

## **Panama Canal Treaty, 10, 11, 12/77 (3)**

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# Carter Courts Opinion Shapers On Canal Treaties

WASHINGTON — Byron Hirst is well-established and well-esteemed lawyer in Cheyenne, Wyo. is what the social scientists would call an "opinion leader" in the 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," says. "About 80 per cent of the people around here are against them, because this is a conservative area.

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

HIRST NOW FEELS he understands them, and he is willing to support them enthusiastically if the Carter administration and the media will add the kind of clarifying language that was included in the joint communique recently issued by President Carter and Panama's Gen. Omar Torrijos. The case of Byron Hirst is a good 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, 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 Joshi, a former president of the Denver League of Women Voters, says the briefing "reinforced my positive-ness" 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 COI 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 meeting quells state group's Panama doubts

By PAT ORDOVENSKY  
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Herbert J. Baylis, a Wilmington wholesale druggist, said he came to Washington yesterday with "total animosity" toward President Carter's Panama Canal treaties.

After a 2½-hour briefing at the White House, Baylis said he's "completely turned around."

John Campanelli, president of the Delaware AFL-CIO, said, "I had my doubts" about the treaties because "I thought we were giving it away."

"He (Carter) convinced me," Campanelli said, as he strolled toward a White House gate.

The reactions were typical of comments from a sample of the 26 Delawareans who joined community leaders from Colorado and Arizona for the latest in a series of White House meetings to drum up support for the treaties.

The doubters appeared to be convinced and those who approved of the treaties before the meeting said their convictions were reinforced.

The Delawareans were briefed by Ambassador Sol Linowitz, one of the U.S. treaty negotiators; Navy Secretary W. Graham Clayton; Gen. Bernard W. Rogers, Army chief of staff, and a spokesman for the State Department. President Carter dropped by for about 45 minutes, they said.

"I never saw so much candor," said Thomas L. Little of Wilmington, a former state representative.

Henry L. Weinstein, a Wilmington real estate developer, said he came with "an open mind" and now is "100 per cent in favor" of the treaties.

"If he continues these programs, there is no doubt it will result in a successful culmination of the treaties," said former Gov. Elbert N. Carvel, who says he has favored returning the canal to Panama longer than Carter has been president.

Baylis, who says his drug business frequently takes him to Panama, says his opposition to the treaties was based on first-hand observation of the Panamanian government.

"No way I felt the Panamanians could handle it," Baylis said. "I felt we were giving up something."

He said he was convinced by the "dollars and cents argument."

"We think we're subsidizing the canal, when we're not," Baylis said. "(The treaties) won't cost the taxpayer a thing."

"The American public is totally misinformed," he said.

Asked if he had been among the misinformed public, Baylis said

"I was until today."

Two Delawareans on the Democratic National Committee, Dover's Ned Davis and Rebecca T. Gates, said they approved of the treaties before they went to the White House and came away even more convinced.

"It was a marvelous presentation," Davis said.

The Delaware group was assembled, at the White House request, by the state's three congressional offices.

The Morning News, Wilmington, Del.  
Thursday, Sept. 29, 1977

# Meeting with President changes mind

## Harrison-co clerk now for Panama treaty

8-26-77

BY JIM BLAIR  
Kentucky Post Staff Writer

**CYNTHIANA—HARRISON**  
CIRCUIT Clerk John W. Kearns went to Washington Tuesday convinced it would be wrong for the United States to turn over control of the Panama Canal to the Panamanians.

But after he heard what President Carter and top defense and diplomatic officials had to tell a joint Kentucky-Mississippi delegation, Kearns changed his mind and now believes a new canal treaty is in the nation's best interests.

"There is no doubt, morally, that this is the right thing to do," said Kearns, who also is president of the Kentucky Circuit Clerks Assn.

"I'd never read the treaty," Kearns said of his first reaction.

"I was under the impression most citizens were—that we were going to give up the canal."

But Kearns said the proposed treaty which would turn over operation of the canal to the Panamanians by the year 2000 will still allow American shipping to use the important waterway.

"I hope people will read the treaty before they make up their minds," Kearns said. "They should understand

that we're not giving up the right to use the Panama Canal."

What the United States does with the treaty could have the greatest impact on our diplomatic relations with Latin and South American countries, Kearns explained.

Ratification of the treaty "would help our relations with the Latin countries," Kearns said, showing the United States "to be a neighbor and not a dictator."

"All these countries are looking to see what we do with the canal," Kearns said. "God knows we don't have too many friends left in the world—I hope we keep the ones in this hemisphere."

But should the United States choose to keep the canal and ignore the Panamanians, top defense thinkers paint a dismal picture of a guerilla war and sabotage, Kearns said.

"If we don't do something down there we're likely to have another little Vietnam," Kearns continued. "I think the Soviet Union and Cuba would like for us to have trouble down there."

Turning the operation of the canal over to the Panamanians won't hurt the defense of the country much, Kearns concluded, and protecting the facilities against saboteurs and guerillas would be difficult if not impossible.

A man visiting Cynthia who once had responsibility for defending the canal and who later served in Vietnam, tends to agree with Kearns.

"My own feeling is that a canal is vital," said retired army Col. Charles Florance, 65, San Antonio, Tex. "But whether its the Panama Canal or a (new) sea level canal (through another country) is another question."

From 1939-41, Col. Florance, then a young infantry lieutenant, headed the guard detail at locks on the Pacific side of the canal.

Part of his job was to provide a body-guard for pilots who guided freighters through the canal.

War was raging in Europe and the Japanese had begun their march across

on the bridge, a second, carrying its own telephone equipment was sent to the engine room.

Each time the ship's captain gave an order to his engine room crew, the men on the bridge would quickly repeat the order to their counterparts below—just to make certain the right orders were given—and obeyed.

Against a determined guerilla effort, Florance said, "it would be almost impossible to defend the thing."

Florance pointed out that the jungle conditions in the area surrounding the canal were rain-forests the Army established a special jungle warfare training camp in Panama during the Vietnam conflict.

Kearns thinks the President will have a difficult time getting the treaty through Congress.

"But if everybody in Kentucky had been at the briefing and read the material," Kearns said, "I think they'd pressure their congressmen to support it."

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11/10/77

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.

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

GENERAL 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*

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

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

# 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 pinstripes 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 give-away."

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*

November 14, 1977

CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE  
MARKING BY AB DATE 2-11-83

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER  
VICE-PRESIDENT MONDALE

FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*

RE: PANAMA CANAL TREATY SUGGESTIONS

Working with Frank Moore over the weekend, we have developed some additional ideas which we think will help with the ratification of the Panama Canal treaties.

First, we are going to arrange for a special briefing for Senate staff members at the White House. Each of the Senators has a person that handles foreign policy matters for them and also politics. Frank and his staff are going to identify these people and invite them to a White House briefing.

"Electrostatic reproduction made for preservation purposes."

-2

Along this same line, I suggested to  
and his staff arrange a trip to Panama  
or so key staff persons. The trip to Pa  
a tremendous influence in the original de  
Senator Hollings to support the treaty and  
a great impression on the group of Senators  
visited Panama this past weekend.

-Senator Huddleston said that, "this trip and Torrijos' commitments have not diminished my belief that the treaties ought to be ratified. While refusing to describe this statement as a commitment to support the treaty, observers will obviously interpret this to mean that Huddleston will support the treaties.

-Senator Matsunaga said that he is, "returning to Washington to lobby with his colleagues in favor of ratification.

-While making favorable statements, Byrd and Sarbanes maintained an uncommitted posture.

-Senator Sasser left Friday to make a speech in Tennessee and did not participate in the press conference today.

In addition to our efforts here, it is obvious that we need to encourage Senators to visit the Canal Zone and Panama. We certainly should encourage Baker to take a group of Republican Senators down with him. We need to get someone to say that any Senator who is considering voting against the treaties has an obligation first to visit Panama and see first-hand the problems. Byrd will probably be inclined to say something like that at the appropriate time.

I will talk with Frank and attempt to devise a program to insure the maximum number of Senators visit Panama between now and the first of the year.

November 12, 1977

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER  
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *HJ*  
RE: PANAMA VISIT OF U.S. SENATORS

The six Senators have just concluded what is regarded by all involved as a highly successful trip to Panama.

It was highlighted today by public statements of support for the treaty by several Senators as well as a dramatic announcement by General Torrijos about reforms he intended to institute in Panama.

Among other things Torrijos publicly promised to:

- submit a proposal to national assembly for restoration of freedom of the press after soliciting suggestions from the national union of journalists;
- agreed to return of political exiles after treaty was ratified;

-said he would restore due process of law by seeking repeal of a 1969 emergency law authorizing summary judgments of up to 15 years in prison without jury trial and without the right of the accused to counsel;

-also, Torrijos said that, "If the Senators ask me, I will resign if it will help in the passage of the treaties negotiated by our countries";

I talked to our Ambassador (Phil Jordan) who analyzed General Torrijos' statements as "dramatic" in terms of his political situation in Panama. He said that Torrijos spent much more time with the Senators than had been planned and that he simply "charmed" them. He said that they had long, serious discussions and that this accounted for the General's willingness to make public statements in reaction to the concerns that were expressed to him by the Senators.

In response, the Senators at their press conference made some significant statements, including:

-Senator Byrd said that General Torrijos' statement today, "was a positive step. I don't see but that it can help but improve the atmosphere for ratification."

-Metzenbaum and Riegle made public their intentions to support the treaty, making reference to the public promises made by Torrijos today. Although it was expected that they would both support the treaty, this gives the trip some tangible result and us some needed political momentum.

Message read on Friday, Nov. 18 from San Francisco  
by Gunther Lawrence and delivered by Rabbi Shindler.

The nation's reform Jews have been asked to mobilize their resources on behalf of President Carter's energy program and to support passage of the Panama Canal Treaties.

In his Presidential address, Rabbi Alexander M. Shindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations asked the 3500 delegates from 720 reform synagogues in the United States to return to their communities to seek passage of the Panama Canal Treaties.

"The Treaty demonstrates their feelings between nation's while ensuring the United State's security" Shindler stated.

He added, "this is a reasonable treaty and represents a fair and just settlement of a growing conflict."

Rabbi Shindler similarly stressed the need for the 1.1 million reform Jews to actively engage in community action in support of the President's energy program,

"We must take strong action on behalf of over overall energy policy which will be fair and effective and which will ultimately make America independent of foreign blackmail"

He announced that the UAHC's Department of Synagogue and Administration had prepared a manual on "energy saving devices for the synagogue." He said that if congregations applied some of these recommendations an estimated \$14 million annually in fuel costs alone could be saved.

#####

Memorandum to Joe Aragon  
November 21, 1977

Page 2

"In this spirit, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in the 54th biannual assembled commends President Carter for his efforts and states its support for a Panama Canal Treaty."

Attached, please find Rabbi Shindler's November 18 recommendation to the Assembly.

Attachment: 1

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM: JOE ARAGON JA

SUBJECT: PANAMA CANAL DEVELOPMENTS

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Over the weekend we received two significant treaty endorsements.

1. A resolution was adopted unanimously by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in support of the treaties. Over 4,000 delegates in attendance at the 54th annual convention of the Union voted to endorse the attached resolution. Rabbi Alex Schindler was the moving force behind this resolution and I would strongly urge a call either from the Vice President of yourself thanking him for his assistance.
2. A second resolution was overwhelmingly adopted at the Florida meeting of the state Democratic party. In a voice vote, the delegates not only passed a resolution in support of the Panama treaties, but also passed a resolution of support endorsing the President's SALT initiative.
3. The vote of the board of trustees of the Council of the Americas is now almost complete. The results of the poll of the board which is by mail should be available soon. Otto Reich, Executive Director of the Council informs me that all indications are that the vote will be a strongly favorable one.
4. We were not as fortunate with the Executive Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The committee considered a favorable recommendation from their International Policy Committee and heard a presentation by Sol Linowitz. Nevertheless, the Committee decided to postpone action until early next year. I suppose given the Chamber's past performance we should be thankful they didn't oppose.
5. The briefing for senior citizens leaders is now scheduled for Dec. 9. The President and Ambassador Bunker will attend.

cc: Landon Butler

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 21, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: Joe Aragon  
From: Joyce Starr *JS*  
Subject: RESOLUTION adopted unanimously by the Union of  
American Hebrew Congregations in support of the  
Panama Canal Treaty (4,000 delegates to the 54th  
Annual Convention, San Francisco, California)

"The debate currently being waged in our nation over whether to ratify the proposed Panama Canal Treaty is a necessary and healthy manifestation of our democratic process. All Americans individually and in organized fashion have an obligation to express themselves on this crucial issue.

"The 1903 Treaty gave the United States power over the Canal Zone "as if sovereign." While the United States has exercised virtually complete jurisdiction over the Canal Zone, that Treaty did not make the Zone part of the United States.

"We can no longer remain insensitive <sup>TO THE RIGHTS?</sup> of the Panamanian people to control all their country's territory. As matters currently stand, the Canal Zone is regarded by many in Latin America and elsewhere as a colonial enclave of the United States on which the United States imposes its will. As Americans and as Jews guided by our tradition, we have long proclaimed our belief in self-determination and opposition to the principle that might makes right. We firmly believe that the people of Panama ought to have the right to determine their own destiny. We do not see that goal as inimical to the interests of our country since in our judgment neither economic, military nor political considerations justify continued control of the Panama Canal by our country. We support present efforts for ratification of a new treaty which will accomplish these ends.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 30, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: HAMILTON JORDAN  
FROM: JOSEPH ARAGON JA  
SUBJECT: Status Report - Panama Canal  
Treaties Ratification Effort

SUMMARY

Since August 11 when our ambassadors reached conceptual agreement on the new treaties with Panamanian negotiators the White House has been actively working to build public support for the two treaties.

Although the national media have made energy and the Mideast the major stories over the last several weeks this should not detract from the fact that great progress has been made in the ratification effort as you will see below.

Even though much still remains to be done, all the signs are very promising and there is good reason to believe that with a sustained effort, public opinion will be sufficiently prepared by early '78 to enable the Senate to cast the 2/3 vote required for approval of the treaties.

PROGRESS ON OUR OBJECTIVES

It is important to keep in mind what our objectives have been since the beginning of this effort in order to assess the progress we have made in garnering the 67 Senate votes needed for ratification.

OBJECTIVE #1: Establish bi-partisan support for the treaties and frame the issues as one of national rather than partisan interest.

We have achieved this objective with remarkable and almost unexpected success. We need only run down the list of treaty supporters to see that our strategy has worked out exceedingly well in this regard.

In fact, no administration initiative to date enjoys the backing of a group of individuals as prominent or diverse as the two Panama treaties do. Liberals, Conservatives, Republicans, Democrats, labor leaders, business leaders, actors, academicians, minorities, political activists, civic leaders, religious leaders, active military, retired military, former diplomats, so-called "hawks" and "doves," columnists, editors and commentators all have come forward in support of the treaties.

Individuals such as President Ford, Henry Kissinger, George Meany, Doug Fraser, Admiral Zumwalt, General Ridgeway, William Buckley, John Wayne, Averell Harriman, Margaret Truman, Senator Hugh Scott, Archbishop Bernardin, Rabbi Alex Schindler, Hyman Bookbinder, Heath Larry, John DeButts, J. Paul Austin and at least 30 former U.S. ambassadors to Latin America are only a few of the several hundred nationally recognized personalities who have now endorsed the treaties.

A list of additional supporters is attached.

OBJECTIVE # 2: Conduct a nationwide effort to inform and educate the American public on the treaties.

There is little doubt that if these two documents were legislative bills rather than treaties they would in all probability now be law.

However, treaties are unique in that they require a 2/3 vote of the Senate rather than a simple majority. Thus, the requirements are exceedingly high and, consequently, the need for significant public support for these treaties is great. Anyone familiar with this country knows that educating 220 million Americans on an issue, no matter how vital, is an enormous undertaking. In the case of the treaties, the problem is especially acute in that a great deal of misunderstanding has been produced through distorted rhetoric and demagoguery.

Not surprisingly, then, a public opinion poll conducted in August showed that 87% of the respondents opposed the treaties. Critics of the treaties were scoffing at the possibility that they could be ratified. To complicate matters, some negative early congressional hearing, combined with a highly-financed five million piece anti-treaty mail campaign, tended to depict the prospects of ratification as bleak.

However, no one is scoffing anymore and the Administration's efforts to build public support are starting to bear fruit. What follows is a listing of some of the more significant and encouraging developments which have taken place.

1. A poll released only a few days ago indicates that opposition to the treaties has dropped from 87% in mid-August to 55% in mid-November, a 32% drop. Those favoring the treaties have climbed to 38% from a low of 13%.

In one month alone there was a shift of 14 percentage points in the differential between pro and con.

	<u>pro</u>	<u>con</u>	
Mid October	28	59	(+31)
Mid November	38	55	(+17)
			<u>14</u>

2. The Gallup poll reported on October 23 that though opposition to the treaties was 2 to 1 against among those respondents who didn't know the details of the treaties, the ratio changed dramatically when the respondents knew simple details of the treaties, (48 to 40 against), and shifted in favor of the treaties by 5 to 4 when respondents had a good understanding of the treaties.
3. A Lou Harris-CBS poll in late October revealed that 63% of those polled would favor the treaties if they felt the treaties allowed the United States to move militarily to ensure that the Canal was kept open -- a provision that obviously already exists, yet which not enough Americans are aware of.

4. Calls to the White House Comment Office have shifted dramatically in favor of the treaties. In the week of October 7-13, for example, 126 calls were received. 100% were against. Two weeks later, however, 604 calls were received and only 44% were against, while 56% were for. The following week 75% of 433 calls were for. The next week (November 11-17) 73% of 973 calls were for the treaties. In other words a favorable trend is clearly established.
5. The State Department's speakers bureau has an exceedingly effective public education program under way. To date its trained and well-prepared speakers have delivered over 300 speeches in 40 states. These speeches have been targeted to place special emphasis on those states where Senators are undecided. Pennsylvania is a good example. In that state Heinze and Schweiker are two Senate votes we need and could get. To date the Department has logged the following schedule there:

10/4 Breakfast mg. York (Bunker)  
 10/14 Pittsburgh World Affairs Council (Bunker)  
 10/14 Extensive Media Coverage (Bunker)  
 10/18 Phila. World Affairs Council (Popper)  
 10/26 Reading World Affairs Council (Wagner)  
 10/27 Newspaper interview, Reading (Wagner)  
 10/27 Rotary Luncheon, Reading (Wagner)  
 10/27 Press Conference, Harrisburg (Wagner)  
 10/27 Foreign Policy Assn., Harrisburg (Wagner)  
 10/27 Bloomsburg State College debate (Oakley)  
 10/31 Franklin & Marshall College debate, Lancaster (Wagner)  
 11/7 WQLN-PBS radio, Erie, live interview (Pearson)  
 11/7 Class lecture, Mercyhurst, Erie (Pearson)  
 11/7 WICU (NBC-TV) newsclip, Erie (Pearson)  
 11/7 WSEE (CBS-TV) newsclip, Erie (Pearson)  
 11/7 WJET (ABC-TV) "Probe 24" interview show, Erie (Pearson)  
 11/7 Ed. writers, informal, Morning News, Erie (Pearson)

	11/8	Mtg. director Chamber of Commerce, Erie (Pearson)
	11/8	Mtg. leaders Erieland Executives Club, Erie (Pearson)
	11/8	Ed. board, Erie Times (Pearson)
	11/8	Leadership mtg., Hispanics and L.A. Studies profs. (Pearson)
This week	11/15	Gettysburg radio interview (Ritchie)
	11/15	Gettysburg Kiwanis, Rotary (Ritchie)
	11/15	Gettysburg pol. sci. class (Ritchie)
	11/15	YWCA, Gettysburg (Ritchie)
	11/15	High School assembly, Gettysburg (Ritchie)
	11/15	Gettysburg College Student Union (Ritchie)
	11/18	Temple U. Forum, Philadelphia (Smith)
	Open	Clarion State College (Filipovitch)
	Open	Seton Hill College (Filipovitch)

6. All high State Department and Defense Department officials have been asked to speak out on the treaties throughout their travels and appearances in the United States. Members of the Cabinet will be asked to do the same.
7. The President and top government officials, e.g., Brzezinski, Harold Brown, Linowitz, Joint Chiefs, have personally briefed over 1000 key opinion leaders from 25 states on the treaties. These White House briefings have had a tremendously positive effect on the participants who return to their states and generate support for the treaties.
8. The President has personally briefed 250 key editors and news directors representing 40 states, as part of a continuing series of exclusive interviews arranged through the Press Office.
9. The President and top advisers personally briefed the heads of 70 national women's organizations with extremely favorable results.
10. The President and top advisers personally briefed the United States Jaycees state and national leaders. Like many other organizations, the Jaycees, with a membership of 350,000, subsequently endorsed the treaties and are working for their ratification.

11. The President hosted a reception at the White House for over 1200 civic leaders from 48 states who came to Washington to organize a national citizens group for the treaties.
12. The President has made personal appeals to a number of other groups and individuals, such as Heath Larry, President of the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Outdoor Advertisers of America, both of whom endorsed the treaties and will work for their ratification, the latter by putting up at least 6000 billboards across the country endorsing ratification.
13. The Vice President has been equally involved personally, giving briefings to groups here at the White House, e.g., 45 national presidents of Hispanic organizations, and speaking on behalf of the treaties throughout his travels across the country.
14. In addition to briefings attended by the President or Vice President, top administration officials have given briefings to a large number of key organizations such as:

Council of the Americas  
 U.S. Chamber of Commerce  
 National Association of Manufacturers  
 Business Roundtable  
 Young Presidents organization  
 American Society of Association Executives  
 Council of Small and Independent Business  
 Associations  
 American Jewish Committee  
 American Jewish Congress  
 National Union of Hebrew Congregations  
 U.S. Conference of Black Mayors  
 National Black Caucus of State  
 Legislatures  
 NAACP  
 National Council of Churches  
 League of United Latin American citizens  
 National Council of La Raza  
 American GI Forum  
 News Directors  
 American Association of Latin American  
 Chambers of Commerce

15. Additional briefings are scheduled for 200 labor editors in Los Angeles, 50 senior citizen organizational presidents at the White House, 100 key Senate staffers at the White House, and 100 key leaders from three additional states which have not yet received briefings.
16. The White House Press Office has sent out several mailings of materials and newsworthy items to over 4000 dailies, weeklies, news broadcasters, and columnists.
17. In addition to the efforts of the Administration a number of independent initiatives are under way which deserve mentioning.

- (a) A Citizens Committee, consisting of some of this country's most illustrious and powerful leaders, has been formed. It recently held an organizational rally in Washington attended by over 1200 pro treaty participants from across the country. A full day of briefings was provided to the attendees and they will return to their home states to work for ratification of the treaties through speeches, letter writing etc.

The Committee has already placed major ads (see attachment) in the New York Times, The Washington Post, Los Angeles Times and will follow up with others.

The Committee is also preparing a mailing of several hundred thousand pieces to potential treaty supporters enlisting their support.

- (b) New Directions, a broadly-based coalition of moderate to liberal organizations, is preparing a one million piece mailing of pro-treaty information to its own membership. The mailing will urge donations and letters of support for the treaties.

- (c) The Foreign Policy Association, in conjunction with the World Affairs Council, is finalizing plans for a series of "Town Hall" meetings to discuss the treaties. The meetings will be held simultaneously in the states of Massachusetts, Arkansas, Mississippi and Tennessee. Each one will be attended by at least 1000 people and statewide coverage for these meetings is being planned.

The FPA had its first such meeting today in Washington. Over 1000 people came to hear Ambassador Gale McGee debate Senator Robert Dole. The debate turned out very favorably for the treaties and will be nationally broadcast on National Public Radio on December 5.

- (d) The Bill Moyers CBS Special on Panama, which was highly favorable, reached approximately 12 million viewers. The network is interested in running the program again.
- (e) William Buckley, the noted conservative who favors the treaties, will debate Ronald Reagan on December 13. The debate will be broadcast nationally.

OBJECTIVE #3: To work closely with the United States Senate to assure that everything that can be done to accommodate their questions and informational needs is done promptly and efficiently.

Virtually every Senator has been personally briefed on the treaties. Almost all have met with the President. Many have met with him several times to discuss the treaties. Personal calls and private one-to-one meetings with the President have been the rule, not the exception. In addition, senior officials of the government and key White House staffers have met extensively and continuously with the members of the Senate. In short, so much work has been done in this area over the last few months that it is almost impossible to chronicle.

The process of detailed and intensive consultation began long before August 11, the day conceptual agreement was reached. It will continue until the 2/3 vote is formally cast for approval of the treaties.

# the roger seasonwein poll

For Release

6 A.M.  
November 22, 1977

26 burling lane, new rochelle, new york 1080

Further Information  
Dr. Stanley Henshaw  
(914) 576-3477

## PANAMA CANAL TREATY GAINS SOME GROUND IN NEW POLL

November 21, 1977---

President Carter's Panama Canal treaty has made some progress with the public in the past two weeks, according to a new Seasonwein Poll released today.

While a 55% to 38% majority of the public still opposes the treaty, the present 17-point margin of defeat is only about half as large as it was a month earlier.

A Seasonwein Poll completed in the middle of October showed that the public then rejected the treaty by a 31-point 59% to 28% vote.

	<u>Now</u>	<u>Mid Oct.</u>
Favor treaty	38%	28%
Oppose treaty	55	59
Don't know	7	13
-----	-----	-----
Margin of oppose over favor	+17	+31

"The new figures put the treaty within the range of a possible turn around," said pollster Roger Seasonwein, whose firm conducted the poll. "This, of course, is not the likeliest outcome right now and, if it happens, it will take some time," he cautioned. "But, by the same token, it is no longer possible to write off the treaty's chances of winning public support."

The current survey, which was completed last Thursday, is based on a national probability sample of 1,250 adults and was conducted by

(more)

Telephone from the Seasonwein headquarters in New Rochelle.

The Seasonwein Poll is conducted for a twice monthly newsletter that is distributed to more than 400 subscribers at Fortune 500 companies. In the recent elections the Seasonwein Poll accurately forecast 11 of 12 elections it measured and was closer to the actual outcome in the New York City mayoral race than any other survey.

Joe Hagon

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 28, 1977

Jody Powell  
Hamilton Jordan  
Frank Moore

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Hugh Carter

~~RE:~~ CALLS RECIEVED BY COMMENT  
OFFICE ON PANAMA CANAL TREATIES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

cc Jody  
Frank  
Hamm  
J

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HUGH CARTER *[Signature]*

SUBJECT:

Calls Received by Comment Office on  
Panama Canal Treaties - 9/23-11/17

For your information, listed below by week are the incoming telephone calls on the Panama Canal Treaties which have been handled by the White House Comments Office. It appears the trend is in a favorable direction.

<u>Week</u>	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Total Calls</u>
9/23-29	31%	69%	124
9/30-10/6	5%	95%	230
10/7-13	0%	100%	126
10/14-20	17%	83%	101
10/21-27	0%	100%	77
10/28-11/3	56%	44%	604
11/4-10	75%	25%	433
11/11-17	73%	27%	973

December 12, 1977

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER  
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN *H.J.*  
RE: TORRIJOS INVITATION TO VISIT PANAMA

The invitation for me to make a brief visit to Panama has become serious with the comment yesterday by Senators Eagleton and Stevens in Panama that "the treaty will not pass in its present form" and that "a second Panamanian referendum" will probably be necessary.

These public statements have thrown Torrijos further off balance. Gabriel Lewis wants me to go to Panama to see Torrijos for the following reasons:

1. He wants me to reassure Torrijos. He says that the statements from the Senators was a "jolt". By allowing freedom of the press, he has jeopardized his own political explanation of the treaty and its meaning.

2. Gabriel says that Torrijos needs for me to present a political assessment that is not misleading but is optimistic to a few key people in the National Guard, some members of the Panamanian news media and some members of the foreign business community who are increasingly reluctant to invest because of the uncertainty about ratification. He says that it will help his situation considerably if those around him understand what the outlook is for passage and what we are doing about it politically.
  
3. With numerous groups of Senators scheduled to go down in the next few weeks, Gabriel says that it is important that Torrijos and the Panamanian people understand our thinking and strategy.

While we are waiting for the energy conferees to move, things here are relatively slow. I think we should respond to Torrijos' request that I go, plus I would like to see the situation there first hand. My trip would not be "official" and would be brief. I have to go to the AFL-CIO convention this next week anyway and could go on from there.

*P.S. I have talked with Zbig about this - he agrees.*

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- A HOUSE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN THURSDAY CALLED FOR VIRTUALLY REWRITING THE STILL-UNRATIFIED PANAMA CANAL TREATIES. REP. JOHN M. MURPHY, D-N.Y., WHO IS CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE, SAID THE TREATIES SHOULD BE REDRAWN TO SPELL OUT THE RIGHTS OF PRIORITY PASSAGE FOR AMERICAN WARSHIPS AND AMERICAN INTERVENTION TO PROTECT THE CANAL. HE SAID IT SHOULD ALSO "BE CLEARLY STATED IN THE TREATIES" WHETHER PAYMENTS TO PANAMA ARE TO BE GENERATED FROM CANAL OPERATIONS OR AMERICAN TAXPAYERS' POCKETS.

MURPHY SAID THE CLARIFICATIONS RECENTLY ISSUED BY PRESIDENT CARTER AND PANAMANIAN RULER GEN. OMAR TORRIJOS "ARE MEANINGLESS UNLESS SET FORTH IN THE BODY OF THE TREATIES."

HE SAID AT A SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING THE TREATIES "WILL CREATE MORE PROBLEMS THAN THEY WILL SOLVE UNLESS THEY ARE REDRAWN SO AS TO SPELL OUT CLEARLY, UNEQUIVOCALLY AND SUCCINCTLY THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE PARTIES THERETO."

MURPHY ACCUSED THE ADMINISTRATION OF DISREGARDING THE CONSTITUTION BY CONVEYING AMERICAN PROPERTY TO PANAMA WITHOUT CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL AND BYPASSING HOUSE APPROVAL FOR FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS THAT ACCOMPANY THE TREATIES.

UPI 12-01 10:07 PES

A291

N150  
R

CANAL LEAD

BALBOA, CANAL ZONE (AP) -- TWO U.S. SENATORS VISITING PANAMA AND THE CANAL ZONE DECLARED TODAY THE NEW CANAL TREATIES CANNOT WIN RATIFICATION AS THEY STAND, AND PREDICTED THE SENATE WILL AMEND THEM.

DEMOCRAT THOMAS EAGLETON OF MISSOURI AND REPUBLICAN TED STEVENS OF ALASKA, HERE TO STUDY THE CANAL ISSUE, ALSO SAID THEY TOLD PANAMANIAN LEADER GEN. OMAR TORRIJOS A SECOND PANAMANIAN NATIONAL REFERENDUM MAY BE REQUIRED TO APPROVE THE AMENDED DOCUMENTS.

PANAMA'S TREATY NEGOTIATOR, CARLOS LOPEZ GUEVARA, SAID IN PANAMA CITY HE WAS "SHOCKED" BY THE SENATORS' STATEMENTS. "WE CANNOT GO ON DRAGGING. WE EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR RATIFICATION, AND I PERSONALLY AM STILL OPTIMISTIC."

THERE WAS NO COMMENT FROM TORRIJOS.

1201 QOTPPES

*Hamilton,*  
*Very much in line with*  
*your recent news on Panama.*  
*Rick*

FBIS 80

TORRIJOS SAYS PANAMA'S PATIENCE RUNNING OUT

PA 21909Y PANAMA CITY DOMESTIC SERVICE IN SPANISH 1730 GMT 2  
DEC -7 PA

(DANILO CABALLERO REPORT VIA TELEPHONE DIRECTLY FROM FARALLON,  
RIO HATO)

(TEXT) PANAMA'S PATIENCE MACHINE ONLY HAS FUEL FOR 6 MORE  
MONTHS, SAID CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT GEN OMAR TORRIJOS HERRERA  
A FEW MOMENTS AGO AT THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF STATE MEETING.  
IF THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT RATIFY THE TREATIES, WE WILL HAVE  
TO ALLOW (FACILITARLE) THE U.S. INFANTRY TO OCCUPY US,  
GIVE OUR PEOPLE EMPLOYMENT AND RESOLVE OUR PROBLEMS, THE CHIEF OF  
GOVERNMENT ADDED. THIS IS BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBILITY THE ISTHMUS  
MAY BECOME ANOTHER VIETNAM OF THE HEMISPHERE, AS THE PENTAGON  
HAS DECLARED. IT HAS DETERMINED THAT THE NATION'S ECONOMIC GROWTH  
HAS BEEN ZERO FOR THE PAST 4 YEARS, WHEN PREVIOUSLY IT WAS 8  
PERCENT.

THE CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT ADDED: MANY INVESTMENTS AND PROJECTS  
ARE AT A STANDSTILL, WAITING FOR THE HONORABLE U.S. SENATORS  
TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS TO DO JUSTICE TO PANAMA. LEGIONS OF  
FAMISHED MASSES TRAVERSE THE CANAL'S ENVIRONS, PUTTING OUR  
PATIENCE TO THE TEST.

IT IS NATURAL THAT THE LACK OF INVESTMENTS AND THE CLIMATE  
OF UNCERTAINTY REGARDING THE TREATIES, ALONG WITH THE OTHER  
EXTERIOR CAUSES OF THE ECONOMY'S DETERIORATION, PUT TREMENDOUS  
LIMITS ON THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO SOLVE SOCIAL  
PROBLEMS, THE PANAMANIAN CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT ADDED. LET US PRAY  
ALONG WITH PRESIDENT CARTER SO THAT GOD WILL ENLIGHTEN THE SENATE  
IN FAVOR OF PANAMA'S JUST CAUSE, WHICH CAN NEITHER YIELD ANY  
MORE OR WAIT MUCH LONGER, SINCE 300 MILLION LATIN AMERICANS AND  
ALMOST 2 MILLION PANAMANIAN WILL NOT ALLOW ANOTHER SANTO DOMINGO,  
BAY OF PIGS, KOREA OR VIETNAM, PANAMANIAN CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT GEN  
OMAR TORRIJOS HERRERA CONCLUDED.

WE ARE IN A POSITION TO REPORT THAT AT THIS MOMENT THE GENERAL  
COUNCIL OF STATE MEETING, WHICH STARTED SHORTLY BEFORE 1000  
HERE IN FARALLON, IS STILL IN PROGRESS. THE MAIN TOPIC IS  
THE EMERGENCY MEASURES WHICH THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PLENUM IS  
TAKING TO RESOLVE THE MAIN PROBLEMS AFFLICTING THE PANAMANIAN  
PEOPLE THESE DAYS, ESPECIALLY UNEMPLOYMENT AND OTHER SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

UPON OUR RETURN TO PANAMA CITY AT MID-AFTERNOON, WE WILL GIVE  
MORE INFORMATION ON WHAT IS GOING ON AT THIS GENERAL COUNCIL OF  
STATE MEETING.

o DEC 2030Z JCE/CAJ

*Handwritten:* Dan Idem's  
FVI  
Ritch Independence

*Handwritten:* MR. PRESIDENT- THIS WILL HURT US WITH THE SEANTE- APPEARS TO BE A VEILED "THREAT" FROM TORRIJOS. THE RIGHT WINGERS WILL USE IT AGAINST US- "DICTATOR TRYING TO TELL SEANTE WHEN TO VOTE." etc.

DETERMINED TO BE OF ADMINISTRATIVE  
MARKING BY BB

DATE 2-11-83

hrr  
77?

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: PRESIDENT CARTER  
FROM: HAMILTON JORDAN  
RE: PANAMA CANAL TREATY

With the prospects for the energy bill improving and the Congress going home in the near future, we would do well to look beyond the immediate future to our next major battle - the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty.

The joint statement by you and Torrijos allowed us to recover some of the momentum lost over the past several months as we dealt with Bert's situation and the deluge of stories on our energy bill and the premature stories on your first year in office. But the fact remains that the ratification of the treaties is in no better shape today than it was the day you signed them.