

Foreign Policy Issues-Work Plans, 6/77

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Not to
Given
President

6/25/77

WORK PLAN: MIDDLE EAST

GENERAL POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

- The President's public position on the Middle East contains elements which previously had been discussed only privately.
- Until the Vice President spoke in San Francisco, the President had been out front alone on the Middle East issue.
- There is widespread concern in the American Jewish community over the President's positions on Israel.
- For many intellectual, financial, and political reasons, the Jewish community enjoys a special position of influence and respect in the American political system.
- The "Jewish lobby" has unsurpassed ability in Congress, and has no political counterforce.
- Our political position in relation to the American Jewish community and the Israeli government is now fluid (some say turbulent); it is likely to remain that way until Begin's visit here, probably in mid-July.
- We should not expect the American Jewish community to urge the Begin government to moderate its positions.
- An "unreasonable" Begin government could jeopardize public support for Israel.

CONGRESSIONAL ASSESSMENT

--Mark Siegel's assessment of the Senate attitudes is shown on the following page. The assessment shows:

Hard Support/Leadership	
Role	30
Very Sympathetic	43
Questionable	24
Negative	3

SENATE ASSESSMENT ON MIDDLE EAST

Hard Support/ Leadership Role	Very Sympathetic	Questionable	Negative
Anderson	Allen	Bartlett	Abourezk
Bayh	Baker	Bellmon	McClure
Brooke	Biden	Burdick	Hatfield
Bentsen	Byrd, H.	Eastland	
Case	Byrd, R.	Garn	
Church	Bumpers	Goldwater	
Cranston	Cannon	Griffin	
Danforth	Chafee	Hansen	
DeConcini	Chiles	Hatch	
Dole	Clark	Helms	
Eagleton	Culver	Hollings	
Glenn	Curtis	Long	
Heinz	Domenici	McClellan	
Humphrey	Durkin	McGovern	
Inouye	Ford	Melcher	
Jackson	Gravel	Metcalf	
Javits	Hart	Schmidt	
McIntyre	Haskell	Scott	
Matsunaga	Hathaway	Stennis	
Metzenbaum	Hayakawa	Sparkman	
Moynihan	Huddleston	Thurmond	
Morgan	Johnston	Wallop	
Packwood	Kennedy	Young	
Ribicoff	Laxalt	Hatfield	
Riegle	Leahy		
Sarbanes	Lugar		
Schweiker	Magnuson		
Stone	Mathias		
Williams	Muskie		
Zorinsky	Nelson		
	Nunn		
	Pearson		
	Pell		
	Percy		
	Proxmire		
	Randolph		
	Roth		
	Sasser		
	Stafford		
	Stevens		
	Talmadge		
	Tower		
	Weicker		

CONGRESSIONAL ASSESSMENT (continued)

--Frank Moore reports that a number of Senators privately have told him that "the time has come to stand with the President on the Middle East."

--The American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) can translate Jewish leadership consensus into an immediate major campaign of telegrams, telephone calls, and letters.

MIDDLE EAST CALENDAR

June 27-30

Possible Arab Summit to coordinate strategy.

July 5-7

Begin visits Washington.

Mid-July

OPEC Conference on oil prices in Stockholm.

July 18-22

Vance visits Middle East.

August

Possible pre-Geneva consultations in Washington or elsewhere.

Late September

UN General Assembly - Vance will meet Foreign Ministers of Middle East countries.

In addition, there may be an Arab move to call for a United Nations Security Council debate on the Middle East in July.

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN

A clear political and public education strategy will probably not be discernible until after Begin's visit to the United States. In the interim, we should have the following two objectives:

--The President and Vice President should remain in constant personal contact with key Senators: Humphrey, Jackson, Muskie, Ribicoff, Case, Javits, Church and Stone.

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN (continued)

- A program of extensive consultation with Jewish leadership should be begun.

These objectives are discussed in more detail below:

Personal Contact with Key Senators

These meetings and discussions are underway.

Responsibility: Jordan

Consultation with Jewish Leadership

- Begin the Middle East Policy Consultation Program, which is attached.

Responsibility: Siegel

President's Decision:

Schedule Time as Shown _____

Other:

- Send Administration spokesperson to meetings shown on the attached Calendar of Jewish Events.

Responsibility: Siegel

- Centralize Jewish schedule requests and meeting assignments.

Responsibility: Siegel

- Brief the Jewish press periodically.

Responsibility: Wurfel

- Monitor coverage of Administration policy in the Jewish press, and respond to inaccurate coverage.

Responsibility: Wurfel, Siegel

JEWISH POLICY CONSULTATION

	President	Vice-President	Secretary of State	Secretary of Defense	NSC Adviser	Sun
Week 1	Working session with key members of the United States Senate ¹ (1 hour)	Same as President	Briefing for House Committee on International Relations	-	-	
Week 2	Briefing #1 for leaders of national Jewish organizations (1 hour)	Working session with key members of the House ²	-	-	Coordinates President's briefing	
Week 3	Briefing #1 for key members of the Jewish press (1 hour)	Briefing #2 for leaders of national Jewish organizations	Briefing New York City	-	Coordinates briefings	Brief Miami and
Week 4	Drop-in meeting with lay leaders Group #1 (30 minutes)	Briefing #2 for key members of the Jewish press	-	Briefing Los Angeles	Coordinates briefings	

¹Jackson, Humphrey, Ribicoff, Javits, etc.

²Jewish members of the House and members with sizable Jewish constituencies

	President	Vice-President	Secretary of State	Secretary of Defense	NSC Adviser	Subj.
Week 5	Drop-in meeting with lay leaders Group #2 (30 minutes)	Briefing <u>Boston</u>	-	-	Coordinates briefing	Briefing Baltimore Lipshutz Eizens
Week 6	-	Drop-in meeting with lay leaders Group #3	Briefing <u>Chicago</u>	-	Coordinates briefing	-
Week 7	Drop-in meeting with lay leaders Group #4 (30 minutes)	-	-	Briefing <u>Detroit</u>	Coordinates briefing	Briefing Philadelphia
Week 8	-	Briefing <u>Cleveland</u>	-	-	Briefing <u>Washington</u>	-

CALENDAR OF JEWISH EVENTS

- June 20-23 Rabbinical Council of America Annual Convention, Pine View Hotel,
Fallsburg, New York
- June 20-23 Central Conference of American Rabbis -- Grossingers, Liberty N.Y.
- June 24-26 Young Israel 65th Annual Convention -- Irvington Hotel,
Lakewood, New Jersey
- July 6-13 Zionist Organization of America -- 80th Annual National
Convention, Israel
- July 31-Aug 7 Jewish War Veterans National Convention -- Diplomat Hotel,
Hollywood, Florida
- Aug 7-10 Mizrahi-Hapoel Hamizrachi - Los Angeles, California
- Aug 21-24 Hadassah National Convention -- New York
- Sept 8-11 Israel Bonds National Leadership Conference, Atlanta Georgia
- October 2 American Technion Society National Dinner -- New York
- Oct 16-19 Pioneer Women National Convention -- D.C. (VP asked to be speaker)
- Oct 30-Nov 3 World Jewish Congress General Council Meeting, D.C.
- Nov 9-13 Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds General Assembly,
Dallas, Texas (Pres asked to be speaker, thrust of mtg on Energy)
- Nov 13-17 United Synagogue of America Biennial Convention, Concord Hotel,
Kiamesha Lake, New York
- Nov 18-23 Union of American Hebrew Congregations -- San Francisco, Calif
- December 8-11 United Jewish Appeal Annual Conference, New York
- Jan 22-25 National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council Annual
Meeting, Tucson, Arizona

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO HAMILTON JORDAN
LONDON BUTLER

FROM: LAURIE LUCEY *h*

DATE: JULY 27, 1977

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATION AND
SPEAKING SCHEDULES

Senate Consultation

Vice President Mondale, Secretary Vance and Secretary Brown have begun meeting with members of the Senate to discuss their foreign policy concerns.

As you know, the Vice President met last week with Senators Culver, Leahy and Hart. The Senators were more concerned about the general state of Executive-Legislative consultation on foreign policy matters than on any specific foreign policy issue.

They feel that the Senate on most issues is not consulted early on in the decision-making process when possibilities for accommodation exist; they are consulted after a Presidential decision has been made and the issue is polarized. They also feel that they're not consulted adequately before a Presidential decision is announced.

None of this is new, of course, and the meeting which brought out these criticism is a part of the consultation procedure we have established to meet the criticism in the first place.

What is new, or at least important to point out, is that the Senators would like more direct contact with the Assistant Secretaries of State and Defense for Legislative Affairs. None of the Senators with whom the Vice President met even knew the name of the legislative liaison officer for the Defense Department. None of them had ever spoken with that person, and none of them have spoken with Doug Bennet.

Senator Culver thinks the liaison offices should have a checklist of Senators to be contacted well in advance of major foreign policy issues -- a list that would show where the opposition might lie in the Senate and that would examine the possibility for some sort of accommodation or neutralization

of those opposing the President's position.

Senator Leahy had specific remarks to make on the subject of a new treaty with Panama. He feels that the President is in a unique position to discuss in detail, before the American people (through fireside chats, press conferences, etc.), the situation in Panama and the reasons for supporting a new treaty. Leahy believes that the President will need to do this several times and that Senators should be notified in advance so that they can begin to generate interest and support around the country. *

Secretary Brown met recently with Senators Chafee, Stevens and Glenn. Their discussions did focus on specific foreign policy questions. I have attached a synopsis of the Senators' remarks.

Secretary Vance met with Senators Bentsen and Ford. I have not received information on those meetings.

I have not received information on any meetings scheduled by Dr. Brzezinski.

Speaking Schedules

Deputy Secretary of Defense Duncan at our request will visit North Dakota and Colorado in mid-August.

Senator Burdick indicated that he would not join Duncan in North Dakota because he believes that Panama will be the only issue discussed and the only attitude expressed will be in opposition to a new treaty.

Senator Haskell was pleased to hear that Duncan will speak in Colorado. A scheduling conflict, unfortunately, will preclude his presence on the platform with Duncan.

I have not yet heard whether Senator Hart will be able to accompany Duncan.

Army Secretary Alexander at our request will make a luncheon speech in Kansas City on August 16. He will discuss Panama among other issues.

Our campaign supporters in North Dakota, Colorado, and Kansas reportedly are very enthusiastic about the upcoming visits. The DNC is working with them to organize the events at which Duncan and Alexander will appear.

General George Brown and Charles Duncan tomorrow will speak to a senior Veterans of Foreign Wars group in Washington. They will discuss Panama and Korea.

Secretary Vance, Secretary Brown and Under Secretary Christopher each have agreed to travel to four swing states before October. None of them have yet committed to a specific date.

FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATIONMAJOR ISSUES/POSITIONS

<u>SENATOR</u> <u>DATE</u> <u>POST</u>	<u>PANAMA CANAL</u> <u>TREATY</u>	<u>KOREAN</u> <u>TROOP WITHDRAWAL</u>	<u>PRC - ROC</u> <u>RELATED</u> <u>ISSUES</u>	<u>NATO</u>	<u>CUBA</u>	<u>SALT</u>	<u>MIDEAST</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Chafee July 12 Sec Brown	Strong supporter of treaty. Willing to help influence others to support it.	Has reservations but will support program. Concerned about overall Western Pacific posture.	In our interest to normalize relations with PRC, try and find solution for ROC.	Should <u>not</u> draw down NATO.				Friend: meeting
Stevens July 14 Sec Brown	Feels grass roots level against treaty. Views of uniformed military very important. Doubted whether treaty will pass even in the face of meritorious arguments. Best time to attempt to get through Senate - after Nov 78 elections.	Senate will go along with President. Turning over equipment reasonable move. Issue is not number of troops but "symbolism".	Agrees long term U.S. interest are with bettering relations with the PRC.					
Glenn July 15 Sec Brown	On balance, in favor of treaty. Much work however required primarily at Grass Roots level to insure passage. There are "strong negative feelings on this emotional issue."	Very concerned about posture in the Pacific. However, he will go along with troop withdrawal. It won't be easy to get through the Senate.	Bucks effort by Administration to normalize relations with PRC. Has not given up however on a Two China concept. Something must be done to get around this problem.					Most concerned about our all Western Pacific allies. He shares uneasiness some of our Western Pacific allies.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN

I mentioned to you in an earlier memorandum our need to inventory our political resources, identify our objectives and coordinate our activities in pursuit of those objectives.

The following work plans are an attempt to do this on three critical foreign policy issues - SALT, Panama and the Mideast. It is important that you be generally aware of and supportive of our activities.

These are not policy groups. These are political working groups comprised of representatives from each of the affected institutions (State, NSC, Frank Moore's office, Jody's office, etc.). The plans presented here were developed in coordination with these people. They represent - we believe - our best effort to focus and coordinate our work.

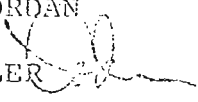
There are several decision points in the memorandum that you should approve.

Attachment

DECLASSIFIED
1988, 010, 340
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DECLASSIFICATION
DATE 6/12/90
WHITE HOUSE
J-7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM: LONDON BUTLER 

DATE: JUNE 25, 1977

SUBJECT: FOREIGN POLICY WORK PLANS

Last week, the President agreed to your suggestion that you "initiate a planning process that attempts to: 1) inventory our political resources; 2) develop a specific work plan for each foreign policy initiative that focuses on public education; and 3) develop an informal mechanism for the overall coordination of the process."

In order to initiate this planning process, I have drafted one work plan for Overall Foreign Policy Consultation, and three specific work plans for the Panama Canal, SALT, and the Middle East.

These work plans should provide a format for similar work plans on other foreign policy issues.

Our "political resources" for the plans included Joe Aragon, Mark Siegel, Betty Rainwater and myself; Rick Inderfurth and Jerry Schecter from the NSC; Doug Bennet, Bob Beckel and Jill Schuker from the State Department and Dan Tate and Bob Thompson from Frank's staff.

This group, plus others as needed, should serve as the "informal mechanism" for the overall coordination of the process. You should meet with the group once a week, and conduct the meetings from a prepared agenda.

For the most part, the work plans describe efforts which are already underway. There are, however, several points which should be approved by the President.

Specifically, the President should approve:

- The Foreign Policy Consultation schedule;
- The Panama Canal Citizens Committee concept;
- The General Advisory Committee on the ACDA list, and the meeting with SALT conservatives; and
- The Middle East Policy Consultation program.

In the work plans, those points requiring the President's approval are highlighted in red.

WORK PLANOVERALL FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATIONGENERAL POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

- The President's position on a variety of major foreign policy issues -- arms control, Korea, the Panama Canal, the Middle East, South Africa, etc. -- represent major changes and a new way of thinking for most Americans.
- For the most part, we have been able to neutralize Congressional efforts to repudiate the President's policies (Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, etc.); but the Senate has not been prepared to affirm the Administration's positions on these controversial issues, either.
- "Congress must be in on the take-offs as well as the crash-landings." (Frank Moore)
- An ad hoc approach to Congressional consultation inevitably gives the appearance of a worried White House responding to specific adverse events; further, Senators who sit on certain committees will be consulted time and time again, while many others will be ignored.
- Persuasion of Senators in Washington will be much easier if these Senators see evidence at home of support for our policies.

OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATION PLAN

If the above assumptions are correct, our overall foreign policy consultation plan should have the following three objectives:

- Begin a comprehensive consultation program with Congress, focused on the Senate as the ratifying body for treaties.
- Coordinate out-of-town speaking schedules of key Administration spokespersons to impact on states with swing Senate votes on foreign policy issues.

OVERALL FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATION PLAN (continued)

--Provide targeted out-of-town press briefings.

These objectives are discussed in more detail below.

Comprehensive Consultation Program

--The President, Vice President, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, and National Security Advisor should devote one hour per-week to general consultation with members of the Senate. The chart on the following page provides the framework for assignments. The President's portion of the schedule will be arranged by Dan Tate and Bob Thompson of Frank Moore's staff.

President's Decision:

Schedule OK _____

Modify Schedule _____

Other: _____

*Another, such
A schedule is o.k.
let me finish my meetings
with all Demo Senators. Then Reps
Represent. Congressmen,
Senators first -
J*

--Doug Bennet (Congressional Liaison at State) and Jerry Schecter (NSC) have begun scheduling meetings for Vance and Brzezinski. By the end of next week, schedules for the Vice President and Secretary Brown should be worked out.

Monitoring Responsibility: Lucey

Speaking Schedule:

We have begun to coordinate the schedules of Vance, Christopher, Brown and Duncan to insure that we take maximum advantage of their out-of-town speaking engagements. Specifically, we will:

--Prepare sample speeches, question-and-answer sheets, and other background material for Administration spokespersons.

FOREIGN POLICTY CONSULTATION

	PRESIDENT	VICE PRESIDENT	SECRETARY OF STATE	SECRETARY OF DEFENSE	NSC ADVISOR
Week 1	Nunn	Bumpers	Bentsen Ford	Glenn Chafee	Abourezk Heinz
Week 2	Stennis Talmadge	Hart Culver	Church Kennedy	Inouye Hollings	Griffin Domenici
Week 3	Sparkman Eastland	Leahy Mutsunaga	Muskie	Eagleton Clark	Durkin Danforth
Week 4	Ribicoff Long	Sarbanes Nelson	Case Bayh	Zorinsky Hathaway	Gravel Schweiker
Week 5	McClellan Cannon	Percy Stafford	Burdick Hatfield	Moynihan Lugar	Roth Young
Week 6	Morgan Sasser	Anderson Brooke	Mathias Stevenson	Magnuson Randolph	Goldwater Curtis
Week 7	Johnston Stone	Williams DeConcini	Biden McGovern	Packwood Weicker	Hayakawa Wallop
Week 8	Chiles Huddleston	Melcher Metcalf		Allen Byrd, H.	Schmitt Hansen
Week 9	McIntyre Haskell	Proxmire Pearson		Stevens Laxalt	
Week 10	Javits Metzenbaum	Reagle Pell		Tower Thurmond	

FOREIGN POLICY CONSULTATION

	President	Vice President	Secretary of State	Secretary of Defense	NSC Advisor
Week 1	Nunn	Moynihan	Bentsen Ford	Glenn Chafee	Abourezk Bumpers
Week 2	Stennis Talmadge	Hart Calver	Church Kennedy	Inouye Hollings	Griffin Domenici
Week 3	Sparkman Eastland	Leahy Matsunaga	Muskie	Eagleton Clark	Durkin Danforth
Week 4	Ribicoff Long	Sarbanes Nelson	Case Bayh	Zorinsky Hathaway	Gravel Schweicker
Week 5	McClellan Cannon	Percy Heinz	Burdick Hatfield	Stafford Lugar	Roth Young
Week 6	Morgan Sasser	Anderson Brooke	Mathias Stevenson	Magnuson Randolph	Goldwater Curtis
Week 7	Johnston Stone	Williams DeConcini	Biden McGovern	Packwood Pearson	Hayakawa Wallop
Week 8	Chiles Huddleston	Mohr Metcalf		Allen Byrd, H.	Schmitt Hansen
Week 9	McIntyre Haskell	Proxmire Weicker		Stevens Laxalt	
Week 10	Javits Metzenbaum	Reagle Pell		Tower Thurmond	

Speaking Schedules (continued)

- Schedule more speeches in states with swing Senate votes on key issues;
- Encourage home-state Senators to accompany Administration speakers to out-of-town events; and
- Insure that Administration speakers meet with local supporters who will in turn actively advocate the Administration position with their home-state Senator.

Responsibility: Rainwater, Lucey

Targeted Out-of-Town Press Briefings

Twice a month, the White House Press Office holds d^r -long briefings for out-of-town editors; the briefings in de a question-and-answer session with the President.

Walt Wurfel has begun to consult with the Press Secretaries of Senators with swing votes on important international issues in order to select the most influential editors in swing states.

Responsibility: Wurfel

WORK PLAN: PANAMA CANALGENERAL POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

- The Panama Canal Treaty will present an early clear-cut test of the President on a major foreign policy issue in the Congress. Foreign policy conservatives see the Canal Treaty as a dry run for SALT.
- Public opinion currently runs two-to-one against the Treaty.
- The Treaty will be vigorously oppose by the right-wing, probably with an organized direct mail campaign similar to the campaigns against Warrent and situs picketing. As of now, we have no comparable capability.
- In addition, based on the partisan efforts in Congress in recent weeks on Cuba and Korea, we can expect Republicans will be tempted to use the Treaty as a partisan issue to embarrass a Democratic President.
- The Treaty negotiations have received relatively little media attention. As of now, the Administration does not have a well-articulated public position on the Panama Canal Treaty. *on final position, No way until agreement reached. we can prepare plan.*
- The Treaty should be signed before Congress adjourns in mid-October -- the issue is too controversial to risk delaying debate until an election year. *I don't agree*
- We have 15-16 weeks to convince the Congress to sign the Treaty - during six of these weeks, Congress will be out of session. *help*
- There is some possibility of organized group support for the Treaty, particularly from the Council of the Americas; these groups, however, are untested.
- Deferral of the Canal and payments to Panama will be crucial Treaty issues. *True*

CONGRESSIONAL ASSESSMENT

--Doug Bennet's (State) current assessment of Senate support for the Treaty is attached. The assessment shows:

Likely to Support	27
Inclined to Support	21
Uncertain	20
Inclined Against	19
Opposed	13

(Needed to Ratify 67)

--Bennet feels that there is a fair possibility that Byrd may take the leadership on the Treaty and make it "his issue." However, we cannot afford to depend exclusively on Byrd.

--There appears to be a reasonable possibility of good bi-partisan support - Baker and Goldwater are both considered "inclined to support" by State.

PANAMA CANAL CALENDAR

July 1	Congressional "district work" begins.
July 9-11	Congress returns.
July 10-15	Best current guess for completion of conceptual agreement. (L.owitz/Bunker)
July 30	Best guess for <u>completion of Treaty</u> . - ?
August 5	Senate recesses.
August 6	House recesses.
September 6	House returns.
September 9	Senate returns.
October 9	Byrd <u>deadline for adjournment</u>

ASSESSMENT OF POSITIONS ON PANAMA

SUPPORT LIKELY	INCLINED TO SUPPORT	UNCERTAIN UNDECIDED	INCLINED AGAINST	OPPOSED
<u>DEMOCRATS</u>				
Chiles	Abourezk	Bumpers	Cannon	Allen
Church	Anderson	Burdick	Johnston	H. Byrd
Clark	Bentsen	DeConcini	McIntyre	Eastland
Cranston	Biden	Ford	Nunn	Long
Culver	Durkin	Haskell	Randolph	McClellan
Humphrey	Glenn	Hollings	Stone	
Hart	Gravel	Huddleston	Talmadge	
Hathaway	Matsunaga	Inouye	Zorinsky	
Kennedy	Melcher	Jackson	STANIS	
McGovern	Metcalf	Leahy		
Morgan	Metzenbaum	Magnuson		
Muskie	Proxmire	Moynihan		
Nelson	Sparkman	Sasser		
Pell	Williams			
Ribicoff	R. Byrd			
Riegle				
Sarbanes				
Strommen				
Tavel				
<u>REPUBLICANS</u>				
Borah	Baker	Bellmon	Bartlett	Curtis
Casper	Goldwater	Danforth	Domenici	Dole
Conrad	Packwood	Griffin	Hansen	Garn
Hathfield	Stafford	Heinz	Hatch	Helms
Javits	Weicker	Hayakawa	Roth	McClure
Mathias	Chafee	Schweiker	Tower	Schmitt
Pearson		Stevens	Laxalt	Scott
Percy			Lugar	Thurmond
			Wallop	
			Young	

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN

Assuring our assumptions, calendar, and Congressional assessment are accurate, then a political and public education plan for the Panama Canal Treaty issue should have four objectives:

- Develop immediately a well-articulated public position on the need for a fair Panama Canal Treaty.
- Prepare a tightly-organized Congressional strategy that recognizes our time limitations.
- Encourage targeted home-state activity when Congress is in recess.
- Generate adequate direct mail to Senators in late September and early October.

Each of these objectives is discussed in more detail below.

Public Position

- The completion of the conceptual agreement (probably in the first two weeks of July) will be the occasion for an announcement by the President, appearances by Administration officials on various talk shows, lengthy interviews in the press, and general media attention. At this point, we must be prepared to establish a themes of our position.

As of now, the themes of our case have not been established. I suggest that Jody Powell, Jerry Schecter, Jim Fallows, Jerry Rafshoon, Pat Caddell and Bob Pastor meet with Bunker and Linowitz as soon as possible to decide how best to articulate our position. ok

Responsibility: Powell, Schecter

- A Citizens Committee in support of the Panama Canal Treaty could help us improve our public position. Specifically, a committee of distinguished Americans could:
 - Establish a link with previous Administrations that have supported a Panama Canal Treaty;
 - Dramatize bi-partisan support; and
 - Speak in swing districts while Congress is at home. ok

Public Position (continued)

A detailed Citizens Committee plan appears on the following page.

President's Decision Required: (See Plan)

Congressional Strategy

--By the end of the week Doug Bennet's staff will touch all of the major bases in the Senate: Democratic leadership, Republican leadership, foreign policy group, defense group, Freshman class, etc.

--All Senators will be invited to large briefing sessions at the end of this week. Cranston is helping to organize these sessions.

--Immediately before the conceptual agreement is announced, every Senator will be briefed on the terms - this task will be divided among nine key Administration spokesmen. Bennet will assign briefing responsibilities.

--Twelve Senators will receive on-going briefings and special treatment. These Senators are Byrd, Cranston, Sarbanes, Humphrey, Jackson, Goldwater, Javits, Case, Morgan, Sparkman, Baker and Church.

--Bennet has also developed a briefing program for key House Democrats.

In summary, Bennet's strategy is as follows:

--Keep members of Congress thoroughly informed;

--Encourage Senator Byrd to take the lead; and

--With Byrd's help, obtain bi-partisan support.

Responsibility: Doug Bennet

Targeted Home State Activity

We plan two specific efforts to counteract right-wing pressure when key Senators are in their home states during Congressional recess:

--Working through the Council of the Americas and other inter state groups, we can encourage supporters in the home states of swing Senators to meet with their Senators at home and express their support for the Treaty.

PROPOSED

PANAMA CANAL

CITIZENS COMMITTEE*

MEMBERSHIP

David Rockefeller *or Irving Shapiro*

Ambassadors Bunker and Linowitz

Gerald Ford

Dean Rusk

George Wallace

Frank Borman

William F. Buckley

Governor Apodaca

Anne Armstrong

Bill Scranton

William Friday - Chancellor, University, North Carolina

Alexander Heard - President, Vanderbilt University

Alfredo Durand - Miami, Florida

Vilma Martinez - President, Mexican American Legal Defense
and Education Fund

Audrey Colom - President, National Women's Political Caucus

Joseph Jova - Former Ambassador to Mexico

Date of Announcement - Immediately after the conceptual
agreement is announced - this could be in July, but
the date is uncertain.

Responsibility: Aragon, Pastor

President's Decision:

Prepare Firm Proposal ✓ J

Abandon Concept _____

Other:

* This is the type of citizens committee that could be utilized to advocate passage of the Treaty. It would be a combination of national leaders from both parties (Gerald Ford and David Rockefeller) and persons who were influential with their home state Senators (Durand and Scranton). This is not a firm proposal but a concept. If you approve, we will identify leadership and let them proceed independent of us. The impetus must first come from us.

Targeted Home State Activity (continued)

- We can arrange targeted speaking events for key Administration spokespersons and members of the Citizens Committee. By scheduling important speaking engagements, we can create a focal point for pro-treaty comment and support.

Responsibility: Arágon, Pastor

Direct Mail

The direct mail requirement remains unsolved. There are two approaches we have discussed:

- Work with the Commerce Department, the Council of Americas, the DNC to identify local leadership (Chamber of Commerce presidents, local political leaders, local business and civic leaders, etc.) who will write their Senators in support of the Treaty.
- Establish an independent "Carter Coalition" which would take on the technical job of a large scale direct mail campaign. Phil Wise and I are both preparing memos on this subject now, and we may have our ideas further refined by the end of the week.

Neither of these approaches is likely to be adequate: the first because it will not produce mail in volume; and the second because time is so short.

This problem clearly needs serious attention.

Responsibility: Butler, Wise

WORK PLAN: SALTGENERAL POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

- SALT talks, in one stage or another, will continue throughout the Carter Administration.
- We are prepared to allow the present agreement to lapse on October 3rd if negotiations do not produce a satisfactory new agreement.
- SALT issues are extraordinarily complex: this complicates the task of public and congressional education.
- Senator Jackson and, to a lesser extent, Sam Nunn will dominate Senate debate on SALT.
- The number of persons who have a reasonable understanding of SALT issues is very small; most are long-time members of an "arms control establishment."
- Within the arms control establishment there is deep mistrust between liberals and conservatives on SALT issues. As the Warnke vote showed, this mistrust is potentially explosive.
- SALT "liberals" tend to support SALT unquestioningly; "conservative" critics are better prepared to ask the tough questions that can't be ignored.
- If the SALT agreement is controversial, we can expect a right-wing mail campaign (according to Senator Cranston, the mail campaign against Warnke cost us 5-6 votes).

CONGRESSIONAL ASSESSMENT

- Frank Moore's current assessment of Senate attitudes towards a SALT agreement is attached. The assessment shows:

SALT SENATE ASSESSMENT

PROBABLY SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	SOME CHANCE	NO CHANCE
Abourezk	Baker	Allen	Helms
Anderson	Ballmon	Bartlett	
Bayh	Bentsen	Byrd (Va.)	
Biden	Byrd	Chiles	
Brooke	Cannon	Curtis	
Bumpers	Chafee	Danforth	
Burdick	DeConcini	Dole	
Case	Glenn	Domenici	
Church	Hollings	Eastland	
Clark	Inouye	Ford	
Cranston	Jackson	Garn	
Culver	Magnuson	Goldwater	
Durkin	McClellan	Griffin	
Eagleton	Metcalf	Hanson	
Gravel	Melcher	Hatch	
Hart	Packwood	Hayakawa	
Haskell	Percy	Heinz	
Hatfield	Randolph	Huddleston	
Hathaway	Roth	Johnston	
Humphrey	Stafford	Laxalt	
Javits	Weicker	Long	
Kennedy	Young	Luger	
Leahy	Moynihan	McClure	
Mathias		Nunn	
Matsunaga		Schmitt	
McGovern		Schweiker	
McIntyre		Scott	
Metzenbaum		Stennis	
Morgan		Stevens	
Muskie		Stone	
Nelson		Talmadge	
Pearson		Thurmond	
Pell		Tower	
Proxmire		Wallop	
Riegle		Zorinsky	
Ribicoff			
Sarbanes			
Sasser			
Sparkman			
Stevenson			
Williams			

CONGRESSIONAL ASSESSMENT (continued)

Probable Support	41
Undecided	23
Some Chance	35
No Chance	1

(Needed to Ratify 67)

--We must consult with Senator Jackson at every turn, but we cannot assume that ultimately we will have his support.

--Senator Nunn and the younger Democratic moderates who will look to him for leadership (Morgan, Sasser, Stone, Johnston, Bumpers, etc.) represent the only identifiable block of swing votes on SALT.

--We might win in the Senate if Jackson opposes a treaty. We won't win if both Jackson and Nunn oppose.

SALT CALENDAR

Negotiations in Geneva will be continuously in session between now and October 3. Other important dates are:

Late June	Warnke discusses SALT with Deputy Foreign Minister Korniienko in Moscow.
June-September	SCC meetings on SALT every three or four weeks; informational SALT discussions with Dobrynin as required.
Mid-September	Meetings between Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko.
October 3	Expiration of the Interim Agreement Limiting Strategic Offensive Weapons.

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN

Assuming our assumptions, calendar, and Congressional assessment are accurate, then a political and public education plan for the SALT issue should have four objectives:

POLITICAL AND PUBLIC EDUCATION PLAN (continued)

- A Senate strategy which recognizes the role of Nunn and Jackson.
- A targeted public education plan which broadens the base of support for a SALT treaty.
- An impartial interest group liaison plan which keeps conservative critics informed and provides guidance to liberal groups that wish to be helpful.
- An adequate Senate direct mail plan for use if the treaty is contested.

Each of these objectives is discussed in more detail below.

Senate Strategy

- The President, Secretary Vance and Paul Warnke will continue to meet with Senator Jackson and the Senate leadership as necessary.
- Senator Nunn will receive special attention; dinner with the President, an early invitation to visit the Geneva negotiations, etc.
- Five pro-SALT Senators (Bumpers, Hart, Chafee, Culver, and Sarbanes) will continue (they have already been briefed twice) to be briefed in depth by the State Department.
- Swing Senators will be urged to visit the Geneva negotiations (Warnke has already issued a blanket invitation to the Senate). ??

Targeted Public Education Plan

- Reconstitute the General Advisory Committee of ACDA to reach out to geographic regions and groups which have not heretofore been included in the arms control debate. Warnke, Brown, and NSC agreed that this group could help influence swing Senate votes. A list of proposed members (which I've been reviewed and approved by Warnke and the NSC staff) is shown on the next page.

Note: The GAC is established by the ACDA legislation.

President's Decision Required: (See list)

Targeted Public Education Plan (continued)

--Jerry Rafshoon is working with a group of pro-disarmament organizations to produce a film which could be widely distributed to local civic groups, TV stations, etc. in swing states. *ok*

--Speaking engagements for Administration spokespersons and briefings for out-of-town press will be coordinated (see Overall Foreign Policy Consultation Work Plan). *ok*

Interest Group Liaison Plan

--Harold Brown should invite a number of "hard-line" leaders (Lane Kirkland, Paul Nitze, Eugene Rostow, Dean Rusk, etc.) for a thirty-minute general meeting with the President on SALT. This meeting should take place by mid-July. Subsequent meetings with this group should then be held by Harold Brown alone, probably every 2-3 months.

President's Decision:

Schedule Mid-July Meeting *✓*

Other:

*Work out of with
Time*

--Following the President's meeting with "hard-Line" leaders, the National Security Council should begin to brief (every 2-3 months) a number of "progressive" leaders (Father Hesberg, David Cohen, Russ Peterson, Carl Marcy, etc.). *doubt need*

Direct Mail

As with the Panama Canal, the direct mail requirement remains unsolved. There are two approaches we have discussed:

--Work with the "progressive" groups (New Directions, Council for a Livable World, etc.) to stimulate direct mail from their members. The members of these groups, however, have the most influence where we need it the least.

--Establish an independent "Carter Coalition" as discussed in the Panama Canal Work Plan.