

**9/11/80**

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

Jim Laney --

President Carter asked  
me to send you the  
enclosed copy of your  
letter with his remarks --  
along with his best  
wishes.

  
-- Susan Clough

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. Jim Laney  
Lullwater House  
1463 Clifton Road, N.E.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30329



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

Note for Files:

Attached is from  
President James T. Laney  
(President of Emory University  
in Atlanta, Georgia)

....  
it is most likely that  
the letter was sent by Laney  
either to Bob Maddox who then  
delivered it to the First Lady  
who gave it to the President....  
or sent by Laney to Bob Maddox  
who had it sent/given to the  
President by some other person  
who gave it directly to the  
President.

--SSC

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September 4, 1980

cc Jim Laney -  
Thank you. Although  
some of your statements are  
not compatible with my own  
information, this is very helpful  
to me.  
J. Carter

Memorandum to: President Jimmy Carter

From: James T. Laney

*Jim Laney*

I have just returned from a trip to Asia with a week spent in Korea, and I would like to give you my impressions of the situation there.

There is a heavy mood in Korea. The harshness of the Chun regime is evident everywhere. When talking with people one does not know well they speak indirectly but in unmistakable tones of foreboding; long-time friends share their fears guardedly as though under surveillance. Their dismay does not principally concern personal security and safety; it concerns the nation and its future. Beyond frustration and anger over government excesses, there is a pervasive question as to whether the new government can indeed run the country.

Feelings about the U.S. are similarly strong. Many believe the U.S. has betrayed them. While they understand the general constraints which limit our action and influence, they interpret General Wickham's authorization of troops for use in the Kwangju demonstration as tacit approval of what turned out to be a military coup. Further, his recent interview in the newspapers, they feel, removed any remaining hesitation on Chun's part toward assuming full power. Hence the U.S. is seen as having abetted Chun's seizure of power and then having legitimated it.

Many Koreans feel that the Kwangju incident in May was deliberately fomented by the government in order to provide a cloak for the forceful assumption of power. That incident involved the killing of hundreds of townspeople in the most violent event since the Korean War. Koreans point out that initially only about 5,000 students turned out for a demonstration in Kwangju whereas upwards of 100,000 turned out for a similar demonstration in Seoul. Yet Seoul did not turn sour as Kwangju did. Why? Many believe the reports that paratroopers arrived in Kwangju by civilian buses two days preceding the beginning of the demonstrations and were thus there by design. The viciousness of the

paratrooper response to the demonstration is generally acknowledged to have precipitated the further participation of hundreds of thousands of additional citizens as they reacted with horror to the brutality of the troops. I dwell upon this at this length because it points to the plausibility of the widespread view that the incident was engineered to permit the assumption of total control, and provided the basis for a request to General Wickham which then implicated his own command.

The blatant manipulation of public opinion through the media is a further case in point. The government not only censors everything, it has distorted and intentionally misrepresented both our intentions and our response to the situation there. The charges in the current trial of Kim Dae-Jung (which I read in the Korean press) are unconvincing. The preponderance of these charges are inferences, projections, or an assumption of his "intentions." Any actions and associations which might have objective validity are mostly based upon his days in Japan several years ago, charges which even the late President Park forgave when an accord with Japan was reached over Kim Dae-Jung's return.

Apart from this sorry spectacle, the principle issue is whether the government itself can simply survive and, if so, on what terms. My opinion is that it will be very difficult for the government to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Parallels are drawn daily between General Chun and the late President Park and Chun is said to be instructed by Park's early months in power. I was there during the fall of the Rhee government and General Park's coup. There are important differences. One is that President Rhee resigned over less bloodshed than Chun spilled in quieting the nation recently. A second one is that Park's coup occurred only after more than a year of increasing public confusion when the people were ready for the restoration of order. In contrast, General Chun has moved with unseemly haste, a haste which appears unjustified to the people and is therefore resented. This is making the problem of establishing legitimacy all the more difficult and problematic. That, coupled with a worsening economic situation, means that Chun is going to have a hard time achieving effective stability. We may well wind up having been maneuvered in behind an eventual loser.

As I understand it the basis for our policy in Korea is that internal stability is essential for military security. The upshot often seems to be that whatever is necessary for military security takes precedence over internal matters. This makes the political situation a derivative of security. In contrast, I see them rather as reciprocals. In order to maintain lasting stability there must be an appreciation of the conditions that will insure it among the populace. The Korean people are fiercely independent. Contrary to General Wickham's statement which the Korean people saw as having racist overtones, they

are not accustomed to brutality. While no intelligent person in Korea expects full-blown democracy to emerge, they are affronted by the crass lying, the cunning, the crude manipulation, the brutality. These do not provide lasting foundations for internal stability, and the abuse of the military for political ends does not inspire confidence in the integrity of the military itself. Usurpation of the military for political ends has compromised our security in obvious ways.

To say the least, our response has been ineffective. We have been outmaneuvered and used. Our statements of policy have not been heard and our principal spokesman has been a general. We need to coordinate all aspects of our relations through a task force which has the authority to see the situation whole. Priorities would include:

(1) We should protect and employ our military authority to its fullest advantage. This means in the first place that we will not tolerate further abuse of military authority like that which occurred recently in such flagrant fashion. To underscore this and to emphasize the importance of the separation of the military and the political, it seems to me that General Wickham might well be reassigned. He overstepped his role in making public policy statements, and wittingly or not tolerated the abuse of military authority on the part of General Chun and his cohorts.

(2) We can and must insist upon accurate representation of U.S. policy in Korea. If the government will not cooperate with us in this matter, we should find other means of informing the people of our intentions and our policies. We have local radio and television service connected with the presence of our military there, and these could be used in more adequate fashion to explain our policies and to inform the people of what is actually going on.

(3) Korea's economic situation makes them quite vulnerable at the moment to economic sanctions. We should wring all the concessions we can from them for economic support, whether that be access to loans, deferral of interest, support for capital investment, or the expansion of markets.

(4) We should insist upon a modicum of justice for all the populace, and that includes justice for Kim Dae-Jung. Since Chun needs and wants U.S. approval and support for his government, this should be used to obtain Kim's release and possible exile abroad, possibly to West Germany.

Page 4

These moves, taken in concert, could help shore up Chun rather than topple him. No one has illusions about a replacement for Chun. There may not be a decent alternative. But it is essential to save him from himself if Korea itself is to be stable and the Far East to be secure.

These sober reflections come with my deep admiration and respect for you, Mr. President!

Kentson 47  
file Vatican

EXECUTIVE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ME/CO170  
CO170  
P.M. 3  
ME/JS  
PR5-2

September 11, 1980

Your Holiness: *John Paul II*

*Faccani, Clement  
Martinez, Edward*

On the occasion of Archbishop Jadot's departure for Rome following more than seven years of distinguished service as your representative to the Catholic Church in the United States, I am pleased to express my appreciation for the excellent job he has done. Under Your Holiness' leadership, the Catholic Church has continued to bring sensitivity, compassion, and steadfast moral purpose to the difficult issues of our time.

I recall with particular fondness the warmth and generosity of spirit that marked your visit to my country almost a year ago, and the cordiality of our meeting at the Vatican last June.

I know how concerned you must have been about the difficulties experienced in your homeland in recent weeks. We share a common hope for that resilient and courageous country, both with regard to its economic recovery and with respect to the liberty and dignity of its citizens.

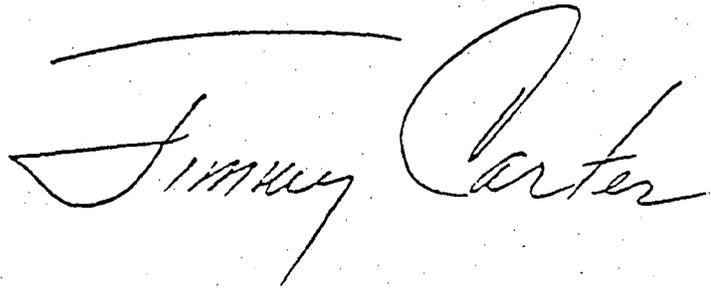
The plight of our hostages in Iran is never far from my thoughts, as I know it is never far from yours. I know also that the position of the Catholic Church in Iran has recently been a difficult one. Events in Central and South America and in the Middle East are likewise cause for almost daily concern. And yet, whatever the difficulties, and despite the occasional discouragement of our hopes, I believe that men of good will have it in their power to bring about equitable solutions. Your spiritual leadership has been and will continue to be indispensable to the world's quest for peace, justice and human dignity.

70-C

*Archbishop Jadot is 7 years ...  
to U.S.*

Let us continue to share our thoughts on the world's urgent needs and the just aspirations of mankind, both in our correspondence and through our respective emissaries in Washington and at the Vatican. Once again I commend Archbishop Jadot for a splendid performance.

Yours in Christ,

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

His Holiness  
John Paul II  
Vatican City

RECEIVED 22 OCT 80 12

TO PRES

FROM JOHN PAUL II

DOCDATE 07 OCT 80

VOORDE, F

20 OCT 80

KEYWORDS: VATICAN

HS

JADOT, JEAN

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO PRES 11 SEPT LTR RE ARCHBISHOP JADOT DEPARTURE

ACTION: FWD TO PRES FOR INFO

DUE: 23 OCT 80 STATUS X FILES

FOR ACTION

FOR COMMENT

FOR INFO

BRZEZINSKI

DODSON

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG 8004917 8005327 NSCIFID

( L / )

| ACTION OFFICER (S) | ASSIGNED        | ACTION REQUIRED           | DUE | COPIES TO      |
|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-----|----------------|
| <i>Pres</i>        | <i>IP 10/23</i> | <i>for info</i>           |     |                |
|                    | <i>C 10/24</i>  | <i>Pres. has seen NBP</i> |     | <i>REV. CI</i> |
|                    |                 |                           |     |                |
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DISPATCH

W/ATTCH FILE (C) *H*

*(44)*

## MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 23, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI *ZB.*  
SUBJECT: Papal Correspondence

The Pope's letter at Tab A is in response to your message of September 11, 1980 (Tab B) which Archbishop Jadot hand-delivered on the heels of his farewell call on you.

No reply is necessary.

*10/24/80*

President has seen

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 22, 1980

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
FROM: JIM RENTSCHLER *JK*  
SUBJECT: Papal Correspondence

As you requested, the material at Tab I provides an appropriate transmittal for the Pope's latest message (the latter is essentially a thank-you note following Jadot's reassignment and requires no further action).

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo to the President at Tab I.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

SIGNED  
10/23/80

25

DR item

LW

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: October 20, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: DR. BRZEZINSKI  
FROM: FRAN VOORDE *mg*  
SUBJECT: Atta. ltr. fr. Pope John Paul II

The attached is being sent to you for your appropriate handling.

Would you please respond within ten days and copy this office on your reply.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

(PLEASE SEND THE COPY OF YOUR RESPONSE TO NANCY GEMMELL,  
ROOM 186. THANK YOU.)

---

*JR*

*transmitted memo  
of the P.  
29.*



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*Jo. De Brzezinski*

*3339 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20008*

October 17, 1980

Dear Mr. President:

At the request of Archbishop Eduardo Martinez, Substitute Secretary of State, it is my pleasure to forward to you the enclosed personal letter from the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Monsignor Clemente Faccani  
Charge d'Affaires, a.i.

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.



1

To the Honorable Jimmy Carter  
President of the United States of America

I am very grateful to you for the letter that you wrote me at the time of Archbishop Jadot's departure from the United States. I appreciate the kind words you spoke about his ministry in your country and about the role of the Catholic Church in general.

Be assured, Mr. President, that the memories of my visit to America last October are still most vivid, as are my memories of your own visit at the Vatican. With the help of Almighty God I hope to continue to do all in my power to be of service in the areas of which we spoke, and to promote all the just aspirations and goals of the one human family.

My thoughts turn frequently to the United States and to her people, whose needs and destiny and spiritual progress are the object of my prayers. I ask the

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Lord to sustain you in your activities of service for the advancement of the cause of truth and freedom, of justice and fraternal love. And may God bless your family and all your fellow Americans.

From the Vatican, October 7, 1980

*Joannes Paulus P. II*

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September 11, 1980

MR. PRESIDENT:

If you approve, this  
can be done on Saturday morning.

Approve  Disapprove

BOB

*Why not Friday?*  
*J*

September 9, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Phil Wise  
Fran Voorde

FROM: Anne Wexler

I am requesting a three-minute photo opportunity with the President for the Executive Director and the President of the National Association of Social Workers who are about to endorse the President's re-election.

The NASW is the largest professional social work organization in the world. They have over 85,000 members with two-thirds of its membership in the following states:

|               |        |
|---------------|--------|
| New York      | 13,208 |
| California    | 8,039  |
| Illinois      | 5,283  |
| Michigan      | 4,396  |
| Massachusetts | 4,317  |
| Pennsylvania  | 4,176  |
| Ohio          | 3,502  |
| New Jersey    | 3,196  |
| Texas         | 2,832  |
| Florida       | 2,610  |

We need this photo opportunity as soon as possible (prior to 9/15) in order to have the photo appear in their national newspaper, accompanying the endorsement.

Given the drift of liberals away from us, especially in New York and California, it seems important that we do our best to arrange this photo opportunity as soon as possible.

jm

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

STU EIZENSTAT  
FRANK MOORE

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1980

*I talked to  
C. Andrews - A74/K10  
has withdrawn support -  
Probably better to hold  
in dates -  
J*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*  
FRANK MOORE *FM*

SUBJECT: Reclamation Reform Legislation

In his weekly report (attached) Secretary Andrus raises this issue. The purpose of this memo is to provide you with our views and to seek your decision on whether the Administration should press the Congress for a bill prior to the election. The Rules Committee will decide whether to send the bill to the floor Tuesday, so we will need a decision by Monday. However, Stu will be out of town on a Carter-Mondale trip on Monday, so we would like to have a conference call with you and Andrus Sunday night, if at all possible to further discuss this issue.

BACKGROUND

Since 1902, federal reclamation law has sought to promote owner-operated family farm opportunities in the West by authorizing delivery of reclamation project water at subsidized rates to agricultural irrigators who comply with statutory requirements. Enforcement of some of these requirements has been sporadic at best.

Administration Proposal

The Administration has supported amendments which would update the law to reflect today's farming conditions, while maintaining the basic objective of providing for family farmers. Studies done by the Interior Department conclude that the 160 acre limitation can be expanded to 960 acres and still retain the traditional objective of the reclamation program. At this level there is very little loss of economic efficiency and only a small percentage of operators would not be in compliance; e.g. 3% of the total farm operatorships exceed the 960 limit but account for 31% of the land receiving federally-subsidized water.

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The Administration proposed legislation to Congress which includes:

- a limit of 960 acres for owned and operated farms (including leased land) receiving Federally-subsidized water and a requirement that a family relationship exist among multiple owners.
- a strong residency requirement; owners/lessees must live within 50 miles of their land.
- procedures for the sale of lands owned in excess of the acreage entitlement, in order to receive subsidized water, to specified individuals or by lottery if sold by the Secretary of Interior.
- an exemption from the acreage limitation for lands owned by religious or charitable nonprofit organizations.

#### CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

##### Senate

On September 14, 1979, the Senate approved S. 14 which substantially modified the Administration's proposal. S. 14 includes the following major provisions:

- o an acreage entitlement of 1,280 acres in a farming operation, including owned and leased land;
- o repeals residency as a requirement of law to receive Federal project water;
- o provides an exemption from acreage limitation for the Imperial Irrigation District in California and lands receiving water from all Corps of Engineers projects, including the Kings and Kern River Projects in California, with certain restrictions;

- o provides for an exemption from acreage limitation to a water user district when the district has fully repaid its construction charge obligation to the United States; and
- o provides land held by religious or charitable nonprofit organizations as of January 1, 1978, would be exempt.

#### House

On June 19, 1980, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives reported H.R. 6520. Floor action has not been scheduled to date. Major provisions of H.R. 6520 are:

- o an acreage limitation of 960 acres, including owned and leased land with special provisions that would permit leasing of an additional 2,400 acres, provided the lessee pays the full cost (as defined in the bill) for project water for acreage leased in excess of 960 acres;
- o repeals residency as a requirement to receive Federal project water but establishes a farming participation requirement that would apply in certain circumstances;
- o provides that religious organizations will be treated as individuals and can receive project water for land they own;
- o exempts lands served by Corps of Engineers projects unless Reclamation law is made explicitly applicable by Federal statute; and
- o provides for a limited exemption of a district from acreage limitations when the district has completed payment of its construction charges.

#### ADMINISTRATION POSTURE ON CONGRESSIONAL BILLS

As you may recall, in your decision to approve the Administration bill, you stated that you thought our proposal was liberal. ("If anything, I think the proposal is too liberal. It should be inter-

preted strictly, and I would not oppose the Congress if it tightened up some.") Instead, Congress has moved to further liberalize the requirements on recipients of subsidized irrigation water. Interior has opposed several provisions of S. 14, including the size of the acreage entitlement, the exemption for Corps of Engineers projects, and the repeal of the residency requirement. Both Interior and Agriculture have strongly objected to the House bill, which contains several provisions that liberalize the acreage limitation provisions to a much greater extent than S. 14. In a May, 1980 press release Secretary Andrus stated that if Congress passed a bill like the Senate or House Subcommittee bills, he would have no choice but to recommend a veto. (You would face the prospect of having to sign a bill with an acreage limitation greater than what the Secretary has said he would find acceptable.) In general we have consistently and strongly opposed both bills. The Administration's proposal has not been well received by Congress. Large farming and water development interests oppose it. It is supported by environmental organizations and "land for the people" type groups but these groups are very displeased with the Senate bill and the House Full Committee bill. California is particularly affected by this issue since most of the corporate farming operations using subsidized water occur there.

### ISSUE

The issue you need to decide is whether we should seek to prevent a bill from passing the Congress before the election or whether we should press for a bill, while trying to improve the House bill on the floor sufficiently to enable an acceptable bill to emerge from the Conference. These options are discussed below:

### NO BILL THIS SESSION

Our strategy has been to keep the House bill in the Rules Committee. We think it unlikely the bill could be improved sufficiently on the floor to make it acceptable. (Secretary Andrus disagrees.) If you receive an objectionable enrolled bill, a decision to sign it would be essentially a major retreat from our long-stated position and would anger land reform groups.

A decision to veto it would anger the water development and corporate or large farming groups. More importantly, a veto would have significant adverse political affects in California. Even if Congress should pass an acceptable bill, which we consider unlikely at this time, the water development interests and corporate farming interests would be distressed by your approval of the bill. Politically, this appears to be a "no win" situation. The most likely scenario is for a bill with an acreage limit even higher than the Senate bill. A signature would offend the water-reform groups. If there is no bill this session, the status quo will continue. Interior will continue to be prohibited by Court Order from approving excess land sales in the Westlands Irrigation District until they have promulgated regulations. As required by Court Order Interior is scheduled to publish proposed regulations and a draft EIS in December 1980, the final EIS in July 1981, and the final regulations in September 1981. This affords sufficient time next year for Congressional action. No adverse administrative damage will occur from waiting until Congress acts next session or until these regulations are promulgated next Fall.

#### BILL THIS SESSION

Secretary Andrus argues that we should seek to improve the House bill on the floor, and if unsuccessful the bill can then be vetoed. He believes that Congressmen Udall, Foley, and Ullman will be able to get the House to adopt an acreage cap of about 1600 acres and that in Conference this could be reduced to about 1400 acres. The Secretary now believes that if this occurred, the acreage figure would be acceptable and he would recommend you approve the bill. In addition, the Secretary feels that now is our only chance to get a bill. We disagree and believe a bill can be passed next year and we should not take the risk, which we consider very large, of having to veto a bill, or sign a poor bill, shortly before the election. OMB agrees with our position.

## ADDENDUM

### California Political Outlook

The campaign feels very strongly that we should not pursue a bill this year. We understand Hamilton has previously communicated that view to you.

The campaign's reasoning -- as reflected in recent discussions we have had with Jim Copeland (now in California) and Congressman Coelho (whose district is most affected and who will be running five Congressional Districts for us in California) -- is that the key to winning the State is the San Joaquin and Imperial Valley area. We can win those areas, they believe, if we avoid stirring up the reclamation issue before the election. In their view, any effort to get a bill will produce a result that upsets major voting groups in the Valley, without buying us anything of worth. And, of course, if you did have to veto a bill, we could just forget the State, according to Copeland and Coelho.

We therefore strongly recommend that you do not agree to moving the bill now.



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Secretary of the Interior

Subject: Weekly Report

As you know, I have not burdened you with weekly reports of a superfluous nature, but there are three items that must be brought to your personal attention.

(1) The Alaska bill, as passed by the Senate, is being held in the House as an insurance policy if future negotiations for improvement fail. Any additions will be handled in a separate bill. The current Senate compromise is acceptable, but our environmental friends want to try for more and we are cooperating with the understanding that we do not endanger our present position. You will have a bill this year.

(2) There is a marine sanctuary proposal coming to your desk that has a "sleeper" provision. That provision would have a categorical prohibition against oil and gas leasing. Under the OCS amendments that you proposed in 1978, we have the power to deny leasing in environmentally sensitive areas. To make the prohibition statutory would give the oil industry and your political opponents another opportunity to say that the Carter Administration is tying up domestic oil reserves. I support the proposal except for this one aspect. We don't need the added heartburn!

(3) The Reclamation Law Reform, H.R. 6520, is being held in the Rules Committee because White House Staff has asked that it be held. Mr. President, this is a mistake and a serious mistake when the newspapers are aware that we, the Administration, are holding it from the floor.

The House Committee bill is unacceptable in its present form. Bob Bergland, Mo Udall, Al Ullman, myself and others are confident that changes can and will be made on the floor. The Senate bill has a "cap" on acreage but doesn't have a "residency" or "participation" clause. We feel this can be accomplished in conference. The acreage "cap" will probably be larger than we want, but acceptable.

The worst case scenario would be a final product that did not have a "cap" or "residency" provision. If this happened, and I don't think it will, you could veto the bill and do it in a manner that places your Administration on the side of the family farmer and opposed to foreign investors and large national corporations controlling a subsidy that is supposed to go to the American farmer who works his own farm.

Please keep in mind, if there is no bill, I am under court order to enforce the existing law which will be unpopular with all reclamation farmers. Studies that have been conducted which show that 98 percent of the owners of land in Federal Reclamation projects owning less than 320 acres own 73 percent of the land and 2 percent with ownerships greater than 320 acres own 27 percent of land. For farm operations which includes owned and leased land, 97 percent of the operations are less than 960 acres and farm 69 percent of the land while the 3 percent larger than 960 acres farm 31 percent of the land.

  
CECIL D. ANDRUS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

11 sep 80

Jody Powell:

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc Fran Voorde  
Phil Wise

August 22, 1980

*Jody -  
A TV interview  
may be good -  
See me  
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. CARTER

AUG 26 1980

CC PHIL WISE  
ANNE WEXLER  
HAMILTON JORDAN  
JODY POWELL

FROM BOB MADDOX *BM*

SUBJECT RELIGIOUS STRATEGY

I. WHITE HOUSE EVENTS

1. Briefing and Presidential drop by with major religious weekly and monthly magazines and journals.

This needs to be done immediately to make deadlines for the monthlies. We have done our homework with these people because we have had two previous briefings for them.

The first portion could be a general briefing on economy, energy, foreign policy, etc.

The time with the President could be an opportunity for them to get his views on the "flag" moral issues as well as other matters of concern to the audience. I recommend a press conference format for the time with the President.

2. Interview with the President for religious television. One interview would show the President as a person. Barry Hon from California will fund this interview. Harold Bredeson, whom the President has met, would conduct the interview. This has been previously requested.

I also recommend another interview by the National Religious Broadcasters and Dr. Ben Armstrong, a friend of the President. This interview would be a question/answer session with the President on issues. Dr. Armstrong would like for the President to come to an area meeting of the National Religious Broadcasters in Lynchburg, Virginia, during the days of October 1, 2, or 3. The interview would go out live or on a 24-hour delay on all the nation's Christian radio (900 stations) and TV (35 stations). If

the President could not go to Lynchburg, and there are some downsides to going down there, I believe Dr. Armstrong would arrange to come up here. Mr. Reagan may also be interviewed, though at a different time.

Both interviews are necessary for the Christian community to get a clearer idea of who the President is and why he has taken certain positions.

3. Lay and Clergy Opinion Makers Meeting

This would be a group of approximately fifteen of the leading mainline and moderate evangelical spokespersons who have not previously met with the President. We could do a general briefing for them and then have the President drop by for a question/answer session.

4. Grass roots People's Meeting

These would be 75-100 lay Christian leaders who work in the trenches in labor, blue-collar jobs, education, middle-management. A general briefing and then a Presidential drop by would set them working in fine fashion. My friends in Pittsburgh would put this group together. Participants would come from across the country from key states. Wayne Alderson and his colleagues know what we need and whom to invite.

II. NON WHITE HOUSE EVENTS

1. Interfaith Councils

As the President travels, particularly in the South, Southwest and West Coast, he should consider meeting with interfaith Councils. All major cities have such Councils. We could work it so that the Councils themselves extended the invitation to the President, did the inviting and took care of local logistics. I would work with the Councils on format. Thirty to forty-five minutes with several of these groups would do us a great deal of good. With any decent advance notice, we could get the religious networks to cover such events. Religious media will give better play than the secular media.

2. Labor/Management Prayer Breakfast

I still hope the President can attend the Labor/Management Prayer Breakfast in Pittsburgh in late October. That is an international gathering of labor and management people. They have tried for three years to get the President.

### III. GENERAL APPROACHES

An ad hoc group of laymen is preparing a brochure that will detail the President's positions on a number of issues including his feelings about his flag moral issues. They will do all the work and funding on this project.

Tom Laney and I will work closely with state coordinators in key states to insure the right kind of religious involvement in campaign stops for the First Family and the Vice President.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE  
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS  
WASHINGTON

September 10, 1980

EYES ONLY

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze *CLS*  
Subject: Retail Sales in August

This afternoon (at 3:30 p.m.) the Department of Commerce will release its advance estimate of August retail sales, and revised estimates for June and July. The figures are very strong.

June sales were revised up slightly and July substantially (1-1/2 percent). The preliminary August figures show a further sizable (1-1/2 percent) gain over July. Auto sales account for some of the rise but other sales rose strongly.

From their May low point retail sales have risen steadily. Making a rough adjustment for inflation, we estimate that the real volume of retail sales outside of autos rose at an annual rate of 9-1/2 percent between May and August. Domestic auto sales also jumped, from 5.3 million to 6.5 million units.

These data are another important piece of evidence that the recession has about reached bottom.

Even if the economy moves up between July and September, the third quarter average level of economic activity will be below the second quarter average. Consequently the third quarter GNP is likely to be down from the second. But the decline will be very much smaller than we had earlier expected.

By now there is little question that the economy is (at least temporarily) beginning to recover. There are two major obstacles to its continued recovery:

- 1) rising interest rates, and
- 2) the sudden \$15 billion rise in social security taxes which takes effect January 1, 1981.

Our social security tax credit will offset the latter obstacle, but if submitted to the Congress in January may not take effect until as late as May or June. Since Congress will be coming back after the election anyway, we may want to consider asking for a quick enactment of this one element of your program during the lame duck session. (This is not a recommendation, and there is no reason to worry about it until after November 4; it has not been discussed with the EPG; but you may want to file away the possibility for future consideration.)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8/7/80 3:45pm

Mr. President --

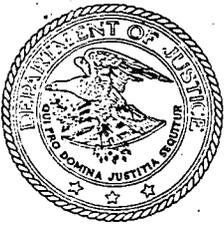
In response to an inquiry from Michael Cardoza, I have given a copy of attached to him for Lloyd Cuter, and have also given a copy to Jody.

(I am also making a cursory review of my notes of your comments/instructions to see if there are any other directives issued by you in writing to the Attorney General regarding permits for pro/anti-Iranian demonstrations.)

--ssc

*cc Jack  
W.  
J*

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**



copy sent 11/10/79  
I strongly prefer that we do

Office of the Attorney General our best to  
Washington, D.C. 20530 prevent permits being  
issued for Pro- or

November 15, 1979

Anti-Iranians until  
hostages are free.  
Take our case to  
Court if necessary

MEMORANDUM TO: The President  
FROM: Benjamin R. Civiletti  
Attorney General  
SUBJECT: Iranian Student Demonstrations

J.C  
cc Cy  
Zb65

On November 8, 1979, I sent you a brief memorandum outlining the constitutional standards that govern the Government in granting or denying permission to Iranian students and others to march and demonstrate in Washington, D.C. In essence, it set forth the very strong constitutional right to demonstrate under the First Amendment. Within the perimeters of that memorandum and with factual basis, we have advised the Department of Interior that we will defend their denial of two permits for Lafayette Park.

In anticipation of such a defense, we have investigated carefully the available factual representations in order to prove them in court. The factual basis for claiming and exercising a right to deny permits was the representation of the Secretary of State that any violent altercation in a demonstration, subjecting Iranians to injury by counter-protestors or arrest by police, would result in grave risk of death or physical harm to the American hostages in Tehran. Without any experience of a demonstration in this crisis, the police represented some uncertainty of preventing the result found by Secretary Vance to pose the grave risk. Lafayette Park's proximity to the White House, the symbol of the Federal government, was believed to affect both the risk of altercation and the threat of harm in Tehran.

The facts and circumstances have changed.

There is no doubt that the lives of Americans remain in jeopardy in Tehran. There is no doubt that significant violence to or arrests of Iranian students in Washington would pose a very grave threat of harm to the American hostages. But there is no sustainable legal basis on which to distinguish between violence to or arrests of Iranians at one location (Lafayette Park) or another in Washington. More importantly,

there is no reasonable basis on which to assert that a demonstration in this city at Lafayette Park or another location would result in injury to or arrest of Iranians. The Park Police and the local District of Columbia police have demonstrated, again, in this crisis that they can control and protect those who wish to exercise their right to march or demonstrate. Moreover, they state very strongly that they can and will protect demonstrators (Iranians or not) from violence. They will not testify that there is a serious prospect of harm to Iranian demonstrators that the Secretary of State fears will trigger a response in Iran.

Even our prior position and present view are undercut by incidents around the country involving Iranians, in some instances controlled well by state and local authorities and in a very few resulting in Iranian student arrests without the provable adverse result to the American hostages.

We have now a notice for Tuesday, November 20, 1979, of a demonstration by an American organization called the Students in Opposition to Violence. The demonstration is to begin at Lafayette Park, and the demonstrators plan to march through Dupont Circle and finish at the Iranian Embassy on Massachusetts Avenue. While the leadership is American and the demonstration will likely be composed primarily of American citizens demonstrating against the captors in Iran and urging tolerance of Iranian students in this country, the group will include some Iranian students. We anticipate that there will be other permit requests for Lafayette Park and requests for marches and assemblies from time to time on non-permit properties.

On the basis of the facts available to us today and likely facts available to us over the next several days, it is my firm opinion that we cannot legally deny the right to persons, Iranian or American, who do not have some provable record of violence themselves, to demonstrate on federal properties in Washington in support of or in opposition to United States policy in Iran.

We will continue to do everything possible to try to develop facts relevant to these issues and closely monitor and scrutinize all requests for permits in Washington to assure that there will be no violence or altercations which will endanger the American hostages. If the facts indicate the demonstrators will commit violence, we will try to severely limit or restrict their opportunity to do so. If the facts indicate peaceful

demonstrators may be subject to violence, we can even call on extraordinary steps to assist the municipal and Park Police if they have any doubt with regard to the safety of the demonstrators.

cc: Secretary of State  
Counsel to the President

Dear Mr President

I share deeply revulsion at the views of students or anyone here supporting the vicious acts of terrorism against our people in Tehran. I pray for your strength + their freedom.

Ben

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

HAL SHEPPARD

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: THE FIRST LADY *[Signature]*  
FRANK MOORE  
ARNIE MILLER

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

11 September 1980

TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICK HUTCHESON



Hal Sheppard, Frank Moore and Arnie Miller recommend that you sign the attached two letters appointing Congressman Claude Pepper (Chairman of the House Aging Committee) and Senator Lawton Chiles (Chairman of the Senate Aging Committee) as Honorary Co-Chairmen of the White House Conference on Aging.

Mrs. Carter will be speaking at the Florida Governor's Conference on Aging on September 19, and could read the letters at that time.

Bob Strauss concurs.

TWO SIGNATURES REQUESTED

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1980

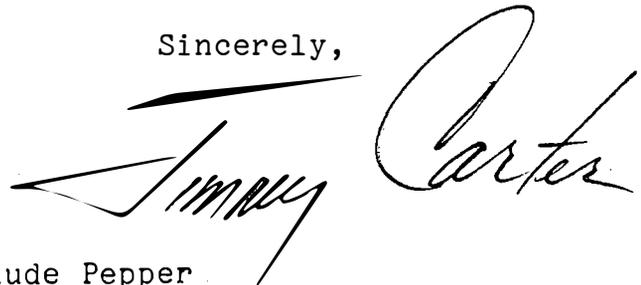
Dear Mr. Chairman:

As you know, I have called for a White House Conference on Aging to be held in December of 1981. Our goal is nothing less than the formulation of a comprehensive national policy on aging. This is particularly urgent since there will be such a dramatic increase in the number of people over 65 in our society in the coming years.

In your key role as Chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, you have been a champion of the rights and needs of older Americans. Working closely together, we have made great progress to improve the lives of older people by enacting legislation to curb mandatory retirement, rescue the Social Security system from bankruptcy, and bolster housing programs and the social service and nutrition programs of the Older Americans Act.

Our success in implementing the recommendations of the 1981 White House Conference on Aging will depend to a large extent on the cooperation of the Congress. I know that you will spearhead efforts within the House to accomplish this objective and for this reason, I would be grateful if you would serve as Honorary Co-Chairman of the Conference. With your help, this Conference can be a landmark event in our Nation's attempt to respond to the needs and channel the talents of America's 25 million senior citizens.

Sincerely,

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

The Honorable Claude Pepper  
Chairman  
House Select Committee on Aging  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 11, 1980

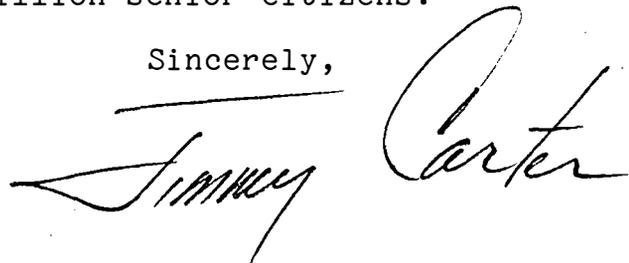
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Sincerely,

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The Honorable Lawton Chiles  
Chairman  
Senate Special Committee on Aging  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

ID 804441

THE WHITE HOUSE

PAGE A01

WASHINGTON

DATE: 08 SEP 80

FOR ACTION: RICK HERTZBERG

ARNIE MILLER - *Concur*

INFO ONLY: STJ EIZENSTAT

SUBJECT: SHEPPARD MEMO TO HUTCHESON/HERTZBERG RE DRAFT LETTERS TO  
REP. PEPPER AND SEN. CHILES FOR 9/19/80 EVENT WITH THE  
FIRST LADY

+++++  
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +  
+ BY: 1200 PM THURSDAY 11 SEP 80 +  
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR:

RICK HUTCHESON  
HENDRIK HERTZBERG

FROM:

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD



On September 19, Mrs. Carter will be speaking at the Florida Governor's Conference on Aging and a crowd of about 5,000 people is expected. Tom Belford and I would like to see the First Lady read a letter from the President appointing Claude Pepper (Chairman of the House Aging Committee), and Lawton Chiles (Chairman of the Senate Aging Committee), as Honorary Co-Chairmen of the White House Conference on Aging. Both are from Florida and this would be very helpful for this appearance.

Tom has already spoken to Frank Moore who supports this idea and I spoke to Jerry Waldie (Executive Director of the White House Conference) who also agreed. Incidentally, Bob Strauss told Pepper in December that he could expect to be named to this position but no action was ever taken to implement the promise.

Attached for your consideration are draft letters from the President to Pepper and Chiles. We need approval of this draft ASAP.

Attachment

cc: Jerry Waldie

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Chairman:

As you know, I have called for a White House Conference on Aging to be held in December of 1981. Our goal is nothing less than the formulation of a comprehensive national policy on aging. This is particularly urgent since there will be such a dramatic increase in the number of persons over 65 in our society in the coming years.

In your key role as Chairman of the Senate Special Committee on Aging, you have been a champion of the rights and needs of older persons. Working closely together, we have made great progress to improve the lives of older persons by enacting legislation to curb mandatory retirement, rescue the Social Security system from bankruptcy, and bolster housing and the Older Americans Act social service and nutrition programs.

Our success in implementing the recommendations of the 1981 White House Conference on Aging will depend to a large extent on the cooperation of the Congress. I know that you will spearhead efforts within the Senate to accomplish this objective and for this reason, I would be grateful if you would serve as Honorary Co-Chairman of the Conference. With your help, this Conference can be a landmark event in our Nation's attempt to respond to the needs and channel the talents of America's 25 million senior citizens.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Lawton Chiles  
Chairman  
Senate Special Committee on Aging  
United States Senate  
Washington, D. C. 20510

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United States Senate  
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Chairman  
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Sincerely,

The Honorable Claude Pepper  
Chairman  
House Select Committee on Aging  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D. C. 20515

12:15 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PRESENTATION OF STRIPED BASS PRINT

BY THE AMERICAN STRIPED BASS SOCIETY

Thursday, September 11, 1980

12:15 p.m.

The Oval Office

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

From: ANNE WEXLER *Ann*

I. PURPOSE

To greet representatives of the American Striped Bass Society, Inc., and to receive a watercolor print of a Santee-Cooper Striped Bass.

II. BACKGROUND

The American Striped Bass Society, Inc. has approximately 6,500 members principally in South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina, Texas, Arkansas and California, as well as others. The Society promotes sport fishing, conservation, wildlife management, and provides financial support for bass research.

The print to be presented to you by the Society is a rendering of a Santee-Cooper Striped Bass, a type of bass which inhabits the Santee-Cooper Lakes, located near Monks Corner, South Carolina, 25 miles from Charleston. The largest bass research facility in the United States, the Dennis Wildlife Facility, is located at these lakes, and conducts research on bass breeding techniques, as well as development of a stronger, healthier hybrid bass. The print series will be used to raise funds for this research facility.

Every month, the Society publishes and distributes 10,000 copies of its magazine, "Striped Bass Magazine." The photograph of this presentation will appear in their October issue.

III. PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

A. Participants:

Jerry Wayne Allen, President, American Striped Bass Society is from Edgefield, South Carolina.

Jerry Lloyd Locklaire, Sr. and Donna Hargrove Locklaire, the artists, are from Olanta, South Carolina.

Robert and Barbara Meyers, Board Members of the Society are from Lynchburg, South Carolina. They will be present, but will not participate in the presentation.

- B. Press Plan: AP and UPI photographers; White House photographers

IV. TALKING POINTS

1. Welcome to the Oval Office and thank you for this splendid print. The American Striped Bass Society should be commended for its efforts to promote responsible sport fishing, conservation, and wildlife research.
2. As a sport fisherman myself, I know that responsible sport activities such as sport fishing, are both compatible and consistent with our national efforts to preserve and protect our wildlife heritage. Through the efforts of your society, and others like you, our wildlife will continue to grow and prosper while more and more Americans find relaxation and enjoyment in the sport of fishing.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

ALAN CAMPBELL

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: LLOYD CUTLER  
JIM MCINTYRE

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

ACTION  
FYI

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|  | ADMIN CONFID |
|  | CONFIDENTIAL |
|  | SECRET       |
|  | EYES ONLY    |

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

|   |            |
|---|------------|
|   | MILLER     |
|   | MUSKIE     |
|   |            |
|   | AIELLO     |
|   | BUTLER     |
| / | CAMPBELL   |
|   | H. CARTER  |
|   | CLOUGH     |
|   | FIRST LADY |
|   | HARDEN     |
|   | HERTZBERG  |
|   | HUTCHESON  |
|   | KAHN       |
|   | MARTIN     |
|   | MILLER     |
|   | MOE        |
|   | MOSES      |
|   | PETERSON   |
|   | PRESS      |
|   | RECORDS    |
|   | SANDERS    |
|   | SHEPPARD   |
|   | SPETH      |
|   | STRAUSS    |
|   | TORRES     |
|   | VOORDE     |
|   | WISE       |



ID 804485

THE WHITE HOUSE

PAGE A01

WASHINGTON

DATE: 09 SEP 80

FOR ACTION: LLOYD CUTLER

*aman*

JIM MCINTYRE

INFO ONLY: THE VICE PRESIDENT

STU EIZENSTAT

FRANK MOORE

SUBJECT: ALAN CAMPBELL MEMO RE EXCLUSION OF THE UNITED STATES  
COURTS FROM THE MERIT PAY SYSTEM

+++++

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

+ BY: 1200 PM THURSDAY 11 SEP 80 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: *Cutler concurs*

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

12:00 PM

CARTER/MONDALE PRESIDENTIAL COMMITTEE, INC.  
2000 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036  
(202) 887-4700

Robert S. Strauss, Chairman  
Tim Kraft, National Campaign Manager  
S. Lee Kling, Treasurer

September 10, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

FROM: Robert S. Strauss  
THRU: Rick Hutcheson  
RE: Meeting with Mike O'Neill and Bob Hunt  
DATE: September 11, 1980, Thursday  
TIME: 12:00 noon  
PLACE: Oval Office

I. Purpose

To indicate the importance we attach to their paper, and our desire for ongoing support and communication.

II. Participants, Background, Press

A. Participants

The President, Robert S. Strauss, Michael J. (Mike) O'Neill, Editor of the New York Daily News and Robert M. (Bob) Hunt, President and Publisher of the New York Daily News

B. Background

The New York Daily News has the largest circulation of any paper in the country (over 1.6 million daily, over 2.2 million Sunday). The meeting is the result of a longstanding request from campaign officials in New York.

The Daily News maintains an independent editorial posture, and has been supportive of a number of issues over the past year: grain embargo, Olympics boycott, draft registration. The Daily News endorsed for re-election before the New York primary, but received a good deal of criticism as a result. A summary of recent editorials, with excerpts, is attached.

Mike O'Neill is very close to Governor Carey and Felix Rohatyn and may raise the question of Rohatyn's appointment to the Reindustrialization Board. Westway is also a very important issue to O'Neill and Hunt.

An endorsement from this meeting will be more difficult to obtain because of Hunt's presence. Hunt does not have as high a profile as O'Neill, but is very influential in the Daily New' editorial decisions. Obviously, access to White House resources and people is very important to both Hunt and O'Neill.

C. Press

None -- White House photographer

III. Talking Points

1. Thank them for coming to Washington for meeting.
2. Thank them for support on tough issues, particularly on recent reindustrialization plan, and for honest criticism.
3. Stress importance of ongoing support and communication, and of their active support in campaign.
4. Stress accessibility of White House and campaign officials, particularly concerning issues of interest to New Yorkers.

# CARTER/MONDALE RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE, INC.

Robert S. Strauss, Chairman  
Tim Kraft, National Campaign Manager  
S. Lee Kling, Treasurer

Monday September 8, 1980

2000 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(202) 887-4700

## THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS: AN EDITORIAL OVERVIEW

Circulation: 1,606,365 during the week, 1,395,482 on Saturday, and 2,237,494 on Sunday.

The Daily News, a Tribune Co. group paper, maintains an independent editorial posture.

President - R.M. Hunt  
Publisher - R.M. Hunt  
Editor - Michael J. O'Neill  
News Editor - Joe Kovach

## EXCERPTS FROM RECENT EDITORIALS

"Happily, Carter has rejected the wild spending programs that usually spring up like ragweed in election years. He has also resisted the snake oil of general income tax cuts that are supposed to spur the economy through increased buying, but simply fire inflation and eventually rob individuals of both income and jobs. Indeed, on this issue he is showing more sense than his conservative rival, Ronald Reagan... The bottom line is that the basic direction of Carter's economic recovery program is right. The few specific proposals he announced probably will be helpful if they are adopted. But the challenge we face is enormous. It calls for larger, more creative designs than have yet emerged. These could emerge from a group of inspired, highly qualified business, labor and government leaders working in effective partnership. Let's hope so."  
9/2

"We think that all of the debates should include John Anderson, with no ifs, ands, buts or agonizing over poll results."  
8/28

"In his 'definitive' pronouncement on China policy, Reagan essentially accepted the status quo... In the circumstances, it was senseless for Reagan to rake up a dead topic when there are so many live, urgent foreign policy issues he ought to be addressing... The damage in this instance can hardly be called mortal, but Reagan ought to be aware that he cannot afford many more such lapses before voters begin to regard him as a bumbler with chronic foot-in-mouth disease."  
8/27

"Before it reduces taxes, Congress should come up with a realistic plan for offsetting cutbacks in spending. The obvious place to look is the costly array of income-transfer programs launched in the past decade. What's more, any tax cut should be carefully targeted to promote long-term economic growth. As it now stands, the tax system rewards spending and borrowing while penalizing savings and investment. The nation must eliminate that bias if the U.S. is to bring inflation under control, reverse the decline in productivity and revitalize its industrial base."

8/20

"Jimmy Carter came out swinging in Madison Square Garden Thursday night. And from our ringside seat we'd say he landed a solid punch -- right on his own chin ... Carter went seriously wrong on two key points. He failed miserably in dealing with the shortcomings of his administration. And he really went overboard in attacking Ronald Reagan... If the acceptance speech told the nation anything, it was that Carter is dealing from a weak, defensive position. And like many other politicians in that situation, he has decided that the best defense is a free-wheeling offense."

8/17

# CARTER/MONDALE RE-ELECTION COMMITTEE, INC.

Robert S. Strauss, Chairman  
Tim Kraft, National Campaign Manager  
S. Lee Kling, Treasurer

Wednesday September 10, 1980

2000 L STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

(202) 887-4700

## RECENT NEW YORK DAILY NEWS EDITORIAL COMMENT

- 1) The News saw Prime Minister Begin's decision as a positive sign towards the continuation of the Mideast peace talks. (9/10)
- 2) Pres. Carter's economic proposals are a good first step towards economic recovery. (9/2)
- 3) We think John Anderson should be included in the debates under any circumstances. (8/28)
- 4) It was senseless for Ronald Reagan to bring up the China question when other foreign policy questions are much more urgent. (8/27)
- 5) The Congress should work on ways of increasing savings and investment before it comes up with ways of reducing taxes. (8/20)

his prime minister's office to a site in East Jerusalem.

The Egyptians have been plenty upset by the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem as it is. The Begin office switch might have pushed them so far in anger that it would have been impossible to get the stalled Mideast peace talks back on the track.

Begin loses nothing by the delay, while gaining credit for making an important symbolic gesture. The same holds true, although to a lesser degree, about his decision to put a cap on Israeli settlements on the West Bank.

A Mideast settlement still is a long way off. But at least the parties continue on the road.

NY  
DAILY NEWS  
9/10/80  
P. 21

## To move or not to move

Sometimes in the world of diplomacy, the absence of action is as important as action itself. So it is a good sign that Israel's Menachem Begin apparently has agreed to put off plans to move

September 11, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JODY POWELL 

SUBJECT: Your meeting with Mike O'Neill  
and Bob Hunt - 12:00 noon today

Although your talk with O'Neill and Hunt of the New York Daily News is listed under my name, it's actually Bob Strauss' event. Following your call, I talked to Bob and Joel McCleary, and they suggested the following points:

1. O'Neill likes Rohatyn and endorsed him for membership on the Revitalization Board. You might want to mention Rohatyn's complimentary statement about what the federal government is doing for New York (without the comments on what the city is not doing) and ask O'Neill's advice on how you deal with the continuing problem of always getting kicked around by politicians up there despite all you've done for the city.
2. O'Neill spends a lot of time with Carey and David Garth. It would not be bad to ask his thoughts on the effect of the Liberal Party endorsement of Anderson and on how you handle the Anderson situation generally. (I understand a recent poll shows that 67% of Holtzman voters support.) You can ask him how he thinks the recent election result in New York will effect Presidential politics there.
3. You ought to generally express pleasure with how you understand the situation is moving in New York based on what Caddell and our organizational people tell us, but ask him if he agrees.
4. Generally, you should treat him as a smart political operative whose wisdom you value. He is not the sort of guy you can flatter by pretending to agree with everything he says. His number one interest is New York City.
5. Be sure to include Hunt in the conversation. He is more conservative than O'Neill and will have an impact on the endorsement decision. Strauss and McCleary think Hunt is the sort of person you will get along well with. I understand O'Neill may be having some problems with Hunt and his other management types because he is not as conservative as they.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

JACK WATSON  
ARNIE MILLER

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

Rick Hutcheson

4543

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 10, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK WATSON *Jack*

SUBJECT:

UNESCO Delegation

At Tom Beard's suggestion we have asked the Department of State to add Phyllis Wyeth to the UNESCO Delegation as a Special Advisor. They have agreed to do so. This arrangement will not require confirmation, but she will have all the rights and privileges of a delegate.

Phyllis has been active in many programs relating to the visual arts and has served as co-chair of Arts for the Handicapped.

*ok*  
*J*

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for Preservation Purposes

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

THE VICE PRESIDENT  
STU EIZENSTAT  
AL MCDONALD  
JACK WATSON  
ZBIG BRZEZINSKI

The attached was received in our office  
and is forwarded to you for your  
information.

Rick Hutcheson

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

SEP 11 1980

C

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES T. McINTYRE, Jr. *JM*  
W. BOWMAN CUTLER *WB*

SUBJECT: Space Shuttle Program Status

As you know, we have been meeting with Bob Frosch, Al Lovelace and other senior NASA officials on a monthly basis to review the progress of the Shuttle. In view of the rapidly approaching roll-out of the Shuttle and the first launch planned for next spring, we believe it would now be appropriate for us to keep you informed monthly as to the results of these meetings.

As we indicated to you earlier, NASA's key technical concerns remain Shuttle engines and tiles.

1. The Tile Problem. NASA is now dealing with a well defined number of problem tiles. Although there are still a large number of tiles to be installed, there now appear to be few uncertainties in this area that could significantly affect first flight. NASA has installed a weekly reporting system on tile installation progress which we will be following.
2. The Shuttle Engines. An additional technical problem occurred after we briefed you last month. This problem, which is related to test conditions that would not occur on an actual flight, resulted in damage to a test engine. This engine was also designated as a back-up spare for first flight. As a result, the amount of engine hardware to complete planned remaining tests is considered by NASA to be "adequate but tight".

In addition, a number of important tests remain to be completed. These include two series of single engine tests to complete the certification process and to qualify a new flight spare as well as three more main propulsion tests. However, NASA has not accumulated a large amount of successful test time on both single- and multiple-engine tests and NASA management believes they have solutions identified for all past problems adequate to support the first flight. In our view, the current NASA engine test schedule still seems to support a March launch if no major

new problems develop, but the schedule is now the principal area of uncertainty.

With respect to the overall schedule, we have confirmed what we told you earlier that NASA is planning their first flight and subsequent test flight schedules to meet the key intelligence mission requirements beginning in April of 1983. NASA senior management agrees that moving towards first flight as expeditiously as possible is the approach most likely to be successful. They also agree that this approach is the most economical and can be done without compromising their safety standards.

The March schedule for first flight is dependent on successful achievement of major remaining tests as planned, and much still remains to be done. However, no new problems comparable to the tile problem have been discovered this year, and development and testing has evolved to a point where overall uncertainties have been reduced substantially. There is also sufficient slack planned in key test schedules to allow for problems of routine scope. Therefore, we continue to believe that, in the absence of a catastrophic event in remaining tests, NASA management is on a course that has a reasonable chance for success in keeping with their planned schedule.

9:55 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY FOR DENNIS HERTEL

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

Thursday, September 11, 1980  
9:55 a.m. (5 minutes)  
The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *FM/HB*

I. PURPOSE

Photo opportunity for Dennis Hertel, Democratic Congressional candidate, 14th District Michigan.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

Background: Dennis Hertel, a 31-year-old State Representative from Hamtramck, is the Democratic nominee for the seat left open by the retirement of Rep. Lucien Nedzi. He won an eight man primary with a vote of 62% and will be facing Republican Vic Capudo in the general election.

Hertel's brother John is a State Senator, and a younger brother, Curtis, will be replacing Dennis in the State Legislature. All are strong Carter supporters and were Carter delegates.

The 14th district contains the core of the Polish-American population in Michigan. A large percentage of the population is employed in the automobile industry, and auto layoffs are a major campaign issue in this race. Many of these workers are employees of Chrysler Corporation and are grateful and supportive of the Administration.

This is a strong Democratic area, and Hertel stands an excellent chance of being elected.

Dennis is an attorney by profession. He is married to Cindy Hertel and has three young daughters.

Participants: The President, Dennis Hertel, Cindy Hertel, Frank Moore

Press Plan: White House photo, AP and UPI photo

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 11, 1980

MEMO TO: JACK WATSON  
FROM: STEPHEN R. AIELLO  
SUBJECT: Polish National Alliance 100th Anniversary  
Banquet

The Polish National Alliance is the largest fraternal organization in the United States, and also the largest Polish-American organization in the U.S. It has chapters in 36 states and a membership of over a million people.

The Polish National Alliance publishes the largest Polish language daily newspaper, as well as a monthly fraternal journal. It also runs a college, Alliance College in Pennsylvania, the only Polish-American college in the United States.

The banquet will be on Saturday, September 20th at 7:30 P.M. There will be about 2500 persons at the banquet, including all the presidents of the state chapters.

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for Preservation Purposes**

9:50 AM

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 10, 1980

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY WITH SENATOR SPARK MATSUNAGA AND  
MEMBERS OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON PROPOSALS FOR THE NATIONAL  
ACADEMY OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Thursday, September 11, 1980

9:50 a.m. (5 minutes)

Cabinet Room

I. PURPOSE: To greet and recognize the Chairman, Senator Spark Matsunaga, of the U.S. Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution, as well as other members of the Commission who will have their picture taken with you. In addition, Senator Matsunaga will present you with an interim report prepared by the Commission.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS & PRESS PLAN

Background: The Peace Academy Commission Act was signed into law by you on November 1, 1978. Congress appropriated \$500,000 for the entire operation of the Commission, which consists of nine members. The Commission has been charged with conducting an investigation to determine whether to establish a U.S. Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution which would undertake researching the theory and practice of peacemaking at the international, national and community levels. In addition, if this institution is created, it would support existing programs in the field of peace and conflict resolution to develop public educational materials and to train professionals and private citizens toward the goal of reducing violence and promoting constructive relationships abroad as well as here in the United States. (The Commission has unanimously recommended that this academy be established.)

Participants: The President, Senator Sparky Matsunaga (Chairman), Senators Jennings Randolph (D-W.VA) and Mark Hatfield (R-OR), Congressmen Dan Glickman (D-KS) and John Ashbrook (R-OH), Dr. James Laue (Vice-Chairman), Arthur Barnes, Dr. Elise Boulding, Dr. John Dellenback, Jack Dunfey, William Lincoln. Commission staff include: William Spencer (Director), David Jehnsen (Deputy Director), Les Carter, Ruth Farmer, Ann Richardson and Diana Jones, and Bill Beachy, A.A. with Congressman Glickman. White House Staff include: Dan Tate and Bob Schule.

Press Plan: White House photographer only.

III. TALKING POINTS

Routine courtesies; however, it might be noted that Senator Matsunaga has put forth a particularly devoted effort which represents a culmination of approximately 15 years of work on his part in accomplishing this goal. (He initiated introduction of this legislation back when he was a member of the U.S. House of Representatives).

12:20 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

GREETING OF H. FOSTER SEARS  
GRAND EXALTED RULER  
ORDER OF ELKS

Thursday, September 11, 1980

Electrostatic Copy Made 12:20 p.m.  
for Preservation Purposes The Oval Office

From: Anne Wexler *AW*

I. PURPOSE

To greet H. Foster Sears, Grand Exalted Leader of the Grand Lodge, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks from Macomb, Illinois and congratulate him on his recent election.

II. BACKGROUND

The Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks was founded in 1868 as a social mens' organization. It has since grown into a charitable organization with 1,700,000 members who contributed \$17 million to charity in 1979.

H. Foster Sears, the newly elected Grand Exalted Ruler, has been active in the Elks for over thirty years. Sears is also an active community leader in Macomb, Illinois, having served as a deacon of the Presbyterian Church, president of the Macomb Chamber of Commerce, and president of the McDonough County Cancer Society.

III. PARTICIPANTS AND PRESS PLAN

- A. Participants: H. Foster Sears, and his wife, Marguerite.
- B. Press Plan: White House photographer, AP and UPI.

IV. TALKING POINTS

1. Congratulations on your recent election.
2. The Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks should be commended for its charitable works. I am sure your own work in Illinois has bettered the lives of crippled children in that state.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

FRANK MOORE

The attached was received in  
our office and is forwarded  
to you for your information.

Rick Hutcheson

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AS

~~Emergency~~ IMMEDIATE Action Requested

11096

NAME Senator Henry Jackson

TITLE D-Washington

CITY/STATE \_\_\_\_\_

Phone Number--Home (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

Work (    ) 224-3441

Other (    ) \_\_\_\_\_

Requested by Frank [Signature]

Date of Request 9-10-80

**INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)**

Tell the Senator you intend to send John Sawhill's nomination to the Senate today to be Chairman of the U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation. Tell him you intend to nominate a strong board and get them to the Senate very quickly. Say you hope that he finds an opportunity to say something supportive about John Sawhill today.

NOTES: (Date of Call 9-10)

*Done - Pleased*

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AS

NAME Mo Udall

1694

TITLE Congressman

CITY/STATE Arizona

Requested by Frank Moore

Phone Number--Home (703) 821-1316

Date of Request 9/10/80

Work (202) 225-4065

Other (602) 882-8315

INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)

Background Information

1. Jim McNulty, who lost the Democratic Senate nomination in Arizona to Bill Schulz, was closely allied with Udall. Schulz has a good chance to win against Goldwater. He is a fiscal conservative who is moderate enough to draw a clear distinction between his approach and that of Goldwater. He has articulated defense issues clearly, showing knowledge

NOTES: (Date of Call 9-10 )

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*done - appreciative  
will call if needed -*

and reason. Schulz is a progressive businessman who wants to combine compassion and competency.

2. Richard Huff is Udall's Republican opponent. He has been hitting Udall hard on defense and spending issues.

Talking Points

1. We're heading into the homestretch now that your primary is behind you.
2. I know that the Speaker is coming out to Arizona this weekend for a fundraiser with you. I hope you have a great weekend.
3. Let me know if there is someone in my Administration who would be helpful to you.

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

STU EIZENSTAT  
FRANK MOORE

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1980

*I talked to  
C. Andrews - A 74/cio  
has withdrawn support  
Probably better to hold  
in sales -  
J*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*  
FRANK MOORE *FM*

SUBJECT: Reclamation Reform Legislation

In his weekly report (attached) Secretary Andrus raises this issue. The purpose of this memo is to provide you with our views and to seek your decision on whether the Administration should press the Congress for a bill prior to the election. The Rules Committee will decide whether to send the bill to the floor Tuesday, so we will need a decision by Monday. However, Stu will be out of town on a Carter-Mondale trip on Monday, so we would like to have a conference call with you and Andrus Sunday night, if at all possible to further discuss this issue.

BACKGROUND

Since 1902, federal reclamation law has sought to promote owner-operated family farm opportunities in the West by authorizing delivery of reclamation project water at subsidized rates to agricultural irrigators who comply with statutory requirements. Enforcement of some of these requirements has been sporadic at best.

Administration Proposal

The Administration has supported amendments which would update the law to reflect today's farming conditions, while maintaining the basic objective of providing for family farmers. Studies done by the Interior Department conclude that the 160 acre limitation can be expanded to 960 acres and still retain the traditional objective of the reclamation program. At this level there is very little loss of economic efficiency and only a small percentage of operators would not be in compliance; e.g. 3% of the total farm operatorships exceed the 960 limit but account for 31% of the land receiving federally-subsidized water.

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The Administration proposed legislation to Congress which includes:

- a limit of 960 acres for owned and operated farms (including leased land) receiving Federally-subsidized water and a requirement that a family relationship exist among multiple owners.
- a strong residency requirement; owners/lessees must live within 50 miles of their land.
- procedures for the sale of lands owned in excess of the acreage entitlement, in order to receive subsidized water, to specified individuals or by lottery if sold by the Secretary of Interior.
- an exemption from the acreage limitation for lands owned by religious or charitable nonprofit organizations.

#### CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

##### Senate

On September 14, 1979, the Senate approved S. 14 which substantially modified the Administration's proposal. S. 14 includes the following major provisions:

- o an acreage entitlement of 1,280 acres in a farming operation, including owned and leased land;
- o repeals residency as a requirement of law to receive Federal project water;
- o provides an exemption from acreage limitation for the Imperial Irrigation District in California and lands receiving water from all Corps of Engineers projects, including the Kings and Kern River Projects in California, with certain restrictions;

- o provides for an exemption from acreage limitation to a water user district when the district has fully repaid its construction charge obligation to the United States; and
- o provides land held by religious or charitable nonprofit organizations as of January 1, 1978, would be exempt.

#### House

On June 19, 1980, the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives reported H.R. 6520. Floor action has not been scheduled to date. Major provisions of H.R. 6520 are:

- o an acreage limitation of 960 acres, including owned and leased land with special provisions that would permit leasing of an additional 2,400 acres, provided the lessee pays the full cost (as defined in the bill) for project water for acreage leased in excess of 960 acres;
- o repeals residency as a requirement to receive Federal project water but establishes a farming participation requirement that would apply in certain circumstances;
- o provides that religious organizations will be treated as individuals and can receive project water for land they own;
- o exempts lands served by Corps of Engineers projects unless Reclamation law is made explicitly applicable by Federal statute; and
- o provides for a limited exemption of a district from acreage limitations when the district has completed payment of its construction charges.

#### ADMINISTRATION POSTURE ON CONGRESSIONAL BILLS

As you may recall, in your decision to approve the Administration bill, you stated that you thought our proposal was liberal. ("If anything, I think the proposal is too liberal. It should be inter-

preted strictly, and I would not oppose the Congress if it tightened up some.") Instead, Congress has moved to further liberalize the requirements on recipients of subsidized irrigation water. Interior has opposed several provisions of S. 14, including the size of the acreage entitlement, the exemption for Corps of Engineers projects, and the repeal of the residency requirement. Both Interior and Agriculture have strongly objected to the House bill, which contains several provisions that liberalize the acreage limitation provisions to a much greater extent than S. 14. In a May, 1980 press release Secretary Andrus stated that if Congress passed a bill like the Senate or House Subcommittee bills, he would have no choice but to recommend a veto. (You would face the prospect of having to sign a bill with an acreage limitation greater than what the Secretary has said he would find acceptable.) In general we have consistently and strongly opposed both bills. The Administration's proposal has not been well received by Congress. Large farming and water development interests oppose it. It is supported by environmental organizations and "land for the people" type groups but these groups are very displeased with the Senate bill and the House Full Committee bill. California is particularly affected by this issue since most of the corporate farming operations using subsidized water occur there.

#### ISSUE

The issue you need to decide is whether we should seek to prevent a bill from passing the Congress before the election or whether we should press for a bill, while trying to improve the House bill on the floor sufficiently to enable an acceptable bill to emerge from the Conference. These options are discussed below:

#### NO BILL THIS SESSION

Our strategy has been to keep the House bill in the Rules Committee. We think it unlikely the bill could be improved sufficiently on the floor to make it acceptable. (Secretary Andrus disagrees.) If you receive an objectionable enrolled bill, a decision to sign it would be essentially a major retreat from our long-stated position and would anger land reform groups.

A decision to veto it would anger the water development and corporate or large farming groups. More importantly, a veto would have significant adverse political affects in California. Even if Congress should pass an acceptable bill, which we consider unlikely at this time, the water development interests and corporate farming interests would be distressed by your approval of the bill. Politically, this appears to be a "no win" situation. The most likely scenario is for a bill with an acreage limit even higher than the Senate bill. A signature would offend the water-reform groups. If there is no bill this session, the status quo will continue. Interior will continue to be prohibited by Court Order from approving excess land sales in the Westlands Irrigation District until they have promulgated regulations. As required by Court Order Interior is scheduled to publish proposed regulations and a draft EIS in December 1980, the final EIS in July 1981, and the final regulations in September 1981. This affords sufficient time next year for Congressional action. No adverse administrative damage will occur from waiting until Congress acts next session or until these regulations are promulgated next Fall.

#### BILL THIS SESSION

Secretary Andrus argues that we should seek to improve the House bill on the floor, and if unsuccessful the bill can then be vetoed. He believes that Congressmen Udall, Foley, and Ullman will be able to get the House to adopt an acreage cap of about 1600 acres and that in Conference this could be reduced to about 1400 acres. The Secretary now believes that if this occurred, the acreage figure would be acceptable and he would recommend you approve the bill. In addition, the Secretary feels that now is our only chance to get a bill. We disagree and believe a bill can be passed next year and we should not take the risk, which we consider very large, of having to veto a bill, or sign a poor bill, shortly before the election. OMB agrees with our position.

## ADDENDUM

### California Political Outlook

The campaign feels very strongly that we should not pursue a bill this year. We understand Hamilton has previously communicated that view to you.

The campaign's reasoning -- as reflected in recent discussions we have had with Jim Copeland (now in California) and Congressman Coelho (whose district is most affected and who will be running five Congressional Districts for us in California) -- is that the key to winning the State is the San Joaquin and Imperial Valley area. We can win those areas, they believe, if we avoid stirring up the reclamation issue before the election. In their view, any effort to get a bill will produce a result that upsets major voting groups in the Valley, without buying us anything of worth. And, of course, if you did have to veto a bill, we could just forget the State, according to Copeland and Coelho.

We therefore strongly recommend that you do not agree to moving the bill now.



WASHINGTON

September 5, 1980

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Secretary of the Interior

Subject: Weekly Report

As you know, I have not burdened you with weekly reports of a superfluous nature, but there are three items that must be brought to your personal attention.

(1) The Alaska bill, as passed by the Senate, is being held in the House as an insurance policy if future negotiations for improvement fail. Any additions will be handled in a separate bill. The current Senate compromise is acceptable, but our environmental friends want to try for more and we are cooperating with the understanding that we do not endanger our present position. You will have a bill this year.

(2) There is a marine sanctuary proposal coming to your desk that has a "sleeper" provision. That provision would have a categorical prohibition against oil and gas leasing. Under the OCS amendments that you proposed in 1978, we have the power to deny leasing in environmentally sensitive areas. To make the prohibition statutory would give the oil industry and your political opponents another opportunity to say that the Carter Administration is tying up domestic oil reserves. I support the proposal except for this one aspect. We don't need the added heartburn!

(3) The Reclamation Law Reform, H.R. 6520, is being held in the Rules Committee because White House Staff has asked that it be held. Mr. President, this is a mistake and a serious mistake when the newspapers are aware that we, the Administration, are holding it from the floor.

The House Committee bill is unacceptable in its present form. Bob Bergland, Mo Udall, Al Ullman, myself and others are confident that changes can and will be made on the floor. The Senate bill has a "cap" on acreage but doesn't have a "residency" or "participation" clause. We feel this can be accomplished in conference. The acreage "cap" will probably be larger than we want, but acceptable.

The worst case scenario would be a final product that did not have a "cap" or "residency" provision. If this happened, and I don't think it will, you could veto the bill and do it in a manner that places your Administration on the side of the family farmer and opposed to foreign investors and large national corporations controlling a subsidy that is supposed to go to the American farmer who works his own farm.

Please keep in mind, if there is no bill, I am under court order to enforce the existing law which will be unpopular with all reclamation farmers. Studies that have been conducted which show that 98 percent of the owners of land in Federal Reclamation projects owning less than 320 acres own 73 percent of the land and 2 percent with ownerships greater than 320 acres own 27 percent of land. For farm operations which includes owned and leased land, 97 percent of the operations are less than 960 acres and farm 69 percent of the land while the 3 percent larger than 960 acres farm 31 percent of the land.

  
CECIL D. ANDRUS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

FRANK MOORE  
STU EIZENSTAT

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

Rick Hutcheson

AS

NAME Patrick Moynihan **Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

1699

TITLE Senator

Requested by Stu Eizenstat *FM/m*  
Frank Moore *Stu*

CITY/STATE (D) New York

Date of Request 9/10/80

Phone Number--Home (     ) \_\_\_\_\_

Work ( 202 ) 224-4451

Other (     ) \_\_\_\_\_

**INFORMATION (Continued on back if necessary)**

During the course of a conversation I had with Senator Moynihan recently, he indicated the degree to which he has stoutly defended the Administration and made speeches in behalf of your re-election. He also noted his very mild statement on the absention on the recent U.N. vote. He said last Sunday's New York Times article on Ambassador McHenry was "the last straw" in a 3-1/2 year campaign of attacks against him (Moynihan).

(over)

NOTES: (Date of Call \_\_\_\_\_)

*No = "oblique references"  
Don't warrant my apology-*

In this particular article he said a career Ambassador, McHenry, is attacking a Senator for "confrontational" policies at the U.N. in the very article in which Moynihan made a special effort to praise McHenry, despite his better judgment. He stated that he could not let this go unanswered.

I would suggest that you call him and assuage his feelings about this. He indicated that this makes it much more difficult for him to help defend the Administration, particularly in Jewish areas.

TALKING POINTS

1. Stu told me of your concern about Don McHenry's statements and your continuing concern about inappropriate remarks about others in the Administration, particularly within the White House.
2. Although we have never been able to identify the source of those comments, I think as a result of my actions we have been able to stop them.
3. McHenry's statement is most unfortunate and I understand your being upset. I will try to ensure that it does not happen again.
4. I need your help more than ever and I value the assistance you have been providing to us.

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
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# THE QUIET AMERICAN AT THE U.N.

Donald McHenry is said to be the most effective U. S. chief delegate in years. He was badly undercut on the Israeli-settlements vote, however, and the question is whether his effectiveness can continue.

By Bernard D. Nossiter



The U.S. chief delegate in Manhattan at work in his limousine en route to a lecture.

When Donald F. McHenry slips into his seat Tuesday for another opening session in the blue-domed General Assembly chamber of the 153-member United Nations, he is likely to feel like a man on a roller coaster. Just a year ago, he was plucked from relative obscurity as the third man on the large United States team to head the delegation and take the Cabinet seat in Washington that comes with the job. Mr. McHenry was almost a faceless bureaucrat compared with his dynamic predecessor, Andrew Young. But Mr. Young had been squeezed out after an incautious meeting with the represent-

ative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Politics, both domestic and external, demanded that the black Mr. Young be succeeded by the black Mr. McHenry.

Slowly, carefully, quietly, Donald McHenry scored a dazzling string of successes. Nearly every U.N. vote of consequence — Cambodia, Cuba, Afghanistan and Iran — went the way the United States wanted, even if the practical consequences were small. The cautious, unflamboyant Mr. McHenry was overturning conventional wisdom, that the United Nations was an anti-United States engine with a hostile automatic majority from the third world and the Soviet bloc.

But roller coasters fall as steeply as they climb. On March 1, Mr. McHenry had helped persuade the Carter Administration to caution Israel against pushing its settlements into the territories seized after the 1967 war. So he cast his vote with 14 other Security Council members, and Prime Minister Menachem Begin's Government stood rebuked by its staunchest ally. Not for long. President Carter pulled the rug out from under Donald McHenry, saying the vote had been a mistake. An underground campaign began to paint

Mr. McHenry, like Mr. Young before him, as a black anti-Semite. And the McHenry magic touch seemed to have vanished. Not only did his stature appear diminished but that of his country was hurt as well.

Since then, he has moved deeper into the shadows. Typically, the head of a delegation casts his nation's vote in the Security Council, the U.N.'s most powerful organ. But as the Council, with wearisome repetition, censured Israel for an endless chain of alleged misbehavior — raiding south Lebanon, deporting Palestinian mayors, annexing the Arab sector of Jerusalem — Mr. McHenry was seen less frequently. He

would leave the vote to his deputy, William J. vanden Heuvel, or, on a recent occasion, to the new Secretary of State, Edmund S. Muskie. Israel, of course, wanted Washington to veto all these resolutions and organized American Jewry automatically followed Israel's lead. But Washington was torn: It was dismayed over Israeli aggressiveness that threatened the fragile peace in the Middle East but it was equally worried about voters for whom Israel can do no wrong. So the United States waffled, abstaining on almost every ballot.

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Mr. McHenry's role in and response to the crisis of the March vote is one key to this curious, almost unknowable man. It is also a key to whether he can restore his and his nation's effectiveness at the U.N.

When the vote was disavowed, black leaders across the country began ringing alarm bells. They feared that Mr. McHenry was going the way of Mr. Young, that for the second time in six months a black chief delegate would be driven from office. The black leaders began preparing a defense in depth. But Mr. McHenry, cool, cautious, the compleat bureaucrat who works within the system, quietly passed the word to the Black Caucus on Capitol Hill, blacks in the State Department and black leaders elsewhere: Lie low; no need to draw the wagons around; McHenry never violates an instruction; McHenry's job is secure. A planned protest melted away, and what could have been an ugly war of words between organized Jews and blacks, like that following Mr. Young's resignation, fizzled. Mr. McHenry's chief, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, accepted the blame for what was euphemistically described as a "communications

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gap" and resigned not long after in protest over the abortive rescue mission in Iran. But Mr. McHenry stayed in office, completing his first diplomatic season as head of the United States mission.

That office has never seen anyone quite like him. "He is the first career officer with real influence who brings to the job an ethnic sensibility that pervades everything he does," in the view of one shrewd man who once sat there himself.

On one recent muggy day, Mr. McHenry, 43, a stocky man with a thick, black mustache and receding black hair, draped his conservative

gray jacket over a desk chair and sat down in blue shirt sleeves at a glass coffee table the Government issues to high-ranking officials. The shirt sleeves, of course, were buttoned down and his patternless blue tie was carefully knotted. In measured words, qualified and requalified, he talked about his job: "I have no illusions that we make policy here. We do not; we should not. We should, however, participate in its formulation and I think we've been reasonably successful in that."

In fact, Donald McHenry is frustrated by officials at both the State Department and the National Security Council who try to limit his role to deciding on the text of resolutions, tactics and the tone of statements. "There are those who would like to narrowly define" the policy range of his office, he concedes. As the quintessential bureaucrat, he will not name those who block him or even identify the policies that bear his stamp. A slight edge creeps into a carefully cultivated voice that betrays neither geographic, class, nor ethnic origin as he speaks contemptuously of one official who does parade his policy triumphs.

The job, more than most, has built-in frustrations, but he lacks the two important ingredients for lessening the problems — a close, personal relationship with the President and an independent constituency. Henry Cabot Lodge, the first chief delegate to sit in the Cabinet, enjoyed both and frequently ignored instructions from Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Mr. Young, too, possessed the vital characteristics. He didn't, however, work diligently enough at the tasks at hand, relying more on charm than carefully drafted cables to exploit his assets.

**N**ow that the furor over the March vote has died down, Mr. McHenry concedes that it gave him some of his worst hours. "It was frustrating because there wasn't very much real analysis and some of the statements — such as those of the Mayor — were, to put it mildly, out of bounds." Mayor Koch had called Messrs. McHenry and Young "viciously anti-Israel," a choice of language that Donald McHenry says "is not very far from being called an anti-Semite."

The history of the whole episode goes back to a dinner in the Pierre Hotel last October, when Mr. McHenry carefully laid out the position adopted by the Carter Administration. It called for both "full security of Israel" and the fulfillment of "the legitimate rights of the Palestinians." This meant that a "just and durable solution" was impossible "without the active participation of the Palestinians" and recognized Israel's fear that Arab nations will only pretend to accept Israel's existence and sovereignty. None of this implied "any change in our friendship and strong support for Israel, or our deep commitment to her security." But it did amount to a call for "a new chapter in

relations between Israelis and Palestinians."

Yehuda Blum, Israel's U.N. representative, left the dinner convinced that Mr. McHenry was less pro-Israel than some of his predecessors, notably Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Arthur J. Goldberg, less emotional, more formal and less sympathetic. Later, after private talks with Mr. McHenry, Mr. Blum was said to conclude that Donald McHenry is not anti-Israel but pro-State Department, a far more faithful follower of his instructions from Washington than previous United States representatives. Mr. Blum's mission says that Mr. McHenry listens carefully to the Israeli representative, has an open mind and understands the Israeli point of view.

When Prime Minister Begin's Cabinet decided to move settlers into the tense, West Bank Arab city of Hebron, the State Department condemned the move. Both Mr. Vance and Mr. McHenry sought an acceptable Security Council formula expressing the Administration view. There were long telephone calls between the two men the night before the vote. Some State Department officials urged Mr. McHenry to see the President personal-

ly, something he does infrequently, but he declined to do so. In the end, the Security Council altered the resolution to come closer to the United States position — a section implying criticism of Israel's treatment of religious places in Jerusalem was deleted — and Mr. McHenry, in the debate on the question, disassociated the United States from a call to dismantle existing Jewish settlements on the West Bank. But the policy of moving settlers into the area was condemned — and Mr. McHenry then cast his now famous vote.

In Washington, Ephraim Evron, the Israeli Ambassador, had met with Secretary Vance, to argue for a veto or an abstention. Two days later, Mr. Evron took his case to the White House, to Vice President Mondale. The Israeli Ambassador did not need to point out that a complaint from Israel could automatically unleash denunciations from organized Jewish groups and that the New York primary was less than four weeks away. That night, President Carter said the vote was a mistake, largely because of its references to "occupied" Jerusalem. But since the United States had earlier voted for that language in the General Assembly, U.N. diplomats regarded the explanation as a thin cover for domestic politics.

Even in private, Mr. McHenry loyally supports the official view that somehow Mr. Vance and Mr. Carter misunderstood each other. The disputed resolution, Mr. McHenry has said, accurately expressed American policy. The trouble was that this policy was not supposed to be expressed in public — at least not before the New York primary.

Mr. McHenry then became the target of an intense, if brief, media campaign to label him as a foe of Israel and a naïve supporter of Arab and other third-world na-

tions. Indeed, according to officials in the State Department and at least one Israeli diplomat, the campaign was orchestrated by Israel's Washington Embassy, a bureaucratic ploy to explain away its failure to stop the vote. Mayor Koch, in an interview with The New York Post, capped the affair. He called Mr. McHenry and Mr. Young, "third-world oriented and viciously anti-Israel." For good measure, the Mayor included Mr. Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski in the "anti-Israel" camp. The Secretary of State is said to have then called Mayor Koch and questioned his ancestry in terms not usually employed by a senior partner in Simpson Thacher & Bartlett. Mr. McHenry also telephoned the Mayor but was, characteristically, restrained. "I told him I was disgusted with him. I told him I'd be glad to talk with him any time he wished. He said he was using colorful language. It was irresponsible language. The Mayor and a few others were out making statements that could very easily have increased friction in our society."

Although Mr. McHenry has abstained several times since then on Security Council votes rebuking Israel and has vetoed one resolution that called for the creation of a Palestinian state, the belief persists in some New York circles that he tilts toward the third world and the Arabs.

"I think I have a pretty realistic view of the third-world countries," he says. "They bring to the modern world hang-ups growing out of their past, a whole series of things one can't be naïve about. On the other hand, I don't believe in confrontation politics; I don't believe in name-calling. I do believe in communication with them, in stating my views, listening to theirs, respecting their views, expecting them to respect mine. I don't believe their problems can be solved in some East-West lens. I'm not surprised, as Senator Moynihan was, that the third world would speak out on Afghanistan [against the Soviet invasion]. After all, it's a non-aligned country. The third world is jealous of its own recently won sovereignty."

His scorn for "confrontation politics" was an oblique reference to Mr. Moynihan, whose blunt U.N. attacks on what he

saw as the hypocritical assaults of dictatorial third-world nations against American and Israeli democracies first led to and then lost him the job Mr. McHenry now holds.

But above all, it is the pro-Arab and anti-Israel label that pains Mr. McHenry. "There's a great deal of stereotyping and prejudice on the Middle East by all parties," he asserts. "The Mayor has made it very clear that all blacks are anti-Jewish. Why are you anti-Jewish because you're black? Now that's stupid. Now, similarly, I think many Arabs make the same mistake. Because you are black, you must be pro-Arab. You must somehow have some kind of sympathy for their problem, from their point of view. You take a great deal of heat in this kind of situation if you try and deal with the problem on its merits."

Daniel Moynihan is as well qualified as any to judge Mr. McHenry's alleged softness on Arabs and developing countries. He says: "We should use the U.N. in a tough-minded way. McHenry tries to. The fact is he got better votes from the U.N. than we've had in years. It's largely a question of events. The third world was scared by Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea [Cambodia] and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. But credit to the man who got those votes."



Before the fiasco over the Israeli settlements, Donald McHenry demonstrated that the classic anti-American majority of the third world and the Soviet bloc was far more fragile than generally thought. Moreover, he had made his point operating quietly from behind the scenes rather than leading the charge out front.

He was able to block Cuba from a seat on the Security Council that Havana was convinced it would own. After all, the Cubans currently lead the 92 nations who group themselves as nonaligned and could count on the backing of the Soviet Union and its friends. The confident Cubans sent Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli to New York to nail down their triumph. But after 154 ballots, the Cubans were still short of the two-thirds in the General Assembly they needed for election.

Donald McHenry had found

enough third-world nations who regard Havana as another voice for Moscow and, with some Latin and Western countries, they composed a blocking third. At one critical point, when it looked as if Cuba were coming close, Mr. McHenry quietly called the attention of U.N. officials to some suspicious double counting. The Cuban vote promptly fell back.

The automatic majority also crumbled over Afghanistan. The Russians vetoed a Security Council resolution deploing their invasion and demanding the withdrawal of their troops. But this promptly led to an emergency session of the Assembly. Again, with Mr. McHenry playing an unobtrusive backstage role, the Assembly condemned the Russians by an overwhelming 104 to 18, with most of the non-aligned nations swelling the total.

Earlier, over strong Soviet protests, the Assembly voted 91 to 21 to urge the withdrawal of foreign troops — meaning Vietnam's — from Cambodia.

Mr. McHenry's tact, his role as quiet American, has been appreciated at the U.N., and, ultimately, in Washington. An Asian diplomat who played a central role in the Cambodian affair says it was vital for the United States to be "self-effacing. We didn't want to be seen as stooges of the West in an East-West struggle," and he praised Mr. McHenry for "even consulting us on whether to speak." In Washington, a high official said that "Don persuaded us against trying to take over every show, to recognize you've got friends and step aside. That's sometimes hard. We're a take-charge people. Don sold the President and the bureaucracy, against considerable odds, that it was possible to get support in the U.N."

Mr. McHenry placed his stamp most firmly on the steady buildup of support in the Security Council for the limited pressure the world body exerts to seek the release of the American hostages in Iran. All nations communicate through diplomats and all have a vested interest in the free movement of their envoys. But the Soviet Union sees Iran as a target of opportunity, a critical nation lost to the American orbit and ripe for inclusion in the Soviet world. Moslem countries on

the Council could sympathize with the plight of the hostages but Iran's Islamic revolution touched off echoing strains in their restive populations. Third-world nations generally are reluctant to punish their

fellows at the behest of a superpower, regardless of the issue. Mr. McHenry's patient labors won a unanimous council declaration calling for the urgent release of the hostages.

Anything stronger, however, such as a call to cut off trade with Iran, was heading for trouble, not only with the Soviet Union and Moslem states, but all third-world countries and even Western Europe. Mr. McHenry, moreover, also had a problem in Washington. The Carter Administration wanted to push ahead swiftly with the greatest possible pressure, or at least make pressure publicly visible. (Since Washington had frozen Iran's assets in the United States, Teheran could buy nothing here and so an effective ban on purchases in the United States had already been established.) At one point, Donald McHenry won an 11 to 0 vote in the Council to impose sanctions if the hostages were not released in a week. He had collected five third-world votes and persuaded two Moslem nations plus the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia to abstain. He had also persuaded Washington to wait for a week while Secretary General Kurt Waldheim made his futile trip to seek the hostages' freedom.

Abdalla Y. Bishara of Kuwait is one of those half-dozen envoys from small countries who exercise an outsize measure of influence at the U.N. because of sheer force of personality and intellect. At that time, he was also a Council member, a Moslem, the representative of a Persian Gulf state, and strongly opposed to sanctions. He was particularly courted by the United States chief delegate. Mr. McHenry met Mr. Bishara in his office at the United States Mission and laid out the arguments both for and against sanctions. He also reviewed the strengths and weaknesses of Mr. Bishara's position. It was a vintage performance, a demonstration of realism and willingness to absorb another point of view.

The other day Mr. Bishara recalled: "McHenry's handling of Iran was excellent. This was a crisis regulated for his qualities, coolness, composure. He was not necessarily convincing, but persevering. It didn't require revolutionary or original characteristics [which Mr. Bishara admires in Mr. Young]. He was masterful because of the equipment he had." In the end, Mr. Bishara abstained, but he did not vote against the American stand. That vote was taken when the deadline passed. Mr. McHenry again picked up five third-world votes on the sanctions question but his work was nullified by a Soviet veto.

To be sure, triumphs at the glass and concrete palace of the U.N. are, more often than not, in the eye of the beholder. There is an unmistakably abstract quality about the votes. The triumphant resolutions have not removed a Vietnamese soldier from Cambodia or dislodged a Soviet tank from Afghanistan. At this writing, the hostages are still unfree. The world will not cut off trade with Iran, although a few European allies are making some gestures of limited utility. The exchange value of Iranian oil and the political temptations offered by a revolution on the

loose are far stronger than any words uttered in the chambers on the East River. Israel and South Africa ignore scores of resolutions demanding they mend their ways.

This, however, may be too literal a measure of what Mr. McHenry and the others do. The U.N. manufactures climate, atmosphere, stage setting. No nation, even the Soviet Union, relishes the degree of isolation implied in a condemnation of five to one. Moscow prefers to see itself as the sword and shield of the third world, not the object of its fear.

Mr. McHenry himself, as deputy to Mr. Young, spent more than two years laboriously constructing an arrangement to end the guerrilla war in Namibia, or South-West Africa, and to bring about elections under U.N. supervision. The elections have still not taken place. South Africa is in no hurry to give up control. But someday, somehow, something like Donald McHenry's intervention could be employed to bring peace and independence.

Similarly, Mr. Waldheim's unsuccessful commission of inquiry in Teheran could be resurrected. When Iran's internal politics finally permit the captives' release, the panel and its suppressed statement of Teheran's grievances may be a necessary part of the drama's last act. Again, the growing support in the U.N. for the Palestine Liberation Organization has, if anything, spurred Israeli settlements in the occupied lands. But it has also raised fresh questions about Israeli policy both in the United States and in Israel. Once the American election is over, there may be new pressure to "fulfill the legitimate rights of the Palestinians," the phrase used by Mr. McHenry nearly a year ago.

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For all his skill in quiet negotiation, Donald McHenry is a remote man who keeps people at a distance. "He lacks warmth, amiability," says an Asian diplomat. Mr. McHenry talks in carefully measured tones, weighing each word. He seems almost incapable of spontaneity. An Arab diplomat who has studied them both says, "Andy Young is the U.N. charter — McHenry is the rules of procedure."

He knows that others see him as a model of prudence, speaking with extraordinary restraint. "It's not something which is just here on the job," he says, and adds with a smile, "My children say the same thing when I'm at home." Mr. McHenry's former wife, Mary, an English teacher and associate dean of studies at Mount Holyoke, explains it this way: "We are a very private people. All of us blacks who grew up in the 40's, 50's and 60's had very little opportunity to be ourselves. Think about what that meant. You didn't have the chance to fail. You didn't have the luxury of a misstep. We didn't have the bonding experience. It was loneliness, more than you can describe."

Mr. McHenry is both sensitive to slight and fiercely insistent on being valued for himself and not his color. At a press conference after the disavowed vote, he showed

emotion only once. A black reporter asked if he and Andrew Young were victims of a State Department plot "to denigrate black ambassadors." In heavy, deliberate tones, he replied, "I do not want to identify myself or my predecessor as the 'black ambassador' of the United States. I represent the United States Government and speak for it, and when I speak, it is the policy of the United States Government."

Nevertheless, black experience was etched into his character literally from the moment of his birth. In 1936, maternity wards in his native East St. Louis, a grim industrial town, were closed to blacks. So Dora McHenry had to cross the Missouri River to bear Donald in St. Louis, then carry him back home to the unpaved street where he grew up. The McHenrys were poor. His father, Limas, who now works in the Ford Company's frame plant in River Rouge, walked out before Donald was 5. His mother supported the three children. "I can remember a couple of times when there was no food; there were several crisis points, no food, no money," he says. But his mother, "a superior cook," would bring home samples from the advertising agency where she worked testing recipes and preparing food for ads. He remembers drinking Pet Milk from coffee jars.

Dora McHenry imposed firm discipline. While she worked, the children could not leave the yard to play in the street. Donald obeyed, but his younger brother, Jerry, would slip away. "He was the most venturesome," Mr. McHenry

recalls, "and the grapevine passed the word so he'd get back in time." Jerry is now a policeman in East St. Louis. Their sister, Charlotte, an ex-school teacher, is a housewife in Lexington, Mass. "People thought we thought that we were much better than they were because we wouldn't associate on the street with them," Mr. McHenry says. "But it wasn't particularly lonely. There were lots of cousins."

The well-behaved Donald delivered papers, ran errands for a grocery store, worked for a carpenter, learned to set type and run presses. That last helped pay his way through college. He did well in the all-black schools he attended. He was president of his senior class, and his schoolmates predicted that he would become "President of the United States," but then, with the bitter self-mockery of black students in 1953, added "... Toothpick Company." He passed up scholarships to black colleges to go to the integrated Illinois State University in Normal. "My mother's philosophy was that you have got to get out there and compete now with those you will compete with all your life."

Inevitably, he was drawn into the fringes of the civil-rights movement, but there were no reckless rides to Mississippi. At first, rights were a practical matter. There weren't enough dormitories at Illinois State and the white landlords in town would not rent to blacks. Working as usual through channels, Mr. McHenry "got together with a couple of deans, put together a little meeting and persuaded two or three white houses to be opened to blacks." By his senior year, he had formed a chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. and become its president. But, unlike other bright blacks of his time, this was not to be his life's work. "It never interested me," he says. "I finally decided everybody had his contribution to make and mine was in foreign affairs. I recognized that everybody has a different role to play. Each marches to a different drum."

He went on to graduate school at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, teach-

ing speech, coaching the debate team and studying international affairs. Adlai Stevenson had long been his model public servant. "I was fascinated with his approach, the intellectual possibilities he took to it. There was something about Stevenson that encouraged believing in him. It wasn't that substantive. Here's a man who is trying honestly and intellectually."

From Southern Illinois, he moved closer to the center of foreign policy making, to Georgetown in Washington for a doctorate that still lacks a thesis. Mr. McHenry supported himself by teaching speech and coaching debate at Howard University.

Somewhere in Washington, he met Harlan Cleveland, a former Stevenson aide and then Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, the office that oversees the United States relationship with the U.N. It was 1963 and the State Department was looking for able blacks. Harlan Cleveland had no trouble recruiting Mr. McHenry. "I was eager," he recalls, and he began at the bottom, a young officer looking at such recondite areas as Rhodesia and the United States Trust islands in the Pacific.

Mr. McHenry spent eight years in the State Department and never left Foggy Bottom. He helped prepare a brief for the International Court of Justice but it failed to win a ruling that could have paved the way for Namibia's still frustrated independence. He labored, unsuccessfully, to give Micronesians, the residents of the Pacific Trust islands, a greater voice in their destiny. Despite his conspicuous nonsuccess, his careful, detailed work brought State Department awards and promotion to special assistant to the Secretary of State, William P. Rogers.

But he suffered with Mr. Rogers as Henry Kissinger, the national security adviser, remorselessly stripped State of power. Mr. McHenry was angered by the treatment of Richard F. Pedersen, William Rogers's counselor, whose telephone was tapped. That, he said, "comes very close to bugging the Secretary of

State." He was disgusted by "this hideous invasion" of Cambodia in 1971.

Others in the department left with angry protests. That is not McHenry's way. "If I thought going with a bang would contribute to the principle I feel strongly about, then I'd do it," he said. "If, on the other hand, I'm in a situation where a difference occurs among reasonable men and I'm not being heard, I don't see any value in going with the bang. You don't burn your bridges. I hoped to go back."

So he left quietly to wait for change, stopping at pillars of the foreign-policy establishment, writing a book — "Micronesia: Trust Betrayed" — teaching and lecturing (at the Brookings Institution, the Council on Foreign Relations, the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace). Mr. McHenry returned to the State Department with the return of a Democratic Administration.

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Today, Donald McHenry fills his long day meeting, talking, reading and editing cables, conferring with his staff (two sessions daily with his press counselor, Jill Schuker, and one with his four deputy delegates). He carefully puts aside each Monday for a trip to Washington to touch base with power, the Secretary of State or the President. As a Cabinet member, he insists on seeing Mr. Carter alone. He also reaches him with crisp, one-page memos.

He endures but does not like the cocktails-and-dinner life that flows around the U.N. He insists on two weekday nights with his daughters, Elizabeth, 15, and Christina, 16, who live with him at the decorator-furnished, overstuffed apartment that the Government provides its chief U.N. delegate on the 42d floor of the Waldorf-Astoria.

Mr. McHenry and his former wife have joint custody of the girls. She is as reluctant as he to discuss their breakup, but insists there is still "a close family bond" and "we all watch out terribly for Don." Mary McHenry does acknowledge that it is the searing

memory of his own father's desertion that drove Donald to insist on assuming the chief responsibility for the children. Indeed, Mr. McHenry is so bitter about his past that he has cut off telephone calls from his father and was angered when Ford public-relations men sent Limas McHenry to his son's swearing-in ceremony. Donald McHenry says firmly, "I think fathers have a responsibility."

For Mr. McHenry, who strides at a near run, there is always a schedule, a duty, a routine. A man who watched him with Andrew Young saw this difference: "If Andy was off to a meeting, say, with the British and the Patriotic Front, he would ask what hotel they were staying at and tell us to work the bar. He was looking for tools to relax people. Don wouldn't think in those terms. He'd want briefing books prepared and criticize them. He'd want talking points and make comments in the margin. Don would spend as much time preparing for the trip as the trip itself. Andy looked for ways to relax tensions."

Now the United States chief delegate starts another session at the General Assembly, a talkshop of 153 nations whose recommendations bind no one to anything but serve as a crude barometer of world opinion. If Ronald Reagan is elected President, Mr. McHenry will surely go. He may leave anyway. He frequently talks of becoming president of a small college. And he knows that from now to November, every move he makes will be dictated by the President's electoral needs. But if Jimmy Carter is re-elected, Donald McHenry may well be around for some time. You may not hear him, but in his own quiet way he will no doubt continue the frustrating task of trying to make some contribution to world peace. ■

1. CHARLES FERRIS...HENRY GELLER...DARLENE PALMER...LADIES & GENTLEMEN. /
2. WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE.
3. AS PRESIDENT I MUST MAKE MANY DIFFICULT DECISIONS IN THIS BLDG. EVERY DAY.
4. { IN ADDITION TO WEIGHING ALL THE FACTORS & DETAILS, *Electrostatic Copy Made  
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5. { I ASK 2 FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS IN EACH CASE --
6. { "WHAT EFFECT WILL MY DECISION HAVE ON INDIVIDUAL LIVES?"
7. { AND -- "WHAT WILL ITS EFFECTS BE ON THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY?" /
8. { THOSE WERE THE QUESTIONS I ASKED IN JANUARY OF 1978
9. { WHEN I ESTABLISHED THE MINORITY TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.
10. { I KNEW THAT MINORITIES SEEKING TO BE INVOLVED IN BROADCASTING
11. { FACED SUCH OBSTACLES AS OBTAINING INITIAL FINANCING...
12. { LACK OF TECHNICAL TRAINING...& A SHORTAGE OF AVAILABLE STATIONS TO BUY
13. { BECAUSE SO MANY WERE ASSIGNED LONG AGO. /

(=OVER=) (I ALSO KNEW.....)

1. { I ALSO KNEW THAT PARTICIPATION IN BROADCASTING WAS ESSENTIAL
2. { TO PROMOTING PROGRESS AMONG MINORITIES & THEIR ABILITY  
TO CONTRIBUTE TO OUR NATION'S FUTURE.
3. THEREFORE WE HAD TO HELP. /
4. THE PROGRAM HAS BEEN A COMPLETE SUCCESS.
5. { SINCE IT BEGAN, MINORITY OWNED & OPERATED FACILITIES
6. { HAVE INCREASED BY 100% -- FROM 62 TO 124.
7. { AT THE WHITE HOUSE THIS JULY, WE SPONSORED A SUCCESSFUL
8. { COMMERCIAL BROADCASTING & TECHNOLOGY CONFERENCE
9. { FOR MINORITY WOMEN FROM ACROSS THE NATION. /

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(=NEW CARD=) (WE ARE GOING....)

1. WE ARE GOING TO ACCELERATE THIS PROGRESS IN THE YEARS AHEAD.
2. { THE "FCC" UNDER CHAIRMAN FERRIS
3. { IS ACTING TO CREATE ABOUT 1000 NEW RADIO STATIONS.
4. JUST THIS WEEK THEY PROPOSED A NEW CLAS OF "TV" STATIONS.
5. { MANY OF THESE NEW STATIONS WILL BE TARGETED FOR MINORITY GROUPS,
6. { SO WE CAN CONTINUE TO INCREASE DIVERSITY IN OUR BROADCASTING SYSTEM. /
7. { THE KIND OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED BY YOUR PROGRAM
8. { CAN BE SEEN THROUGHOUT THIS ADMINISTRATION.
9. { FOR EXAMPLE, WE HAVE ALREADY MORE THAN DOUBLED
10. { THE AMOUNT OF FEDERAL BUSINESS GOING TO MINORITY-OWNED CONTRACTORS.
11. NOW WE ARE MOVING TO TRIPLE IT.

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for Preservation Purposes (=OVER=) (As you know,....)**

1. { AS YOU KNOW, THE SUPREME COURT HAS FINALLY RULED
2. { THAT THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A 10% SET-ASIDE FOR MINORITY BUSINESSES  
IS CONSTITUTIONAL.
3. { I AM PLEASED TO SAY THAT WE ARE ALREADY AHEAD OF THEM
4. { IN OUR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS --
5. { WHERE 18% NOW GOES TO MINORITY BUSINESS.
6. { WE HAVE ESTABLISHED AN APPRENTICESHIP ~~PROGRAM~~ PROGRAM
7. { IN GOVERNMENT FUNDED SCIENCE & ENGINEERING RESEARCH PROJECTS
8. { WHICH ALLOWS 1000 MINORITY HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES THIS SUMMER --
9. { AND 2000 NEXT SUMMER --
10. { TO WORK IN THE FIELDS OF TECHNOLOGY VITAL TO OUR NATION'S FUTURE.

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(=NEW CARD=) (I DON'T WANT....)

1. I DON'T WANT TO QUOTE A LOT OF STATISTICS TODAY,
2. { BUT AS YOU ALL KNOW VERY WELL
3. { IT CAN BE TOUGH TO GET YOUR MESSAGE ACROSS
4. { IF YOU DON'T OWN YOUR OWN BROADCASTING STATION.
5. { IF THERE IS ANY ONE SINGLE STATISTIC MORE IMPORTANT TO OUR NATION'S FUTURE
6. { THAT WAS COMPILED DURING MY ADMINISTRATION, IT IS THIS:
7. { IN 3½ YEARS AS PRESIDENT
8. { I HAVE ALREADY APPOINTED MORE BLACKS & WOMEN & HISPANICS
9. { TO THE FEDERAL BENCH & TO OTHER POSITIONS OF AUTHORITY IN OUR GOVT.
10. { THAN ANY OTHER PRESIDENT IN HISTORY. /

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for Preservation Purposes**

(=OVER=) (THESE ARE NOT....)

1. THESE ARE NOT JUST MY VICTORIES -- THEY ARE OURS,
2. AND I NEED YOUR HELP IN ANOTHER ESSENTIAL BATTLE RIGHT NOW.
3. THE YOUTH EMPLOYMENT BILL WILL OPEN CAREERS FOR 2½ MILLION YOUNG PEOPLE.
4. IF WE IN GOVT. WANT YOUNG PEOPLE TO HAVE FAITH IN US,
5. WE MUST KEEP FAITH WITH THEM.
6. { WHEN THE LEADERS OF CONGRESS WERE HERE FOR BREAKFAST YESTERDAY
7. { I CALLED IT MY MOST IMPORTANT LEGISLATIVE PRIORITY.
8. IT HAS PASSED THE HOUSE.
9. WILL YOU HELP ME GET IT THROUGH THE SENATE? /

(=NEW CARD=) (NONE OF.....)

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for Preservation Purposes**

1. { NONE OF THESE IMPORTANT FIGHTS --
  2. { INCLUDING THE ONE REPRESENTED BY YOU HERE TODAY -- ARE EVER EASY,
  3. { ONLY A FEW WEEKS AGO PRESIDENT MUGABE STOOD IN THIS ROOM
  4. { AND JOINED US IN CELEBRATING A GREAT VICTORY --
  5. { THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE.
  6. TODAY WE TOO CELEBRATE GREAT PROGRESS.
  7. { I AM PLEASED TO RENEW MY COMMITMENT
  8. { TO OUR MINORITY TELECOMMUNICATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM --
  9. { AND KEEPING THIS COUNTRY MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION
- FOR MANY YEARS TO COME.

# # #

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

Rick/Patti --

I've given a copy to  
Cynthia Wilkes Smith  
for Jack, just not knowing  
timeliness of it.

--SSC

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

*file*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9-11-80

Jack.  
Re Sean Hewitt. Bd  
Do not make any  
implied promises or  
commitments to anyone.  
See me re philosophy  
of composition  
J.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

Mr. President:

According to Arnie Miller, this certificate is part of an arrangement negotiated with Peter Solomon to persuade him to work at Treasury without actually receiving a Presidential appointment. The certificate is unique.

Jack Watson recommends that you sign it.

Rick

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

Why?  
J

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

JODY POWELL

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

Rick Hutcheson

ANNE WEXLER  
PHIL WISE  
FRAN VOORDE  
BOB MADDOX ✓

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

ACTION  
FYI

*cc maddox*

|  |              |
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|  | ADMIN CONFID |
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|---|----------------|
|   | VICE PRESIDENT |
|   | JORDAN         |
|   | CUTLER         |
|   | DONOVAN        |
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|   | EIZENSTAT      |
|   | MCDONALD       |
|   | MOORE          |
| / | POWELL         |
|   | WATSON         |
|   | WEDDINGTON     |
| / | WEXLER         |
|   | BRZEZINSKI     |
|   | MCINTYRE       |
|   | SCHULTZE       |
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|   | ANDRUS         |
|   | ASKEW          |
|   | BERGLAND       |
|   | BROWN          |
|   | CIVILETTI      |
|   | DUNCAN         |
|   | GOLDSCHMIDT    |
|   | HARRIS         |
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|   | MILLER     |
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|   | CLOUGH     |
|   | FIRST LADY |
|   | HARDEN     |
|   | HERTZBERG  |
|   | HUTCHESON  |
|   | KAHN       |
|   | MARTIN     |
|   | MILLER     |
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|   | RECORDS    |
|   | SANDERS    |
|   | SHEPPARD   |
|   | SPETH      |
|   | STRAUSS    |
|   | TORRES     |
| / | VOORDE     |
| / | WISE       |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

9/11/80

Mr. President:

Phil Wise concurs.

Rick

September 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM

JODY POWELL *JP*  
ANNE WEXLER *AW*  
BOB MADDOX *BM*

SUBJECT

INTERVIEW FOR RELIGIOUS TELEVISION

We think it important that you do an interview for religious television. The interview would focus on you as a man of faith seeking to reveal Jimmy Carter the person. Conservative Christians need to hear your views accurately and will not without such an interview.

Harold Bredeson, whom you have met and who conducted the highly acclaimed interviews with President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin, has requested to do such an interview for thirty minutes on September 19. He is a great admirer of yours and would conduct the session in such a way that you will be shown in a most favorable light.

We would be able to work with Mr. Bredeson on the questions to be asked along the following lines:

Describe your personal spiritual pilgrimage over the last few years.

How has your Christian faith worked itself out since you have been in the White House?

What kind of spiritual conflict have you experienced?

What is your vision for the church in the next few years?

What is your vision for the country?

How do you maintain yourself spiritually? Do you have people who pray with you?

What place does the family have in your life?

Then he would explore your views on the "flag" moral issues such as prayer in public schools, abortion, homosexuality and ERA.

We also suggest that Jim Bakker and Pat Robertson sit in on the interview. They will not participate in the questioning but their presence on camera would add great strength to the interview.

Both PTL and CBN would give full play to the interview. They would show it on their networks and make it available to other religious television stations around the country. Arrangements can also be made to make a special audio tape for radio stations.

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

Include Jim Bakker and Pat Robertson \_\_\_\_\_ ✓ \_\_\_\_\_

Do not include Jim Bakker and Pat Robertson \_\_\_\_\_



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ID 804477

THE WHITE HOUSE

PAGE A01

WASHINGTON

DATE: 09 SEP 80

FOR ACTION: FRAN VOORDE

PHIL WISE ✓

INFO ONLY: JACK WATSON

THE FIRST LADY

SUBJECT: MEMO FROM JODY POWELL, ANNE WEXLER, AND BOB MADDOX RE  
INTERVIEW FOR RELIGIOUS TELEVISION

+++++

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

+ BY: 1200 PM THURSDAY 11 SEP 80 +

+++++

ACTION REQUESTED:

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

*If Jody concurs - ok  
R/wh*

September 8, 1980

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JODY POWELL *JP*  
ANNE WEXLER *AW*  
BOB MADDOX *BM*

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Approve \_\_\_\_\_

Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

Include Jim Bakker and Pat Robertson

\_\_\_\_\_

Do not include Jim Bakker and Pat Robertson

\_\_\_\_\_

ID 804477

T H E W H I T E H O U S E

PAGE A01

WASHINGTON

DATE: 09 SEP 80

FOR ACTION: FRAN VOORDE

PHIL WISE

INFO ONLY: JACK WATSON

THE FIRST LADY

SUBJECT: MEMO FROM JODY POWELL, ANNE WEXLER, AND BOB MADDOX RE  
INTERVIEW FOR RELIGIOUS TELEVISION

+++++  
+ RESPONSE DUE TO RICK HUTCHESON STAFF SECRETARY (456-7052) +  
+ BY: 1200 PM THURSDAY 11 SEP 80 +  
+++++

ACTION REQUESTED: YOUR COMMENTS

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

PLEASE NOTE OTHER COMMENTS BELOW:

|                                     |                           |
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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | FOR STAFFING              |
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ACTION  
FYI

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