

Panama Canal Treaty, 8/77 (2)

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1977

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *H.J.*
RE: MEETING FOR KEY PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS

As you know, we are proceeding simultaneously along several tracks in our Panama Canal Treaty strategy. We are bringing groups in from target states, you are calling and meeting with individual Senators, and we are working through private groups and multinationals to reach specific Senators.

There still remains a large number of key people and groups who need a briefing and some exposure to you before they will get active.

Our recommendation is for a meeting next week with a select group of these people. Through this effort,

we should be able to generate both organizational support and key personal endorsements. Because of the nature of this group, it would probably require more than 15-20 minutes of your time. It would probably take a full hour. However, after this briefing, I believe that we could move rapidly on a lot of fronts simultaneously as opposed to approaching many of these same people one by one.

Although there might be some persons in this group who would really have to be convinced by this meeting, by and large they will be kindly disposed toward supporting the treaty. Many of these same people have been contacted for support and/or public endorsements and are awaiting briefings or the actual document for study.

My strong feeling is that this meeting would accelerate a lot of our activities and prevent you from having to make a lot of other telephone calls to individuals. Also, as you will note, many of these same national leaders are from states where there are swing senators.

The persons listed under "Multinational Executives" on the front page are persons that could help us with numerous Senators.

✓ Approve of meeting with ^{one (1/2 hr)} ~~1 hour~~ of my time.
 Disapprove
 Other

Next week my time is
valuable. Suggest using
state briefing format

J

FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT

Henry Kissinger
Averell Harriman
John McCloy
Dean Rusk - Ga/Talmadge and Nunn

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER

Paul Nitze
Eugene Rostow

UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

Alexander Heard - Tennessee/Baker and Sasser
Cliff Wharton - Michigan/Griffin
Father Theodore Hesburgh/ Indiana/Lugar

REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Gerald Ford
Melvin Laird
William Scranton - Pennsylvania/Heinz and Schweiker
Hugh Scott - Pennsylvania/Heinz and Schweiker
Pete Pererson
John Sherman Cooper - Kentucky/Ford & Huddleston

WOMAN

Ruth Clausen, League of Women Voters
Piilanti C. Desha (National Federation of Business and
Professional Women)
Lady Byrd Johnson

LATIN AMERICAN GROUPS

(Aragon will recommend)

GOVERNORS

(Representative of U. S. Governors Conference)

MAYORS

(U. S. Conference of Mayors Representative)

RETIRED MILITARY

Gen. Maxwell Taylor
Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer
Adm. Elmo Zumwalt
Adm. Rickover
Gen. Westmoreland

LIST OF INVITEES

When appropriate, I have listed swing Senator(s) that invitees might help us with from their own state.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

Irvin Shapiro, Business Roundtable (Delaware/Roth)
Tom Watson, Business Roundtable
Tom Murphy, Business Roundtable (Michigan/Griffin)
John DeButts, Business Council
Heath Larry, National Association of Manufacturers
Dick Leshner, U. S. Chamber of Commerce
Henry Geyelin, Council of Americas

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION EXECUTIVES

Henry Ford, II, Ford Motor Company (Michigan/Griffin)
David Rockefeller, Chase Manhattan Bank
Watler Wriston, Citibank
Reginald Jones, GE
Andrew Haskell, Time, Inc
Howard Kauffman, Exxon
Maurice Granville, Texaco
David C. Scott, Allis-Chalmers
Brooks McCormick, International Harvester (Illinois)
George Schultz, Bechtel Corporation (California)
A. W. Clausen, Bank of America (California)
Paul Austin, Coca-Cola (Georgia/Nunn and Talmadge)
Max Fisher, United Brand (Michigan/Griffin)
Arthur Woods, Sears (Illinois)

LABOR

George Meany
Doug Fraser

RELIGIOUS

Arch Bishop Bernardin, President, National Conference of Catholic Bishops
Dr. Billy Graham
Claire Randal, National Council of Churches
David Blumberg, B'nai B'rith
Richard Maas, American Jewish Community

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS

Vernon Jordan, Urban League
Ben Hooks, NAACP

*Hamm
J*

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*
RE: RANDOM THOUGHTS AND SUGGESTIONS ON PANAMA CANAL
TREATY

*he will
do so*

1) Best utilization of the Vice-President. While much of our and your time and effort will be spent on Southern and/or conservative Senators, the Vice-President can be particularly useful with undecided and leaning Senators from other sections of the country who need attention for other reasons - re-election campaigns in 1978, strong mail campaigns in their states, etc. For that reason, I would recommend that you ask Mondale to review the list of Senators and agree to assume responsibility for staying in touch and selling our position to this group. Burdick, Hathaway, Cannon, Melcher and McIntyre are the kind of people that Mondale might be able to help with - obviously he would be the best judge of that. The request for that help should come from you.

2) Best utilization of labor. We have a similar

problem with the labor movement as it is strong in areas where we have the greatest support for the treaty and weak in the areas (South) where we need their help the most. Landon reports that an official AFL-CIO endorsement is likely Monday as a result of your call Monday to George Meany. We will look for special situations where labor can be helpful and ask them to take specific responsibility. For example, in Pennsylvania both Heinz and Schweicker were elected with labor support. We will ask them to really work on these two senators. Durkin was elected to the Senate with a lot of outside labor support and money. He should be another one they will work on.

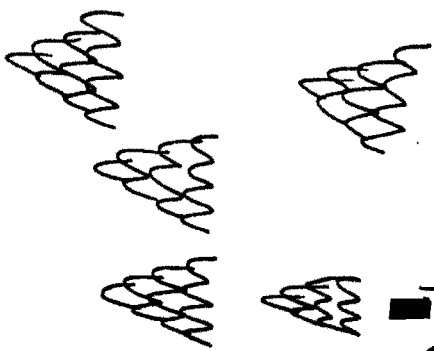
My point in all of this is that we should assign each person and/or group a specific responsibility that they can be held accountable for.

3) Multi-national strategy. This might be our most important resource. We have been working on a strategy and are developing lists of states with significant business and trade relationships with Latin American countries. This still is a major effort. My suggestion

to you would be to ask Bob Strauss to assume responsibility for coordinating this effort. He has personal relationships with this group, influence with them through his position and is politically astute. Strauss loves a fight. If you would ask him to coordinate this effort, he would do a superb job and probably win us a number of votes.

*He will
do so*

Stone -
Racy - strongly female;
Baker ■



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON





DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 11, 1977

TO: Mr. Robert Thompson

FROM: H - Robert G. Beckel

Congressional Calls: Panama Canal
Wednesday, August 10

SENATOR BIRCH BAYH: The Senator appreciated the call and is favorable to the treaty.

SENATOR HENRY BELLMON: The Senator is favorable; will try to issue a positive response through press secretary today.

SENATOR JOHN CHAFEE: The Senator is positive about the treaty, appreciated the call. Suggested that we work on Senators Hatch and Schmitt. He will support the treaty.

SENATOR DICK CLARK: The Senator will support the treaty. Offered to come into town for a meeting with the President or Secretary of State and issue a positive statement.

SENATOR WILLIAM HATHAWAY: He was favorably inclined towards a new treaty; asked for a substantive briefing to take with him on his campaign swing through his home state today.

SENATOR S.I. HAYAKAWA: The Senator is very much undecided on the treaty. He appreciated being contacted; wants substantive follow-up information.

SENATOR JOHN HEINZ: He asked a series of rather hostile questions concerning the economic package and the defense of the canal. Says he has an open mind, but we should consider him leaning against the treaty.

SENATOR DANIEL INOUE: The Senator is favorable to the treaty; appreciated being contacted.

SENATOR BENNETT JOHNSTON: He will not oppose the treaty at this time. He intends to hang loose through August. He is, however, inclined against the treaty.

-2

SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY: He appreciated the call. Thinks we negotiated a good treaty and appears to be supportive.

SENATOR WILLIAM PROXMIRE: The Senator is inclined to support the treaty; very little comment.

SENATOR HARRISON WILLIAMS: The Senator thought it was a good treaty and wanted information sent to him immediately. We expect him to support the treaty.

NOTE: Cables will be sent to Senators who are traveling.

Senators BIDEN, EAGLETON, JAVITS, NELSON,
PERCY, STONE.

Senator Burdick - Burdick said he would make no commitment until he had a chance to study the treaty. He advised that we watch the economic justification very carefully because the American people will not understand why we have to pay to give away the Canal. He accepted our explanation that Panama would simply receive revenue from the tolls and that no congressional approval for additional funds was necessary. He asked who sets the tolls and was pleased that the Canal will be jointly operated.

Richard McCall - (Humphrey's staff) - McCall reacted favorably saying that the package sounds "excellent". He recommends that the President "cultivate" Bob Byrd on this issue.

Senator Hatfield - Hatfield listened to the detailed explanation of each point and reacted favorably. He said he would like to study the entire package but indicated that "it sounds like a saleable treaty."

HAM: Following are contacts we know

Date: _____ have been made. The

Issue: _____ P. may have filled in some of these gaps. *Rob Thomas*

YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS	YEAS		NAYS
	Abourezk			Cravch			Moynihan	
	Allen			Griffin			Muckia	
	Anderson			Hansen			Nelson	
	Baker			Hart			Nunn	
	Bartlett			Haskell			Peckwood	
	Bayh			Hatch			Pearson	
	Bellmon			Hatfield			Pelt	
	Bentsen			Hathaway			Percy cable	
	Biden			Hayakawa			Prounira	
	Brooke			Heinz			Randolph	
	Bumpers			Helms			Ribicoff	
	Burdick			Hollings			Riegle	
	Byrd, Harry F			Huddleston			Roth	
	Byrd, Robert C			Humphrey			Sarbanes	
	Cannon			Inouye			Sasser	
	Casen			Jackson			Schmitt	
	Chafee			Javits cable			Schweiker	
	Chiles			Johnston			Seeth	
	Church <i>Cuba</i>			Kennedy			Spartanman	
	Clarke			Laxalt			Stafford	
	Cranston			Leahy			Stennis	
	Culver			Long			Stevens	
	Curtis			Lugar			Stevenson	
	Danforth			Magnuson			Stone cable	
	DeConcini			Mathias			Palmedge	
	Dole			Matsunaga			Thurmond	
	Domenici			McClellan			Tower	
	Durkin			McClure			Wallop	
	Eagleton			McGovern cable			Weicker	
	Eastland			McIntyre			Williams	
	Ford			Metzger			Young	
	Garn			Metcalf			Zorinsky	
	Glenn			Mitsenbaum cable				
	Goldwater			Morgan				

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1977

TO: HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM: BOB THOMSON

SUBJECT: Summary of Additional Calls on Panama

Senator Domenici - Will not take a position for now, but will be studying the issue closely, keeping in mind the interests of the country rather than partisan concerns. Sounded upbeat and positive, but says it will be a tough political issue in New Mexico.

Senator Eagleton - Very positive -- a saleable treaty. He will make favorable statement. He is in London.

Senator Nelson - Favorable. Little comment. Also in London.

Senator Melcher - Asked numerous, hard questions. "Not impressive to me...I hope the President can sell it." He is leaning against.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 23, 1977

MR. PRESIDENT -
THIS IS A SUMMARY
OF OTHER THINGS WE
ARE DOING. JOE ARAGON
HAS DONE A SUPERB
JOB COORDINATING OUR
ACTIVITIES.

H.S.

Very good
J

MEMORANDUM FOR: HAMILTON JORDAN
FROM: JOE ARAGON JA
SUBJECT: PANAMA CANAL TREATY -
SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES UNDERWAY

Below is a partial listing of major activities underway designed to develop support for the Panama Canal Treaty.

I. Business

Meetings have been held with officials representing the following business organizations:

U.S. Chamber of Commerce
National Association of Manufacturers (NAM)
Business Roundtable
Jaycees
Council of the Americas

In the case of the NAM, the Council of the Americas, the U.S. Chamber and the Jaycees, we are scheduling a series of briefings to be given in the month of September, similar to the comprehensive briefings given today to the states of Mississippi and Kentucky.

Although we have received indications from all four organizations that their Executive Committees can probably be brought around to an endorsement, it will be important to orchestrate those briefings in such a way as to ensure to the greatest degree possible that endorsements will be forthcoming. I am particularly sanguine about possible endorsements from the NAM, the Jaycees, and the Council of the Americas.

The Multinationals - The multinational corporations will be very important in the ratification campaign. They are likely to be our closest allies in the business community. The Executive Board of the NAM is, I am told by the Executive Director of the NAM, heavily weighted on the side of the multinationals, most of whom are eager to support the treaty. Beyond the NAM, however, we need to expand our contacts with the multinationals with special emphasis on the 10 target states which we have identified as being "swing" states.

The Business Roundtable is not likely to take any formal position as a group. However, Irving Shapiro who is the Chairman of the Roundtable has already publicly endorsed the treaty and has sent out a letter to each member of the Roundtable encouraging him to publicly and personally support the treaty.

Tentative briefing dates for the above organizations are:

NAM - Sept. 21
Council of the Americas - Sept. 28
Jaycees - Sept. 15
U.S. Chamber of Commerce - mid Sept.
Business Roundtable - possibly Aug. 29, or later

II. Religious

On Friday of last week Bob Pastor and I met with religious leaders from the following organizations:

American Baptists	Brethern	Lutheran
Southern Baptists	Disciples	
Catholics	Mennonites	
Methodists	National Council of Churches	
United Church of Christ	Unitarian-Universalist	

Bob and I briefed the group which had been called together by Phil Strickland and made a plea for their support. As a whole, they responded favorably and we are following it up with information packets and letters of thanks. Specifically, these religious organizations will try to generate support among their constituents through newsletters, personal conversations and other forms of communication. Even though the group was a broadly based group there are still other significant religious organizations that need to be similarly contacted. We are following up on this.

III. Party Organizations

Ken Curtis and his staff are currently working to obtain endorsing resolutions from the Democratic State Chairmen, DNC Executive Committee, and the Democratic Mayors. The State Chairmen and the Executive Committee endorsements should be available almost immediately. In addition, Ken Curtis will try to help us obtain the endorsements of Democratic Governors.

IV. Former Latin American Ambassadors

With the help of Ambassador Bunker we have identified 50 former U.S. Ambassadors to Latin America. Each of these will be personally contacted by former ambassadors who are

supportive of the treaty. Ambassador Edwin Martin and two others will contact the former Latin American ambassadors and attempt to obtain a public pledge of support for the treaty.

V. Retired Flag Officers - Three Star and Above

Jerry Schecter and Bob Pastor are obtaining a list of all retired military flag officers of three star rank or above. We will need to identify two or three respected and influential members of the military to contact their colleagues and obtain statements of support for the Canal. I do not yet have specific individuals identified for this task but am working on it.

VI. Retired Government Officials

We have already made some progress in obtaining the endorsements of former high government officials. We need to expand this list and to that end I have had prepared for me a list of approximately 50 such officials who could be contacted.

VII. Cabinet Members, Senior Staff, Governors, Selected Mayors, Selected County Executives

Jack Watson is finalizing a mailing to all of these groups. We will try to make sure that there is coordination with the DNC effort so that there are no redundant contacts. The DNC contact will be geared much more to an endorsement while Jack's material will essentially be factual and informative in nature.

VIII. State Briefings

As you know, Phil Wise and Betty Rainwater are moving ahead with a series of briefings for business professionals and political opinion leaders, in each of the 10 target states.

IX. Speaker's Bureau

Jill Schuker and Laurie Lucey are working with Walt Wurfel, Jerry Schecter and Scott Burnett on preparing a list of prominent government officials who will be available to speak around the country on behalf of the treaty. They will then match these individuals with speaking engagements produced through creative as well as responsive scheduling.

X. Press Briefings

The Press Office has a list of the 10 target states and is working to include editors from those states in the regular

scheduled briefings. They do not want to put too heavy an emphasis on this for the obvious reason that we do not want to be accused of trying to manage the news. In addition, fact sheets and updates will be sent out to newspaper editors across the country.

XI. Labor

Landon is handling this.

XII. Other Groups

There are literally scores of other groups such as ethnics, minorities, women, senior citizens, youth and lesser business organizations that can be reached through the Office of Public Liaison. I am working with Steve Selig and Richie Reiman and have talked with Midge Costanza directly about lining up these various groups behind the treaty. They will be doing this through personal contacts and scaled-down briefings.

XIII. Commerce Mailing

As soon as I get a go ahead from Herb Hansell at the State Department and Anne Wexler at Commerce, we will send fact sheets to all or a portion of the 75,000 businessmen and businesses in the 10 target states that Anne has identified for us. It might be best to send out this mailing once we have printed copies of the treaty itself.

XIV. Congressional Briefings

This is being handled by Frank Moore and his staff.

XV. Citizens Committee

At the risk of beating a dead horse, or sounding like an alarmist, I think we must be sure of our legal footing on any involvement by the President or White House staff in the formation of a citizens committee.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LONDON EUTLER 
DATE: AUGUST 26, 1977
SUBJECT: STATUS OF PANAMA CANAL ENDORSEMENTS

For the last two days I have been working to pin down written endorsements of the new Panama Canal Treaty from prominent people in the public and private sector. Listed below are the people who have actually provided us with written endorsements:

- Irving Shapiro (personal endorsement)
President
The Business Roundtable
- Heath Larry (personal endorsement)
President
National Association of Manufacturers
- Max Fisher and Seymour Milstein
Chairman of the Board and President respectively
United Brands Company
United Brands is the largest taxpayer in
Panama - they pay \$16 million a year.
- Averell Harriman
- Robert Roosa
Partner
Brown Brothers Harriman & Company

With the help of Averell Harriman and Robert Roosa, we have also obtained endorsements from the following 13 people:

- Howard L. Clark
Chairman, Executive Committee
American Express
- Roger H. Morley
President
American Express
- Eugene R. Black
Former President
World Bank

- Richard M. Furland
Chairman
Squibb Corporation
- Robert H. Knight
Shearman & Sterling
(former General Counsel of the Treasury)
- Peter Solbert
Senior Partner
Davis, Polk & Wardwell
- John W. Brooks
Chairman
Celanese Corporation
- James H. Evans
Chairman
Union Pacific Corporation
- James W. Wilcox
Chairman and President
Joy Manufacturing
- Robert O. Anderson
Chairman
Atlantic Richfield
- W.L. Hadley Griffin
Chairman and President
Brown Group, Inc.
St. Louis
- Edward Bronfman
Seagrams, Inc.
- Lewis Lapham
Former Chairman
Bankers Trust Company
Former President
Grace Line, Inc.

Other endorsements in hand now are:

- Jack Valenti
Former Special Assistant to the President.
Currently, President of Motion Picture Association of America.
- Lincoln Gordon
Former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, former Ambassador to Brazil, and former President of Johns Hopkins.
- Harry McPherson
Former Deputy Under Secretary of the Army for International Affairs and former Special Counsel to President Johnson
- Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
Former Attorney General, former Under Secretary of State and currently Vice President of IBM.
- Edwin M. Martin
Former Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, and former Chairman of the Development Assistant Committee of OECD.
- Helen Meyer
Chairman of the Board
Dell Publishing Company
- Maj. Gen. Robert Fleming
Former Governor Canal Zone and former President Panama Canal Company.
- Stephen Ailes
Former Secretary of the Army, former Chairman of Panama Canal Board and former President Association of American Railroads. Currently Director of Riggs National Bank.
- Burke Marshall
Former Assistant Attorney General, former Vice President of IBM and presently a law professor at Yale University.

--Robert Ellsworth
Republican.

Former Ambassador to NATO, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for ISA, former Deputy Secretary of Defense under President Ford, and former Congressman from Kansas. Willing to testify or form group of supporters.

--William Rogers

Former Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs and Under Secretary of State under President Ford. Presently a partner in Arnold and Porter. Willing to do anything to help.

--General Brent Scowcroft
Former NSC Director.

A number of people have expressed an interest in endorsing, a number of potential supporters are on vacation until after Labor Day, and others will endorse but want to see a draft of the treaty first. I will keep you posted on further progress.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

latest vote count

8/30

positive 33

learning positive 24

undecided 13

leaning negative 19

negative 11

from Bob Thompson's office

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1977

Hamilton Jordan
Jody Powell

Re: Panama Canal

The attached letters were written
by the President and given to
Bob Linder for handling delivery.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Z. Brzezinski
R. Linder

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8-30-77

To Admiral Sumwalt

Your decision on The
Panama Canal Treaty is
very gratifying to me.
Please help me by letting
your views be known to
members of The Senate.
Your influence will be
very beneficial.

Truman

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Ham -
Good - let
Jody maximize
PR -
J*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *H.J.*
DATE: AUGUST 29, 1977
SUBJECT: PANAMA CANAL ENDORSEMENTS

Admiral Zumwalt endorsed the new Panama Canal treaties today. His letter is attached.

George Meany held a brief press conference today at noon and stated that he personally favored the new Panama Canal treaties. The AFL-CIO Executive Committee, however, will not vote on the formal resolution until tomorrow.



E. R. ZUMWALT, JR.
ADMIRAL, U. S. NAVY (RET.)

29 August 1977

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

Based on the information that you and Ambassador Bunker have provided me about the details of the two treaties that have been negotiated between the United States and the Government of Panama concerning the status of the Panama Canal, and in the light of conditions existing in the world today, I am able to support these treaties and to urge that they be ratified by the US Senate.

Sincerely,

E. R. ZUMWALT, JR.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8.29.77

To Paul Nitze

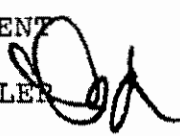
Your decision to
support the Panama Canal
treaty will be very bene-
ficial. I will appreciate
your letting the members
of the Senate know about
your support.

Your friend
Jimmy Carter

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July
PR
J

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LONDON BUTLER 

DATE: AUGUST 27, 1977

SUBJECT: PAUL NITZE

Paul Nitze has sent you a telegram supporting ratification of the Panama Canal treaty. A copy is attached.

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2
3 WHD015 433P EDT AUG 25 77

WAF156(1533)(2-044990E237)PD 03/25/773

4 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP

5 TDMT ARLINGTON VA 23 03-25 0333P EST

6 PMS PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

7 WHITE HOUSE

8 WASHINGTON DC 20500

9 I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT, SUBJECT TO A MORE DETAILED STUDY OF THE
10 TERMS OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY, I AM PREPARED TO SUPPORT IT'S
11 RADIFICATION

12 PAUL H NITZE

13 NNNN
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Ham
J

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*

RE: PANAMA CANAL

Several specific things you should know about and/or do:

1. Invite Ford to signing ceremony. It would give the signing ceremony a strong bipartisan flavor if President Ford were present at the ceremony. His presence would certainly be noticed on the live presentation and his being in Washington would insure additional coverage of his support. Hugh Carter reports that he is going to be in Williamsburg over the weekend for a golf tournament and that possibly he might be asked to stay over till Wednesday for the ceremony. It would mean a lot and would require a call from you.

DONE
ok

2. Torrijos schedule and residence. The Panamanians have asked informally if Torrijos might stay at Blair

House during his visit here. We had already planned to use Blair House as a staging center for the visit and as the place where we could set up small meetings between Senators, heads of state and business people. A good alternative would be for us to offer Torrijos "Jackson Place". He is obviously looking for certain amenities that will separate him from the other heads of state, and my inclination is to cooperate with him on these whenever it is convenient. Unless you have feelings to the contrary, we will arrange for him to use one of the several Jackson Place Townhouses. We are also working with their Ambassador on his schedule and will keep you informed.

DONE

OK

3. Press coverage tonight. We got good coverage tonight on the networks on the Weicker endorsement, the Meany endorsement and a positive Canal Treaty story. We need to dribble these senate endorsements out as we get them and encourage senators to make public statements whenever possible. This creates political momentum and, of course, locks them in publicly. Jack Watson has asked Jay Rockefeller to attend the Southern Governors' Conference and it looks as if we will have the necessary votes to

block the introduction from the floor of an anti-treaty resolution. This was interpreted on the news tonight as a "victory for the Administration".

4. Melvin Laird call. Everyone thinks that one of the most significant calls you could make would be to Melvin Laird. As you know, we obtained today the statement of support from Zumwalt and the official personal endorsement of the AFL-CIO. Also, Paul Nitze is ready I understand to make a public statement of support. Laird, Lane Kirkland, Zumwalt and Nitze are the muscle and brains behind the Committee on the Present Danger. If we could get Laird's support, we could bring the rest of this entire group. Their movement collectively would be a great influence on Baker and Goldwater. You should call Laird who, I have been told, is favorably disposed to the treaty.

OK
DONE
WILL
MAKE
STATEMENT
OF
SUPPORT
AFTER
BRIEFING.

Draft Telegram to All Senators and Congressmen:

Panama Canal Negotiations

Negotiations for a new Panama Canal Treaty may conclude very soon. I believe you will be gratified by the results and that the public will find we have achieved much more than had been expected. I expect to be able to announce an agreement in principle shortly, and pledge my best effort to show the public that the treaty will advance our legitimate national security interests. I hope you can support the treaty. In any case, I urge you to reserve judgment until you have had an opportunity to read the treaty, discuss it with our negotiators, and examine it in great detail. Once you have, I believe you will agree with me that the treaty will provide the best defense for the Canal and will lead to improved relations with Panama and all of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Jimmy Carter

"DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
CANCELLED PER E.O. 12356, SEC. 1.3 AND
ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 16, 1983"

STRICTLY ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ATTENDING - TOTALS:

8/3)

Chiefs of State/Heads of Governments	17
Non-Chiefs of State	8
Uncertain (Barbados)	1
Special Category (Panama)	<u>1</u>
Total	27

CHIEFS OF STATE ATTENDING FROM:

1. Argentina
2. Bahamas
3. Bolivia
4. Canada
5. Chile
6. Colombia
7. Costa Rica
8. Dominican Republic
9. Ecuador
10. El Salvador
11. Guatemala
12. Grenada
13. Honduras
14. Paraguay
15. Peru
16. Uruguay
17. Venezuela

NON-CHIEFS ATTENDING FROM:

18. Brazil
19. Haiti
20. Jamaica (Manley may attend)
21. Mexico
22. Nicaragua
23. Surinam
24. Trinidad and Tobago
25. Guyana

UNCERTAIN:

26. Barbados

SPECIAL CATEGORY:

27. Panama

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT CARTER

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN

DATE: AUGUST 9, 1977

SUBJECT: PANAMA CANAL ANNOUNCEMENT CHECKLIST

Our negotiators tell us that an agreement in principle may be reached between the U.S. and Panamanian governments on Wednesday, August 10, 1977. In order to ensure that we take and hold the public initiative on the treaty, the following series of actions are suggested for immediate approval.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10

- (1) In Panama
Ambassadors Bunker and Linowitz brief press in Panama on deep background. This is intended to protect against the possibility of first press stories emanating from Panamanian sources, possibly to our disadvantage.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- (2) In Washington
Cable is sent out to all U.S. Senators over your signature indicating that agreement has been reached, expressing great pleasure with results, outlining key points of agreement, indicating that full information is on its way.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- (3) In Plains/Washington
You place calls to individuals below to brief them on agreement and solicit public expressions of support from them.

<u>CALLS TO:</u>	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>
Senator Robert Byrd	_____	_____
House Speaker O'Neill	_____	_____
Gerald Ford	_____	_____
Senator Baker	_____	_____
Senator Goldwater	_____	_____

CALLS TO:	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>
Senator Sparkman	_____	_____
Majority Leader Wright	_____	_____
Senator Cranston	_____	_____
Senator Humphrey	_____	_____
Senator Jackson	_____	_____
Minority Leader Rhodes	_____	_____
Congressman Zablocki	_____	_____
Senator Sarbanes	_____	_____
Senator Case	_____	_____
Senator Morgan	_____	_____
Senator Glenn	_____	_____
Senator Bentsen	_____	_____
Senator Muskie	_____	_____
Senator Stevenson	_____	_____
Senator Griffin	_____	_____
Nelson Rockefeller	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

THURSDAY, AUGUST 11

- (4) In Washington a.m.
Ambassadors Bunker and Linowitz brief you. Also present are:

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>
General George Brown,		
other members of Joint		
Chiefs (?)	_____	_____
Warren Christopher	_____	_____
Harold Brown or		
Charles Duncan	_____	_____
Z. Brzezinski/Bill		
Hyland	_____	_____
Cabinet members who		
are in town	_____	_____
Others	_____	_____

- (5) In Washington a.m.
"Package" sent to Hill offices of all Senators and Congressmen. Package consists of summary of agreement, fact sheet and, if possible, statement by Joint Chiefs.

APPROVE _____ DISAPPROVE _____

- (6) In Washington early p.m.
You make statement to the press emphasizing key points or "themes" and expressing great satisfaction with agreement and with fine work of negotiators, then turn briefing over to Bunker and Linowitz.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

- (7) Nationwide
Statements made by key political and public figures in support of the agreement. (List being prepared)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 12

- (8) In Washington
Calls are made to leading business, labor, organizational leaders to generate support for treaty. Coordinated by Landon Butler, Joe Aragon.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

- (9) In Washington a.m.
Ambassador Bunker and Henry Kissinger on "Today" show.

Ambassador Linowitz and General Brown appear on CBS Morning News.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13

- (10) Nationwide
More endorsements from public figures; reaction from others. No event scheduled.

SUNDAY, AUGUST 14

- (11) New York
Bunker, Linowitz, General Brown appear on "Meet the Press".

LONGER TERM ACTIONS

- (1) Public Outreach Effort
Administration spokesmen and treaty supporters spread out across country to educate public on the treaty and generate public understanding of need for a new treaty.

APPROVE _____

DISAPPROVE _____

(2) Treaty Signing Ceremony

The date, place and format of the signing ceremony are unclear. You may have your own thoughts on this. However, the signing could provide great impetus to the ratification efforts by putting the event close to the date of Senate submission.

The signing and transmittal of the treaty could also be followed the same day by a 15 minute "fireside chat" with the American people.

General Torrijos could be invited to sign the treaty either here or possibly Mexico City. Because of a possible negative reaction on the Hill, a signing in Panama before the vote is not recommended. However, upon ratification the treaty could be "deposited" in Panama by you at a ceremony which would include all Latin heads of state.

(3) Fireside Chat

If this is done then the time of maximum impact would be close to either:

- (a) the transmittal to the Senate, or
- (b) the actual Senate vote.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 11, 1977

Stu Eizenstat
Hamilton Jordan
Zbig Brzezinski

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

Rick Hutcheson

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADORS BUNKER
AND LINOWITZ

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

Statement by Ambassadors Bunker and Linowitz

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We are deeply gratified to be able to announce that we and our Panamanian colleagues have today reached agreement in principle on the basic elements of a new treaty -- and a new relationship between our countries. Our legal specialists will continue working to express those elements in the formal treaty.

Though this is but one stage in the completion of our historic task, it is a major step toward our mutual goal. We will be flying back to Washington tomorrow and will go immediately to the White House to report to President Carter. We will describe to him the work that has been done during this final week of negotiations, and present for his review the agreement in principle.

It has been a long and arduous task, as you know. For more than 13 years, under 4 Presidents, we have sought a new and mutually beneficial relationship between our countries. Now we have taken a significant step toward that long sought goal.

From the point of view of the United States, we are confident that this treaty not only protects but strengthens our national security interests. It will also be a strongly positive element in our overall relationship with our Latin American neighbors and preserve our vital common interests in an open, secure and efficient canal.

FBIS 03*****

PANAMANIAN NEGOTIATOR ESCOBAR ANNOUNCES NEW CANAL AGREEMENT

PA110010Y PANAMA CITY DOMESTIC SERVICE IN SPANISH 2323 GMT 10 AUG 77 PA

(STATEMENT BY PANAMANIAN NEGOTIATOR ROMULO ESCOBAR BETHANCOURT
AT THE PANAMA CITY HOLIDAY INN--LIVE)

(TEXT) DR ROYO AND I HAVE THE PLEASURE OF ANNOUNCING THAT WE
HAVE CONCLUDED THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE U.S. TEAM, THAT WE HAVE
REACHED AGREEMENT ON ALL PENDING MATTERS, THAT WE HAVE MANAGED
TO ELIMINATE THOSE MATTERS THAT KEPT US FROM REACHING AN
AGREEMENT, AND THAT AFTER 13 ARDUOUS YEARS OF STRUGGLE BY OUR
COUNTRY, A PHASE HAS NOW ENDED--THE PHASE OF THE DRAFT TREATY BY
WHICH WE HOPE OUR COUNTRY WILL ACHIEVE ITS LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS.

IT HAS BEEN A LONG JOURNEY, A TIRESOME JOURNEY, BUT WE
SINCERELY BELIEVE THAT FOR OUR FATHERLAND, AS A RESULT OF THIS
DRAFT TREATY, CONCEPTS WILL DISAPPEAR IN THE FUTURE THAT WERE--ARE,
BETTER SAID-- WHICH ARE VERY SIGNIFICANT FOR US SUCH AS THE LACK
OF JURISDICTION OVER WHAT IS NOW THE CANAL ZONE, THE ODIOUS
PERPETUITY, AND OTHER MATTERS THAT PREVENTED OUR COUNTRY FROM
ACQUIRING ITS TOTAL PHYSIOGNOMY AS A NATION AND AS A STATE.

WE HAVE TO RECOGNIZE PUBLICLY THAT THE U.S. NEGOTIATORS,
AMBASSADOR BUNKER AND AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ, WHILE DEFENDING THEIR
COUNTRY'S INTERESTS, HAVE ALWAYS BEEN NOBLE ENOUGH TO TRY TO REACH ✓
A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION. FOR OUR PART, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF OUR
CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT AND LEADER OF OUR REVOLUTION, GENERAL TORRIJOS,
AND ALSO INSPIRED BY THE ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE AND OUR
OWN REFLECTIONS, WE HAVE TRIED TO FIND NEGOTIATED FORMULAS
THAT WILL SATISFY OUR COUNTRY'S ASPIRATIONS.

THE DRAFT TREATY STEMMING FROM THIS AGREEMENT IS PRACTICALLY
DRAFTED. THE TWO TEAMS, OR SPECIALISTS OF THE TWO TEAMS, WILL
NOW SIMPLY PERFORM THE TASK OF WRITING, IMPROVING THE LANGUAGE,
BUT WITHOUT CHANGING THE CONCEPTS WE HAVE AGREED UPON.

WE WANT TO TELL THE DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE PRESS THAT,
FOLLOWING THIS ANNOUNCEMENT, AMBASSADORS LINOWITZ AND BUNKER
WILL BE RECEIVED BY THE CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT. WE ARE GOING TO
ACCOMPANY THEM, AND WE ASK YOU TO REMAIN HERE BECAUSE WE ARE
GOING TO RETURN SOON, AT 1930, TO HOLD A NEWS CONFERENCE
WITH YOU IN WHICH WE, THE ENTIRE TEAM, WILL BE IN A POSITION TO
ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS YOU MAY HAVE. THANK YOU.

11 AUG 0045Z DEH/GS*****

MORE 2012

R441R A1714)2UIVUIVZQT

CANAL - AMERICAN 2 WASHINGTON

FEW FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES AROUSE AMERICAN PASSIONS QUITE SO HOTLY AS THE PANAMA CANAL.

SINCE PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT BRAGGED IN 1911 "I TOOK THE ISTHMUS" -- THE RELATIVELY NARROW NECK OF LAND CONNECTING CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA -- THE CANAL HAS COME TO SYMBOLIZE IN MODERN AMERICAN MYTHOLOGY A TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN GENIUS WHERE OTHERS HAD FAILED.

A FRENCH SYNDICATE UNDER FERDINAND DE LESSEPS, BUILDER OF THE SUEZ CANAL, GAVE UP A NINE-YEAR ATTEMPT TO COMPLETE A CHANNEL THROUGH PANAMA IN 1889 AND A SECOND FRENCH COMPANY FAILED 10 YEARS LATER.

IN A TREATY SIGNED IN 1903, SHORTLY AFTER PANAMA DECLARED INDEPENDENCE FROM COLOMBIA, THE UNITED STATES BOUGHT RIGHTS TO A 10 MILE (16 KM) WIDE STRIP OF LAND THROUGH THE HEARTLAND OF PANAMANIAN TERRITORY.

THE TREATY, HEAVILY WEIGHTED IN AMERICAN FAVOR, GAVE THE UNITED STATES THE RIGHT TO ACT AS "IF IT WERE THE SOVEREIGN" IN PERPETUITY IN THE TERRITORY.

BUT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT GRANTED OWNERSHIP OF THE CANAL ZONE, NOR OF THE 50 MILE (80 KM) LONG WATERWAY BETWEEN THE CARIBBEAN AND THE PACIFIC.

MORE 2018

R442R A1716)3UIVUIVBYL

CANAL - AMERICAN 3 WASHINGTON

THAT HAS NOT DETERRED SOME PROMINENT AMERICANS FROM CLAIMING THE CANAL ZONE AS A SORT OF 51ST STATE, HOWEVER.

"SOME AMERICANS ASSERT THAT WE OWN THE CANAL; THAT WE BOUGHT AND PAID FOR IT, JUST LIKE ALASKA OR LOUISIANA," SAYS AMBASSADOR-AT-LARGE ELLSWORTH BUNKER, THE VETERAN U.S. DIPLOMAT WHO IS CHIEF NEGOTIATOR IN THE CANAL TALKS.

"IF WE GIVE IT AWAY, THEY SAY, WON'T ALASKA OR LOUISIANA BE NEXT?"

(THE UNITED STATES BOUGHT ALASKA FROM RUSSIA FOR 7.2 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1867. THE STATE OF LOUISIANA WAS PART OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE NEGOTIATED WITH FRANCE IN 1803.)

ONE OF THE TOUGHEST OPPONENTS TO ANY HAND-OVER TO PANAMA IS REPUBLICAN SENATOR STROM THURMOND OF SOUTH CAROLINA. "WE BOUGHT IT, WE PAID FOR IT, AND WE SHOULD KEEP IT," HE SAYS.

AND THE CANAL BECAME AN ISSUE IN LAST YEAR'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, PROVOKING MR. CARTER INTO A STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD "NEVER GIVE UP COMPLETE CONTROL OVER THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE."

MORE 2020

R443R A1720)4UIVUIVBYL

REUTER 1942

R437R I1669UIVZYRZSA

SNAP*****CANAL-ANNOUNCEMENT

PANAMA CITY, AUG 10, REUTER - PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES TODAY ANNOUNCED OFFICIALLY AN AGREEMENT ON A NEW TREATY PROVIDING FOR THE EVENTUAL U.S. HANDOVER OF THE PANAMA CANAL TO PANAMA.

REUTER 1947

R438R I1688)UIVZYRRYR

URGENT ***** LEAD CANAL--ANNOUNCEMENT (NO PICK-UP R-438)

PANAMA CITY, AUG 10, REUTER - PANAMA AND THE UNITED STATES TODAY ANNOUNCED AGREEMENT ON A NEW TREATY WHICH WILL END U.S. CONTROL OF THE PANAMA CANAL BY THE END OF THE CENTURY.

PRECISE DETAILS WERE NOT RELEASED IMMEDIATELY AND ARE EXPECTED TO BE REVEALED BY PRESIDENT CARTER AT A LATER DATE WHEN HE ATTEMPTS TO GET THE NEW ACCORD RATIFIED BY CONGRESS.

THE AGREEMENT ENDED 13 YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND WILL REPLACE THE ONE SIGNED BY THE TWO COUNTRIES IN

THE BORDERING CANAL ZONE FOREVER.

IT IS EXPECTED TO PROVIDE FOR A GRADUAL HAND-OVER BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF THE CENTURY.

MORE 2010

R439R I1692UIVZYRIYC

LEAD CANAL--ANNOUNCEMENT 2 PANAMA CITY

TODAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT CAME AFTER THREE DAYS OF INTENSIVE TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON THE FINAL DETAILS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

ONE OF THE MAJOR PROBLEMS WAS FINDING A WAY OF INCORPORATING PANAMA'S FINANCIAL DEMANDS IN A FORM LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO CONGRESS, ACCORDING TO OFFICIALS.

THE PANAMANIAN HAVE BEEN ASKING FOR 460 MILLION DOLLARS IN COMPENSATION FOR U.S. USE OF THE CANAL SINCE 1903, AND A FURTHER 150 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR BETWEEN NOW AND THE END OF THE CENTURY, WHEN THE HANDOVER IS COMPLETED.

RATIFICATION IN PANAMA WILL BE BY PLEBISCITE. THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, GENERAL OMAR TORRIJOS, FACES OPPOSITION FROM CENTER AND LEFTWING GROUPS TO ANY CONTINUED AMERICAN PRESENCE ON THE CANAL.

REUTER 2012

R440R A1713)UIVUIVCZC

CANAL - AMERICAN

BY BARRY MAY

WASHINGTON, AUG 11, REUTER - COMPLETION OF A NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY, SETTLED AFTER 13 YEARS OF TALKS, IS THE FIRST MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVE ACHIEVED BY PRESIDENT CARTER.

BUT FOR ALL THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE LONG, DRAWN-OUT, AND SECRET TALKS, THE HARD PART MAY JUST BE BEGINNING -- IN A SHORT, SHARP AND OPEN CONFRONTATION SHAPING UP BETWEEN THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE U.S. CONGRESS.

THE NEW TREATY MUST WIN THE APPROVAL OF AT LEAST 67 SENATORS -- TWO-THIRDS OF THE 100-SEAT SENATE.

ALREADY, A HARD CORE OF OPPONENTS TO ANY NOTION THAT AMERICAN CONTROL OF THE WATERWAY BE RELINQUISHED ARE DIGGING IN FOR A LEGISLATIVE BATTLE WHEN THE CONGRESS ENDS ITS SUMMER RECESS NEXT MONTH.

PRESIDENT CARTER HAS SENT TELEGRAMS TO ALL 100 SENATORS -- AND TO THE 435 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WHO WILL DEBATE ENABLING LEGISLATION -- ASKING FOR A CHANCE TO EXPLAIN THE NEW TREATY BEFORE THEY JUMP TO ANY CONCLUSIONS.

AND THE WHITE HOUSE HAS BEGUN A MASS CAMPAIGN TO SELL THE NEW TREATY TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

NSC
10 AUG 1977

The White House
Washington

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MS PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

WHITE HOUSE DC

APPRECIATE THE INFORMATION REGARDING THE STATUS OF PANAMA CANAL
NEGOTIATIONS YOU CAN BE SURE THAT I HAVE MADE NO STATEMENTS OR
COMMITMENTS ADVERSE TO OUR ACCEPTANCE OF THE TREATY NOR WILL I DO
SO EVEN THOUGH SURVEYS INDICATE AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF
KENTUCKIANS PRESENTLY OPPOSE I SUGGEST YOU PLAN IMMEDIATELY AN
EXTENSIVE PUBLIC CAMPAIGN TO INFORM AND REASSURE OUR CITIZENS I WILL
ASSIST IN SUCH EFFORTS TO BEST OF MY ABILITY SINCERELY YOURS

WALTER D HUDDLESTON UNITED STATES SENATOR

NNNN

0070

AUGUST 12, 1977

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ON THE
PANAMA CANAL TREATY

THE BRIEFING ROOM

3:30 P.M. EDT

Good afternoon, everybody.

For 13 years we have been engaged in negotiations for a Panama Canal Treaty that would strengthen our own security interests, be fair to ourselves and the people of Panama and insure free international use of the Panama Canal in the spirit of cooperation and friendship among all nations in this hemisphere. In spite of difficulties and even bloodshed, each of my predecessors since President Johnson has decided that this effort must be continued and I am pleased that it will now be completed during my own Administration.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff and other principal advisors of mine have been involved in these talks at every stage. All of us believe that these agreements are good ones and that the implementation of the treaties incorporating these agreements are important to our long term national interests.

Under the Canal Treaty that will now be prepared, we will have operating control and the right to protect and defend the Panama Canal with our own military forces until the end of this century. Under a separate neutrality treaty, we will have the right to assure the maintenance of the permanent neutrality of the Canal as we may deem necessary. Our own warships are guaranteed the permanent right to expeditious passage without regard to their type of propulsion or the cargo they carry. And the treaties will be a foundation for a new cooperative era in our relations with all of Latin America.

As provided by our United States Constitution, I will seek the advice and consent of the Senate for the ratification of these treaties. I know that each Senator and each Member of the House of Representatives will give the utmost and careful consideration to these agreements, not only to the treaties themselves, but to the positive influence that their approval will have in our own country and in our position in the world as a strong and generous nation.

We will work with Panama to assess the need for a sea level canal and will also cooperate on possible improvements to the existing Canal.

MORE

I believe that these treaties will help to usher in a new day in hemispheric relations.

All of the countries in Latin America are joined with us in the conviction that a new treaty which properly responds to the Panamanian aspirations and fully preserves our own interests will give us an opportunity to work together more effectively toward our common objectives.

Our two leading negotiators have been Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and Ambassador Sol Linowitz and they are here this afternoon to answer specific questions that you might have on the treaties themselves and the negotiations and agreements that have been reached with Panama.

I am glad now to introduce Ambassador Bunker and Ambassador Linowitz.

END

3:33 P.M. EDT

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

BRIEFING BY
AMBASSADOR ELLSWORTH BUNKER
AND

AMBASSADOR SOL LINOWITZ
ON

THE PANAMA CANAL AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE

THE BRIEFING ROOM

3:34 P.M. EDT

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Ladies and gentlemen: Ambassador Bunker and I are very pleased with these agreements which have been formulated and which we think will indeed be in the highest interests of the United States when incorporated into formal treaties.

Those treaties are now being prepared in final form and we trust that in the next week or two they will be ready for signature.

Just for purposes of clarification, there are going to be two separate treaties: One, a neutrality treaty; the other a new Panama Canal Treaty. The Panama Canal Treaty will be accompanied by an implementation agreement which will add body to some of the provisions in the Panama Canal Treaty itself.

We are ready for your questions and will be delighted to focus on them as you would like.

Q Mr. Ambassador, where will the signing ceremony take place and with what participants?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: It hasn't been decided yet. And it will be decided between us after the treaties have been signed.

Q Mr. Ambassador, does the President sign those treaties before they are advised and consented to by the Senate or does the advise and consent come first?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: The treaties are signed and then presented to the Senate for ratification.

Q What is meant by expeditious passage? That seems to be sort of an arcane word that is subject to several interpretations.

How do you interpret it?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Get through with it as soon as you reasonably can.

Q Would that be this year, sir, hopefully?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: The signing of the treaty?

MORE

Q The expeditious passage? I thought you were talking about confirmation.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I thought Terry was asking about expeditious passage of vessels.

Q I want to know whether it means priority for U. S. vessels over those of other flags.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: The United States and Panama alone will have the right to expeditious passage.

Q Which means priority over other flags. Is that correct?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We have not used the word priority.

Q Is that a correct interpretation?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: It means they will be in the position where two ships are coming at the same time, one being the United States-Panamanian and another ship, the U.S.-Panamanian could be accorded expeditious passage.

Q How soon do you expect Senate ratification?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: That depends on wiser heads than ours. That is being explored now.

Q Will it pass this year, Mr. Ambassador, or do you think it will go over to the next session of Congress?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We are hopeful it might be presented for ratification this year.

Q Mr. Ambassador, did either of you contact Ronald Reagan or any of the other political figures who were very much against America relinquishing control of the Canal?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Since the treaty? Since the agreement?

Q At any point during the negotiations or since and could you tell us about that?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I met with Governor Reagan for lunch some weeks ago and for about two hours we discussed the general situation of the Panama Canal and compared ideas and approaches.

Q Did his ideas influence you in the outcome?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I think it is fair to say that we listened respectfully to the position of the other and I don't think I persuaded him. I am sure he didn't persuade me.

Q Did you also meet with former President Ford, Mr. Ambassador?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I called President Ford from Panama at the request of President Carter in order to report to him the outlines of the agreements we reached.

Q How about the other living former Presidents? Did you contact President Nixon?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: No, sir. I wasn't. You were?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: No. I haven't been.

Q There are one out of every twelve Americans favoring United States ownership of the Canal. This will affect the vote in Congress. How do you plan to overcome this?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Through education. We hope to alert and advise the American people of the terms of these agreements and believe that when they see what has been negotiated, that these agreements do indeed fully protect and preserve American interests, that they will want to support a new treaty.

I think part of the problem has been that the American people have not had an alternative to the present arrangement.

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: I think it is fair to say it is not ownership but use of the Canal that is important, keep it open permanently.

Q Ambassador Bunker, you said about six months ago -- I am sorry. Did I interrupt you?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: No. Go ahead.

MORE

Q You said about 6 months ago one of the problems was the Canal had its own constituency; because it was there the treaty had no constituency because we didn't have the treaty at the time. Now you have a treaty. Do you plan to be actively involved in convincing the American people that you have got what you consider a good treaty?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: Yes. I certainly do.

Q How will you be doing that?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: I expect I will be doing it by speaking, by using what influence I have. Ambassador Linowitz and I have been briefing Senators extensively and we have had hearings on the Congressional, House of Representatives side, and we will be trying to carry out an educational campaign to the extent possible.

Q So you do consider yourselves an emissary to the Senate on the part of the President to "sell" this treaty as a wise move?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: I think we are two among many, the President being the foremost one himself.

Q Gentlemen, there are already rumblings on the Hill from opponents saying that maybe this treaty isn't so wonderful, one says even it might lead to war. What makes this treaty good? Why are they wrong? Why is this the right way to go?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: In important respects it not only preserves but enhances the national security interests of the United States. It does so by means of a treaty that is fair, equitable and takes into proper account the aspirations of the Panamanian people and the needs of the United States. It exchanges an uncertain, unsettled, unstable one which threatens the safety, the security, the openness of the Canal with one that insures the cooperation of the Panamanians and therefore it is a fine investment.

Q The economics of this treaty will obviously be under dispute. It is not quite clear from the fact sheet how much money we are really talking about during the period of time between now and the end of the control period. Has there been a horseback guess as to what we are really paying per ton?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Yes. It is more than a horseback guess; I think it is pretty clear. We are talking about paying 30 cents per Panama Canal ton from toll revenues and that is estimated at something around \$40 million or so rising to \$50 million as time goes on.

In addition, out of total revenues Panama would receive \$10 million a year and another \$10 million if Canal revenues permit. That is the extent of the financial commitment under the treaty itself.

MORE

Q Mr. Ambassador, can you compare that with what Panama receives now and what is the Panama Canal receiving?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Panama receives now \$2.3 million per year. Do you want to describe a Panama Canal ton?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: A Panama Canal ton is a measurement used by the Canal. It is roughly, I think, 500 cubic feet. It is considered the capacity of the Panama Canal ton. It comes out pretty close to long tons in the end. It is almost the same.

Q Mr. Ambassador, have either one of you made a recommendation to the President or a member of his staff on whether he ought to travel to Panama or some other Latin American country to sign this treaty?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Not yet. We have discussed it.

Q What is your own feeling on that question?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: At this moment I don't think we have come to a clear decision on whether or not it ought to be signed in Panama, but we are giving it a lot of thought.

Q In recent years, Mr. Ambassador, what has the annual revenue from the Canal tolls been so that we can see the significance of the \$10 million and the \$10 million? I mean, how much could we get a year from the Canal in revenues now?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: About \$150 million.

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: About \$150 million. But the other income brings it up to almost \$220 million in toto.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: A good part of that will be turned over to Panama under the treaty.

Q What other income is there?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: There was bunkering and other activities in addition to total revenue coming from passage from the Canal.

Q What role does the House of Representatives have in these two treaties?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: The House will be asked to join in implementing legislation to effectuate some of the terms of the treaty. For example, setting up the new Canal operating mechanism, dealing with the labor conditions that are applicable for the employees, establishing tolls policy and so forth. There will be a number of areas in short where the Congress will be asked to pass implementing legislation.

MORE

Q Mr. Ambassador, the new agency hasn't been named yet. Do you have a name for the new agency?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Tentatively the Panama Canal Commission.

Q What does it cost to operate it for a year?

Q Could the House procedure block the treaty?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Assuming unfavorable House procedure, is that what you mean?

Q Yes. Do they have the power?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: It depends on what the implementing legislation is that is sought. Block is a large word. It can certainly impede effectuation of some important provisions in the treaty. Whether it will completely block the treaty, I don't think so.

Q Will you attempt to draft the legislation that goes to the House so that in the event they do not act favorably on it it would still not prevent the treaties from taking effect?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We haven't gotten into the implementing legislation. I can tell you what the spirit is. The spirit is not to try to find a way around the House, but to persuade the Members of the House that this is in the highest national interest and that they therefore ought to join the Senate in approving the treaty.

Q Would you explain the details again? What exactly goes to the House and what does the relationship of the protocol with the OAS have to do with the treaty that goes to the Senate?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Yes. There are two separate issues and in effect two separate treaties. Let me talk about each of them in turn.

The Canal Treaty itself calls for the creation of a commission, calls for what the Panama Canal Commission will be doing, how it will operate and so forth. To accomplish a number of these things legislation is going to be required. That will fall under the legislation that the House will have to participate in, and we have not yet worked out the whole scope of what that will be.

The neutrality treaty, which is a separate treaty, will have appended to it a protocol by means of which the neutrality treaty will be presented to the OAS for accession by all the countries of the world. In other words, all the nations of the world will be asked to indicate their support of this neutrality arrangement.

MORE

Q That is called a separate treaty. The thing that goes to the House is not called a treaty, that is enabling legislation.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: That is the law. That is legislation, yes, sir.

Q Could you tell me what it costs to operate the Canal now?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: The purpose is simply to recover the costs, so that the income from the Canal and the other operations cover the cost of operating the Canal, plus interest, which we pay to the U.S. Treasury, and includes depreciation.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Could I add one word on that in amplification? We, since 1903, have been paying interest in the United States on the original investment in the Canal. It currently runs at about \$20 million a year. As of now, some \$642.5 million has been repaid to the United States against the investment in the Canal by the United States. This has been labeled interest.

The sums that I have indicated before which will be paid out of revenues to Panama will come out of that interest.

Q Ambassador Bunker, how realistic is it to think that there might some day be a new canal at sea level somewhere in that area?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: That is a matter that we have agreed with the Panamanians to study, to see whether a sea level canal is desirable and feasible and if it proves to be so, together to work out some arrangement for constructing such a canal.

Q What kind of obligation do we have to pay for that if this feasibility study finds we should build that?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: That would have to be determined at the time it is concluded that we should go ahead with the canal. It is understood that we will work out mutually agreeable terms for the construction and for the location of the canal.

Q Do you think it will ever happen?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: It is difficult to say. I think certainly it is a possibility it will happen, yes.

Q Does this give us an option to be involved in a sea level canal if anybody builds one there?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: If anybody?

Q If it is ever built, do we have an option?

MORE

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: What we have now is an understanding with Panama that this treaty, as it is put into effect, that we will together undertake a feasibility study to determine whether a sea level canal makes sense to both of us.

Q Could we get the other side of the coin? Supposing the thing falls apart? The Senate refuses to ratify, the House also.

Q Let him finish the question. He was answering something.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: If that feasibility study indicates that in the interest of both countries this new sea level canal can be built, we will negotiate mutually agreeable terms and conditions.

Did your question go beyond that?

Q Does that give us an option over any other country in the world?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Let me put it this way: No other country has this agreement with Panama.

Q It amounts to an option, then?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: No. I wouldn't call it an option. I am trying to be accurate. No other country has the agreement that we are going to be incorporating in this agreement.

Q Is this canal through Panama or Nicaragua? Years ago there was a feasibility study about a canal going through Nicaragua.

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: Yes, but the feasibility studies that were made indicated that the most desirable routes were in Panama.

Q Mr. Ambassador, how will the new commission differ from the Panama Canal Company and, secondly, there is a phrase back here on the second page, it says, U.S. civilians currently employed in the Canal may continue in the United States Government jobs until retirement.

Does that mean some of them will be leaving employment in the Canal Zone and in connection with the Canal, taking other Government jobs in the Continental United States?

MORE

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: Yes. That is true. Some will be leaving, but will have jobs elsewhere in the United States. They will continue to be employees of the United States Government.

Q Is there any percentage of the employees that is going to be involved that you could tell us about?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: No. It is difficult to say at this stage.

Q How is the Commission different than the Company?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: The Commission, the agency which runs, operates the Canal, will be a U.S. Government agency.

Q Until?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: They will be a supervising board of nine members on which we will have a majority. We will have five members at the board throughout the life of the treaty.

MORE

Q Could I ask you to comment on the military phasedown? How soon does that begin? Where does it end? And then could you comment on how we will defend the Canal after it becomes Panamanian property?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: There is nothing in the treaty that calls for a particular rate of phasedown except for the United States to undertake to do it as it deems best.

Q You have 14 bases there now, something like that. Will that begin to go in the next few years? Will that begin to be phased down?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: There is no undertaking in that regard. I think that is the import of your question.

Q Yes.

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We have the right to decide what we do or don't do with those bases.

Q When you begin to phase them down, in other words?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Exactly.

Q After the Canal becomes Panamanian territory, how do we defend it then?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We are assured by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, by the Department of Defense, that the total arrangement we have worked out involving the neutrality treaty and the present Canal treaty will permit us adequately to provide for the defense of the Canal, now until the year 2000 and after the year 2000.

Q Yes, but after the year 2000, would that mean we would no longer have any bases there at all after the year 2000?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: Yes.

Q In other words, you would defend it with troops that would be stationed someplace else?

Q Under what conditions would we intervene in the Canal to protect the neutrality?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I don't like the word intervene. Under what conditions would we be in a position to move? The answer is if the permanent neutrality of the Canal were jeopardized --

Q Who would decide that?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We would. Then the United States would be in the position to take such steps as might be deemed necessary.

Q Ambassador, could I ask you, after sitting across from the Panamanians for untold hours, I wonder if you would give us a reading as to what their mood would be and what

their course of action might be if indeed the United States Senate were to reject this treaty?

What is the future of the Canal under those circumstances?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: They would be terribly disappointed, they would feel this was a tremendous letdown, and it would not bode well for the future relationships between the United States and Panama and the United States and Latin America.

Q What about the Canal itself? During the Ford Administration, for example, there was talk that if the Canal was not agreed to that perhaps indeed it might become a hemispheric Vietnam. Do you share that view?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: The danger of an explosive situation developing, if the treaty is not ratified, is there. It would be difficult to project.

Ambassador Bunker, of all people, knows about Vietnam. I wonder if he has any comment.

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: The point is that the Canal is very vulnerable. It is difficult to defend. It is difficult to keep in operation.

As I think General Brown expressed it once, we could defend the Canal. The question is whether we could keep it operating. That is the issue. That is the reason why we think that a new treaty is imperative.

Q Ambassador Linowitz, what did former President Ford tell you in your conversation with him? Did he promise to support your position or did you ask him to?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I didn't ask. President Carter suggested he be briefed and I briefed him on the developments that had taken place and we said we would be sending along the details and he appreciated it and said so.

Q What was Governor Reagan's reaction when you briefed him?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I didn't brief Governor Reagan since these arrangements have been worked out. Our discussion was some weeks ago.

Q If we find it difficult to defend it now and if we give up the sovereignty over that area, how do we expect to defend it later in 20 years from now? Won't we be accused of going into that sovereignty, taking over?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: We don't believe we are giving up sovereignty. We don't believe we have had sovereignty and we have to actually rely on the judgment of the most competent people we know, the Joint Chiefs, the Department of Defense and those who are deeply concerned with our security who assure us that under the arrangement we have worked out our national defense interests are well preserved.

Q You just said it is difficult to defend. How can we defend it later?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: That is the best answer I can give you.

Q If there should be a defense emergency, Mr. Bunker and Mr. Linowitz, how would we get troops and ships there quick enough and where would they come from? Guantanamo or where?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: They would come probably from the mainland of the United States. There are bases here.

Q That would take a while, wouldn't it?

AMBASSADOR BUNKER: Not very long, not with the amount of transportation.

MR. POWELL: Maybe about one more question here, folks.

Q Have you consulted with former Secretary Kissinger?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I have talked to Secretary Kissinger several times during the course of these negotiations.

Q Can you indicate his response?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: He was interested and helpful and seemed pleased with the progress of the negotiations.

Q Mr. Linowitz, if after the year 2000 circumstances should come about threatening the neutrality of the Canal, you said that we would take whatever steps were deemed necessary.

Could that conceivably involve United States troops actually entering the Canal Zone?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I think the important fact is that we are in the position to take such action as we may think necessary. There are no limits prescribed in this instrument. And we are given certain rights without limiting language and, therefore, we are in a position to await the event and then make our determination.

Q So the answer to the question is yes, it could include the United States troops entering the Zone?

AMBASSADOR LINOWITZ: I think the answer to the question is let's wait and see. We are trying not to get into those situations in the future.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 4:00 P.M. EDT)

8/16

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

London,

Help on Panama
From expected &
unexpected sources.

Ride

William F. Buckley Jr.

The case for the Panama Treaty

PANAMA — There seems to be only one substantive objection to the new treaty, and that is its provenance. Lobbyists for it particularly disdain Mr. Ronald Reagan because they view his arguments as amounting to nothing more than warmed-over chauvinism. In fact his objections are shared by critics whose turn of mind is not that of, say, the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The distinguished Mr. Herman Phleger, legal adviser to the Department of State under President Eisenhower, and architect of the far-seeing, far-reaching Antarctic Treaty, heatedly denounces the new Panama treaty — on the same ground as Reagan, namely: The United States negotiated under duress.

The other arguments against revising the treaty are frail. It is conceded by our military that the Panama Canal is simply not defensible against sabotage or missile-bombing. Protecting it against sabotage would take Panamanian cooperation and even with it, a saboteur with an explosive in a cargo vessel could put the Canal out of action for a while.

Guarding sea and air approaches to the Canal is the only defense, if there is one

at all. This we have done, this the Panamanian government is prepared in a separate protocol to charge us to continue to do; and this we can do under our own initiative after the turn of the century when the Canal is turned over fully to the Panamanians.

Respecting the economic point, the Panamanians undertake to guarantee passage to all shipping at non-discriminatory rates. As to the subsidy, we commit ourselves to a flat 50 million dollars rental, which is reasonable, plus an unspecified job of economic aid to the new operators — which is not unreasonable.

Now to the Reagan-Phleger position: One's instinct is to resent bargaining under duress. Especially so in the current situation inasmuch as the Panamanians, rather than merely asking the United States kindly to reconsider arrangements entered into in 1903 with less than a scrupulous regard for the presumptions of nationhood, launched a sloppy, eristic campaign, to discredit the plain fact that the United States exercises sovereign rights over the Panamanian Zone.

But the point (I have stressed it before) is that it

is becoming to a mature and self-confident nation to waive where it is appropriate to do so, such formal considerations. Besides, we can hardly be impatient with rioting youth in the fever swamps of Panama considering the number of rioting youth we indulged in the fever swamps of Berkeley and Columbia. Even if we grant (as I do), that our title to the Panama Canal is morally and historically secure, we should not fail to understand Panamanian resentment. Even if we had in our hand a record that showed that every Panamanian in 1903 had voted to grant the U.S. in perpetuity the rights we have enjoyed in the area, still there is the shifting perspective between what was permissible and even welcome in 1903, and what is permissible and welcome in 1977.

It is fashionable beyond the limits of common sense to deplore the colonialism of ages past. My own notion is that colonialism was far preferable to much that now goes on. But our colonial obligations in Panama haven't done very much for the people there. They live, for the most part unhappily, under a dictator who deals with dissidents by imprisoning them, exil-

ing them, and confiscating their property. We do not even have the excuse, in Panama, that we have succeeded in keeping such as Torrijos from coming to power. No, we concern ourselves only with the Canal Zone.

But now that the military inform us that our presence in the zone is unnecessary to such security as is achievable, the reasons for staying reduce merely to the question: Are we going to satisfy our pride by rejecting anti-historical Panamanian demands?

That would not appear to make sense. It is as much United States policy to avoid involving itself unnecessarily in the affairs of other countries as at the turn of the century it was American policy to involve ourselves, in Wilsonian exuberance, in these matters. The Canal's military and economic importance to us is slight; cooperation is a net economic drain; we have retained the right to deploy our military in such a way as to discharge responsibilities of primary interest to our Latin American neighbors. We should be large enough, as we were in the Philippines, to walk out, with true self-confidence.

D W

PM-CANAL 8-16

BY NICHOLAS DANILOFF

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- BACKERS OF THE NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATY, SHARPENING ARGUMENTS FOR THE SENATE FIGHT AHEAD, WARN IT COULD TAKE THOUSANDS OF U.S. TROOPS TO PROTECT THE WATERWAY FROM ATTACK.

ONE WAY TO AVOID SUCH HOSTILITY IS FOR THE UNITED STATES TO GIVE PANAMA CONTROL OVER THE 50 MILE SYSTEM OF LAKES AND LOCKS, TREATY SUPPORTERS SAY.

SEN. DICK CLARK, D-IOWA, IS USING JUST SUCH AN ARGUMENT BACK HOME THIS WEEK. AND HE FINDS SUPPORT FOR THE POSITION FROM NONE OTHER THAN HENRY KISSINGER.

A REPORT PREPARED BY KISSINGER DURING THE FORD YEARS SAID CANAL SECURITY WAS BEST PROVIDED BY DIPLOMACY.

"THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT...IS A VERY IMPORTANT FACTOR IN CANAL DEFENSE," SAID THE REPORT PREPARED BY KISSINGER WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY OF STATE.

"THUS A NEW CANAL TREATY, BY FOSTERING A FRIENDLY AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH PANAMA, WOULD BE MOST CONDUCTIVE TO EFFECTIVE CANAL DEFENSE."

AS MANY AS 100,000 U.S. TROOPS AND ADDITIONAL AIR AND NAVAL SUPPORT MIGHT BE NEEDED TO HOLD THE CANAL AGAINST AN ALL-OUT ASSAULT BY PANAMANIAN AND CUBAN FORCES, KISSINGER SAID.

GEN. GEORGE BROWN, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, ALSO HAS SAID 100,000 U.S. TROOPS MIGHT BE NEEDED TO PROTECT THE CANAL, SEN. FRANK CHURCH, D-IDAHO, SAID OVER THE WEEKEND.

KISSINGER, WHO RESUMED THE STALLED U.S.-PANAMA NEGOTIATIONS IN 1974, WAS EXPECTED TO COME OUT IN FAVOR OF THE TREATIES RECENTLY NEGOTIATED BY AMBASSADORS ELLSWORTH BUNKER AND SOL LINOWITZ.

KISSINGER LUNCHEONED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AT THE WHITE HOUSE MONDAY, AS THE ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED ITS CAMPAIGN TO SELL THE TREATY WHICH WOULD GRANT PANAMA CONTROL OVER THE CANAL BY THE YEAR 2,000.

LINOWITZ, ACCOMPANIED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF, SCHEDULED A FLIGHT TO VAIL, COLO., TODAY TO BRIEF FORMER PRESIDENT FORD ON DETAILS OF THE TREATY. CARTER TALKED TO FORD BY TELEPHONE IN A WARMUP EFFORT TO WIN SUPPORT FOR THE AGREEMENT WHICH AWAITS SENATE APPROVAL.

THE KISSINGER REPORT, OBTAINED BY UPI, SAID THE 193RD INFANTRY BRIGADE, CURRENTLY STATIONED IN THE CANAL ZONE, COULD DEAL WITH SPORADIC TERRORIST ATTACKS AGAINST LOCKS, DAMS AND OTHER KEY POINTS.

THE REPORT SAID THE "WORST CASE" SCENARIO OF A COMBINED CUBAN-PANAMANIAN ATTACK WAS CONSIDERED THE "LEAST LIKELY" OF POSSIBLE THREATS TO THE CANAL.

UPI 08-16 06:39 AED

8-18-77

ASSESSMENT OF SENATE POSITIONS ON PANAMA

** Possible supporters

SUPPORT LIKELY 42	INCLINED TO SUPPORT 15	UNDECIDED UNCERTAIN %	INCLINED AGAINST 17	OPPOSED 18
<u>DEMOCRATS</u>				
Abourezk Anderson Bayh R. Byrd Biden Eagleton Chiles Leahy Church Metcalf Clark Moynihan Cranston Hayakawa Culver Glenn Gravel Humphrey Hart Kennedy Metzenbaum McGovern Morgan Muskie Nelson Pell Ribicoff Riegle Sarbanes Sparkman Stevenson Williams	Bentsen Burdick <u>MONROE</u> Haskell Inouye Jackson DeConcini Magnuson Hathaway Matsunaga	Bumpers Hollings Sasser Durkin <u>LABOR</u> Proxmire <u>LABOR</u>	<u>MONROE</u> Cannon Ford ** Huddleston ** <u>LABOR</u> McIntyre ** Melcher ** Nunn ** Randolph Stennis Stone ** Talmadge Zorinsky **	Allen H. Byrd Eastland Long McClellan Johnston
<u>REPUBLICANS</u>				
Brooke Javits Case Mathias Chafee Packwood Danforth Pearson Hatfield Percy	Baker Stevens Bellmon Goldwater <u>Griffin <u>PRO</u></u> Weicker	Stafford Domenici Lugar	<u>LABOR</u> Heinz Schmitt Hansen Roth ** <u>LABOR</u> Schweiker ** Young	Bartlett Laxalt Curtis McClure Dole Scott Garn Thurmond Helms Tower Hatch Wallop

STATEMENT BY HENRY A. KISSINGER ON

PANAMA CANAL TREATY

I have now been briefed in great detail by Ambassador Bunker and by Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force General Jones, on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and I have spoken with the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Brown, about the details of the Panama Canal Treaty that has recently been negotiated. On the basis of these briefings I wish to express my strong view that the new treaty is in the national interest of the United States. The treaty embodies the conviction shared by the last four Presidents, of both political parties, that a new arrangement worked out cooperatively between the United States and Panama is the best means of guaranteeing our vital interest in the free, open, and secure operation of the Canal. It reflects the principles signed by the US and Panama in the presence of a bipartisan Congressional delegation in 1974.

- The new treaty preserves for the rest of this century the significant elements of the existing arrangement for management and defense of the Canal.
- After the end of this period, the United States will continue to have the right to guarantee the Canal's neutrality and impartial access to it even while its management has been turned over to Panama.

The new treaty marks an improvement over the present situation in that it assures continuing, efficient, non-discriminatory and secure access to the Panama Canal with the support of the countries of the Western Hemisphere instead of against their opposition and eventually their harrassment. While the United States would have the means in any case to defend the Canal unilaterally, it would have to do so under difficult circumstances. Needless to say, were the regime of neutrality established by this treaty to be challenged in the future, the United States would have the right as well as the duty to defend its vital interests in the free, neutral and unimpeded access through the Canal. The new treaty, freely negotiated with the support of the Hemisphere nations, would enable it to do so under more favorable international conditions than exist today.

The new arrangement, cooperatively arrived at, makes the efficient and neutral operation of the Panama Canal a joint commitment with the broad support of the international community. It is the essential foundation of a long-term relationship of friendship and cooperation with the nations of the Western Hemisphere. It enhances our security and raises new prospects for a peaceful and constructive international order.

This treaty, sought by four Administrations over a period of 13 years, advances fundamental national purposes. Support for it is required by statesmanship, patriotism and wisdom. I therefore support Senate ratification.

ASSESSMENT OF SENATE POSITIONS, ON PANAMA

**** Possible supporters**

[illegible]



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

August 22, 1977

TO : M - Mr. Read
S/AB - Ambassador Bunker
S/AB - Ambassador Linowitz
ARA - Ambassador Todman
H - Mr. Bennet

FROM : PA - William D. Blair, Jr., Acting *WB*

Polls on Panama Differ Substantially

Because of the publicity received by a poll purporting to show that 78 percent of the public opposes the revised Panama Canal treaty, it is interesting to have additional evidence substantiating our recent finding that opposition to the treaty may actually be more than twenty percentage points lower, at the level of fifty-plus percent.

On August 2-3, NBC asked a national sample of the public: "Do you think the United States should sign a treaty which would eventually (underline added) return control of the Panama Canal Zone to the Government of Panama, or don't you think so?"

Don't sign treaty	55%
Sign treaty	27
Not sure	18

In contrast, the widely publicized poll released two weeks ago by Senator Helms showed 78 percent of the respondents opposed a treaty, eight percent favored it, and 14 percent had no opinion. That poll was conducted by Opinion Research Corporation in May, about two months earlier than the NBC poll. We do not believe the difference is accounted for by a change in attitude over a two-month period, but is the result of a significant difference in question wording.

The more negative response was evoked by this question: "Do you favor the United States continuing its ownership and control of the Panama Canal or do you favor turning ownership and control of the Panama Canal over to the Republic of Panama?"

Polls conducted over the past year by four different polling organizations (Roper, Yankelovich, Caddell, NBC) showed that opposition to the treaty has been fifty-plus percent when the changeover in canal status is indicated to be relatively gradual or with the United States retaining significant rights. A Caddell poll conducted in May, and comparable in wording to NBC's August poll, produced comparable findings. Caddell asked:

"Do you think the United States should negotiate a treaty with Panama whereby over a period of time Panama will eventually (underline added) own and run the canal?"

Oppose new treaty	51%
Favor new treaty	27
Don't know	22

The fact that substantially different poll results have been recorded on this issue brings to mind a UPI story last week quoting Senator Robert Byrd as follows: "The polls indicate that about 75 percent of the American public are opposed to giving up the canal, and you're not going to get two-thirds of the Senate to ratify that treaty until there's a substantial change in the polls."

Drafted: PA/M:BRBshco:reb
8/22/77 x20474

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE

OF

CHARLES FINCH, GOVERNOR,
STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

AND

JULIAN CARROLL, GOVERNOR
STATE OF KENTUCKY

THE BRIEFING ROOM

3:55 P.M. EDT

MR. POWELL: I would like to present to you people Governor Julian Carroll of Kentucky and Governor Charles Finch of Mississippi, and they will say what they please.

GOVERNOR FINCH: Go ahead. I will yield to my senior member.

GOVERNOR CARROLL: We have just finished, for the States of Kentucky and Mississippi, a two-hour briefing on the proposed Panama Canal treaties. I am thoroughly convinced of one very significant thing.

The communication of the various aspects of these treaties to all the peoples of the United States, including the media and all the facts associated with those treaties, is going to be difficult. But I am equally convinced that when the American people find out the number of years it has taken to negotiate these treaties, which is over 13 years, the American people find out that some 16 years ago we did have a small skirmish in the Panama Canal Zone in which we lost American lives and Panamanian lives that prompted the negotiation of these treaties, and when the American people find out that only through negotiation and the affirmation of these treaties can we absolutely ensure the continued safe use of the Canal for the benefit of this country, only at that time, I think, will the Americans understand why the previous Administration and this Administration have jointly confirmed the fact that these treaties must be confirmed by the United States Congress, and signed by the President.

To that end, I shall do whatever I can to support the President and support the Senate and support the Congress in trying to communicate that message to the people of the United States.

GOVERNOR FINCH: I might say that I came with a little different philosophy, my people and myself. I had felt in all probability that we should not be giving up the Panama Canal. I wanted to know all the facts and I knew that I could not express an opinion until I heard from the experts.

MORE

We read the papers, we see television, we hear the radios, we hear people discuss different phases of these treaties and talking about what we may be giving up until -- that is, actually relinquishing any rights that we may have to the Panama Government.

Today was the first time that I have had an opportunity to fully be briefed on the facts of what the American people will be doing as far as the Panama Canal is concerned.

My President is very much in favor of this, and as my President, I feel that I have a responsibility and a duty to listen to him very closely as all other Americans. He was very sincere and very humble in his presentation about it being for the best interest of all of the people of America, not only in this Administration, but he was a man that really bit the bullet and said we need not only to talk about it as has been done by previous Administrations for some 12 or 14 years, but he has actually gone forward and negotiated treaties that would effect what we have been talking about for a number of years.

And I am proud of this man, my President and yours -- to take that stand regardless if I believe in what is being done or not.

Until I know all the facts -- and what I am very much concerned about is how this will -- how it will affect the American military affairs throughout the world.

Number one, I remember, as you do, in Czechoslovakia when the Russians moved in immediately, somebody was talking about how it is going to affect us and our Latin American neighbors, in our relation with the Latin American neighbors. I want to know militarily how it will affect our people around the world, militarily.

MORE

The Secretary of Defense explained this today, Secretary Brown. I want to know more of those facts before I go back and really say to my people and the people of America that I support this 100 percent.

I feel this is the criteria that I must use in making my determination for the best interest of the people that I represent and, I feel, to express my full and sincere belief to the people of America: Number 1, that I feel that we should be good neighbors. I believe in the President's feeling of humanitarians, human rights. I believe that we should help our neighbors.

I believe in the President's sincerity in what he is doing and I sincerely compliment him for his stand that he is taking in this instance as well as he has in the energy policy that we have talked about for many years.

So what I am really saying is, I am not fully convinced at this time, until I know all the facts, how far I will go. But I can tell you I am much closer to seeing my President and seeing how he feels, that I will be more in favor and inclined to a treaty that would be mutually advantageous to the people of America as well as giving some rights to the Government of Panama.

I am not in favor of relinquishing all rights that the American people have and have paid for at this time.

GOVERNOR CARROLL: Questions?

Q Are you fully convinced, Governor Carroll, that this treaty should be approved?

GOVERNOR CARROLL: Well, I had, I assume, all the facts that the Administration has to offer, presented to us today. Based on those facts, I know of no reason at the moment why, as an American, that I should object to the confirmation of the treaty. Obviously, no man ever fully closes his mind, but at the moment, based on the information through the briefing, my inclinations are that the treaty should be confirmed.

Those facts include, for example -- I wish I could remember where I read this last night, but I read somewhere last night that the United States would be paying out \$50 million to \$60 million a year in charges to the Panamanians. We have just been told that that is not true. I assume that the information that we have just been given in the briefing is accurate. But we have been told that the charges are on a per-tonnage of use of the canal and the Panamanians are guaranteed only, I believe it was said \$10 million as a minimum, and then beyond that \$10 million, above that they are guaranteed only, I believe, 30 cents per ton going through the canal and no appropriations from the United States Congress will be necessary to make those payments.

MORE

I must admit I came up here, after having read that piece last night from wherever I read it, thinking that we were going to have to pay out a substantial sum of money for our continued use of the canal.

Essentially, the major question that concerned me, and it is one that was fully answered for me today, these treaties preserve the right of the United States in perpetuity to take whatever action at whatever time in history it deems feasible for the United States' use of those canals. That is a right that we have today and it is a right that we are not giving up.

Essentially, then, I find that we are not giving up anything that we have today, except that we are hopefully gaining the good will of all of our Latin American friends. There is a substantial amount of anti-American feeling in Latin America, and it is hopeful that this confirmation of these treaties will guarantee to America some greater feeling of brotherly love between our two major countries and preclude the Soviet Union or some other national power of being able to come into the Panama Canal Zone and making their own deal with Panama and excluding the United States.

MORE

One major thing that I learned today that I must admit that I had not been fully informed about earlier is the simple fact that the Panamanians can proceed to build another canal with another country and exclude the United States. We have no right to presume that that country will always use this canal and that no other canal will be built. But yet these treaties preserve to the United States the right of refusal to any other canal built in the Panama Canal Zone.

It will be ours if any more are built and one probably will be built, one will have to be built. At the same time, they must let us build it. No one else can. Yes, Ed?

Q Governor, the Senate Majority Leader has said that he would advise the President not to press for Senate ratification this year because the votes aren't there. On the other hand, there are people who say he should not wait until next year because it will become involved in the election, as an election campaign issue.

Did the President tell you or give you any indication as to what he will do on that score? Will he try for it this year or will he put it off until next?

GOVERNOR CARROLL: I was very much impressed with the comment by the President when he said, "I would appreciate those of you in this room helping me communicate with the American people to the exclusion of your own State Senators." He said, "I am not asking you to go back and lobby with your own United States Senators for your states, I am asking you only to communicate with the people of your state."

I would assume from that that the President in his own schedule will proceed to recommend the treaty for ratification at such time as he feels that is appropriate. That subject was not discussed today.

Q How many Governors were there?

GOVERNOR CARROLL: Two today.

Q Who else was present?

GOVERNOR CARROLL: The Governors from the States of Mississippi and Kentucky and delegations, about 40 people, approximately 40 people, 20 each from the States of Mississippi and Kentucky.

Q Is this a start of a series --

GOVERNOR CARROLL: I am sorry, beyond that you will have to go further and ask someone here at the White House.

Q Why were you invited?

MORE

GOVERNOR CARROLL: You will have to ask for further clarification of that question. I am going to have to run.

Q Two of your Congressmen, one Democrat and one Republican at the House hearing last week severely criticized the treaty.

GOVERNOR CARROLL: Yes, I heard all that.

Q Don't you think they represent somewhat the constituents in some parts of Kentucky?

GOVERNOR CARROLL: Obviously those two Congressmen represent fine constituencies. I have a firm belief that if they would spend some time at some of the details of it, that there is a good chance that their criticism could be tempered substantially. At the same time, I have no problem with any Congressman or any Senator raising the very questions that they raised. Every conceivable question that can be raised should be raised, and it should be raised in the public spectrum, in the public forum for full discussion, and essentially that is what they have done.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 4:10 P.M. EDT)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 24, 1977

TO: THE VICE PRESIDENT
Dr. Brzezinski - National Security Council
Frank Moore - Congressional Relations
Jody Powell - Press
Warren Christopher - State Department
Evan Dobelle - Protocol
Mary Hoyt - First Lady's Staff
Hugh Carter - White House Staff
Tim Kraft - Scheduling

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ.*

As you know, the signing ceremony for the Panama Canal Treaty has been scheduled for September 7 in Washington.

With such a short period of time to prepare for the ceremony, the President has asked that we form a working group of involved and affected persons/agencies/departments and begin to meet regularly to coordinate the many political, logistical, and scheduling decisions which will have to be made.

We would like to ask that you designate someone to represent you in this working group and inform my office at the earliest possible date.

Phil Wise will serve as the convener of this group and will be responsible on behalf of the White House for the overall coordination of this effort.

*Permy - Mubale's office
Evan Dobelle - Protocol*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

FILE

MEMO TO: Hamilton

FROM: Phil ~~W~~

SUBJECT: Canal Week

Date: August 28, 1977

Specific decisions made at initial Task Force meeting on Saturday, August 27, 1977:

- 1) Before any functions are finalized or released to the public, they must be cleared and approved by me and placed on a master calendar.
- 2) Evan Dobelle is the only source of official information concerning the visiting delegations including but not limited to arrival and departure times, delegation size and lodging.
- 3) Becky Hendrix will notify each Task Force member of the next meeting time and place.
- 4) On Sept. 1 Blair House will become the base headquarters for co-ordination.

Decisions to be made:

- 1) Signing Ceremony - We must decide today the time and type of signing for the treaties. I suggest a meeting of Evan Dobelle, Jody Powell, Barry Jagoda, Frank Moore, yourself and me to finalize this ceremony. OAS will co-operate fully with our wishes.
- 2) Gen. Torrijos schedule - It would be best for us to schedule the entire time of Torrijos visit. We should begin today. He is now scheduled to arrive Monday Sept. 5. Should the V.P. greet him on arrival at Andrews?
- 3) Financial - The costs for week are still being defined but I estimate \$1-1 1/2 million. Plans should be made for agency responsibility.

- 4) Demonstrations - I feel we can expect highly visible protests to the treaty signing. We must prepare for the press coverage of these.
- 5) Bi-laterals - Should the President meet with the head of every delegation or just the Heads of State? Does he want joint delegation meetings to cover mutual areas?

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE

Tues. Sept. 6

A.M. Delegations begin arrivals at Andrews AFB

P.M. Bi-laterals begin

Evening Entertainment

Wed. Sept. 7

A.M. Arrivals continue

NOON Luncheon event

P.M. Bi-laterals continue

7:30 Signing ceremony

8:30 State Dinner

Thur. Sept. 8

A.M. Bi-laterals continue

NOON Luncheon event - Heads of State
Luncheon event - wives

P.M. Bi-laterals completed
Departures begin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
August 30, 1977

Hugh Carter

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Hamilton Jordan
Tim Kraft

RE: PRES. FORD'S POSSIBLE INVOLVE-
MENT IN THE SIGNING CEREMONY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

*Ham
done - ok
J*

*Hugh - make
arrangements
J*

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN ^{7/18} AND HUGH CARTER ^H
RE: PRESIDENT FORD'S POSSIBLE INVOLVEMENT IN THE
SIGNING CEREMONY

Hugh Carter has talked with Ford's staff about the possibility of his participating in the signing ceremony. Hugh said that they were generally receptive to the idea and probably would if the invitation came directly from you and if you asked him to play a special role - possibly spending the night with you at the White House and/or sitting next to you at the State Dinner, etc. The point Ford's people made to Hugh was that he did not want to come here to simply be a part of the media event and then get lost in the crowd.

Hugh thinks - and I agree - that if you called him and asked him personally to come and stay with you Wednesday night at the White House that he probably would.

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE
MARKING BY BB DATE 2-10-83

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

August 30, 1977

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN
RE: MEETING FOR KEY PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONAL LEADERS

As you know, we are proceeding simultaneously along several tracks in our Panama Canal Treaty strategy. We are bringing groups in from target states, you are calling and meeting with individual Senators, and we are working through private groups and multinationals to reach specific Senators.

There still remains a large number of key people and groups who need a briefing and some exposure to you before they will get active.

Our recommendation is for a meeting next week with a select group of these people. Through this effort,

we should be able to generate both organizational support and key personal endorsements. Because of the nature of this group, it would probably require more than 15-20 minutes of your time. It would probably take a full hour. However, after this briefing, I believe that we could move rapidly on a lot of fronts simultaneously as opposed to approaching many of these same people one by one.

Although there might be some persons in this group who would really have to be convinced by this meeting, by and large they will be kindly disposed toward supporting the treaty. Many of these same people have been contacted for support and/or public endorsements and are awaiting briefings or the actual document for study.

My strong feeling is that this meeting would accelerate a lot of our activities and prevent you from having to make a lot of other telephone calls to individuals. Also, as you will note, many of these same national leaders are from states where there are swing senators.

The persons listed under "Multinational Executives" on the front page are persons that could help us with numerous Senators.

_____ Approve of meeting with 1 hour of my time.

_____ Disapprove

_____ Other

LIST OF INVITEES

When appropriate, I have listed swing Senator(s) that invitees might help us with from their own state.

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

Irvin Shapiro, Business Roundtable (Delaware/Roth)
Tom Watson, Business Roundtable
Tom Murphy, Business Roundtable (Michigan/Griffin)
John DeButts, Business Council
Heath Larry, National Association of Manufacturers
Dick Leshner, U. S. Chamber of Commerce
Henry Geyelin, Council of Americas

MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION EXECUTIVES

Henry Ford, II, Ford Motor Company (Michigan/Griffin)
David Rockefeller, Chase Manhattan Bank
Watler Wriston, Citibank
Reginald Jones, GE
Andrew Haskell, Time, Inc
Howard Kauffman, Exxon
Maurice Granville, Texaco
David C. Scott, Allis-Chalmers
Brooks McCormick, International Harvester (Illinois)
George Schultz, Bechtel Corporation (California)
A. W. Clausen, Bank of America (California)
Paul Austin, Coca-Cola (Georgia/Nunn and Talmadge)
Max Fisher, United Brand (Michigan/Griffin)
Arthur Woods, Sears (Illinois)

LABOR

George Meany
Doug Fraser

RELIGIOUS

Arch Bishop Bernardin, President, National Conference of Catholic Bishops
Dr. Billy Graham
Claire Randal, National Council of Churches
David Blumberg, B'nai B'rith
Richard Maas, American Jewish Community

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS

Vernon Jordan, Urban League
Ben Hooks, NAACP

FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT

Henry Kissinger
Averell Harriman
John McCloy
Dean Rusk - Ga/Talmadge and Nunn

COMMITTEE ON THE PRESENT DANGER

Paul Nitze
Eugene Rostow

UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS

Alexander Heard - Tennessee/Baker and Sasser
Cliff Wharton - Michigan/Griffin
Father Theodore Hesburgh/ Indiana/Lugar

REPUBLICAN LEADERS

Gerald Ford
Melvin Laird
William Scranton - Pennsylvania/Heinz and Schweiker
Hugh Scott - Pennsylvania/Heinz and Schweiker
Pete Pererson
John Sherman Cooper - Kentucky/Ford & Huddleston

WOMAN

Ruth Clausen, League of Women Voters
Piilanti C. Desha (National Federation of Business and
Professional Women)
Lady Byrd Johnson

LATIN AMERICAN GROUPS

(Aragon will recommend)

GOVERNORS

(Representative of U. S. Governors Conference)

MAYORS

(U. S. Conference of Mayors Representative)

RETIRED MILITARY

Gen. Maxwell Taylor
Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer
Adm. Elmo Zumwalt
Adm. Rickover
Gen. Westmoreland