

## **Panama Canal Treaty, 10, 11, 12/77 (2)**

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PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

PRELIMINARY SENATE VOTE COUNT

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

+	+
Church	Case
Cranston	Chafee
Culver	Danforth
Glenn	Griffin
Gravel	Hatfield
Hart	Javits
Hollings	Mathias
Humphrey	Packwood
Inouye	Pearson
Jackson	Percy
Kennedy	Weicker -- 11
Matsunaga	
McGovern	
Morgan	
Moynihan	
Muskie	
Ribicoff	
Riegle	
Sarbanes	
Sparkman	
Williams	
Pell	
Clark	
Abourezk -- 24	

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+?

Bayh	
Byrd	
Durkin	
Eagleton	
Magnuson	
Melcher	
Metzenbaum	
Stevenson -- 8	

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?

?

Swing list including those up for re-election

Anderson	Metcalf	Baker
Bentsen	McIntyre	Bellmon
Biden	Nelson	Brooke (Because of potential election problems)
Bumpers	Nunn	Goldwater
Chiles	Proxmire	Hayakawa
DeConcini	Randolph	Heinz
Ford	Sasser	Lugar
Haskell	Stone - 29	Schweiker
Hathaway		Stafford
Huddleston		Stevens
Leahy		

DEMOCRATS

- (Opposed)

Allen  
Cannon  
Burdick  
Eastland  
Johnston  
Long  
McClellan  
Stennis  
Talmadge  
Zorinsky

REPUBLICANS

- (Opposed)

Bartlett  
Curtis  
Dole  
Domenici  
Garn  
Hansen  
Hatch  
Helms  
Laxalt  
McClure  
Roth  
Schmitt  
Scott  
Thurmond  
Tower  
Wallop  
Young

23

INDEPENDENTS

- (Opposed)

Harry Byrd

PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

Senators up for re-election.

Democrats -- Supporting

Sparkman  
Clark  
Pell

Democrats who would normally support but have election problems in addition to the Panama Canal Treaties issue.

McIntyre  
Haskell  
Anderson

Democrats who should support the Treaties, but who could have election problems because of the issue.

Biden  
Huddleston  
Hathaway  
Metcalf  
Randolph

Democrats who would normally lean in favor of the Treaties.

Nunn  
Proxmire

Democrats opposed

McClellan  
Johnston  
Eastland

Democrats announcing they will not run and should have their vote.

Abourezk

Republicans -- supporting.

Griffin -- not running for re-election.

Case  
Percy  
Hatfield.

Republicans who could have election problems because of the Treaties issue.

Baker  
Brooke

Republicans who will support, but are holding their own counsel  
at present.

Pearson

Republicans--opposed

McClure

Domenici

Helms

Bartlett

Tower

Thurmond

Curtis (not running for re-election)

Scott (not running for re-election)

Hansen (not running for re-election)

[out. 77]

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER  
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*  
RE: UPDATE ON PANAMA CANAL/REVISED WORK PLAN

Present Situation

Although it has not been translated into positive votes or commitments, I feel that we have regained some of the political momentum on the treaty that was lost over the past couple of months. I attribute that to several factors:

- Clarifying statement. This undercut the arguments that had become the focus of the Birchers and the right-wingers. We were on the defensive for several weeks, but this statement turned things around.
- Novelty of the organized mail campaign has begun to wear out. This is not meant to suggest that the mail has not had a tremendous impact on the Hill. It has, but the Senators have recognized it for what it is. They are over the initial shock of receiving large number of letters against the treaty.

"Electrostatic reproduction made for preservation purposes."

"DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING CANCELLED PER E.O. 12956, SEC. 1.3 AND ARCHIVIST'S MEMO OF MARCH 15, 1983"

- Some shift in public opinion polls. Although it seems to have stalled at around 30-35%, the Senators no longer have to deal with polls that show the opposition 10 to 1.
- Some significant breakthroughs in the South. We now have public commitments from Hollings of South Carolina and Morgan of North Carolina. This has created a better atmosphere in the Senate for other Southern Senators to consider supporting the treaty.
- Good state briefings. The extensive briefings have created a better atmosphere among opinion leaders and political figures in each state.
- Generally, good editorial support and favorable press. The newspaper support for the treaty has been decisive. Also, the specials on the treaty (Bill Moyers, public service specials, etc.) have been very positive and helpful.

Still, we face a tough fight to win on ratification.

#### The Next Step

It was my thinking that we would continue our present posture until after the energy bill was completed by the Congress. Now that that process is likely to continue late until the year, I believe that we have to begin to shift gears now in terms of our efforts to educate the American people. If we wait until after Christmas, we

have a conflict with your foreign trip and then after the first of the year we get into a period of time that will be preoccupied with preparation for the budget, the State of the Union speech, etc.

For that reason, I would suggest that we begin now to think and plan for:

-An Address to the Nation in December.

-Some private meetings with individual Senators while the Congress continues its work on energy.

You might review this work plan and make notations. We need to do a national media campaign. Our Citizens' Committee has raised some monies for this, but they will only be able to raise the funds they need if you will agree to give them 30-45 minutes late some afternoon in Washington for a reception.

Agree to do reception.

Disagree.



WORK PLAN UPDATE: PANAMA CANALGENERAL POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

- The treaties, as clarified by the Carter-Torrijos joint statement, have come through the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings and the Panamanian Plebiscite without incurring any major damage. No issues have emerged which appear unmanageable.
- Our tactic of opposing any reservation is working; Senators are taking refuge in the position that they cannot support the treaties unless they are modified. Nevertheless, the political attraction of amending the treaties in committee or on the floor continues to pose the greatest threat to ratification.
- The treaties will probably come to a vote in late February, 1978, about four months from now. During two of these months, Congress will be out of session.
- The clarification has given comfort to most Democratic Senators. Nevertheless, there is very little public support for the President among moderate Democrats.
- We are losing ground among moderate Republicans (Stevens and Danforth, for example), who are under intense pressure from the Republican right-wing.
- It is clear that right-wing Republican groups will launch a multi-million dollar campaign against the treaties using direct mail, paid TV time, and grassroots organizing efforts. The campaign will have the most impact on moderate Republicans.
- Polls still indicate that the public opposes the treaties by two-to-one. Although there was some improvement following the signing ceremonies in early September, recent polls confirm that the ratio has fallen off again. According to Caddell, there is some evidence that opinions are beginning to harden slightly. The only good news from the polls is the Gallup conclusion that those who understand the treaties favor their ratification five-to-four.

GENERAL POLITICAL ASSUMPTIONS (continued)

- Despite the polls, the treaties have received impressive bi-partisan support from opinion leaders outside of government. A Citizen's Committee led by Jack Marsh, Lee Kling, Averell Harriman and Hugh Scott will run announcement ads November 1.
- The Citizen's Committee effort in favor of the treaties will not be able to match the efforts of the right-wing opposition.

FIRESIDE CHAT

The best time for a Fireside Chat appears, as of now, to be during the week ~~following Senate adjournment~~, in late November or early December. *WE CAN'T WAIT THAT LONG. SHOULD BE DONE IN DECEMBER.* *ok*

CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS PLAN

Frank Moore's current count in the Senate is attached. Our revised Congressional Relations plan calls for the following:

- Working with a group of Senators named by Senator Cranston to act as a coordinating committee.
- Working with a group of congressional staffers organized by Dick McCall of Senator Humphrey's staff to help counter efforts to amend the treaties.
- Making another round of contacts with undecided Senators, asking them to remain neutral when they return home.
- Arranging trips to Panama for groups of Senators.
- Arranging public engagements for Senators who favor the treaties.
- Placing statements of support and rebuttals in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.
- Preparing for mark-up of the treaties.
- Preparation of positions opposing Senate amendments.
- Preparation of letters to be sent to Senators by the President or Secretary of State.
- Working with State Department's Public Affairs Section to arrange speaking engagements for mid-level State Department Officers.

CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS PLAN (continued)

- Special calls from President to certain undecided Senators who might be slipping. He should ask them to remain undecided until we have had an opportunity to present our case to the American people.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEES

The Committee of Americans for the Canal Treaties, Inc. has been formed by a bi-partisan group led by Averell Harriman, Hugh Scott, Jack Marsh, and Lee Kling. The Committee plans the following:

- Announcement ads in the New York Times, The Washington Post, The Washington Star, The Los Angeles Times, to be run November 1. (copy attached)
- A Washington fundraiser on November 2 with a goal of \$150,000 - \$200,000, and a New York fundraiser on November 3.
- The formation of state-level citizens' committees at a day-long national organizing conference on November 18. The attendance goal is 750-1000 treaty supporters. President Carter will be asked to speak.
- A direct mail campaign, if funds permit.
- A national TV advertising campaign is a priority, particularly in view of the fact that the conservatives are launching an extensive campaign of their own. We can only counter the direct mail campaign with good free and paid media. See articles that follow.
- Distribution to local television stations of an edited video tape of the Denver briefing. The video tape will be edited by Jerry Rafshoon.
- Preparation of printed materials for nationwide distribution.
- A Speakers Bureau.
- A major event at which President Ford, as guest speaker, will call for a return to bi-partisan support of the President's foreign policies.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEES (continued)

Another group, Committee for Ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties (Father Hesburgh, Chairman), has been formed to act as a coalition of liberal organizations. This coalition is raising money for a direct mail appeal, and will prepare materials for distribution to its member organizations.

## DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE PLANS

The DNC plans the following:

- A mailing to 150,000 Carter supporters; the mail package will be prepared by Jerry Rafshoon.
- Use of the desk system to seek support from Democratic activists at the local level. Initial telephone calls have been successful in developing both direct mail and grassroots support.

## ENDORSEMENTS

A list of major organizational endorsements is attached. Of these, the most important are the AFL-CIO, the U. S. Catholic Conference and the U. S. Jaycees. The Council of the Americas will endorse in December and there remains a possibility that the U. S. Chamber of Commerce will endorse the treaties in mid-November.

In addition, the treaties have received hundreds of endorsements by individuals; these names are being coordinated with the Citizen's Committee.

## WHITE HOUSE BRIEFINGS

To date, groups from 24 states have received White House briefings. Missouri, Rhode Island, and Alaska will be briefed on November 7. On November 10, leaders of major women's organizations will be briefed with Mrs. Carter's help. Other briefings will be held as necessary. A complete list of briefings held to date is attached.

## CONCLUSIONS

- It is unlikely that the Administration's current modest momentum can be sustained through December without more help from moderate Senate Democrats. Senator Byrd continues to hint that he will be helpful. He complimented the clarification statement; he is traveling to Panama November 9-13. When Senator Byrd returns, the President should ask him for his early support. sk

CONCLUSIONS (continued)

--Any Senate mail generated by pro-treaty efforts will be swamped by the conservative campaign. We may want to consider asking the Vice President or an influential Senator to begin a concerted public effort to criticize the right-wing's emotional use of simplistic slogans and half-truths.

--Moderate Republicans are under particularly intense pressure from the right-wing campaign. Our best hope for influencing them to support the Administration is still President Ford, Henry Kissinger, and other Republicans who support the treaties. From time to time, President Carter should call President Ford to keep him informed; Hamilton should do the same with Dr. Kissinger.

*Give me some of  
their mail/advertisements*

## Organizations

AFL-CIO

CWA

AFSCME

UAW

Panama Canal Pilots Association

United States Catholic Conference

Synagogue Council of America

American Jewish Committee

American Jewish Congress

Jaycees

DNC

NWPC

National Council of La Raza

League of United Latin American Citizens

New Democratic Coalition

Americans for Democratic Action

New Directions

Operation SER/Jobs for Progress, Inc

Mexican American Legal Defense Educational Fund

The Ripon Society

National IMAGE

American G I Forum

El Congreso Nacional De Asuntos Colegiales

# TV Campaign Begun Against Panama Canal Treaty

By ADAM CLYMER  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 30—The American conservative Union began a television campaign last night against ratification of the Panama Canal treaties, showing a half-hour program that contends the retention of the canal "is vital to our economy, our national defense and our security."  
The program was shown on stations in Texas, Louisiana and Florida. Representative Phillip M. Crane, chairman of the union, said that the opening schedule of 20 showings over two weeks was a

prelude to broadcasts in every major market in the nation.

Mr. Crane said the three states were chosen for the first phase of the campaign because of a strong organization already campaigning against the treaties in those areas. To finance later showings, the program is interrupted with six appeals for funds. There are also six appeals to viewers to write to their senators. Mr. Crane said that his group had so far raised and spent \$40,000.

### 'Important TV Program'

At a news conference Thursday, Mr. Crane, an Illinois Republican, said that the program was "our effort to respond

to the media time the Administration can command free of charge."

The program began with Mr. Crane asserting that "this may be the most important TV program you have ever watched." He then was joined by Republican Senators Jake Garn of Utah, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, Paul Laxalt of Nevada and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina. Mr. Crane said that they attempted to get former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California to appear but could not arrange the details of a taping.

The frequent theme is: "There is no Panama Canal. There is an American

Canal at Panama," completed by film of the canal.

On the program, Mr. Helms contended that the arguments the canal should be turned over to Panama because of threats of guerrilla attack were spurious because it had not been attacked in World War II or the Vietnam War. He also said that the argument showed a weakness "which could literally destroy America."

Guthrie F. Crowe, retired Canal Zone Federal judge, argued that the treaties under which the United States built the canal were not ambiguous, and that "to give away the canal and zone for any reason, especially one of phony guilt, would be a stain on our history and our honor."

Senator Laxalt appeared and argued

that other Latin American countries, despite public support for the treaty, did not really want to see the canal in Panamanian control because it would threaten their shipping. "Most Latin Americans understand strength and respect the United States for it," he said.

Senator Thurmond warned that Panama would increase tolls and "you and every other American consumer will be hit in the wallet and forced to pay higher tolls for almost everything, including our own Alaskan oil."

But he concentrated most on the argument that the canal represented the American spirit: "We are still a proud people, and we have every right to be proud about our canal and the way we

have run it for the benefit of all mankind."

Mr. Crane warned that President Carter might expect to get the treaties thro Congress because of Democratic control on Capitol Hill, saying that Mr. Carter and a majority of United States senators "are preparing to ignore your expressed wishes."

So he appealed to the audience—last night's show was broadcast in Washington, Tex., Alexandria, La., and Gainesville and West Palm Beach, Fla.—not only to send at least \$10, but also to write to their senators. He added: "Tell them that the American Canal at Panama is vital to our economy, our national defense, our spirit. Let your senators know in unmistakable language that we, the people, intend to keep it."

**"Will you have to be rich to send your child to college? Not with The Bowery's new 'Education Plan!'"**

# Conservatives Set TV Film Opposing Panama Treaties

By John M. Goshko

Washington Post Staff Writer

"This may be the most important TV program you have ever watched," says the handsome congressman dressed in carefully tailored, dark pin-stripes that immediately communicate a tone of quiet conservatism.

Then comes the message delivered in the resonant, professional tones of an off-screen announcer: "THERE IS NO PANAMA CANAL! THERE IS AN AMERICAN CANAL AT PANAMA."

That's the opening of a glossy, 30-minute color TV film unveiled yesterday by the American Conservative Union as the newest weapon in its campaign to block Senate approval of President Carter's Panama Canal treaties.

Between Oct. 29 and Nov. 13, the ACU will use the film in a media blitz of Texas, Louisiana and Florida, airing it on 29 television stations in the three states.

Rep. Philip Crane (R-Ill.), the ACU chairman, said the move has a double-barrelled purpose: to spur viewers into calling on their senators to vote against the treaties and to contribute funds to the ACU's anti-treaty war chest.

"We're starting in those three states because they are places where sentiment against the treaties is very strong," Crane said. "Our hope is to generate enough contributions to get this film aired in all of the 50 states."

Although the ACU had raised approximately \$400,000 for its fight against the treaties, Crane said, most of the money has been spent: first on newspaper ads urging voters to put pressure on their senators and then on producing the TV documentary.

Crane said the film, made by a Miami advertising agency, cost \$20,000 to produce. Putting it on the air in the three states, he added, involves additional costs of \$20,000 to buy time and \$6,000 to advertise it in local newspapers.

In the film, Crane acts as the "host," telling viewers at the outset: "The President and most senators are determined to give away the American canal at the isthmus of Panama—unless you demand otherwise. This is

your chance to be heard—and in the next several moments, I'll tell you how."

He then introduces a supporting cast of outspoken treaty opponents that includes Sens. Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.), Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), Paul Laxalt (R-Nev.) and Jake Garn (R-Utah).

Also featured in the program are Maj. Gen. J. Milnor Roberts Jr., executive director of the Reserve Officers Association; Phelps Jones of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Guthrie F. Crowe, a retired U.S. district court judge for the Canal Zone.

Each takes a turn before the cameras to argue that Carter must be denied the 67 votes—two-thirds of the Senate—necessary to approve the treaties turning gradual control of the canal over to Panama.

Between them, they manage to pack into the film's 30 minutes the entire catalogue of complaints that have been made against the treaties. But two, in particular, are given special emphasis:

- That the canal is an important national asset, built, paid for and legally owned by the United States.

- That U.S. security would be endangered and U.S. prestige would be diminished by surrendering to "blackmail" from an unstable and leftist Panamanian dictatorship.

In between the repetitions of this message, Crane gives viewers detailed instructions, right down to the zip code, on how to write their senators and to urge that they call a toll-free number to "pledge a contribution of \$10 or more so we can continue our TV campaign against the canal giveaway."

At yesterday's preview of the film, several reporters noted that the most potentially effective opponent of the treaties in American politics—former California Gov. Ronald Reagan—was conspicuously absent from the cast.

Crane replied that Reagan's schedule had not permitted him to come to Washington where the show was taped two weeks ago. The ACU, he said, felt it was more important to get the film made and on the air as soon as possible than to wait for a time when Reagan would be available.

*True*

*false*

# Carter Courts Opinion Shapers On Canal Treaties

WASHINGTON — Byron Hirst is a well-established and well-connected lawyer in Cheyenne, Wyo. He is what the social scientists would call an "opinion leader" in his community. He is also a Republican.

A week ago last Saturday, Hirst was one of about a hundred opinion leaders from eight Western states who were invited to go to Denver for a briefing by the Carter administration on the proposed new Panama Canal treaties, a briefing that would conclude with a personal appeal for support from the President of the United States.

When he got back home to Cheyenne, Byron Hirst had changed his mind about the Panama Canal. He was not yet ready to go out and organize a demonstration in favor of the new treaties, but what he is doing now is almost as significant.

"I am trying to moderate people who are opposed to the treaties," he says. "About 80 per cent of the people around here are against them, because this is a conservative area.

"We're mountain people," he explains. "Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders came out of Wyoming, you know. But most people are against the treaties because they don't understand them."

**HIRST NOW FEELS** he understands them, and he is willing to support them enthusiastically if the Carter administration and the Senate will add the kind of clarifying language that was included in the joint communique recently drafted by President Carter and Panama's Gen. Omar Torrijos.

The case of Byron Hirst is a typical example of the success the



**Don  
Campbell**  
Gannett  
News Service

White House is having in changing people's minds about one of the most controversial foreign affairs issues of this decade.

In an effort to counter the vocal and highly organized campaign by right-wing groups to defeat the treaties, the White House is holding a series of low-key briefings for business, civic and political leaders from around the country. Most of those invited are taken from lists submitted to the White House by their U.S. senators, whether pro or con on the treaties.

Until Denver, reporters had been shut out of the briefings, mainly because the White House feared that their presence would destroy the atmosphere of intimacy and frank discussion. As a result, the press became extremely curious as to why people were going into the briefings adamantly opposed to the treaties and coming out babbling about how they had seen the light.

That question was answered when the White House agreed to let public television broadcast the Denver briefing live to four states. What the reporters and everyone else saw was a masterful selling job, not only by Carter but by his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, treaty co-negotiator Sol Linowitz, Defense Secretary Harold Brown and Gen.

George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

**THE AUDIENCE**, each member having been given an official briefing book containing copies of the two proposed treaties and a batch of favorable newspaper editorials, was proselytized for three solid hours. Carter wound up the session by knocking down what he called a lot of myths about the Panama Canal and by urging the participants to go home and "let your own voice be heard."

If interviews this week with more than a dozen of those participants is a valid indicator, the briefing was an unqualified success.

In Laramie, the president of the University of Wyoming announced Monday that he had changed his position as a result of the Denver briefing, and was now supporting ratification of the treaties.

In Santa Fe, Dr. Dan Croy, chairman of the New Mexico Democratic Party, told an inquiring reporter that "when people are exposed to the facts, it turns them around." Croy, who once served as a doctor in the Panama Canal Zone, said he had never had any trouble with the "concept" of relinquishing control over the canal, but he had wanted to read the proposed treaties before endorsing them.

Now Croy is motivated enough to get himself invited to appear on a television talk show next week to argue for passage of the treaties. He says he is also "going to do all I can to turn our two senators around." Both New Mexico senators are Republicans who are expected to oppose ratification.

In Littleton, Colo., a rapidly

growing suburb south of Denver, Mayor Harold Meyer was turned around so abruptly by the briefing that he almost feels guilty about it. Meyer, "a Republican all my life," is now re-reading all the anti-treaty material by people like Ronald Reagan that he can get his hands on.

"Prior to the briefing, I was personally opposed to signing the treaties," he says. "But the President came out with a number of statements that made me go back and study the issue. For example, I wasn't aware that the treaty we had in the past wasn't with Panama. The more he spoke, the more you could see his point of view."

**LIKE A NUMBER** of others interviewed, Meyer isn't ready to march in the streets for ratification, but he is finding that his attendance at the briefing has cast him as something of a treaty expert in the eyes of others. "A lot of people are asking me what I think, now," he says.

In Salt Lake City, a professor at Brigham Young University, who asked not to be quoted by name, said he had gone to Denver "pretty prejudiced against" the proposed treaties, but that he came back "a little less sure of that."

## Op/Ed

Op/Ed, opposite the editorial page. Includes opinions and contentious writings by people of all persuasions.

He said he was "very impressed" by Carter's remarks on the issue and was "particularly impressed" by the presentation of Linowitz.

Moreover, the briefing caused this professor to go back and read the college textbooks and even his college notes on the history of the canal.

He says he is now prepared to take the lead in setting up campus debates on the proposed treaties, even though he has no expectation that anything will change the minds of Utah's two senators, Republicans Jake Garn and Orrin Hatch, both of whom oppose the treaties.

"I've talked with a lot of those people from Utah who went to Denver against the treaties and are now leaning for them," he reports.

Also in Salt Lake City, J.D. Williams, a political science professor at the University of Utah, had nothing but praise for the briefing. But, like several others, he wants to see the treaties amended to be more specific on U.S. rights to defend the canal.

"I think that is the Achilles' heel for the administration," Williams said. If the defense rights are spelled out more clearly, he added,

he could "enthusiastically" support them.

**IN DENVER**, Mrs. Lloyd Joshel, a former president of the Denver League of Women Voters, says the briefing "reinforced my positiveness" about the treaties. Beyond that, she said, she is "talking to everyone," is trying to get the local public television station to rebroadcast the briefing in prime time, and has asked to address the Denver Council on Foreign Relations to promote the treaties.

The drift of these comments is pretty clear: The White House is obviously making some headway in its carefully crafted campaign to "educate" the people on the canal issue. It may not produce many quick switches to support by senators now in the opposition, but if enough of these opinion molders spread the word, public opposition to the treaties as measured by the pollsters may continue to wane.

That is about the best the Carter administration can hope for. It knows that supporters of the treaties will never become emotionally charged, as the opposition is.

And there are some political benefits for the White House on the side, as the Denver briefing demonstrated. The Republicans who were invited, and who found their minds being changed about the treaties, are likely to resent GOP efforts to make it a partisan issue.

That was made clear by Byron Hirst in Cheyenne. "This is not a viable Republican political issue," he said. "It would be a grave mistake for the Republican Party to try to make hay on this — and you can quote me."

WHITE HOUSE BRIEFINGS

1. August 23 Mississippi, Kentucky
2. August 30 Georgia, Florida
3. September 1 Arkansas, West Virginia
4. September 7 Business and Organization Leaders
5. September 16 Jaycees
6. September 19 Speakers of Southern Houses of Representatives
7. September 21 Tennessee, North Carolina
8. September 23 New Hampshire, Indiana
9. September 28 Delaware, Arizona, Colorado
10. October 12 Vermont, Pennsylvania, Minnesota
11. October 22 Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Nevada  
Colorado, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico

RESPONSE  
BREAKFAST BRIEFING  
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1977

Robert Anderson:

Paul Austin: Yes

David M. Blumberg: Mr. President, thank you for getting us together and giving us the facts. We will do everything we can to support your efforts.

Frank Borman: Yes. I support you.

Clark M. Clifford: In support of the treaty.

David Cohen: Yes

William T. Coleman: Yes

Alfredo Duran:

Peter Flanigan: In favor of the Panama Canal Treaties.

Charles L. Frazier: I will undertake to persuade support in my organization.

Orville Freeman: Yes. I support the treaty.

W. H. Krome George: I plan to work openly and promptly in support of the treaties.

Henry Geyelin: Yes

Averell Harriman: Yes. I strongly support the treaties.

Alexander Heard: Yes. I suggest that each person at the breakfast be sent a copy of each of the treaties as quickly as possible.

Andrew Heiskell: Yes

Father Theodore Hesburgh: I am enthusiastically in favor of the treaty.

Ben Hooks: Yes. Personally supports. Will try to get resolution from my group (NAACP) on September 12.

Vernon Jordan: Yes

Lane Kirkland: Yes

Melvin Laird: Yes

Mayor Moon Landrieu: Yes

Heath Larry: I pledge my personal support. I'm advocating it to the NAM Board on September 21 - 22 at the Homestead.

Harding L. Lawrence: Yes!

John H. Lyons: Yes. I support the Panama Canal Treaty.

Jack Marsh: Will help.

Vilma Martinez: Yes

Frank Milliken: Yes

Seymour Milstein: Yes

Dr. Claire Randall: Yes

Robert Roosa: Yes, in every way.

David C. Scott: Yes

Hugh Scott: Yes, for the treaty. I will be glad to help.

John W. Scott: The current policy of our organization "The Grange" prevents me from signing yes. I'd like an opportunity to discuss it.

George Shultz: Yes

General Maxwell Taylor: Yes

Martin J. Ward: Yes. I will take an active role in obtaining ratification of the treaties.

Thomas J. Watson: Full agreement.

Glenn Watts: Yes

Dr. Clifton Wharton: Yes

Walter Wriston: Yes

Jerry Wurf: Pledge personal and organizational support.

Admiral Zumwalt: Si!

# a new Panama Canal Treaty.

Thirteen years ago, President Lyndon Johnson conferred with ex-Presidents Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower. They all agreed that a new treaty was needed to insure our country's interests in the Panama Canal as a secure passageway from ocean-to-ocean.

Every President since—Republican and Democrat—has actively pursued this goal.

Our Presidents knew that a new Panama treaty would be in the best interests of every American and would make for a stronger America.

Ratification of the new treaties will prove a dramatic step forward in U.S.—Latin American relations, and enhance U.S. prestige around the world—while protecting our nation's real interests.

The treaties, now before the Senate, provide for continuous U.S. operation of the Canal—through a U.S. agency—until the end of the century. We will keep all the military bases we need to defend the Canal. And, starting with the year 2000, our permanent right to protect the Canal will continue.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, a vigorous advocate of a strong national defense, summed up his support this way:

"These treaties fully serve and greatly promote our national security interests.

The Joint Chiefs of Staff share that view. These treaties deal with today's realities; and, they provide the security we need for the future."

Yes, the U.S. permanently retains the right to defend the Canal...and, the

U.S. Navy will always go to the head of the line to pass through the Canal in time of emergency.

Like any nation today, Panama expects to exercise its sovereignty over all its territory. The new treaties meet Panama's just aspirations—while guaranteeing America's right to protect our real interests in an open, safe, and efficient Canal. The treaties will give Panama greater economic benefits from the operation of the Canal—but these benefits will come from Canal tolls and revenues, not from the U.S. taxpayer.

These are some of the reasons why the new treaties are supported by people throughout the country—from all walks of life and of different political philosophies.

People like John Wayne; George Meany, General Matthew Ridgway, William F. Buckley, Jr., Vernon Jordan, Shirley Temple Black, Margaret Truman Daniel, General Maxwell Taylor, Governor Jerry Apodaca, James J. Kilpatrick, and Shana Alexander.

To ratify the treaties, two-thirds of the U.S. Senate must approve. Your voice is needed to bring this about. Write a letter of support to your Senator. The address is: The U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

We need your letters, and we need your financial support to carry this message to all Americans. Send the coupon below and your contribution today.

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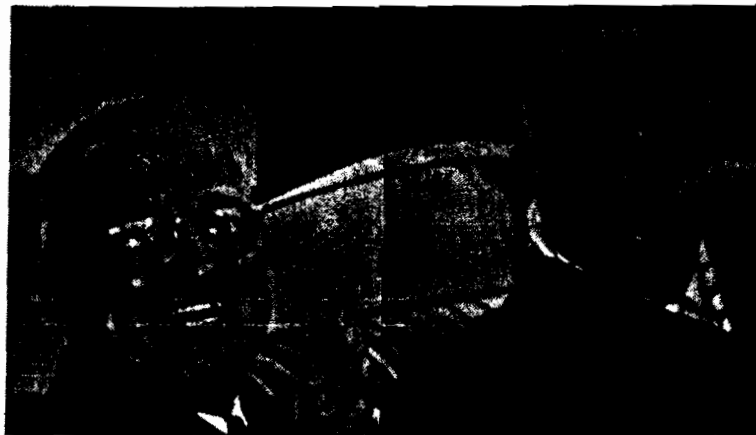
## I support the Panama Canal Treaties too!

- I support ratification of the Panama Canal Treaties.  
 Enclosed is my check in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to carry the message of the Canal Treaties to all Americans.

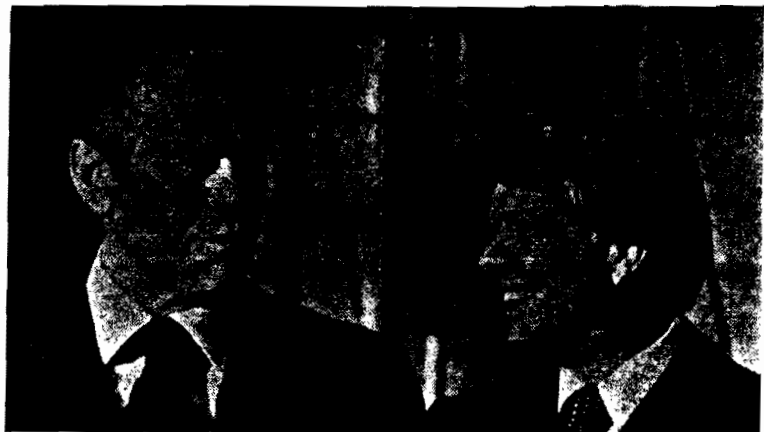
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Committee of Americans for the Canal Treaties, Inc.  
National Directors: S. Lee Kling, John O. Marsh, Jr.  
444 North Capitol Street, Suite #530D  
Washington, D.C. 20001 Tel. (202) 789-2720

\*Committee Co-Chairpersons Paid for by the Committee of Americans for the Canal Treaties, S. Lee Kling, President



**From Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower**



**to Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter...**

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have seen the need for**

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(partial list)

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CWA

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Panama Canal Pilots Association

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Washington, DC 20036  
(Former Secretary of the Army, Chairman of Panama Canal Board).

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5225 Sycamore Avenue  
Riverdale, New York 10471  
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Washington, DC 20036  
(Former Deputy Under Secretary of the Army for International Affairs and Special Counsel to President Johnson)

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1 Wall Street  
New York, New York 10005  
(Former General Counsel, Army)

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Arnold & Porter  
1229 19th Street, NW  
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The Pentagon  
Washington, DC  
(former NSC Director)

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Jack Valenti  
Motion Picture Association of America  
1600 I Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20006  
(Former Special Assistant to the President)

Admiral Bud Zumwalt

General M. B. Ridgway (U.S. Army, Ret.)  
918 Waldheim Road W, Fox Chapel  
Pittsburgh, PA 15215

W. C. Westmoreland  
General, U.S. Army, Retired  
107 Tradd Street  
Charleston, SC 29402

Lucius D. Clay  
General, U.S. Army, Retired  
633 Third Avenue  
New York, New York 10017

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Obermayer, Rebmann, Maxwell & Hippel  
2011 I Street, NW Suite 500  
Washington, DC 20006

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Stuart, Florida 33494  
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Ambassador Robert B. Anderson  
630 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10020  
(Appointed by Pres. Johnson to being treaty talks, 1964)

T. G. Blecher  
Dock House  
Garrison, New York 10524  
(Peru)

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2519 Massachusetts Avenue , NW  
Washington, DC 2-008  
(Honduras)

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5000 38th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20015  
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78 Chestnut Street  
Weston, Massachusetts 02193  
(Bolivia)

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2855 Arizona Terrace, NW  
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(Guyana)

Clinton E. Knox  
4141 North Henderson Road  
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275 Hale Street  
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(Vatican)

Edwin M. Martin  
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Apt 205  
Washington, DC 20016

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President and Chairman  
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Policy Studies  
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(Nicaragua)

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Bethesda, MD 20036 (Equador)

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Baltimore, MD 21203  
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Washington, DC

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John Wayne  
9570 Wilshire Blvd - Suite 400  
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American G I Forum  
1157 East Seminary Drive  
Ft Worth, TX 76115

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P O Box 2857  
St. Louis, Missouri 63111

Ricardo Zazueta, National Director  
Operation SER/Jobs for Progress, Inc  
9841 Airport Blvd  
Los Angeles, CA 90045

Ms. Vilma Martinez  
President and General Counsel  
Mexican American Legal Defense Educational Fund  
145 9th Street  
San Francisco, CA 94103

LB/other

Robert Dean Upp  
Brigadier General, AUS, (Ret.)  
743 North Kenmore Avenu  
Los Angeles, CA 90029  
(Past National President Reserve Officers Assn)

Stuart Symington  
1700 K Street, NW - Suite 400  
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Jose Aceves  
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Washington, DC 20036

Larry Phillips  
Phillips Van Heusen Corp  
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Alpine, New Jersey 07620

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580 City Center Building  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

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Toms River, New Jersey 08753

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*Butler*

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

October 19, 1977

TO: JOE ARAGON ✓  
LONDON BUTLER  
RICK INDERFURTH  
JERRY SCHECTER  
JODY POWELL

FYI.

*Bob*

Bob Pastor

UNCLASSIFIED  
(CLASSIFICATION)

*→ Peter:ly1*

S/S # 7726351

Date October 17, 1977

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT  
TRANSMITTAL FORM

FOR: Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski  
National Security Council  
The White House

REFERENCE:

TO: \_\_\_\_\_ FROM: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE: \_\_\_\_\_ SUBJECT: \_\_\_\_\_

WHITE HOUSE REFERRAL DATED: \_\_\_\_\_ NSC # \_\_\_\_\_

THE ATTACHED ITEM WAS SENT DIRECTLY  
TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION TAKEN:

- A draft reply is attached.
- A draft reply will be forwarded.
- A translation is attached.
- An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- Other - See below

REMARKS:

Attached is a copy of Memorandum to S/AB - Ambassador Bunker, S/AB - Ambassador Linowitz, "Press Positions on Panama Treaties," October 14, 1977.

*Barbara J. Schreyer for*  
Peter Tarnoff  
Executive Secretary

UNCLASSIFIED



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

October 14, 1977

MEMORANDUM

TO : S/AB - Ambassador Bunker  
S/AB - Ambassador Linowitz

FROM : PA - Hodding Carter III *HC*

Press Positions on Panama Treaties

Attached you will find a preliminary listing of the positions syndicated columnists and newspapers around the country have taken on the Panama Canal treaties. These are presented by region, and by state within the region.

The editorials listed were, in the main, written during the period August 11-September 15. We will be providing periodic updates of this list.

Attachment:

As stated above.

*JA*  
Drafted: PA/M:JA Collinge:reb  
10/11/77 x23165

Editorial Positions on Panama Canal Treaty

<u>NATIONAL PAPERS</u>	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>Wall Street Journal</u>	1,367,430	Pro* (1)
<u>New York Times</u>	843,267	Pro*
<u>Christian Science Monitor</u>	181,794	Pro*

NEWSPAPER GROUPS

(To our knowledge, the following groups are the only ones which establish a uniform editorial policy on foreign affairs for all member newspapers. Individual papers belonging to these groups also appear under state listings.)

<u>Scripps-Howard</u>	<u>1,891,291</u>	Pro*
Birmingham (Ala.) <u>Post-Herald</u>	71,998	
Fullerton (Calif.) <u>Daily News Tribune</u>	23,546	
<u>Rocky Mountain News</u> (Denver)	220,250	
<u>Evansville (Ind.) Press</u>	45,832	
Covington (Ky.) <u>Post</u>	57,674	
<u>Albuquerque Tribune</u>	37,451	
<u>Cincinnati Post</u>	210,472	
<u>Cleveland Press</u>	332,358	
<u>Columbus Citizen-Journal</u>	109,405	
<u>Knoxville News-Sentinel</u>	103,311	
<u>Memphis Press-Scimitar</u>	112,489	
<u>Memphis Commercial Appeal</u>	200,531	
<u>El Paso Herald-Post</u>	37,631	
<u>Hollywood (Fla.) Sun-Tattler</u>	42,862	
<u>Stuart (Fla.) News</u>	9,411	
<u>Pittsburgh Press</u>	276,070	

(Foreign policy editorials are generally written in the Washington Bureau and appear in all Scripps-Howard papers)

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- \* On record with this position prior to announcement of treaty.
  - \*\* Position changed since announcement
  - (1) Resents apologetic attitude

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>Hearst</u>	<u>1,537,125</u>	Pro*
Los Angeles <u>Examiner</u>	298,421	
San Francisco <u>Examiner</u> (combines with independent <u>Chronicle</u> on Sunday)	155,733	
Baltimore <u>News American</u>	195,672	
Boston <u>Herald American</u>	227,060	
Albany <u>Times-Union</u>	77,644	
Knickerbocker <u>News-Union-Star</u> (Albany)	63,295	
San Antonio <u>Light</u>	126,743	
Seattle <u>Post-Intelligencer</u>	182,557	

(William Randolph Hearst's Monday column appears on the front page of each paper. In addition, major editorials appear in all newspapers which may, also, write individual editorials which conform to Hearst policy.)

<u>Copley</u>	<u>581,688</u>	Pro* (1)
San Diego <u>Union</u>	180,981	
San Diego <u>Tribune</u>	129,222	
Aurora (Ill.) <u>Beacon News</u>	40,709	
Elgin (Ill.) <u>Daily Courier News</u>	36,569	
Wheaton (Ill.) <u>Daily Journal</u>	6,227	
Joliet (Ill.) <u>Herald News</u>	44,799	
Springfield (Ill.) <u>State Journal Register</u>	54,920	
<u>South Bay Breeze</u> (Torrance, Calif.)	74,151	
San Pedro (Calif.) <u>News-Pilot</u>	14,110	

(The Copley group also owns 18 northern Illinois weeklies; 10 weeklies and one bi-weekly in the Los Angeles area. Editorials from the flagship San Diego Union go to all group papers. In addition, Union editorials are put on the Copley News Service which goes to about 1,600 daily and weekly newspapers throughout the country.)

NATIONALLY SYNDICATED COLUMNISTS

	<u>NUMBER OF PAPERS</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
Jack Anderson	1,000	Critical Torrijos*
Russell Baker		Satirize opponents
David Broder	200	Pro
Patrick Buchanan	-100	Con
William F. Buckley	330	Pro*
Roscoe Drummond		Pro*
Evans and Novak	300	Critical Panama
Clayton Fritchey		Pro
Germond and Witcover		Pro
Georgianne Geyer	100	Pro, critical Torrijos, Carter*
Col. Robert D. Heintz (NANA)		Con
Smith Hempstone		Pro, critical Torrijos
Benjamin Hooks (NAACP Director, syndicated in Black press)		Pro
James Kilpatrick	357	Neutral
Joseph Kraft	225	Pro
Max Lerner		Pro
Crosby Noyes		Pro
Virginia Prewett (NANA)		Critical Torrijos
Ronald Reagan	100	Con*
James Reston	50-100	Pro*
Carl Rowan	125	Pro*
Phyllis Schlafly		Con
Jerald terHorst		Pro*
TRB (Richard Strout)		Pro
Tom Wicker	50	Pro*
George F. Will	217	Neutral, critical
Gary Wills		Pro

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>Panax</u>	<u>206,045</u>	Con*
Alma (Mich.) <u>Daily Record-Leader</u>	9,527	
Escanaba (Mich.) <u>Daily Press</u>	10,426	
Iron Mountain (Mich.) <u>News</u>	10,597	
Mt. Clemens (Mich.) <u>Macomb Daily</u>	46,242	
Marquette (Mich.) <u>Mining Journal</u>	16,930	
Wayne (Mich.) <u>Daily Eagle</u>	7,424	
Calumet (Ill.) <u>Daily</u>	10,637	
Sacramento (Calif.) <u>Union</u>	94,262	

(In addition, John P. McGoff owns 45 weekly newspapers, including the Fairfax Globe edited by Les Kinsolving. The Washington Weekly insert, which carries anti-treaty articles, appears in all McGoff papers.)

EAST COAST

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>		
Hartford <u>Courant</u>	176,517	Pro
New Britain <u>Herald</u>	33,291	Pro*
New Haven <u>Journal-Courier</u>	31,566	Con (1)
New Haven <u>Register</u> (both owned by Lionel S. Jackson)	108,238	Con
<u>DELAWARE</u>		
Dover <u>State News</u>	18,266	Pro
Wilmington <u>Journal</u>	91,775	Pro*
Wilmington <u>News</u> (both owned by Norman E. Issacs)	46,598	Pro*
<u>DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA</u>		
<u>Afro-American</u> (bi-weekly)	7,017	Pro
<u>Courier-P.G. Times</u> (weekly)	29,131	Con
<u>Post</u>	521,114	Pro
<u>Star</u>	347,813	Pro
<u>MAINE</u>		
Augusta <u>Kennebec Journal</u>	15,952	Pro
Portland <u>Press-Herald</u>	55,256	Leaning Pro (2)
Portland <u>Express</u> (both owned by Gannett)	29,885	

(1) Editorial on August 12 pro; three since, con.

(2) Treaty must safeguard security; wants full debate; U.S. should not apologize for achievement.

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>MARYLAND</u>		
Baltimore <u>News American</u> (Hearst)	208,274	Pro*
Baltimore <u>Sun</u>	350,372	Pro*
\ Bowie <u>Blade</u> (weekly)	12,000	Con
Cambridge <u>Banner</u>	6,414	Con
Ellicot City <u>Howard County News</u> (weekly)	14,857	Con
Frederick <u>News</u>	12,449	Neutral (1)
Thurmont <u>Enterprise</u> (weekly)	1,194	Pro
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>		
Boston <u>Globe</u>	486,361	Pro*
Boston <u>Herald Advertiser</u> (Hearst)	346,101	Pro*
Springfield <u>News</u>	95,055	Pro
Springfield <u>Union</u> (both owned by Newhouse)	77,427	Pro
Worster <u>Gazette</u>	94,223	Con
Worster <u>Telegram</u> (both owned by Robert W. Stoddard)	58,505	
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>		
Concord <u>Monitor &amp; Patriot</u>	13,961	Pro
Manchester <u>Union Leader</u>	63,750	Con*
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>		
<u>Bergen County Record</u> (Hackensack)	148,443	Pro
Camden <u>Courier-Post</u>	120,810	Pro

(1) Wants non-partisan debate

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>NEW JERSEY</u> (con't.)		
Newark <u>Star-Ledger</u>	361,006	Leaning pro (1)
Trenton <u>Times</u> (Katherine Graham)	73,814	Pro
<u>Trentonian</u>	59,934	Pro
<u>NEW YORK</u>		
Albany <u>Times-Union, Knickerbocker</u> <u>News-Union-Star</u> (Hearst)	140,839	Pro*
Buffalo <u>News</u>	277,105	Pro
Garden City <u>Newsday</u>	453,093	Pro*
Jamestown <u>Post-Journal</u> (Ogden)	28,595	--- (2)
Mt. Kisco <u>Patent Trader</u>	6,850	Pro
New York <u>Journal of Commerce</u> (Knight-Ridder)	26,856	Pro
New York <u>News</u> (Chicago <u>Tribune</u> Company)	1,941,917	Pro* (3)
New York <u>News World</u> (Rev. Sun Myung Moon)	25,000	Con
Rochester <u>Democrat &amp; Chronicle</u> Rochester <u>Times-Union</u> (both owned by Gannett)	129,734 132,409	Pro
Schaghticoke <u>Sun</u> (weekly)	1,500	Pro
Syracuse <u>Post-Standard</u>	82,106	Neutral (4)
Syracuse <u>Herald-Journal</u> (both owned by Newhouse)	123,748	Neutral (5)

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- (1) Concerned about cost, security
  - (2) Ogden Assistant General Manager leaning pro
  - (3) Irritated by Panamanian "threats"; wants new canal
  - (4) Critical of "right-wing" opponents
  - (5) Question Jt. Chiefs' endorsement, need canal for Alaskan oil transport; concern is security not Latin American good will

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>		
Allentown <u>Call</u>	103,650	Pro
Allentown <u>Chronicle</u> (both owned by Donald P. Miller)	22,170	Pro
Philadelphia <u>Bulletin</u>	553,304	Pro*
Philadelphia <u>Inquirer</u>	427,251	Pro*
Philadelphia <u>News</u> (both owned by Knight-Ridder)	262,391	Pro
Pittsburgh <u>New Courier</u> (Black weekly, John Sengstacke)	20,796	Pro (1)
Pittsburgh <u>Post-Gazette</u>	219,435	Pro*
Pittsburgh <u>Press</u> (Scripps-Howard)	341,118	Pro*
Scranton <u>Times</u>	54,303	Pro
Scranton <u>Tribune</u>	37,074	Pro
Shenandoah <u>Herald</u>	12,008	Con
Wilkes-Barre <u>Times-Leader News</u>	68,850	Neutral
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>		
Providence <u>Journal</u>	66,741	Pro*
Providence <u>Bulletin</u> (both owned by John C. A. Watkins)	143,527	Pro*
Providence <u>Visitor</u> (weekly) (Washington letter by Jim Castelli)	55,841	Pro (2)

(1) Reprint Sengstacke's Chicago Defender

(2) List supporters: labor, conservatives, union, business

BORDER STATES

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>ARKANSAS</u>		
(Little Rock) <u>Arkansas Democrat</u>	63,736	Pro*
Little Rock <u>Gazette</u>	120,452	Pro*
<u>KENTUCKY</u>		
Covington <u>Post</u> (Scripps-Howard)	58,846	Pro*
Frankfort <u>Journal</u>	9,048	Pro
Henderson <u>Gleaner</u>	9,687	Pro
Hopkinsville <u>New Era</u>	14,437	Con
Lexington <u>Herald</u>	58,846	Pro
Lexington <u>Leader</u> (both owned by Don E. Carter)	56,899	Pro (1)
Louisville <u>Courier-Journal</u>	211,348	Pro*
Louisville <u>Times</u> (both owned by Barry Bingham)	164,576	Pro*
Madisonville <u>Messenger</u>	10,848	Con
Paducah <u>Sun-Democrat</u>	29,580	Leaning Pro (2)
<u>MISSOURI</u>		
Jefferson City <u>Post-Tribune</u>	14,912	Con
Jefferson City <u>Capital News</u> (both owned by William H. Weldon)	5,198	

- (1) Herald switched from opposition after White House briefing;  
Leader was favorable prior to briefing
- (2) Editor Jack Paxton attending WH briefing; still questions  
military aid

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>MISSOURI</u> (con't.)		
Kansas City <u>Star</u>	293,781	Pro* (1)
Kansas City <u>Times</u> (both owned by Capital Cities since February, 1977)	316,671	Pro*
St. Charles <u>Daily Banner-News</u> (Ogden)	16,732	---- (2)
St. Louis <u>Globe-Democrat</u> (Newhouse)	266,783	Con*
St. Louis <u>Post-Dispatch</u>	275,121	Pro*
<u>TENNESSEE</u>		
Chattanooga <u>News-Free Press</u>	60,405	Con*
Chattanooga <u>Times</u>	55,501	Pro*
Kingsport <u>Times</u>	33,635	---- (3)
Kingsport <u>News</u> (both owned by Dudley A. White)	2,374	
Knoxville <u>Journal</u>	59,338	Con (4)
Knoxville <u>News-Sentinel</u> (Scripps-Howard)	103,311	Pro* (5)
Memphis <u>Commercial-Appeal</u>	200,531	Pro*
Memphis <u>Press-Scimitar</u> (both owned by Scripps-Howard)	112,489	Pro*
Nashville <u>Tennessean</u>	126,136	Pro*
Oak Ridge <u>Oak Ridger</u>	10,385	Pro (6)

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- (1) Believes treaty can be ratified this year
  - (2) Ogden assistant general manager -- leaning
  - (3) Managing Editor John Molley Attended WH briefing, favorable story
  - (4) Believes options have already been closed by signing
  - (5) Knoxville Journal and News-Sentinel are combined on Sunday
  - (6) Desires full and open debate

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>		
Bluefield <u>Telegraph</u>	27,925	Con
Charleston <u>Mail</u>	55,007	Neutral (1)
Charleston <u>Gazette</u>	54,923	Pro (2)
Elkins <u>Inter-Mountain</u> (Ogden)	8,450	--- (3)
Fairmount <u>Times &amp; West Virginian</u>	17,334	--- (4)
Huntington <u>Herald-Dispatch</u>	46,502	Pro
Huntington <u>Advertiser</u> (both owned by Gannett)	14,131	
Martinsburg <u>Journal</u> (Ogden Group)	15,220	Neutral (5)
Morgantown <u>Reporter/Dominion-Post</u>	18,917	Pro (6)
Parkersburg <u>Sentinel</u>	18,711	--- (7)
Parkersburg <u>News</u> (both Ogden Group)	20,668	
Pineville <u>Independent Herald</u> (weekly)	2,668	Pro
Wheeling <u>Intelligencer</u>	22,897	--- (8)
Wheeling <u>News-Register</u> (both owned by Ogden Group)	27,931	

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- (1) Issue should be resolved on tactical grounds, not "who is cloaked with virtue and who is steeped in vice"
  - (2) Concerned that early "silence" on details created suspicion about treaty
  - (3) Ogden Group assistant general manager John R. Williams wants calm debate notes Buckley, Kilpatrick "lending support"
  - (4) Reported local men attending WH briefing divided on treaty; columnist Brad Crouser strongly opposed
  - (5) Wants full debate; columnist Tom Flynn pro, early editorial concern about Panama-Soviet relations (Congressman Rudd's charges)
  - (6) President must prove not a "giveaway"
  - (7) See comment on Ogden's Williams
  - (8) Harry Hamm (managing editor) column on WH briefing favorable

SOUTH

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>		
Birmingham <u>News</u>	178,054	Neutral (1)
Birmingham <u>Post-Herald</u> (Scripps-Howard)	72,537	Pro*
Birmingham <u>World</u> (black weekly owned by C. A. Scott of Atlanta <u>World</u> )	17,000	Con
Mobile <u>Press</u>	56,042	Con*
Mobile <u>Register</u> (both owned by W. J. Hearin)	45,196	Con*
Montgomery <u>Advertiser</u>	51,184	Con* (2)
Montgomery <u>Journal</u> (both owned by Harold E. Martin)	25,959	Pro
<u>FLORIDA</u>		
Ft. Lauderdale <u>News</u> (Chicago <u>Tribune</u> Company)	102,399	Pro** (3)
Hollywood <u>Sun-Tattler</u> (Scripps-Howard)	43,327	Pro*
Jacksonville <u>Times-Union</u>	148,076	---- (4)
Miami <u>Herald</u> and <u>News</u> (Knight-Ridder)	477,286	Pro*
Orlando <u>Sentinel-Star</u> (Chicago <u>Tribune</u> Company)	170,375	Pro* (5)
St. Petersburg <u>Times</u>	32,967	Pro
St. Petersburg <u>Independent</u> (both owned by Nelson Poynter)	219,620	

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- (1) Conservative, formerly critical of Reagan; leaning pro; fears another Vietnam
  - (2) Critical of Reagan "jingoism"; really belongs to Colombia
  - (3) Previously strongly opposed
  - (4) No position on treaty, opposes new canal
  - (5) Negotiated under threat of violence. Changed from opposition in 1976

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>FLORIDA</u> (con't.)		
Sarasota <u>Herald Tribune</u>	60,140	Pro
Sarasota <u>Journal</u>	8,265	
\ (both owned by D. B. Lindsay)		
Stuart <u>News</u> (Scripps-Howard)	9,411	Pro*
Tallahassee <u>Democrat</u>	40,670	Leaning Pro (1)
Tampa <u>Times</u>	187,483	Pro*
Tampa <u>Tribune</u>	22,589	Pro** (2)
(bboth owned by D. Tennant Byran)		
<u>GEORGIA</u>		
Athens <u>News</u>	6,892	Con
Athens <u>Banner-Herald</u>	11,693	
(bboth owned by W. S. Morris III)		
Atlanta <u>Constitution</u>	210,104	Pro*
Atlanta <u>Journal</u>	235,012	Pro*
(bboth Cox Group)		
Atlanta <u>World</u> (Black)	22,600	Con (3)
Macon <u>Telegraph</u>	50,632	Pro*
Macon <u>News</u>	21,461	Pro*
(bboth owned by J. L. Knight)		
Savannah <u>News</u>	53,742	Con
Savannah <u>Press</u>	20,832	Con
(bboth owned by W. S. Morris III)		

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- (1) Plenty of "baloney" in Administration position; nobody can guarantee security; treaty won't guarantee Panamanian stability; don't get emotional, what are U.S. interests?
- (2) Switched from hardline opposition
- (3) Cost, security, could be denied use

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>LOUISIANA</u>		
Baton Rouge <u>Advocate</u>	63,258	--- (1)
Baton Rouge <u>State-Times</u> (both owned by C. P. Manship)	44,820	--- (2)
New Orleans <u>Picayune</u>	205,105	Pro*
New Orleans <u>States-Item</u> (both Newhouse Group)	117,783	
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>		
Charleston <u>Sun-Sentinel</u> (weekly)	2,821	Con (3)
Greenville <u>Delta Democrat Times</u>	17,019	Pro
Jackson <u>Clarion-Ledger</u>	60,555	Leaning pro
Jackson <u>News</u> (both owned by R. M. Hederman, Jr.)	43,669	Con (4)
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>		
Albemarle <u>Stanly News &amp; Press</u> (weekly)	10,617	Con (5)
Asheboro <u>Courier-Tribune</u>	12,080	Neutral (6)
Asheville <u>Citizen</u>	46,810	Neutral (7)
Asheville <u>Times</u> (both owned by Robert Brunnelle)	18,992	
Burlington <u>Times-News</u>	25,918	Leaning con (8)

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- (1) Critical of Louisiana State Legislature voting condemnation without reading details
  - (2) Cost to taxpayer; won't satisfy hostile Panamanians
  - (3) Column by Ronnie Black Ladd
  - (4) Clarion-Ledger wants rational debate; News critical of paying for giveaway, fears treaty will cost Carter on other issues
  - (5) Column by George Weaver
  - (6) Notes number of conservatives who support treaty; wants to hear both sides
  - (7) Canal is low priority foreign policy item; resent Carter attempt to rush treaty through
  - (8) Threatened, Americans will leave; Panamanians can't operate canal threatened

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u> (con't.)		
Charlotte <u>Observer</u>	164,992	
Charlotte <u>News</u>	57,791	
} (both Knight-Ridder)		
Concord <u>Daily Tribune</u>	11,429	Con (1)
Dunn <u>Dispatch</u>	8,884	Con
Durham <u>Herald</u>	41,945	Neutral (2)
Durham <u>Sun</u>	24,708	
(both owned by Steed Rollins)		
Elizabeth City <u>Advance</u>	11,179	Pro
Franklin <u>Press</u> (weekly)	5,688	Neutral (3)
Graham <u>Alamance News</u> (weekly)	10,180	Neutral (4)
Greensboro <u>News</u>	75,114	Pro
Greensboro <u>Record</u>	32,247	Con (5)
(both owned by Frank Batten)		
Henderson <u>Dispatch</u>	7,023	Con
Henderson <u>Times News</u>	11,020	Pro
High Point <u>Enterprise</u>	29,419	Pro
Kernersville <u>News</u> (weekly)	4,683	Pro
Liberty <u>News</u> (weekly)	1,852	Neutral (6)
Lincolnton <u>Times News</u> (weekly)	8,300	Con

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- (1) Resent "education" campaign; Carter should follow public opinion
  - (2) Wants rational debate on best and fairest course
  - (3) "Instinctively opposed," but cites Christian Science Monitor and Ford support
  - (4) Critical of "secret" treaty; shouldn't negotiate out of fear, but may be some good reasons for a new treaty
  - (5) New treaty good, this treaty does not provide adequate defense, won't satisfy communist agitprop; weakness
  - (6) Reprint Franklin Press edit.

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u> (con't.)		
New Bern <u>Sun Journal</u> (Freedom Newspapers)	13,286	Con (1)
Newland <u>Avery Journal</u> (weekly)	3,300	Con
Raleigh <u>News &amp; Observer</u> Raleigh <u>Times</u> (both owned by Frank A. Daniels)	125,932 31,673	Pro
Rocky Mount <u>Telegram</u>	15,512	Con
Salisbury <u>Post</u>	22,643	Pro
Sanford <u>Herald</u>	11,295	Neutral (2)
Thomasville <u>Times</u>	6,943	Pro
Washington <u>Daily News</u>	9,096	Pro (3)
Wilson <u>Daily Times</u>	16,516	--- (4)
Winston-Salem <u>Journal</u> Winston-Salem <u>Sentinel</u> (both owned by Alan S. Donnahoe)	64,693 38,658	Neutral (5)
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>		
Anderson <u>Independent</u> Anderson <u>Mail</u> (both owned by John C. Ginn)	43,171 8,758	Neutral (6) Neutral

- (1) Canal not militarily essential, critical of acquisition; critical of "payoff" and of "cocky" Carter attempt to ram treaty through Senate
- (2) Failure to ratify will harm future foreign policy; shouldn't let that be deciding factor, decide on merits
- (3) Critical of financial arrangement
- (4) Failure will be setback; Carter hasn't learned from other hasty decisions (South Africa, Middle East, Northern Ireland)
- (5) Critical of "threats by Panama; critical of Reagan using canal as campaign comeback; critical of Carter "secrecy" on treaty detail
- (6) Sympathetic to Panama; want information campaign, not "high pressure sell" from Carter

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u> (con't.)		
Charleston <u>News &amp; Courier</u>	62,716	Neutral (1)
Charleston <u>Post</u> (both owned by Edward Manigault)	36,045	Con (2)
Florence <u>News</u>	27,836	Pro
Greenville <u>Piedmont</u> Greenville <u>News</u> (both owned by J. Kelly Sisk)	24,061 83,345	Leaning con (3)
Spartanburg <u>Herald</u> Spartanburg <u>Journal</u> (both owned by Phil Bucheit)	38,240 8,709	Neutral (4)
<u>TEXAS</u>		
Austin <u>American-Statesman</u> (Cox Group)	102,673	Pro
Dallas <u>News</u>	259,569	Con
Dallas <u>Times-Herald</u>	221,745	Pro*
El Paso <u>Herald-Post</u> (Scripps-Howard)	41,306	Pro*
Ft. Worth <u>Star-Telegram</u>	216,012	Pro*
Fort Stockton <u>Pioneer</u> (weekly)	3,384	Con
Houston <u>Chronicle</u>	292,025	Pro*
Houston <u>Post</u>	285,209	Pro*
San Antonio <u>Express</u> San Antonio <u>News</u> (both owned by Charles O. Kilpatrick)	77,464 74,464	Leaning pro (5)
San Antonio <u>Light</u> (Hearst)	126,743	Pro*

- (1) Sympathetic to aspirations of Panama, need new treaty; treaty advocates talking "humbug" about violence, defense, and cost
- (2) "Tribute" outrageous, angered by "educators". Agree continued use and security more important than ownership
- (3) Opposition arguments shaky, but Carter trying to force ratification, why trade sovereignty for instability?
- (4) Why not give it back to Colombia?
- (5) Change is inevitable; weigh the costs and benefits

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>VIRGINIA</u>		
Norfolk <u>Virginian-Pilot</u>	124,841	Pro
Norfolk <u>Ledger-Star</u>	94,391	
(both owned by Frank Batten)		
Richmond <u>Times-Dispatch</u>	128,212	Con
Richmond <u>News Leader</u>	111,277	Con
(both owned by D. Tennant Bryan)		
Roanoake <u>Times</u>	61,083	Pro
Roanoake <u>World-News</u>	49,677	Pro
(both owned by Frank Batten)		

MIDDLE WEST

<u>ILLINOIS</u>	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
Aurora <u>Beacon News</u> (Copley)	40,729	Pro*
Bloomington-Normal <u>Panagraph</u>	50,903	Pro (1)
Carbondale <u>Southern Illinoisan</u>	31,711	--- (2)
Chicago <u>Calumet</u> (Panax)	10,637	Con
Chicago <u>Defender</u> (Black, John Sengstacke)	20,298	Pro (3)
Chicago <u>News</u>	382,581	Pro*
Chicago <u>Sun-Times</u> (both owned by Marshall Field)	554,334	Pro*
Chicago <u>Tribune</u>	757,707	Pro** (4)
Cuba <u>Journal</u>	1,000	Pro
East St. Louis <u>Metro-Journal</u>	36,979	--- (5)
Effingham <u>News</u>	12,191	Con
Elgin <u>Courier News</u> (Copley)	37,140	Pro*
Freeport <u>Journal-Standard</u>	19,075	Neutral (6)
Galesburg <u>Register-Mail</u>	21,948	Pro
Joliet <u>Herald News</u> (Copley)	44,999	Pro* (7)
Kankakee <u>Journal</u>	33,861	Pro
LaGrange <u>Suburban Life</u> (2x week)	22,764	Con (8)

- (1) Threat of violence should not be decisive.
- (2) Failure will jeopardize other foreign policy.
- (3) Defender editorials widely reprinted in Black weekly press. Sympathy for "Black Panamanians."
- (4) Switched from opposition. Why rush? Critical of signing "show," Panama should ratify first. New canal.
- (5) Same editorial as Carbondale.
- (6) New canal possible. Don't be hasty.
- (7) Independent editorial
- (8) Share of revenue inequitable. Blackmail. U.S. brought civilization, blame U.S. for inept government (columnist Sean O'Gara).

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
Marion <u>Republican</u>	5,105	Con
Mattoon <u>Journal Gazette</u>	11,835	Neutral (1)
Mt. Prospect <u>Herald</u>	8,020	Pro (2)
Peoria <u>Journal Star</u>	105,430	Con (3)
Peoria <u>Catholic Post</u> (weekly)	41,210	Pro
Rock Island <u>Argus</u>	25,537	Pro (4)
Springfield <u>Journal-Register</u> (Copley)	54,920	Pro*
Vandalia <u>Leader</u> (2x week)	6,900	Pro
W. Frankfort <u>American</u>	4,283	--- (5)
Wheaton <u>Journal</u> (Copley)	6,227	Pro*

#### INDIANA

Anderson <u>Herald</u>	19,066	Con (6)
Anderson <u>Bulletin</u> (Both owned by Robert E. Jackson)	17,441	
Columbus <u>Republic</u>	20,717	Pro*
Decatur <u>Democrat</u>	5,292	Pro
Evansville <u>Press</u>	45,832	Pro*
Evansville <u>Courier</u> (Both owned by William A. Caddice; separate staffs)	64,399	
Fort Wayne <u>Journal-Gazette</u>	62,716	Pro (7)
Fort Wayne <u>News-Sentinel</u>	73,381	Neutral (8)

- (1) Give up only if clearly in U.S. interest.
- (2) Need full consideration.
- (3) Canal not precious. Why pledge massive assistance to "a crooked police chief"?
- (4) Shouldn't sign under duress.
- (5) "Pompous" signing attempt to intimidate Senate.
- (6) Agrees with Rep. Elwood Hillis
- (7) Critical of Carter rush for Ford/Kissinger backing.
- (8) Has support of "left," why rush?

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
Gary <u>Post-Tribune</u>	76,424	Pro (1)
Hammond <u>Times</u>	64,140	Leaning Con (2)
Indianapolis <u>News</u>	160,491	--- (3)
Indianapolis <u>Star</u>	220,653	Con ** (4)
\ (Pulliam Group, now under corporate management of William A. Dyer)		
Lafayette <u>Journal &amp; Courier</u>	41,209	Pro (5)
Muncie <u>Star</u>	29,792	--- (6)
Muncie <u>Press</u>	19,163	
(Both owned by William A. Dyer)		
South Bend <u>Tribune</u>	111,521	--- (7)
Vincennes <u>Sun-Commercial</u>	14,586	Con
(Eugene Pulliam)		
<u>IOWA</u>		
Burlington <u>Hawkeye</u>	20,479	Con
Cedar Rapids <u>Gazette</u>	67,004	Pro (8)
Des Moines <u>Register</u>	228,643	Pro* (9)
Des Moines <u>Tribune</u>	94,999	Pro
(Cowles group)		

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- (1) Also column by Black columnist Don Ross: Opponents opposed Civil Rights.
  - (2) Why pay "reparations," Panama gained. Give up only if in our interest.
  - (3) Former hardline opposition; grants no ownership, difficulty in attempt to stay by force, urges Panamanian "responsibility." Keep so long as in U.S. interest.
  - (4) Previously opposed; editor Harvey Jacobs Pro.
  - (5) No viable alternative.
  - (6) Reprint Indianapolis News editorial
  - (7) Opposes new canal.
  - (8) Cites conservative support: Buckley, Kilpatrick, Goldwater.
  - (9) Suez & Panama should have been internationalized in 1946.

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>KANSAS</u>		
Topeka <u>Capital</u>	59,220	Pro (1)
Topeka <u>State Journal</u> (Both owned by O.S. Stauffer)	28,083	Leaning Pro (2)
Wichita <u>Eagle</u>	119,922	Pro (3)
Wichita <u>Beacon</u> (Both Knight-Ridder)	49,524	
<u>MICHIGAN</u>		
Ann Arbor <u>News</u> (Booth, now Newhouse)	39,731	Pro (4)
Bay City <u>Times</u> (Booth/Newhouse)	40,397	Pro
Benton Harbor <u>Herald-Palladium</u>	35,762	Leaning Con (5)
Detroit <u>Free Press</u> (Knight-Ridder)	623,846	Pro*
Detroit <u>News</u>	626,801	Pro* (6)
Flint <u>Journal</u> (Booth/Newhouse)	105,741	Pro
Grand Haven <u>Tribune</u>	8,978	Pro
Grand Rapids <u>Press</u> (Booth/Newhouse)	124,917	Pro*
Midland <u>News</u>	16,035	Pro

- (1) If Panamanians live up to treaty, safer than status quo.
- (2) Critical of Latin "whining" about colonialism, time to lift imaginary barriers to good relations.
- (3) Don't rush.
- (4) Canal and Puerto Rico focus attention on Caribbean for first time in 15 years.
- (5) Prevents building sea-level canal elsewhere; canal vulnerable, should extricate from colonialism, Panamanian vote first.
- (6) Panama benefited; smacks of giving in to threats, must protect national security. Editor Bill Giles gave minor attention to Panama in White House briefing report. Military analyst R.D. Heintz (NANA Syndicated) opposed.

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
Port Huron <u>Times-Herald</u> (Gannett)	32,821	Pro
Royal Oak <u>Tribune</u>	54,745	Pro
<u>MINNESOTA</u>		
Minneapolis <u>Star</u>	241,742	Pro*
Minneapolis <u>Tribune</u> , (Cowles)	223,455	Pro*
St. Paul <u>Pioneer-Press</u>	101,969	Pro*
St. Paul <u>Dispatch</u> (Knight-Ridder)	120,162	
<u>NEBRASKA</u>		
Alliance <u>Times-Herald</u>	4,257	Pro
Curtis <u>Hi-Line Reporter</u> (Weekly)	779	Pro
Grant <u>Tribune-Sentinel</u>	1,690	Con
Imperial <u>Republican</u> (Weekly)	2,060	Neutral (1)
Lexington <u>Clipper</u> (Weekly)	3,340	Con (2)
Lincoln <u>Star</u>	28,666	Pro
Lincoln <u>Journal</u>	45,722	Pro
Norfolk <u>News</u>	21,275	Leaning Pro (3)
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>		
Bismarck <u>Tribune</u>	26,546	Leaning Con (4)

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- (1) Don't rush until know the facts.  
(2) Cheers opposition of Rep. Virginia Smith  
(3) Happier if Torrijos not dictator, Marxist bent.  
(4) If we turn over, do because we don't need it, not because of "skullduggery."

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>OHIO</u>		
Akron <u>Beacon-Journal</u> (Knight-Ridder)	165,892	Pro
Cincinnati <u>Enquirer</u>	185,301	Pro* (1)
Cincinnati <u>Post</u> (E.W. Scripps)	210,472	Pro*
Cleveland <u>Plain Dealer</u>	368,670	Pro*
Columbus <u>Citizen-Journal</u> (E.W. Scripps)	109,405	Pro*
Columbus <u>Dispatch</u>	197,606	Pro (2)
Dayton <u>Journal Herald</u>	102,587	Pro*
Dayton <u>News</u> (Both owned by Charles E. Glover)	149,199	Pro* (3)
Martin's Ferry <u>Times-Leader</u>	23,271	Con (4)
Toledo <u>Blade</u>	170,606	Pro* (5)
Youngstown <u>Vindicator</u>	99,384	Pro
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>		
Pierre <u>Journal</u>	4,295	--- (6)
<u>WISCONSIN</u>		
Madison <u>Times</u>	41,225	Pro

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- (1) Not colonial intrusion
  - (2) Full debate; does treaty ensure security and operation; cost -- including "hidden" costs; explore new canal outside Panama.
  - (3) Ford, Kissinger damaged politically by endorsement.
  - (4) Destroy it first.
  - (5) Aid package "smacks of extortion," won't help hemispheric relations.
  - (6) Will require "arm twisting," probably won't be ratified.

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
Milwaukee <u>Journal</u>	338,103	Pro* (1)
Milwaukee <u>Sentinel</u> (Jointly owned, separate staffs)	167,765	Leaning Con (2)

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- (1) Only first step in better hemispheric relations.  
(2) Cost too high; shouldn't feel guilty; amend for review before final phase-out.

WEST COAST

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>ARIZONA</u>		
Flagstaff <u>Daily Sun</u> (Scripps League)	6,922	Pro (1)
Mesa <u>Tribune</u>	18,562	--- (2)
Nogales <u>Herald</u>	2,667	Con
Phoenix <u>Gazette</u>	97,242	Con (3)
Phoenix <u>Republic</u> (both owned by Nina Pulliam)	202,242	Pro** (4)
Sun City <u>News-Sun</u> (bi-weekly)	13,161	Con
Tempe <u>Daily News</u>	15,911	Pro (5)
Tucson <u>Citizen</u>	60,320	Pro
Tucson <u>Star</u> (both owned by Gannett)	58,957	Pro (6)
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>		
Anaheim <u>Bulletin</u> (Freedom Newspapers)	13,582	Con (7)
Burbank <u>Daily Review</u> (Morris Group)	11,770	Con (8)
Fullerton <u>Daily News Tribune</u> (Scripps-Howard)	25,324	Pro*
Glendale <u>News Press</u> (Morris Group)	20,518	Con (8)
Indio <u>Daily News</u>	6,987	Con (9)

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- (1) Don't rush
  - (2) Hope Panamanians too sensible for violence; resist the rush to ratification
  - (3) Rudd charges on Soviet influence; secrecy of treaty
  - (4) Previously opposed, now operated by former wife of Pulliam chain owner
  - (5) Did not violate sovereignty, canal essential to U.S., treaty is best way
  - (6) Price high, but necessary
  - (7) Broyhill on "payoff"
  - (8) Column by Virgil Pinkley, editor and publisher
  - (9) Urge petition campaign to Rep. Larry McDonald

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>CALIFORNIA</u> (con't.)		
Long Beach <u>Press-Telegram</u>	90,155	Pro
Long Beach <u>Independent</u> (both owned by Knight-Ridder)	60,209	
Los Angeles <u>Times</u>	1,000,866	Pro*
Malibu <u>Times</u> (weekly)	8,100	Con
National City <u>Star News</u> (3x week)	3,336	Pro
Oakland <u>Tribune</u>	167,309	Pro
Pomona <u>Progress Bulletin</u> (Donrey Group)	40,803	Con
Riverside <u>Press</u>	31,717	Pro (1)
Riverside <u>Enterprise</u> (both owned by Arthur A. Culver)	51,795	Pro
Sacramento <u>Bee</u> (McClatchy Group)	170,200	Pro (2)
Sacramento <u>Union</u> (Panax)	94,262	Con
San Bernardino <u>Sun Telegram</u> (Gannett)	75,005	Pro
San Diego <u>Union</u>	174,186	Pro (3)
San Diego <u>Tribune</u> (both owned by Copley)	124,644	
San Diego <u>Voice News &amp; Viewpoint</u> (black weekly)	11,000	Pro
San Francisco <u>Chronicle</u>	446,640	Pro*
San Francisco <u>Examiner</u> (Hearst)	155,733	Pro* (4)
San Francisco <u>Sun Reporter</u> (Black weekly)	9,000	Pro

(1) Panamanian threats of violence unwise

(2) Other papers in Fresno and Modesto

(3) Questions: justice and equity for Americans, security and neutrality

(4) Examiner and Chronicle combined on Sunday. Hearst supports new sea-level canal

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>CALIFORNIA</u> (con't.)		
San Mateo <u>Times</u>	41,345	Con
Santa Ana <u>Register</u> (Freedom)	80,154	Con
Santa Monica <u>Evening Outlook</u>	38,238	Leaning con (1)
\ Tracy <u>Press</u> (3x week)	6,011	Pro
Ventura <u>Star Free Press</u> (John P. Scripps)	34,626	Leaning con (2)
<u>COLORADO</u>		
Denver <u>Post</u>	241,803	Pro*
(Denver) <u>Rocky Mountain News</u> (Scripps-Howard)	220,250	Pro*
<u>HAWAII</u>		
Honolulu <u>Advertiser</u>	71,937	Pro
<u>IDAHO</u>		
Boise <u>Statesman</u>	52,280	Pro
Idaho Falls <u>Post-Register</u>	23,311	Leaning con (3)
Parma <u>Review</u> (weekly)	760	Neutral (4)
Pocatello <u>State Journal</u>	18,853	Leaning pro (5)

- (1) Want full debate; both sides are trying to rush judgment
- (2) Signing cynical and premature; why not referendum? Paying Panama to take canal; defense provisions might get us into "another Vietnam." Canal not militarily important
- (3) Is hemispheric solidarity worth the price?
- (4) May improve our image, not so vital; why pay so much for Panama to "take it off our hands?"
- (5) Wants security, neutrality assurance; doesn't want prohibitive tolls

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>MONTANA</u>		
Missoula <u>Missoulian</u> (reprinted by Helena Independent Record)	28,976	Pro
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>		
Albuquerque <u>Journal</u>	75,576	Pro (1)
Albuquerque <u>Tribune</u> (Scripps-Howard)	37,451	Pro*
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>		
Oklahoma City <u>Oklahoman</u>	169,031	Con
Oklahoma City <u>Times</u> (both owned by Edward L. Gaylord)	91,144	Con
Tulsa <u>Tribune</u>	78,804	Con*
Tulsa <u>World</u>	114,222	Con (2)
<u>OREGON</u>		
Eugene <u>Register-Guard</u>	50,802	Pro (3)
Gresham <u>Outlook</u> (2x week)	15,452	<del>Pro</del> (4)
Medford <u>Mail Tribune</u>	25,948	Pro
Portland <u>Oregonian</u>	224,309	Pro*
Portland <u>Journal</u> (Newhouse)	106,029	
Salem <u>Statesman</u>	43,605	Pro*
Salem <u>Capital Journal</u> (Gannett)	22,523	Pro*

- (1) Signing ceremony may have been mistake; if Senate fails to ratify, could cause worldwide distrust
- (2) Treaty perhaps updated, but enough U.S. control for national security. Object to cost. Don't overreact and give more than Panama deserves.
- (3) Surrender inevitable. Question cost, access "given the volatile nature of Panamanian governments."
- (4) New canal wise investment

	<u>CIRCULATION</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
<u>OREGON (con't.)</u>		
Springfield <u>News</u> (2x week)	7,723	Pro (1)
<u>UTAH</u>		
Salt Lake <u>Deseret News</u>	70,990	Con** (2)
Salt Lake <u>Tribune</u>	99,302	Con** (3)
<u>WASHINGTON</u>		
Everett <u>Herald</u>	50,410	Con
Pasco <u>Tri-City Herald</u>	31,123	Con
Seattle <u>Post-Intelligencer</u> (Hearst)	182,557	Pro*
Seattle <u>Times</u>	218,845	Pro (4)
Spokane <u>Daily Chronicle</u>	62,774	Pro*
Spokane <u>Spokesman-Review</u> (Cowles)	74,439	Pro*
Tacoma <u>News-Tribune</u>	94,780	Pro (5)
Vancouver <u>Columbian</u>	34,427	Pro* (6)
<u>WYOMING</u>		
Casper <u>Star-Tribune</u>	30,312	Pro*
Cheyenne <u>State Tribune</u>	10,520	Con
Cheyenne <u>Eagle</u> (both owned by Robert S. McCracken)	8,500	

- (1) U.S. loses either way; current treaty untenable
- (2) Switched from neutral in late July; "blatantly one-sided agreement"
- (3) Switched from pro in 1976
- (4) Don't act in haste
- (5) Defense arrangements might protect against irresponsibility and instability
- (6) Cost is high, but U.S. business stands to lose more from Latin hostility