WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

July 20, 1977

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/ CODEWORD

Memo No. 1272-77

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy Breakfast, Thursday,

July 21, 1977

Rhodesia

Ian Smith's July 18 announcement of general elections on August 31 is analyzed in the State Department memorandum at Tab A. State sees the Smith move as designed to assert pressure on the US-UK negotiating process and, if that process fails, to pave the way for the internal option.

Also at Tab A is a July 20 AP story from Salisbury reporting Sithole's rejection of the Smith move and his insistence on one-man one-vote elections.

Andy Young has reported that Foreign Secretary Owen, who meets with Secretary Vance on the 23rd, is somewhat dejected but at the same time is determined to push ahead with the US-UK effort. A current major issue involves the question of a Commonwealth force or a UN peace-keeping force in Rhodesia during the transition period. Owen had favored the Commonwealth approach but he may now be moving reluctantly to propose the UN approach. I believe it would be helpful to have Secretary Vance's current reading of the position Owen will take and the issues relating to UN versus Commonwealth forces for the transition.

Consultations with the Congress on Foreign Policy

I am attaching at Tab B a copy of the memorandum prepared for your signature to Hamilton Jordan reporting on your conversation with Senators Culver, Hart and Leahy.

You may wish to note during the breakfast their view that consultations are inadequate and, specifically, they do not feel State's Congressional people are paying them adequate attention. DECLASSIFIED PEN 7/24/06 NSC 140.
BY BAE NARADATE 8/7/04

TOP SECRET/SENSITIVE/CODEWORD CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT REVIEW ON JULY 20, 1997





THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

July 20, 1977

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR HAMILTON JORDAN

FROM:

THE VICE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT:

Consultations with Senators Culver, Hart

and Leahy on Foreign Policy Issues,

July 20, 1977

I had a very useful talk with Senators Culver, Hart and Leahy which focused primarily on the general state of Executive-Legislative consultations in the field of foreign policy rather than on any specific foreign policy issue.

With the AWACS and neutron bomb issues as examples, Senator Culver, supported by Senators Hart and Leahy, made the following points:

- -- The Senate is not being consulted adequately before important decisions are announced by the President or the White House;
- -- Culver wrote the President in May to state his opposition to AWACS for Iran; to his knowledge, he never received a reply;
- -- There was no effort by either State or Defense Congressional Liaison staffers to contact him early on to explore the possibilities for some sort of accommodations on major foreign policy actions; once a Presidential position is announced, the issue becomes polarized;

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NARA, DATE 97/06

- On the neutron bomb issue, all responsible agencies of the Executive Branch should have fully completed their work and recommendations to the President before his views were announced. It does little good to ask ACDA for an arms impact statement when the President's announcement has already loaded the deck in terms of the recommendations to be expected from ACDA or any other agency;
- -- Senator Hart said that on all major foreign policy issues, e.g., SALT and the Panama Canal, the President should not wait until he makes up his mind before beginning genuine consultations with members of the Senate. Senators require latitude, they require advance information if they are to be able to frame information and questions for their constituents, while at the same time being as responsive as possible to the President.

I asked the three Senators how often they were consulted by Douglas Bennet of the State Department. They said never. I then asked how often they were contacted by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs; not only did they say never -- no one knew his name.

Senator Culver came back to the point that State and Defense Legislative Liaisons should have as a standard practice a checklist of Senators to be contacted well in advance of major foreign policy issues, a checklist that would show where the opposition might lie in the Senate, a checklist that would examine the possibility for some sort of accommodation or "neutralizing of those opposing a particular Executive Branch position."

On the Panama Canal, Senator Leahy commented that "it is going to be one hell of a problem." This led to a discussion of the President's unique ability in the U.S. government to present a complex issue in detail to the American people and to seek the support of the American people -- e.g., in opening statements at press conferences, the fireside chats and in other public addresses. The Senator said that if the President is going to speak on a difficult issue, Senators should be told in advance to permit them to work around the country to generate interest and support.



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Specifically on the Panama Canal, Senator Leahy suggested that the President would have to go public at least three times if the American people were to grasp the merits of the Administration's position and if those supporting the position were to be able to counter simplistic but effective negative arguments being advanced by opponents of the position.

While we should not rush to conclusions based on a single meeting such as this, I think it is clear that a much better effort will be required by State and Defense Congressional Liaisons with members of the Senate -- stated as simply as possible, more time must be spent by these Assistant Secretaries and their Deputies on the Hill.

I think we should also consider having the Secretary of State give a monthly breakfast for the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; the Secretary of Defense give breakfasts for the members of the Armed Services Committee; and a similar regular meeting by Stan Turner with the Intelligence Committee to have a better flow of information between the two branches.



INFORMATION

Memo No. 1302-77

SECRET

July 28, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Talking Points for Foreign Policy Breakfast,

Friday, July 28, 1977, 7:30 a.m.

Panama Canal Negotiations

(This is probably the lead item for tomorrow's breakfast, as the President will meet at 9:30 a.m. with the U.S. and Panamanian negotiators to discuss the shape of the U.S. economic negotiating position. You have the papers for the 9:30 meeting reviewing the outstanding issues requiring decision.)

- -- The key is to chart a course between the least the Panamanians will accept and the most the Senate will tolerate.
- -- A key issue is whether to guarantee a supplement to the annuity payment or to guarantee such a payment only if Canal revenues permit.
- -- Ask Secretary Vance to review the elements of the proposed U.S. economic package and to offer his assessment of the reactions of the Panamanians and of the Senate to the proposed package.

Vance Middle East Trip -- Planned Arab Boycott of Portugal

-- July 28 current intelligence includes a report (Tab A) that the Arab States are planning an economic boycott of Portugal, in retaliation for Portugal's recognition of Israel.

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- -- Propose that Secretary Vance take up this issue with the Saudis and with the Egyptians during his visit to the Middle East, making the point that such action by the Arab states would run counter to the interests we share in common.
- -- An economic boycott of Portugal could only play into the hands of the Communists -- neither we, the Saudis or the Egyptians want that.

Meeting with Zairean Commissioner of Foreign Affairs

(Following your meeting with Commissioner Nguza, I had the Mobutu letter to the President translated, and forwarded to Dr. Brzezinski for staffing to the President.)

- -- Commissioner Nguza stressed President Mobutu's appreciation for U.S. assistance to Zaire during the Shaba invasion.
- -- He sketched Mobutu's democratic political reforms (not too persuasively).
- -- He said that Zaire's economic program would require outside assistance, that the principal focus was on improvements to the agricultural sector.
- -- Ask Secretary Vance what programs the U.S. might develop to help Zaire in field of agriculture.

Namibia -- SWAPO

-- As noted in the telegram at Tab B, Nujoma has now agreed to a meeting with the Contact Group in New York on August 8.



ARAB STATES - PORTUGAL

Planned Economic Boycott

Arab League Secretary General Riyad reportedly informed the Portuguese charge in Cairo on Tuesday that the Arab states are planning to impose an economic boycott on Portugal in retaliation for the Portuguese decision in May to recognize Israel. The Arabs apparently hope to deter other countries that might be considering establishing relations with Israel. The boycott, which includes oil, is unlikely to hurt Portugal economically. (S NF/OC)

Saudi Arabia reportedly plans to introduce a resolution to impose the boycott against Portugal at the Arab League Council meeting in September. Consultations have already begun in Cairo among the Egyptian foreign minister and ambassadors of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates, and Algeria.

The Arab League official told the Portuguese charge that the Arab move was an effort to discourage African states, such as Senegal and the Ivory Coast, from re-establishing relations with Israel and also to deter Spain from establishing them. The Arab official commented that he believed the Saudi initiative was also an effort to remind the US that the

Arabs would not hesitate to use their economic leverage if there were no progress in the Middle East peace negotiations.

The Arabs apparently singled out Portugal as a target because Portugal recognized Israel at a time when the Arabs believe they are succeeding in isolating Israel diplomatically. Moreover, the Portuguese islands of the Azores have been used to refuel US aircraft carrying supplies to Israel during past Middle East conflicts.

At the same time, the Arabs must also be aware that their boycott is not likely to have an adverse economic impact on Portugal. The merchandise trade between the Arab countries and Portugal is small. Portugal imports less than 6 million metric tons of crude oil annually. Although over 60 percent of this amount comes from the Arabs, this small quantity could be obtained from alternate sources.

Iran already provides about 20 percent of the Portuguese oil imports and almost certainly would be willing to increase its share. In addition, Portugal could obtain refined products from West European countries that have excess refining capacity. (S NF/OC) -CIA, DIA, NSA-

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WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

Memo No. 1623-77

SECRET/XGDS

October 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy Breakfast, Friday,

October 21, 1977

SALT

As discussed with David and Zbig earlier this week, you will wish to review the requests for information on the SALT negotiations being made by the Senate and the current Administration response.

As you know, the Secretary of State has been asked to provide in writing the U.S. negotiating position. This would, in fact, be counterproductive in the negotiating process, it would involve interference in the Chief Executive's responsibilities, and it exceeds the proper needs of the Senate.

Shah's Visit

The Shah of Iran will pay a State visit to Washington, November 15 and 16. You currently are scheduled to be out of town on the Western trip on both of these days. The State Department is being pressed by the Iranians on matters of protocol. The President will give a State dinner on the 15th but will not attend a return dinner on the 16th. The Shah, through his Embassy, is requesting that you host a luncheon for him on the 16th and that you attend his return dinner on the 16th. It is my understanding that Secretary Vance may raise this with you during the breakfast.

If the Western visit is firm, I see no reason for you to change your current domestic plans, considering that the President will be paying a return visit to the Shah shortly after the Shah's visit to Washington.

CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT REVIEW ON OCTOBER 20, 1997 DECLASSIFIED

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NCJC-06-074

BY 3/K NAFIA, DATE 8/7/06

However, if the Western trip may be in doubt because of the current session of the Congress, you may wish to indicate to Vance that it is possible that you will be in Washington but that you cannot give a flat yes or no at this point.

Foreign Travel

You have a memorandum to the President on the Canadian, Mexican and Pacific trip proposals.

I think it would be useful to move ahead at least with the Canada and Mexico decisions while you are awaiting Zbig's current thinking on the best Pacific stops. If you agree, you may wish to raise the Canada and Mexico visits during the breakfast.

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Memo No. 1653-77

October 27, 1977

BAL NABADATE \$1/06

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy Breakfast, Friday,

October 28, 1977

Middle East

The Jewish-American Community and the Israeli press have taken the occasion of Secretary Vance's meeting with Jewish-American leaders to increase pressure on the Carter Administration not to demand more of Israel -- e.g., not to agree to Arab modifications to the US-Israeli working paper. Meanwhile, Morrie Amitay's committee (as reflected in the mailgram at Tab A) is engaged in a heavy lobbying campaign seeking support for Isreal's current position and, in the process, distorting the Administration's position, e.g., paragraph 2 on borders.

In my own opinion, all of the above reflects a tactical decision aimed at preserving as much as possible of the Israeli position and aimed at discouraging the Administration from accepting any Arab proposals for modifications to the current working paper.

You might wish to ask Secretary Vance to review the nature of the changes suggested by the Arab nations thus far to working paper.

President's Press Conference

The President fielded a number of foreign policy questions including two on South Africa, one on SALT, one on the Middle East and one on the Administration's decision to address so many complex issues at the same time. In particular, his very balanced answers on South Africa were excellent, and you may wish to congratulate him on the way he handled these issues in the press conference. Ac 106 -074

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Soviet 60th Anniversary

You and Mrs. Mondale have just received an invitation to Dobrynin's November 7 reception celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the October Soviet revolution (copy at Tab B).

As you know, the Soviets attach tremendous importance to this celebration. With this the case, it might be useful if the President, Secretary Vance, you and Zbig were to give some thought as to who should attend -- with the understanding that the level of U.S. representation will be carefully noted and subject to analysis in the Kremlin.



WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

Memo No. 1681-77

CONFIDENTIAL

November 3, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Talking Points for Foreign Policy Breakfast, Friday, November 4, 1977

Luncheon for PRC Ambassador Huang Chen

- 1. Ambassador Huang was taken completely by surprise and obviously delighted by the honor you gave him in stopping by to say goodbye at yesterday's luncheon.
- 2. After you left, he couldn't stop smiling and he was genuinely very moved by your gesture, expressing his delight and his thanks as he concluded his toast.
- 3. It was a good luncheon meeting. As is to be expected, no new substantive ground was broken, with Ambassador Huang specifically stating that the positions he expressed to you in your Oval Office meeting earlier this year remained the positions of his government.

"Meet the Press" Interview

I would anticipate a number of foreign policy questions during my "Meet the Press" interview this weekend -- among them, questions on South Africa, Brezhnev's nuclear proposals and the Middle East.

2. I would also guess that the Helms case will come up a useful opportunity for me to comment on the many positive steps the President has taken and is taking in the field of intelligence reform.

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- -Baker and Rhodes ask for input on Republican appointee to FEC. President agrees and ask that they submit names for consideration.
- -Baker and Rhodes submit two names in March.
- -President writes letter asking for longer list of names 10-12 -whose views were supportive of the purpose of the FEC
- -In June Rhodes and Baker respond that they felt the two names submitted were eminently qualified and that they would not submit other names.
- -Telephone consersations between White House and Rhodes and Baker (Dick Moe and Hamilton Jordan) trying to obtain additional names. Rhodes and Baker refuse.
- -In July, Rhodes asked that Charlotte Reid be interviewed for position. Bob Lipshutz and Hamilton Jordan interview Mrs. Reid in July.
- -In July, Sam Zagoria is recommended for appointment by five Republican Senators - Case, Schweicker, Mathias, Lugar and Pearson. President intervious Taxora.
- -In August, President interviews Zagoria.
- -In September decision made by President to proceed with appointment of Zagoria.
- -October, clearances for Zagoria completed, Baker notified of appointment and nomination sent to the Hill.

Zagoria - registered Republican for 20 years; presently works for National Conference of Mayors; served for 10 years as Administrative Assistant for Senator Case of New Jersey; former Neiman Fellow; has written articles and books on state and federal government, election reforms and labor law; former Johnson appointee to National Labor Relations Board; lifetime interest in and exposure to election laws and reforms;

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

Memo No. 1719-77

SECRET

November 10, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Talking Points for Foreign Policy

Breakfast, Friday, November 11, 1977

Greece/Turkey/Cyprus

You have my memorandum of November 9 reviewing the state of play on the scenario approved by the President for implementation following the Greek November 20 elections.

You may wish to state the importance of having Clark Clifford consult discreetly with pro-Greek members of the Congress early on in the scenario so that they will not first learn of the Administration's actions from the Greek and Greek Cypriot governments. Were this to happen, they would react bitterly and this would compound not only the Cypriot problem but also other complex issues -- e.g., SALT, Panama Canal Treaties -- presently the subject of active Executive-Legislative attention.

Italy

You may wish to mention Dick Gardner's proposals that we reopen the Venice Consulate and USIS Center and that we modestly increase funding for our education and cultural exchange activities in Italy -- both proposals, if implemented, offer the prospects of a big payoff from a modest investment.

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

SECRET

Memo No. 1740-77

November 17, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy Breakfast, Friday,

November 18, 1977, 7:30 a.m.

MIDDLE EAST -- SADAT INITIATIVE

- 1. President Sadat's historic address to the Knesset will occur on Sunday just a few hours before my Sunday Noon address to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.
- 2. I think there are good reasons why I might include an official, if initial, U.S. reaction to the address in my speech:
 - First, it might be misinterpreted if I were not to include our reaction;
 - Secondly, I believe that the words, if carefully chosen, would be of assistance both to Sadat and to Begin; and
 - Thirdly, there have been nonsensical suggestions in the U.S. media that my ADL speech marks a fresh U.S. attack on the USSR. I believe that the words I might say about Sadat's Knesset address would be the words that would draw news coverage, lessening the chance that the press might try to interpret my speech in a way that works against our current interests with the Soviets.
 - -- If you agree, I will work with Cy and Zbig to develop language on the Sadat address which I will recheck on Sunday following his actual address and prior to my ADL remarks.

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CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT REVIEW ON NOVEMBER 17, 1997 DECLASSIFIED

NUTC-06-074
BY BAL NARA, DATE \$1/06.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

You may wish to ask Secretary Vance where we stand in our efforts to keep some momentum on implementation of the US-UK proposal following the Carver mission.

CANADA AND MEXICO

You may wish to inform the President that Ambassador Lucey has consulted with Foreign Minister Roel and Roel says that the dates January 20-21 would be excellent for your visit to Mexico. The Canadians are looking forward to your visit to Canada on December 16-17. We will now be working with State and the NSC, and the host governments to develop proposed announcements and timing of announcements.

(NOTE: I don't think you need raise these trips at the breakfast. I have included the above information in the event that someone else addresses the subject.)



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

CONFIDENTIAL

Memo No. 1784-77

December 1, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Denis Clift

SUBJECT:

Foreign Policy Breakfast, Friday,

December 2, 1977, 7:30 a.m.

The Middle East, Southern Africa and SALT will probably take up most of the breakfast. Vance may wish to report on the results of the December 1 PRC meeting on Rhodesia — as you know, we currently have a disagreement with David Owen and the British on near term tactics. Vance may also mention that President Kaunda's special assistant, Mark Chona, is coming to Washington next week. Kaunda has requested that the President receive him. Vance may propose that you do so, instead, with the President dropping by for a brief greeting. I believe it would be useful for you to meet with Chona. Dick Moose would be prepared to fully staff the meeting and to participate.

Hassan Visit

It is possible that Secretary Vance may ask you to reconsider your earlier decision and to host a luncheon for King Hassan of Morocco on December 7. State was earlier informed that you would not be able do to so; however, I have had repeated phone calls from ascending levels of State which lead me to believe that Vance personally might ask you to reconsider.

Trips to Canada and Mexico

We are planning to have Jody Powell announce your trips to Canada and Mexico, scheduled for January 18-19 and January 20-21, on Friday, December 2. The text of the announcements are at Tab A -- and both have been cleared with State, the NSC and the host governments for both substance and timing.

CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT REVIEW ON DECEMBER 1, 1983

Per 7/2406 NSC PAR NLIC-8 6-074 NLIC-8 6-074 NARA, DATE 97/06 (I would note based on my telephone contacts with Ivan Head and Tom Enders in Ottawa that Canada planning is moving along smoothly. Premier Lougheed of Alberta has confirmed that he will be able to receive you in Edmonton on January 19. I also spoke to Dunn on Ambassador Lucey's staff on December 1 and he advises that the Mexicans are looking forward to your visit.)

Joan's Visit to Finland and USSR

Joan departs Washington on Saturday, December 3 for Helsinki to participate in the December 5-6 ceremonies commemorating the 60th Anniversary of Finnish Independence. On December 7 she will fly to Leningrad to see the Hermitage collection and other art treasures. Planning is proceeding smoothly. On November 30 I informed Ambassador Dobrynin of her planned visit to Leningrad. He was pleased to learn of this development and said she would be most welcome.



ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT of VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S VISIT TO CANADA

At the invitation of Prime Minister Trudeau and the Government of Canada, Vice President Mondale will pay an official visit to Canada on January 18-19, 1978.

I have asked the Vice President to serve as my personal representative during this visit which marks a welcome continuation of high-level US-Canadian consultations begun at the outset of my Administration with Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Washington. Canada is one of our very closest friends, allies and trading partners. The breadth of our bilateral and multilateral interests is great. The Vice President's visit will ensure that with our friends in Canada we continue to address those interests with the greatest possible cooperation and effectiveness.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT of VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S VISIT TO MEXICO

At the invitation of President Lopez Portillo and the Government of Mexico, Vice President Mondale will pay an official visit to Mexico on January 20-21, 1978.

President Lopez Portillo was the first Chief of State to visit Washington in my Administration. Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Lopez Portillo participated respectively in President Lopez Portillo's inauguration ceremonies and my own. Subsequently, Mrs. Lopez Portillo and Mrs. Carter met in Mexico this November.

The Vice President will be visiting Mexico as my personal representative to continue this important process of consultations on both bilateral and multilateral issues with our good friends and neighbors in Mexico. His visit will again underscore the very great importance and value I attach to our relations with Mexico.



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