigh and Bucks counties — well away from the radioactive plume from the reactor. Many scientists, however, long have argued that the government's standards are far too lax and that any exposure to radiation poses potential health risks.

On the other side of the coin, it is a medically established fact that exposure to high levels of radioactive iodine — a chemical given off in low quantities by the reactor — can damage thyroids. It is unknown exactly how much radiation was given off by the damaged reactor because of monitoring equipment problems in the first hours of the accident.

Three Mile Island is the accident that the nuclear industry said could never happen. It happened. That should have voided all the preconceptions about things like safety, reliability and radiation. The review of these thyroid cases must start from an unbiased perspective.

Unfounded speculation on the causes of this aberrant increase in hypothyroidism is as damaging as ignoring it. There are 70 operating reactors in the United States where the same potential exists for similar exposures to the public. If the cases of hypothyroidism were unrelated, the public should know. If, however, the exposure did produce the deformities, then the nation's commitment to nuclear power could mean a nightmarish fate for present and future generations.

No Krypton!

Met-Ed Playing With Fire Again

THE PEOPLE of Central Pennsylvania may have suffered from psychological stress as a result of the March 28 misadventure at Three Mile Island but they are not yet gaga. We know of no one, as a matter of fact, who has been persuaded to believe that his lungs and fatty tissue would make a better home for Met-Ed's surplus supply of krypton 85 gas than the Unit 2 reactor building where it is now stored.

Granted, the reactor building is not the ideal repository for this radioactive gas, but to release it into the air — as Met-Ed proposes to do — not only adds insult to injury, it presupposes that the air belongs to the utility and it can do anything it wants with it.

The people of this region have had enough of that attitude. Met-Ed and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission — and for that matter, the state Department of Environmental Resources — can offer their assurances that the krypton releases will conform with regulations and not pose any public health danger, but that's what they said about Three Mile Island to begin with.

What it comes down to is that Met-Ed has a problem and it has chosen the cheapest and most expedient means of getting rid of it. The air currents are going to do exactly what they are supposed to do — that is, they are going to disperse the krypton 85 so no one — absolutely no one —

will receive a dose of more than five millirems. We wonder if that theory of dispersion operates on the same principle that takes the sulfuric fumes from the smokestacks of the midwest and dumps them on the Adirondacks in the form of acid rain.

Met-Ed proposes to conduct the releases for six to 12 weeks — depending on meteorological conditions — a period during which many area residents can be expected to be literally holding their breath. Once again clean, safe nuclear energy will be imposing on their lives and creating additional fear and apprehension about their future in the shadow of a nuclear lemon. But they will not be alone.

After months of struggling to regain its good name and trying to convince people it is safe to come to Central Pennsylvania and safe to eat its world-renowned food products, Met-Ed is proposing to put us right back where we were in April.

FOR THE SAKE of our sanity, our health and our economy, not one molecule of krypton gas should be allowed to escape from Three Mile Island. The people of the area, local governments, and the Thornburgh administration should let Met-Ed and the NRC know that we are not going to stand for it. We are not going to volunteer our bodies to get Met-Ed out of the hole they dug for themselves.

Editorial

Krypton Legacy

How Good Are Assurances?

IF, AS SEEMS likely, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission gives its approval to the venting of stored up radioactive krypton gas from the reactor building at Three Mile Island, the possible use of local citizens to help monitor the releases is the one bright spot in this dubious adventure. The NRC is reported to be tossing around the idea of involving local people in the monitoring process.

The advantage of using lay-people to measure the levels of radioactivity during the releases is that it would serve as a means of verifying the accuracy of official readings given out by Metropolitan Edison and the involved federal and state agencies. This may contribute to a greater confidence on the part of the public that they are being told the truth. At a minimum, it indicates the NRC has some regard for local opinion, though, perhaps, not enough regard for local health.

The use of citizen monitors does not change the general picture in regard to the proposed emissions. In terms of the circumstances involved and total quantity of radioactive gas to be released, this would be a unique event. And it would come on the heels of several disturbing and unexplained reports of illnesses among animals and humans, which may have some connection to TMI. The probability is that these reports have absolutely no connection whatsoever to TMI, but no one — at this point — can really say for certain.

One of the things that is known about the effects of radiation is that there is a lot which isn't known, especially in the area of low-level radiation. The citizen monitors and their more knowledgeable and experienced colleagues taking readings for the company and government agencies will all be working with

the same set of numbers which are presumed to make a distinction between that which is a safe dosage and that which is not. If one presumes — and it is to presume a lot if one is familiar with the 1974 report of the Governor's Fact Finding Committee into the alleged health effects at the Shippingport nuclear plant — that the radiation measurements are accurate and that they fall within the arbitrary margin of safety, one is still left to wonder if "safe" is really safe. There are credible research scientists in the field who contend it is not. Like Galileo, the findings of these scientists fly in the face of the existing "truth" as embodied in the nuclear faith, so it is likely to be some time before their warnings are given heed. Meanwhile, the evidence mounts.

IF THIS is speculative and, worse, alarmist, as some would no doubt charge, it is not without considerable justification. We have seen the worth of government assurances and their regard for the health of citizens in the victims of the small Utah towns downwind from the atomic testing sites and among the shipworkers of our atomic submarine fleet. The cause of these unnecessary deaths is known, even though it took 20 years to manifest.

The circumstances involving the release of radioactive krypton at TMI are different, but they are similar in that they are proceeding on a basis which excludes the public from deciding an issue of great significance to its health and well-being, and which again has the government saying "trust me" on an activity, the full, long-term ramifications of which are unknown.

Will the assurances still ring true two decades hence, or will we too be victims?

The Patriot

Editor

TMI Incident

Met-Ed Does It Again

THE LATEST malfunction at Three Mile Island reminds us — if we needed reminding — that the crippled nuclear reactor still is active 11 months after suffering the worst accident in the history of commercial nuclear power and still is capable of inflicting harm on the surrounding area and its residents.

Monday's incident also demonstrated that Metropolitan Edison's attitude toward its public responsibility to inform state and county emergency agencies promptly on any occasion which might create general public concern is unchanged from the negligent and complacent attitude it displayed so ingloriously last March 28.

The company itself has warned that future incidents at the plant could happen because of the inaccessibility of much of the equipment keeping the damaged reactor cool due to the high level of radioactive contamination within the containment building. How serious an accident could occur with Unit 2 in its present state is far from certain. In any case, Met-Ed and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission have a clear obligation to provide local, county and state officials their best guess on the worst that could happen and the emergency steps which would have to be taken to respond to it.

The failure to notify state and county civil defense authorities about Monday's leak of radioactive water and sub-

sequent release of radioactive gas into the atmosphere was inexcusable. The company and the NRC are splitting hairs in their efforts to explain that they were following the letter of existing emergency procedures in not notifying civil defense. But certainly, Met-Ed, especially, failed miserably in executing the spirit of the procedures as understood by local and state officials. Further, Met-Ed has failed to come up to the spirit of its pledges of public responsibility which it has made over and over again to neighboring communities, to the county, to the state, to the Public Utility Commission and to the people of Central Pennsylvania.

IN RECENT WEEKS, there has been much ado about Met-Ed's precarious financial condition and its image among bankers, stockbrokers and Wall Street analysts. We've been told how the company's stockholders have had to bear the major burden of last spring's accident as the company flirts with bankruptcy. Yet, the company's financial health is far less alarming than its apparent bankruptcy of common sense, moral sense and inability to learn from past experience.

Monday's incident is of little concern compared to what it tells us about Met-Ed and how much it resembles the same bumbling organization that brought us TMI.

The Patriot

Editor

Radiation Fraud

Study Challenges NRC Figures

MET-ED claims that its proposed release of krypton 85 gas from Three Mile Island Unit 2 will not expose anyone to more than five millirems of radiation.

But a recent study performed by a team of West German scientists at the University of Heidelberg seriously challenges the basis for determining the radiation dosage to the public used by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and utilities.

For starters, the Heidelberg study has uncovered the fact — subsequently conceded by the NRC — that the so-called "dose estimates" used by the government and industry alike for the last 20 years were based on fraudulent experiments. These experiments were rigged by the old Atomic Energy Commission to calm public fears about the possible effects of fallout from the testing of nuclear weapons.

For years, the government and the nuclear industry have claimed that normal — and even accidental — radioactive emissions from commercial nuclear reactors are safe, amounting to a fraction of a millirem to five millirems for a person living within 10 miles of the plant. But according to the independent findings of the West German scientists, the actual dosage may be 10 to 1,000 times higher.

At issue is not the radiation readings taken by utilities, for the most part, and to a lesser extent by the state and federal governments, but the calculations used to determine the estimated dose each person receives, especially that which is absorbed by what a person eats and drinks. For example, the scientists say the NRC figures grossly underestimate the amount of radioactive materials deposited in the soil in emissions and subse-

quently ingested by plants.

The only way to verify the accuracy of either figures would be a much more intense monitoring of food and milk produced at farms near nuclear plants, a step the NRC refuses to take.

THE FACT that the government began the nuclear age with fraudulent experiments to conceal the true magnitude of radiation contamination is reason enough to suspect the veracity of current claims for the benignity of nuclear fallout. But coupled with other studies, the Heidelberg report presents a strong body of evidence which seriously challenges the notion that the NRC is looking after the public interest. The West German study is the first independent evaluation of the NRC's radiation dose calculations, which have largely been accepted as gospel by other scientists and the general public.

On Dec. 1, the Environmental Protection Agency will reduce what it considers the safe wholebody radiation exposure from nuclear plants from 170 millirems to 25 millirems annually. If the Heidelberg findings are even close to being correct, it may well be that all 72 nuclear reactors in the country will be in violation of the law, which, in effect, would amount to a government admission that they also are endangering the nation's health.

The events of March 28 at Three Mile Island demolished the image of nuclear power as a safe source of energy. The Heidelberg study may well perform the same function on the credibility of claims that nuclear emissions pose no risk to the public.

279 2/29/80

Just a little radiation? Don't believe it

By Bruce Molholt

Several years ago there was a memorable cartoon by Gahan Wilson showing a professor admonishing his students in the laboratory. "Nonsense," he said, holding aloft a flask which fairly glowed with radioactivity. "A little radiation never hurt anyone!" What the students couldn't see, but the readers could, was the professor's other hand was only a skeleton!

A year after the accident at Three Mile Island we are still being told that only a little radiation was released and that this little bit was not dangerous.

It is nonsense to pretend that low levels of radiation and high levels of radiation are different species. This is tantamount to advising beginning drivers to test out their cars at 130 miles per hour. After all, driving your car that fast all the time will get you killed, but a little bit isn't dangerous!

Rather than fast cars, radiation might be better likened to microscopic bullets. These little bullets of radiation can be directed, as from an X-ray gun, or undirected, such as from the radioactive spills at TMI.

Radiation bullets are most dangerous when they strike that most intimate and precious member of our genetic heritage, our DNA. This miniature thread contains the blueprint by which all cellular processes are dictated. Radiation bullets break DNA. Although some of these breaks can be repaired, some cannot. Unrepaired DNA breaks may lead to cellular death, or even worse, to cellular mutation. These mutations are the initial events in carcinogenesis, showing how radiation can cause cancer in man.

Like soldiers condemned to a firing line, DNA is more likely to become shattered the more frequently radiation bullets emit their source. The frequency of radiation emission is measured in curies, named for the famous Polish-French discoverer of



less breathed, will not interact much with human cells. Fourteen of these curies, however, were in the form of iodine known as I-131.

Iodine-131 is especially dangerous in humans because it is taken up and retained by the thyroid gland. It also emits a very energetic bullet of radiation which easily penetrates cells and destroys DNA. Since I-131 is retained for long periods of time, even a small amount of radioactivity is dangerous.

Ingestion of one milli-curie of I-131 means that the individual's DNA will be subject to 50 billion highly energetic bullets of radiation in three months. In order to make these types of calculations easier to understand, radiation biologists have employed the term rem, which encompasses number and energy of radiation bullets to compare this with an equivalent number of X rays.

As with curies, rems are normally communicated in terms of millirems (thousandths of a rem). Since normal background irradiation is about 130 millirems per year, the equivalent of four or five chest X rays, this sets a lower limit of our exposure (unless you happen to go about encased in a lead shield). In 1925, radiation exposures of 1,000 millirems per week were allowed. It is now 100 millirems per week and soon the federal standard will be 15 millirems per week.

Finally, our radiation standards will reflect the experimental reality that there is no safe level of radiation exposure.

radiation, who herself succumbed to cancer after years of handling radium.

Each curie of radioactive material spews out precisely 37 billion radiation bullets every second (some Gating gun!). Obviously, a curie of radioactive material is very dangerous, so scientists normally speak of millicuries (37 million bullets per second) or even micro-curies (37,000 bullets per second).

Since the damage caused by emitted radiation bullets is a direct function of the number of curies involved, it is of interest to note just how many curies were lost at TMI between March 28 and April 7, 1979. The number is an astronomical 10 million curies! These are not millicuries, but million curies. In terms of radiation bullets per second this is 370,000,000,000,000 which went up the stacks at TMI. It is no wonder some local residents wanted to get out of the way!

Most of this radioactive cloud was composed of inert gases, which, un-



This brings us back to the question of TMI. What were the actual levels of radioactivity to which people were exposed? The official answer of the Kemeny Commission was about 250 millirems per person, or about twice the normal yearly background irradiation.

This figure, however, was derived by assuming that the 2 million people living within 50 miles of TMI were all irradiated evenly, which almost certainly they were not.

In the year since the radioactive cloud has dissipated, a new cloud has settled over the Pennsylvania medi-

cal community, a cloud of disturbing increases in birth defects. This cloud is the first tangible evidence of potential human damage from TMI, and although controversial, casts doubts on official estimates of radiation levels to which people were exposed. The conclusion of the Kemeny Commission that the most severe biologic effect of the accident at TMI was mental stress may have been premature.

It will be 30 years before we will know just how many cancers were induced by the accident at TMI and even then it may be difficult to pinpoint carcinogenesis to this one event.

A rise in the number of birth defects, on the other hand, is an immediate indication of genetic damage. In two independent studies, these increased numbers of birth defects were seen in the months following the accident at TMI, but not before. In one study, in the three-month period before TMI, a Harrisburg hospital recorded one birth defect, but the number of birth defects rose to seven in the three months following TMI. In a more recent study 13 babies with thyroid nodules were found in three Pennsylvania counties east of TMI. This is more than four times the expected frequency of this pre-malignant condition, a condition which is often associated with I-131 contamination. Could this be I-131 from TMI?

(Bruce Molholt is science director of the Environmental Cancer Prevention Center, Public Interest Law Center of Philadelphia.)

Molholt

cc to
Jack Watson
or
Annie Mills

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

21 Mar 80

Jack Watson
Arnie Miller

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1980

e

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK WATSON *Jack*

ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT:

Board of Directors of the National
Institute for Building Sciences

The National Institute for Building Sciences was created in 1974 by Congress as an independent, non-profit, non-governmental organization to research, develop and adopt performance criteria for building components.

The Institute's Board of Directors is composed of 21 members, all of whom you appoint. Members represent various segments of the building community, construction labor unions, safety engineers and state and local officials.

Albert J. Hofstede, of Minnesota, is the outgoing Mayor of Minneapolis. He is a member of the Board of Directors of Minneapolis' Urban Coalition, and he has a strong background in urban problems.

The Vice President strongly supports this nomination.

RECOMMENDATION:

Nominate Albert Hofstede, of Minnesota, as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Institute for Building Sciences.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

ALBERT J. HOFSTEDE
Minnesota

EXPERIENCE:

1978 - 1980 Mayor, City of Minneapolis.
1976 - 1977 Vice President, Northeast State Bank.
1974 - 1975 Mayor, City of Minneapolis.
1971 - 1973 Chairman, Metropolitan, Minneapolis;
Chairman, Management Committee and
Transportation Planning Committee.
1969 Re-elected 3rd Ward Alderman, Minneapolis.
1967 Elected 3rd Ward Alderman, Minneapolis.
1966 Aide to Governor Karl Rolvaag

EDUCATION:

1964 B.S., College of St. Thomas,
St. Paul, Minnesota.

PERSONAL:

White Male
Age 39
Democrat

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF BUILDING SCIENCES.
BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE

(Nonprofit, nongovernmental)
Independent

AUTHORITY: P. L. 93-383, Title VIII, Sec. 809(c), 88 Stat. 730,
August 22, 1974

METHOD: Nominated to the Senate

MEMBERS: Not less than FIFTEEN nor more than TWENTY-ONE
appointed by the President

The Board shall be representative of the various segments of the building community, of the various regions of the country, and of the consumers who are or would be affected by actions taken in the exercise of the functions and responsibilities of the Institute, and shall include (A) representatives of the construction industry, including representatives of construction labor organizations, product manufacturers, and builders, housing management experts, and experts in building standards, codes, and fire safety, and (B) members representative of the public interest in such numbers as may be necessary to assure that a majority of the members of the Board represent the public interest and that there is adequate consideration by the Institute of consumer interests in the exercise of its functions and responsibilities. Those representing the public interest on the Board shall include architects, professional engineers, officials of Federal, State, and local agencies, and representatives of consumer organizations.

Such members of the Board shall hold no financial interest or membership in, nor be employed by, or receive other compensation from, any company, association, or other group associated with the manufacture, distribution, installation, or maintenance of specialized building products, equipment, systems, subsystems, or other construction materials and techniques for which there are available substitutes.

Continued

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF BUILDING SCIENCES,
BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE

(Nonprofit, nongovernmental)
Independent

MEMBERS:
(Continued)

The members of the initial or succeeding Boards shall not, by reason of such membership, be deemed to be employees of the United States Government.

CHAIRMAN:

The President shall designate one of the members appointed to the initial Board as Chairman; thereafter, the members of the initial and succeeding Boards shall annually elect one of their number as Chairman. The members shall also elect one or more of their members as Vice Chairman. Terms of the Chairman and Vice Chairman shall be for one year and no individual shall serve as Chairman or Vice Chairman for more than two consecutive terms.

TERM:

THREE YEARS, except that the terms of members first taking office shall begin on the date of incorporation and shall expire, as designated at the time of their appointment, one-third at the end of one year, one-third at the end of two years, and one-third at the end of three years. No member shall be eligible to serve in excess of three consecutive terms of three years each.

Any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term. A member whose term has expired may serve until his successor has qualified. (HOLDOVER)

SALARY:

\$100 per day including traveltime, and while away from their homes or regular places of business may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence.

PURPOSE:

To develop and encourage the adoption of performance criteria for building components.

MEETINGS:

Board meets at least six times a year.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 18, 1980

C

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK WATSON *Jack*
ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT: Ambassadorial Appointments

Secretary Vance has made the following recommendations for Ambassadorial assignments:

Peter Sutherland	Bahrain
Frances Cook	Burundi
Jerrold North	Djibouti
Herbert Okun	German Democratic Republic
Peter De Vos	Guinea-Bissau

All of the candidates are Foreign Service Officers.

Mr. Sutherland is forty-six years old and presently Deputy Chief of Mission , Kuwait.

Mr. Cook is thirty-four years old and presently Director of Public Affairs in the Bureau of African Affairs.

Mr. North is forty-eight years old and presently Deputy Chief of Mission, Mogdadiscio.

Mr. Okun is forty-nine years old and presently Deputy U.S. Representative to SALT, Geneva.

Mr. De Vos is forty-one years old and presently Deputy Director of South African Affairs.

Zbig Brzezinski concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you nominate Peter Sutherland for Bahrain; Frances Cook for Burundi; Jerrold North for Djibouti; Herbert Okun for the German Democratic Republic; and Peter De Vos for Guinea-Bissau.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON

1980 MAR 11 1980 PM 1 25

cc: Oscar
3/15/80 Harley }
Arnie }
Please prepare
necessary
papers for
follow-up -
JW

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable
Jack Watson
The White House

FROM: Ben H. Read *BH Read*

Such:

Secretary Vance has decided to recommend that the following career officers be nominated for the posts indicated:

BAHRAIN	Peter Sutherland
BURUNDI	Frances Cook
DJIBOUTI	Jerrold North
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	Herbert Okun
GUINEA-BISSAU	Peter De Vos

We will begin the requisite processing upon receiving the President's approval.

cc: The Honorable Hamilton Jordan
Mr. Tom Beard

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for Preservation Purposes

CANDIDATE FOR BAHRAIN

NAME: Peter Sutherland

AGE: 46

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Middle East

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon,
Jerusalem, Tunisia, Kuwait

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class III

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Arabic (Eastern and Western), French

EDUCATION: AB, Harvard University
MA, Harvard University
LLB, Harvard University

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1976-present Deputy Chief of Mission, Kuwait

1974 to 1976 Political Officer, Tunis

1973 to 1974 Personnel Officer, Office of Performance
Evaluation, Bureau of Personnel

1972 to 1973 Detail as Congressional intern

1970 to 1972 Political-Economic Officer, Bureau of Near
Eastern and South Asian Affairs

1967 to 1970 Political Officer, Jerusalem

1966 to 1967 Beirut, Arabic Language and Area Training

1964 to 1966 Economic-Commercial Officer, Jidda

1963 to 1964 Consular Officer, Port Said

1962 to 1963 Junior Officer, Amman

Peter Sutherland is a career Arabist with extensive service throughout the Near East who speaks both Eastern and Western Arabic. He has been given high marks as an outstanding political officer and excellent drafter. He is rated as extraordinarily effective in interpersonal relations, a sensitive but firm supervisor. His strengths in substance and in management clearly emerge in reports on his performance as Charge in Kuwait.

CANDIDATE FOR BURUNDI

NAME: Frances D. Cook

AGE: 34

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Africa, Europe, East Asia

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Senegal, France, Australia

RANK: Foreign Service Information Officer of Class III

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: French

EDUCATION: BA, University of Virginia, 1967
MA, Harvard University, 1978

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1978-present: Director of the Office of Public Affairs,
Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

1977 to 1978 Graduate studies, Harvard University

1975 to 1977 Personnel Officer for Africa, United States
Information Agency

1975 Regional Media Coordinator for Africa, United
States Information Agency

1973 to 1975 Cultural Affairs Officer,
USIS Dakar

1971 to 1973 Branch Cultural Affairs Officer, USIS Sydney

1970 to 1971 Member of U.S. Delegation to the Peace Talks
on Vietnam, Paris

1968 to 1970 USIS Trainee and Special Assistant to the
Ambassador, Paris

1967 to 1968 Junior Officer Trainee, USIA Washington

A career officer of the International Communications Agency, Cook is regarded as having great strength in interpersonal relations, including representation activities. Energetic and innovative, she is a highly skilled communicator and manager. She is described as possessing one of the most perceptive policy minds of U.S. officials dealing in African affairs.

CANDIDATE FOR DJIBOUTI

NAME: Jerrold M. North

AGE: 48

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Africa, Europe, Southeast Asia

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Zaire, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Somalia,
Belgium, Vietnam

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class III

FOREIGN LANGUAGE: French

EDUCATION: BS, U.S. Military Academy, 1954
MS, University of Alabama, 1959

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1979-present Deputy Chief of Mission, Mogadiscio

1976 to 1979 Deputy Chief of Mission, Freetown

1974 to 1976 Administrative Officer, Lilongwe

1973 to 1974 Program Analysis Officer, Department of State

1971 to 1973 Area Development Advisor, Vietnam (on detail
to USAID)

1970 to 1971 Office of West African Affairs, Department of
State

1968 to 1970 Foreign Affairs Political Analyst, Bureau of
Intelligence and Research, Department of State

1966 to 1968 Consular Officer, Brussels

1966 Junior Officer, Bukavo

1964 to 1966 Junior Officer, Kinshasa

North is regarded as a strong and capable executive. He is also a highly accomplished reporting officer in both the political and economic fields. His prior service in four African countries, including neighboring Somalia, would provide superb background for the Djibouti mission.

CANDIDATE FOR GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NAME: Herbert S. Okun
AGE: 49
AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Europe, Latin America
COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: USSR, Germany, Portugal, Brazil
RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class I
FOREIGN LANGUAGES: German, Russian, Portuguese
EDUCATION: BA, Stanford University, 1950
ND, Princeton University, 1952
MPA, Harvard University, 1959

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1978-present	Deputy U.S. Representative to SALT, Geneva
1974 to 1978	Deputy Chief of Mission, Lisbon
1973 to 1974	Political Advisor, CINCSOUTH, Naples
1970 to 1973	Alternate Director, Office of Soviet Affairs
1969 to 1970	Special Assistant to Secretary of State
1968 to 1969	Naval War College
1965 to 1968	Principal Officer, Brasilia
1963 to 1965	Principal Officer, Belo Horizonte
1961 to 1963	Political Officer, Moscow
1959 to 1961	Intelligence Research Specialist, INR
1957 to 1959	Russian Language and Area Training
1955 to 1957	Political Officer, Munich

Herbert Okun has been Deputy U.S. Representative to the SALT talks in Geneva since July, 1978, a position to which he was assigned on very short notice, and in which his performance has drawn high praise from senior Department officers. Okun's policy sense, analytical ability, and command of complex substantive matters are notable. In Lisbon, in a fast moving revolutionary situation, he showed political insight, judgement and strong managerial skills. He is open to subordinates and considerate of their views. Okun is a good linguist with tested command of German (4,4).

CANDIDATE FOR GUINEA-BISSAU

NAME: Peter J. De Vos

AGE: 41

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Latin America, Africa, Europe

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Brazil, Angola, Italy, Greece

RANK: Foreign Service Officer of Class III

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Portuguese, Spanish, Greek, Italian

EDUCATION: AB, Princeton University, 1960
MA, Johns Hopkins University, 1962

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1979-present Deputy Director of South African Affairs,
Bureau of African Affairs, Department of State

1978 to 1979 Student, National War College

1975 to 1978 Political Officer, Athens

1973 to 1975 Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary
for Inter-American Affairs, Department of State

1971 to 1973 Political Officer, Brasilia

1970 to 1971 Political Officer, Sao Paulo

1968 to 1970 Deputy Principal Officer, Luanda

1966 to 1968 Political Officer, Naples

1964 to 1966 Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, Department
of State

1962 to 1964 Junior Officer, Recife

De Vos is a versatile officer who is equally at home in operational and substantive settings. He is an accomplished drafter and analyst and is highly effective in representational work. He is also regarded as a skillful manager. His prior service in a former Portuguese African territory and his current assignment in South African affairs provide excellent background for the Bissau mission.

1:00 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

INTERVIEW WITH NEW YORK CITY TV STATIONS

Friday, March 21, 1980

1-2 p.m.

The Map Room

FROM: Jody Powell

I. PURPOSE

Videotape interviews with the top five New York City television stations.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS

The interviews will be conducted just as we have done local interviews on the road: The same camera equipment is used for all of the sessions, and we will escort correspondents and crews in and out at the completion of each interview while you stay in the room.

A staff member will introduce you to each of the interviewers.

The interviews are scheduled in alphabetical order. The stations and the names of the correspondents follow:

- WABC Roger Sharp
- WCBS Jim Jensen
- WNBC Jack Cafferty
- WNEW * Gabe Pressman
- WPIX Tim Malloy

* Since the beginning of the Iranian crisis, Pressman and a crew have been down here ~~most~~ weeks for two or three days. Pressman's coverage has, for the most part, been favorable, and it would be helpful if you could make an off-hand remark that shows that you know they've been around for the last several months.

You will want to keep in mind that, particularly because three of the five stations are owned and operated by the networks, anything newsworthy you say will be available for broadcast on the three national evening network shows Friday.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LOUIS MARTIN

SUBJECT: Drop by Briefing for Black Ministers From
New York State, Friday, March 21, 1980
11:30 a.m., Room 450 OEOBI. PURPOSE

To greet and address key ministers from New York State who will be briefed on the anti-inflation program and other Administration initiatives.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS

- A. Background: Invited to the briefing is a cross section of New York ministers who have shown a keen interest in social and political affairs. The ministers were selected based on the size of their congregations (over 500) and their leadership roles in their respective communities.

All of the ministers are concerned about the impact of inflation on their lower and middle class Black congregations. The briefing will primarily address the anti-inflation program and a few other key domestic and foreign issues of concern to minorities.

Senior White House staff and appointees will speak at the morning briefing which begins at 9:30 a.m. A copy of the agenda and speakers is attached.

- B. Participants: Approximately 125 ministers will attend. The list of acceptances will be provided.
- C. Press: White House Photographer. No press coverage.

BLACK MINISTERS BRIEFING

FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1980

ROOM 450, OEOB

9:00 - 9:30 Refreshments

9:30 - 9:40 LOUIS E. MARTIN
Special Assistant
to the President

Opening Remarks

9:40 - 10:00 DAVID M. RUBENSTEIN
Deputy Assistant to
the President for
Domestic Affairs
and Policy

Domestic Overview

10:00 - 10:20 ERNEST GREEN
Assistant Secretary of Labor
for Employment and Training

Employment Initiatives

10:20 - 10:45 ALFRED KAHN
Advisor to the President
on Inflation

Anti-Inflation Program

10:45 - 11:10 ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON
Chair
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission

Civil Rights Overview

11:10 - 11:30 RICHARD MOOSE
Assistant Secretary of State
for African Affairs

African Affairs

11:30 - 11:50 PRESIDENT CARTER

11:50 - 12:00 Conclusion

LIST OF ATTENDEES -- BLACK MINISTERS BRIEFING
March 21, 1980 - Room 450 OEOB

Reverend Lee A. Arrington
New York, NY

Father Llewellyn Armstrong
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Edward W. Avinger
New York, NY

Reverend Jerry Bivens
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend William Lee Bonner
New York, NY

Reverend Clinton C. Boone
Hempstead, NY

Reverend Simon Bouie
New York, NY

Reverend L. T. Boyce
Buffalo, NY

Reverend Thomas Boyd
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Leon Bracy
Jamaica, NY

Reverend Alexander Briley
Elmsford, NY

Reverend Lonnie H. Bristow
New York, NY

Reverend Charles Britt
Bronx, NY

Reverend Freddie Brunswick
Springfield Gardens, NY

Reverend James L. Burrell
Hempstead, NY

Reverend Oscar Burrell Burson
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Brookward Bush
Albany, NY

Reverend Calvin O. Butts
New York, NY

Reverend Eugene Callender
New York, NY

Reverend Alex Chambers
New York, NY

Reverend Serenus T. Churn
Yonkers, NY

Reverend Jim Clarke
New York, NY

Reverend Phillip A. Clarke
New York, NY

Reverend James Coleman
Hackensack, NJ

Reverend F. Cowans
New York, NY

Reverend Gloster B. Current
Hollis, NY

Reverend Robert L. Curry
South Hackensack, NJ

Reverend Morgan Days
Rockville Center, NY

Reverend Ernest Drake
Albany, NY

Reverend Emile Dunlap
New York, NY

Reverend John Dwyer
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Elijah Echols
Buffalo, NY

Reverend Chukukanne Ekemam
Bronx, New York

Bishop William Fields
Bronx, NY

Reverend Carl Flemister
New York, NY

Reverend William P. Foley
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Kenneth Folkes
Bronx, NY

Reverend Gladwin Fraser
New York, NY

Reverend William Gardner
New York, NY

Reverend Clifton Gatewood
New York, NY

Reverend James E. Gunther
New York, NY

Reverend J. W. Hall
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Robert Harmond
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend John Hicks
New York, NY

Reverend Michael O. Hughes
Jamaica, NY

Reverend William James
New York, NY

Reverend John Johnson
Albany, NY

Reverend Robert Ross
St. Albans, NY

Reverend Vaster Johnson
Freeport, NY

Reverend Henry Grant Jones
Mt. Vernon, NY

Reverend William Jones
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Samuel B. Joubert
Bayside, NY

Reverend Walter S. Keiller
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend John P. Ladson
New York, NY

Reverend David Licorish
New York, NY

Reverend Ralph Loeb
Bronx, NY

Reverend George L. Llôyd
New York, NY

Reverend Nathaniel Lloyd
Bronx, NY

Reverend Lawrence Lucas
New York, NY

Reverend James Manning
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Robert Mason
Breenburgh, NY

Reverend Paul Matson
Bronx, NY

Reverend Lovelle Maxwell
New York, NY

Reverend Joseph May
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Oscar McLaughlin
Portchester, NY

Reverend Timothy Mitchell
Flushing, NY

Reverend Dr. Charles E. Nesbitt
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Clarence Norman
Brooklyn, NY

Father Edmond P. O'Brien
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend H. David Parker
Elmont, NY

Reverend Calvin P. Pressley
New York, NY

Reverend Joseph Eugene Price
New York, NY

Reverend George Richardson
Bronx, NY

Reverend W. Franklin Richardson
Mt. Vernon, NY

Reverend Wade Richmond
Springfield Gardens, NY

Reverend David Rowe
Forest Hills, NY

Reverend William Rowland
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Herson Sam
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Calvin Sampson
New Rochelle, NY

Reverend Henry Scott
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Les Scott
New York, NY

Reverend Clarence Sexton
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Vernon Shannon
New Rochelle, NY

Reverend Herbert Skeete
New York, NY

Reverend Samuel Simpson
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend John Smith
New York, NY

Reverend Kate Snead
Jamaica, NY

Reverend Aaron Stewart
Roslyn Heights, NY

Reverend Richard Stokes
Albany, New York

Reverend T. Franklin Strange
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend George Thomas
New York, NY

Reverend Jacob Underwood
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Patrick Walker
Bronx, NY

Reverend W. Ralph Ward
Rye, NY

Reverend Preston Washington
New York, NY

Reverend Ollie B. Wells, Sr.
New York, NY

Reverend Charles West
Mt. Vernon, NY

Reverend Benjamin Whipper
Mt. Vernon, NY

Reverend Uriah Whitfield
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend M. L. Wilson
New York, NY

Reverend Dean Wolbrink
Jamaica, NY

Reverend James Wren
Brooklyn, NY

Reverend Milton Weston
New York, NY

FRIDAY 11:30 AM
TALKING POINTS

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 19, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Bob Rackleff

Subject: Presidential Talking
Points: Briefing for
New York Black
Ministers

Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, March 21, 1980
11:30 AM, Room 450 EOB

The Presidential Talking Points for
this occasion are attached.

Clearances

David Rubenstein
Ray Jenkins
Staff for Louis Martin

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

[No individual salutations]

Bob Rackleff
Draft A-1; 3/19/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, 3/21/80, 11:30 AM
Room 450 EOB

Talking Points:

New York Black Ministers Meeting

1. I AM GLAD YOU COULD COME HERE TODAY. YOU ARE A CRITICAL PART OF THE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP OF NEW YORK STATE. I WANTED TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF OUR POLICIES IN THIS TIME OF GREAT CHALLENGE.

2. WHEN I BECAME PRESIDENT, ONE OF MY GREATEST CHALLENGES WAS TO REDIRECT FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO AID PEOPLE IN NEED. I SUCCEEDED AN ADMINISTRATION THAT HAD VIRTUALLY TOLD NEW YORK TO DROP DEAD. IT HAD THE SAME CALLOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD CITIES, THE POOR, THE ELDERLY, AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

3. WE HAVE TURNED THAT AROUND. IN 3 YEARS, WE HAVE ADDED 9 MILLION NEW JOBS TO OUR ECONOMY. ONE MILLION OF THESE JOBS WENT TO BLACK WORKERS. NEARLY 700,000 OF THESE NEW JOBS WENT TO YOUR STATE. MY URBAN POLICY HAS CREATED SCORES OF PROJECTS THROUGHOUT NEW YORK STATE TO REVIVE THE ECONOMY AND CREATE JOBS. AND I TARGETED JOBS AND YOUTH PROGRAMS TO HELP THOSE MOST IN NEED. I DID THIS WITH YOUR HELP. WE HAVE HAD A CLOSE PARTNERSHIP, AND THE COUNTRY HAS BENEFITED FROM THAT PARTNERSHIP.

4. WE HAVE ALSO REAFFIRMED THIS NATION'S COMMITMENT TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. THE PEOPLE WHO FOUGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS ARE NOW ENFORCING THOSE LAWS. DREW DAYS, ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON, PATRICIA HARRIS ARE JUST A FEW.

IN JUST 3 YEARS, I TRIPLED THE NUMBER OF BLACK FEDERAL JUDGES. THESE ARE LIFETIME APPOINTMENTS, AND THEIR PRESENCE WILL PROFOUNDLY HELP THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE WELL INTO THE 21ST CENTURY.

5. TOGETHER, WE HAVE FACED THE PROBLEMS OF POVERTY, URBAN DECLINE, RACISM, CRIME, AND INADEQUATE SCHOOLS AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES. WE HAVE COME FAR ON A LONG ROAD. WE HAVE FAR TO TRAVEL STILL. BUT SOMETHING IS BLOCKING THAT ROAD -- INFLATION. UNLESS WE FACE INFLATION TOGETHER, IT CAN TAKE AWAY ALL THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE.

6. THAT IS WHY LAST WEEK I ANNOUNCED A STRONG ANTI-INFLATION PROGRAM. WE MOVED TO RESTRAIN CREDIT, TO CONSERVE GASOLINE, TO STRENGTHEN OUR VOLUNTARY WAGE AND PRICE PROGRAM, TO CHANGE OUR ECONOMIC STRUCTURE, AND TO BALANCE THE 1981 FEDERAL BUDGET. IN DOING THIS, I HAD TO MAKE SOME OF THE TOUGHEST CHOICES OF MY PRESIDENCY.

7. BUT IT IS A WORKABLE AND NECESSARY PROGRAM. IT CAN BEGIN TO TURN THE TIDE OF INFLATION. IT CAN MEAN IN YEARS TO COME A BETTER LIFE FOR US ALL -- IF WE, AS A PEOPLE, REALLY WANT TO CONTROL INFLATION. ALL THE GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS I OR ANYONE ELSE CAN COME UP WITH WILL NOT CONTROL INFLATION UNLESS PEOPLE ARE COMMITTED TO FIGHTING IT.

8. FEW PEOPLE HAVE MORE AT STAKE IN THIS BATTLE THAN THOSE YOU WORK WITH IN YOUR CHURCHES AND NEIGHBORHOODS. IN THE LAST YEAR, YOU HAVE SEEN THEM TRY TO COPE WITH INFLATION AT 13 PERCENT. JUST IMAGINE WHAT LIFE WILL BE LIKE IF WE DO

NOTHING, AND INFLATION CONTINUES AT TODAY'S RATE OF NEARLY 20 PERCENT, OR RISES FURTHER. RUNAWAY INFLATION IS AN INCONVENIENCE FOR RICH PEOPLE. FOR THE POOR, IT IS A DISASTER -- AND WE MUST STOP THAT DISASTER FROM HAPPENING.

9. LET US NEVER FORGET THAT THIS FIGHT IS FOR ECONOMIC JUSTICE AS MUCH AS ECONOMIC STABILITY. FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, THE TASK BEFORE AMERICA WAS TO SHARE WITH THE DISADVANTAGED THE FRUITS OF A RAPIDLY-EXPANDING ECONOMY. NOW, IT IS TO SUSTAIN HELP FOR THE DISADVANTAGED IN A STAGNANT ECONOMY. THE "PIE" WE DIVIDE TODAY IS NOT GROWING, AND WE MUST GET IT GROWING AGAIN TO CONTINUE THE BATTLE FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE THAT WE BEGAN NEARLY 50 YEARS AGO.

10. ONE FINAL POINT: SOMETHING BESIDES ECONOMICS IS AT STAKE NOW. IF INFLATION CONTINUES OUT OF CONTROL, PEOPLE WILL TURN INWARD AND GROW SELFISH. WE COULD LOSE THAT PRICELESS QUALITY OF CONSCIENCE AND COMMITMENT THAT DR. KING SOUGHT TO BRING TO THE FORE. WE COULD LOSE THE IDEALISM THAT MAKES AMERICANS SEEK A MORAL, SPIRITUAL, AND ETHICAL PEACE.

11. IF WE LOOK TO OUR HEARTS, I BELIEVE WE CAN TURN AROUND THIS INFLATION PROBLEM. IF WE WORK TOGETHER, IF WE PUT ASIDE OUR DIFFERENCES, IF WE SEEK JUSTICE, WE CAN STOP INFLATION, AND PUT THIS COUNTRY BACK ON THE RIGHT PATH.

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TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM PATRICK H. CADDELL
RE TALKING POINTS -- NEW YORK
DATE MARCH 20, 1980

I have talked with Jerry and Joel, we feel the following points will be the most beneficial to make, regardless of questions asked.

1. UN and the Jews

We feel it is important not to overdo the Jewish position. You should be fair in your position to be willing to admit a mistake and accept personal responsibility as the highest officer of the Government. Most importantly, you should make the point that the choice was (1) covering up or (2) admitting mistake straightforward.

Additional points:

- Peace is always the aim, all policy to that end. Although everyone was mad at one time or another, it led to Mid East Treaty.
- Peace more important than election.
- Willing to criticize Israel when wrong.

2. Budget Cuts/New York City

- Necessary to fight inflation, government must live within means.
- Show compassion for poor and disadvantaged; show understanding that they are hurt but explain that it would be more cruel to let it rage against them since they will be hurt most.
- Cuts will be across the board, every state and area; New York not singled out, above all cuts will be fair and equitable.

IN CAMBRIDGE
675 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
(617) 861-3212

- Have personal stake in New York City, we all do; would not be President without New York City and State. Would never let the city go under. We dealt with the first crisis successfully two years ago and will deal together with future ones.
- Defense must be protected, need to build vis-a-vis Soviet Union even if unpopular.

3. Inflation

- Same as above on fairness.
- Will take time, but will work.
- Sacrifice on discipline, at Federal level just as New York has done.
- Wage and price controls no answer, food and fuel passed through will hurt consumers whose wages are frozen, I will not do this to average American.
- President must do what is right. Cannot cite one position in New Hampshire, one in Illinois and another in New York. A President can't promise everything to everybody like other candidates can do, his record stands out, must do for good of all.

4. Loyalty - Kennedy

You should generally avoid politics, but Kennedy support question is sure to arise. Some possible points tying substance and politics:

- Hope to have Senator Kennedy's support. You said you would support him if he were the nominee, even when he was 20 points ahead.
- Crucial to New York that party be united. To get New York through last fiscal crisis (and further problems) made possible because of cooperation and joint work by all Democrats, Carey, Koch, Monyihan, and Congressional delegations. Important that kind of joint effort be possible. We have already seen what happened to New York under most recent Republican Presidents. If Ronald Reagan were President, city may not make it.

Memorandum for the President
March 20, 1980
Page 3

5. Gun Control

Kennedy has attacked simple point - unlike others your position is consistent, the same in New York as in New Hampshire, you favor hand gun registration.

6. Catholics, Ethnics

This is the key group. To any extent possible you might want to cite substantive help from Cuomo, Barranello, Biaggi, et.al. Also, if use family imagery, might want to use family examples of Queens, Brooklyn, and Long Island.

3:00 PM

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Greeting
Tift College Choir
3:00 pm
(5 minutes)
The South Lawn

(by: Fran Voorhees *Fran*)

- I. PURPOSE: The Tift College Choir, of Forsyth, Georgia, will sing one song for you.
- II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, PRESS:
 - A. Background: The Tift College Choir is on a tour and will be singing at the First Baptist Church of Washington this coming Sunday, March, 23.

You agreed to have them sing one song for you before you depart for Camp David.
 - B. Participants: The President
R. Lee Collins, Choir Director
Tift College Choir (35 women)
 - C. Press: White House Photographer
Open Press Coverage - if weather permits an outdoor greeting
- III. FORMAT: Weather permitting, the Choir will be assembled on the South Lawn and will begin their song immediately as you proceed to Marine One for departure.

In case of inclement weather, the Choir will be assembled on the Ground Floor of the Residence, immediately outside the Diplomatic Reception Room.

At the conclusion of their song, you will briefly greet the Choir and proceed to Marine One.

2:15 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 21, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD CUTLER

Lnc

SUBJECT: Meeting with Olympic Athletes

Attached is the text of what you said on the subject of alternative games at the National Conference on Physical Fitness and Sports on February 1, 1980.

I believe that the statement on the bottom of page 9 of the draft talk is consistent with your February 1 statement. To make sure, you could change the phrase "I will do everything I can" to "I am determined."

Attachment

All Americans look upon our Olympians as representing our Nation's highest ideals. I want them all to know, and I want athletes from all around the world to know that I'm determined personally that they will have an opportunity to participate this year in international games of the highest quality, but, unless invasion forces in Afghanistan are withdrawn, in a location other than the Soviet Union. I also want to make it clear that I welcome athletes from all over the world who are now coming to Lake Placid, including those from the Soviet Union, to participate in the winter Olympic games.

Some have said, many have said, that we should not allow politics to interfere with Olympic competition. I agree completely. But the issue now before our country and the world is not a question of politics by any reasonable definition of that word. We are not talking here about who should lead a nation. We are not talking about the internal governmental organization of a nation. We are not talking about the internal policies which a nation should follow within its own boundaries, or even what kind of political or economic system a nation might choose for itself. We are not even talking about whether a government, such as that of the Soviet Union, is repressive or not, or even—and this is difficult to say—whether it denies its people fundamental human rights, as we define them.

It is not politics when one nation sends 100,000 of its heavily armed troops across a border and subjugates its peaceloving, deeply religious neighbor. It is not politics when one nation invades this nation's capital, installs a puppet regime, and participates in the assassination or death of the leaders which it does not like, including the families of those leaders. It's not politics when an army of invaders sweeps the countryside, as is presently taking place, killing those who dare to stand in its way. It's aggression, pure and simple.

And I'm determined that the United States will make clear to the Soviet Union, just as other countries are doing, that no country can trample the life and liberty of another and expect to conduct business or sports as usual with the rest of the world. We must send that message clearly to the Soviet Government and to its leaders, and let the people of the Soviet Union understand this basic principle involved.

It's indeed unfortunate that this horrible event has taken place. My hope and my belief is that the world will learn a

lesson. And in a strange, unpredictable fashion, the adherence to athletic principles and the principles of the Olympic games might serve as a lever, now and in the future, to help to preserve peace and to prevent unwarranted aggression and the stamping upon the lives and the human rights of innocent people.

All Americans look upon our Olympians as representing our Nation's highest ideals. I want them all to know, and I want athletes from all around the world to know that I'm determined personally that they will have an opportunity to participate this year in international games of the highest quality, but, unless invading forces in Afghanistan are withdrawn, in a location other than the Soviet Union. I also want to make it clear that I welcome athletes from all over the world who are now coming to Lake Placid, including those from the Soviet Union, to participate in the winter Olympic games.

This morning, after this very sober and carefully worded analysis, I want to say a few words about an equally important but, thank goodness, less controversial subject, and that is our commitment to encourage greater physical fitness and greater participation in sports by all Americans. As many of you know, and as Coach McGuire mentioned, I maintain myself a strenuous exercise program of my own. I've done this all my life. It's part of my own existence and part of the enjoyment of that existence. I've done this to an even greater degree during the last few months, when I've had additional problems and burdens and responsibilities on my shoulders above those normally borne by an American President.

Along with tennis and softball and swimming and bowling and hiking and cross-country skiing, I do jog regularly, almost every day, along with my wife. Like a lot of runners, as Coach McGuire

has pointed out, we can have bad days, but we can always possess the ability to be good. It's a lot better to be truthful than to be either within or out along the path, is the philosophy I admit that the joys of running are in the absence of [Laughter]

But I confess to a nervousness and the need for them to be true in American. I want to make America off handsome knows and as well knows, in our people to the quality of

A lot of people for themselves in the past 15 years who are exercising. At the same time, expectancy has increased, percent-per-year, fatal heart disease about the success of the Physical Fitness test we still have an increased population of all adult Americans if at all. And particularly enough, fit. Many men too much or too little. Too many years of cigarette smoking to quit than it

As a matter of fact, and our big

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM : AL MCDONALD *Al*
ANNE WEXLER *Anne*

SUBJECT : Inflation Follow-Up

Following up on your anti-inflation address on Friday and the media briefings over the weekend, we have organized further briefings to explain the program and solicit support. These have included:

- 20 White House briefings or meetings attended by approximately 1,700 people, many of whom represent large constituencies;
- Mailing of a media backgrounder to 9,000 editors and news directors around the country;
- Presidential and senior economic advisors briefings involving 113 members of Congress.