

January 13, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DICK MOE

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
MONDAY, JANUARY 16, 1978

- I. Western Trip
- II. Canada/Mexico trip this week
 - Are there any special messages you would like conveyed to Trudeau or Lopez Portillo?
- III. Middle East
- IV. State of the Union
- V. HHH Situation
- VI. Burns - Lilly

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DICK MOE *DM*

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT
THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1978

- I. Humphrey Funeral
 - It meant a great deal to the Humphrey family and friends that you came to Minnesota. Excellent reaction to your remarks.
- II. Western Trip (Gail's points attached)
- III. Canadian Trip
- IV. Mexican Trip tomorrow
- V. Senate Vacancies
 - Minnesota
 - Montana
- VI. State of the Union (?)
- VII. Announcement of Department of Education (?)
- VIII. Middle East


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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTONINFORMATION~~SECRET~~

Memo No. 30-78

January 18, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Denis Clift SUBJECT: Canadian Visit -- Talking Points for Your
Meeting with the President, Thursday,
January 19, 1978, 1:30 p.m.

- During my visit on January 17-18 to Ottawa and Edmonton, Alberta, I was struck by the spirit of goodwill, friendship and the increased desire of Canadians to work with us on common problems.
- While some of this may be attributable to Canada's internal problems, most of the credit must be given to you and to Trudeau for the course and pace you have set in improving relations.

Private Talks with Trudeau

- Prime Minister Trudeau asked me to review Middle East developments, US-Soviet relations, and the principal findings you made during your recent visit abroad.
- Trudeau took the initiative of raising NATO. He had two points:
 - (1) He is frustrated over the form and substance of NATO summits. He finds the set speeches -- as he says, prepared by the military staffs -- a waste of time. He asked if you were going ahead with a NATO summit this spring. I confirmed that you are. He expressed the hope that you would structure the summit as a genuine discussion at the political level -- with a genuine give and take on the Alliance's political goals, strategy and tactics to meet those goals.

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NLJC-133-3-3-1
per 6/2/06 NSC HRMNLW-06
6/12/06
BY NARA DATE

SECRET

- (2) Trudeau feels strongly that Secretary General Joseph Luns must go. He said he is open to suggestions on a successor; his best thinking as to a successor would be Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg.
- Trudeau asked if you are planning to visit Canada.
- On Southern Africa, the Canadians, who, of course, are in the Contact Group, want to be helpful. Trudeau is close to Kaunda. Trudeau is frustrated (while he didn't say so explicitly) over his government's lack of "real-time" intelligence. David Aaron and Trudeau's assistant, Ivan Head, discussed this further during the visit, and I think it would be good if we were to make arrangements to keep the Canadians better informed.

Meeting with Trudeau Cabinet

- As a result of discussions between the two governments before my visit, my discussions with Trudeau and his Cabinet permitted us to agree on a number of steps that mark further progress in our relations:
- Economic consultations -- Schultze and Blumenthal with Chretien;
 - Agricultural consultations, particularly on the beef problem -- Bergland and his Canadian counterparts;
 - Joint study on electricity exchanges;
 - Joint study on joint oil storage facilities in the Atlantic provinces;
 - Statement of Canadian satisfaction on revised U.S. antitrust procedures in cases affecting Canada and U.S. subsidiaries, in which we would ask the Canadians first to take the lead in providing us with the information Justice needs;
 - Statement of Canadian satisfaction on changes in our foreign convention tax regulations; and
 - On gas sales we agreed to encourage additional sales, with a swap-back option to accelerate construction of the lower section of the Alcan pipeline.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

- On trade, the Canadians indicated they will be a full MTN participant at Geneva. They were aware that we will be introducing tariff proposals favorable to them on products of importance to them.

Edmonton - Talks with Lougheed

- There was repeated appreciation expressed in Edmonton over the fact that I had chosen that western province to deliver my address on US-Canadian relations;
- Premier Peter Lougheed is a powerful leader. Under the Canadian system he first has to give his go ahead on resource sales such as gas before the Federal Government can take action.
- Lougheed struck a tough pose in our talks, pressing for more favorable treatment on beef and cattle, petrochemical products and rapeseed (oil and animal feed), if Alberta is to sell us more gas. I told him I wasn't there to negotiate. I noted our positive moves in MTN, and there was agreement that we should move forward in parallel to see what can be done on additional gas sales and the trade issues of importance to Alberta.

~~SECRET~~

Savane



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1978

Minnesota -

Foreign travel

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DICK MOE

RDM

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1978

Friday off

I. Middle East

II. Minnesota Senate Vacancy

→ Fla; Wedar Thurs -

III. Announcement of Department of Education (?)

✓ IV. Western Trip (Gail's points attached)

✓ V. Horn of Africa

OK

Don Bonker and Paul Tsongas are anxious to meet with you on their recent visit there.

VI. FNMA (?) (See separate memo)

✓ VII. Visit to Canada (Denis' points attached)

York

NATO - Luss (Letter to him)

Preparation

VIII. Visit to Mexico (Denis' points attached)

- Cuba - Undocumented Workers.

IX. Minnesota Ambassadorships (?)

W. J. ...

Canada - US - Mexico

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK MOE
FROM: GAIL HARRISON
SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

Western Trip

1. Reports of Western Hostility toward the Administration are exaggerated.

✓ -- people are concerned about water policy, timber, excess lands and other pending studies. *160A*

✓ -- they are disturbed about immediate problems: farm prices, energy impacts on communities, the health of the mining industry, for example.

-- they do have problems with certain Administration proposals (especially affected constituencies), including: mining law reform, grazing fees, and others.

-- but, they are willing to listen to and to consider other points of view, and they do realize that many of these problems have not been of our making.

2. We can do more to bolster our image in the West merely by the way we present ourselves.

-- instead of visiting the West primarily in response to major problems (e.g., water policy, or sagging farm prices) we should try to get more Cabinet level announcements in the West of good news, when we take actions that are of special benefit to the West.

*Gov should hold next term
Meeting — West
— Utah: Mormons*

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NLJC-133-2-3-2

per 6/2/06 NSC 14r

6/2/06

-- people in the West, like elsewhere in the country, generally want to believe the best of their government and its highest officials. More Cabinet visits, even without special announcements, aimed at demonstrating our willingness to listen and the respect we attach to local views and opinions would be helpful.

-- right now we are too much on the defensive -- we are perceived as reacting to criticisms rather than actively working with Westerners on major issues that concern them.

3. Beyond visits, we might pick a few issues on which we can and should be helpful to the West.

-- for example, we are now studying impact assistance in connection with rapid energy development. For a modest amount, we could show ourselves actively working to meet the human and other needs resulting from boom-town type growth. Right now we are in the position of opposing Congressional aid proposals and proposing that the interest rate be raised on community loans from the mineral leasing fund.

-- we might consider action to free up timber-rich portions of the national forest system that are now under roadless area evaluation but have little or no real wilderness potential. We might consider a legislative proposal to do so this year.

4. Political Implications of Study proposals

-- as much as the Western elected officials objected to the suddenness of the water projects announcements, they are now just as deeply concerned about pending studies: water policy, RARE II, natural resources reorganization and others. The feedback from the Governors was unanimous that these are like a dark cloud hanging over us, where publicized options that we may never pursue are nonetheless fanning controversy and giving our opponents ammunition with which to shoot at us. They are for quick resolution, provided, of course, that we come up with recommendations they can basically accept. Settling some of these issues early (RARE II as discussed above, and Excess Lands) could be a big help.

-- what we do on the reorganization front, particularly the study of local development reorganization (which might involve options to merge agencies like the Farmers Home Administration, the Small Business Administration, EDA and HUD) and the natural resources reorganization (which might involve options to entirely restructure the Interior Department, and fold in the Forest Service from Agriculture) could profoundly affect the climate in the West in 1978 (NOTE: At the staff level, we are working with OMB in gaming out the politics of the study stages of these reorganizations -- to be sure that we stay on the offensive and do not end up spending months defusing criticisms of options we have no intention of pursuing in 1978).

5. Conclusion

-- while there are problems in the West, these can be overcome, if -- as an Administration -- we:

- o spend more Cabinet-level time visibly listening and learning from people in the West;
- o look for targets of opportunity to announce "good news" in the West;
- o expedite studies that can be resolved favorably from a Western point of view, or on which near term progress can be made (Excess Lands and possibly RARE II);
- o approach future studies, and particularly publication of what may be viewed as highly controversial options with caution in 1978 (Local Development and Natural Resources Reorganization).

~~SECRET~~/XGDS

INSERT FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT'S
LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT
Tuesday, January 24, 1978

Visit to Canada

- During my visit on January 17-18 to Ottawa and Edmonton, Alberta, I was struck by the spirit of goodwill, friendship and the increased desire of Canadians to work with us on common problems.
- While some of this may be attributable to Canada's internal problems, most of the credit must be given to you and to Trudeau for the course and pace you have set in improving relations.

Private Talks with Trudeau

- Prime Minister Trudeau asked me to review Middle East developments, US-Soviet relations, and the principal findings you made during your recent visit abroad.
- Trudeau took the initiative of raising NATO. He had two points:
 - (1) He is frustrated over the form and substance of NATO summits. He finds the set speeches -- as he says, prepared by the military staffs -- a waste of time. He asked if you were going ahead with a NATO summit this spring. I confirmed that you are. He expressed the hope that you would structure the summit as a genuine discussion at the political level -- with a genuine give and take on the Alliance's political goals, strategy and tactics to meet those goals.
 - (2) Trudeau feels strongly that Secretary General Joseph Luns must go. He said he is open to suggestions on a successor; his best thinking as to a successor would be Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg.
- Trudeau asked if you are planning to visit Canada.
- On Southern Africa, the Canadians, who are in the Contact Group, want to be helpful. Trudeau is close to Kaunda. Trudeau is frustrated (while he didn't say so explicitly) over his government's lack of "real-time" intelligence. David Aaron and Trudeau's assistant, Ivan Head, discussed this further during the visit, and I think it would be good if we were to make arrangements to keep the Canadians better informed.

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DEC 6/12/06 NSC ITR/106 06-0
BY 60 DATE 6/12/06

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Meeting with Trudeau Cabinet

- As a result of discussions between the two governments before my visit, my discussions with Trudeau and his Cabinet permitted us to agree on a number of steps that mark further progress in our relations:
 - Economic consultations -- Schultze and Blumenthal with Finance Minister Chretien this March;
 - Agricultural consultations, particularly on the beef problem -- Bergland and his Canadian counterparts;
 - Joint study on electricity exchanges;
 - Joint study on joint oil storage facilities in the Atlantic provinces;
 - Statement of Canadian satisfaction on revised U.S. antitrust procedures in cases affecting Canada and U.S. subsidiaries, in which we would ask the Canadians first to take the lead in providing us with the information to take the lead in providing us with the information Justice needs;
 - Statement of Canadian satisfaction on changes in our foreign convention tax regulations; and
 - On gas sales we agreed to encourage additional sales, with a swap-back option to accelerate construction of the lower section of the Alcan pipeline.
- On trade, the Canadians indicated they will be a full MTN participant in Geneva. They were aware that we would be introducing tariff proposals on January 20 favorable to them on products of importance to them.
- We didn't discuss oil pipelines. This is sensitive for the federal government before the election. Jim Schlesinger will have to follow up on this.

Edmonton - Talks with Lougheed

- There was repeated appreciation expressed in Edmonton over the fact that I had chosen that western province to deliver my address on US-Canadian relations;

- Premier Peter Lougheed is a powerful leader. Under the Canadian system he first has to give his go ahead on resource sales such as gas before the Federal Government can take action.
- Lougheed struck a tough pose in our talks, pressing for more favorable treatment on beef and cattle, petrochemical products and rapeseed (oil and animal feed), if Alberta is to sell us more gas.
- The fact of the matter is that he wants to sell gas. I told him I wasn't there to negotiate. I noted our positive moves in MTN, and there was agreement that we should move forward in parallel to see what can be done on additional gas sales and the trade issues of importance to Alberta.

Visit to Mexico

Private Talks with President Lopez Portillo

- While Mexicans still view us with some skepticism and intend to question our motives, our relations with Mexico have improved considerably as a result of your talks last February with Lopez Portillo.
- He expressed his satisfaction with these improvements, and he was delighted to receive your letter.
- I briefed him on the Middle East and on the Horn of Africa, stressing our concern with developments in Ethiopia and the growing Soviet-Cuban role.

Expanded Meeting with Lopez Portillo and his Cabinet

- I opened the meeting with a review of the bilateral progress in 1977 -- the Tropical Products Agreement, Transfer of Prisoners Agreement, improved narcotics cooperation, and the Civil Aviation Agreement -- the Mexican side was very interested to learn of the provisions in your tax proposal relating to foreign convention tax reductions and duty-free import of goods. I promised to send them the text of these proposals.
- In the meeting I signed the new Civil Aviation Agreement. The Mexicans linked this with our action

in the tax field and see the new agreement as making an important contribution to their tourism industry.

- On undocumented workers, Lopez Portillo took the line he had taken last February, namely that this problem must be seen in the overall context of our relationship. Foreign Minister Roel separately described this issue as the Panama Canal Treaty problem in US-Mexican relations. I stated our interest in helping Mexico in its efforts to increase employment and to increase rural development, and I noted that McNamara and the World Bank would also be interested in these projects if the Mexicans given the priority.
- I had INS Commissioner Lionelle Castillo with me on the trip. He was helpful. I want to talk to the Attorney General about the undocumented workers before his visit to Mexico in early February.
- On trade, Lopez Portillo suggested that the United States and Mexico should explore ways to reduce the recurrent friction in our trade relationship by making our economies more complementary.
- On agriculture, the Mexican side reviewed their desire to make progress on a number of specific pest control problems.
- I noted that Bob Bergland would be visiting Mexico City in the near future -- and, again, they suggested that agriculture was an area where we might take advantage of the different seasons in our countries to make our trade relationship more complementary.
- Energy: I let Lopez Portillo bring up this subject. He said the public wouldn't believe us if we said it hadn't been mentioned. I acknowledged the sensitivity of the issue of gas pricing in both countries, Lopez Portillo said that it was reasonable to suspend negotiations until the U.S. energy program was passed by Congress. He made a point of telling me that Mexican price would be \$2.60 when the negotiations resumed.
- On border development I was advised that the Mexican Government was developing a proposal as a result of Rosalyn's meeting with Mrs. Lopez Portillo, and I said we would look forward to receiving it and to responding in writing.

- On Belize we encouraged the support of Mexico in our efforts to break the current impasse by mediation. Lopex Portillo said that Mexico has had claims to Belize but, in support of the principle of determination, Mexico was willing to renounce its historical and legal rights. Without committing himself to a course of mediation Lopex Portillo said that he had given in to Foreign Minister Roel to participate fully in any negotiation that may occur.
- I stressed our interest in Mexico's adhering to the American convention on human rights. The lawyers in the Mexican Government have been resisting adherence. Lopez Portillo said that Mexico had no substantive objection and that the convention is under review.
- On the Treaty of Tlatelolco I asked the Mexican side to use its good offices to convince the Cubans and the Soviets to sign. While Lopez Portillo said that Mexico was equally interested in having Tlatelolco governing relations, he made no commitment regarding my request.
- Finally, the visit to the Yucatan was an extremely worthwhile experience.

Canada - U.S. - Mexico

My impression is that both the Canadians and Mexicans are pleased that your Administration is following up at the political level.

I think both visits were a net plus. Clearly, our neighbors welcome you most enthusiastically at such time as you are able to pay a visit to Canada and Mexico.



DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20410

January 23, 1978

EYES ONLY

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

IN REPLY RE

CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: Richard Moe
Chief of Staff, Office of the Vice
President

FROM : Henry A. Hubschman *Henry*
Executive Assistant to the Secretary

SUBJECT : Proposal to Remove Messrs. Hunter and
Condon from the Board of Directors of
FNMA for Good Cause

I am certain you recognize the critical role FNMA occupies in providing liquidity to the mortgage market. You should also know that during the last nine years, since FNMA was "privatized," FNMA has grown to the point where its obligations are now approximately \$36 million. Moreover, FNMA recently requested from the Secretary of HUD approval to increase its obligations to \$39.5 million.

As you know, FNMA is a "Government operated private agency" which, because of this status, enjoys significant privileges and exemptions not granted generally to private corporations. The FNMA Charter Act vests in the Secretary of HUD "general regulatory power" over FNMA "to insure that the purposes of (the Charter Act)...are accomplished."

The FNMA Charter Act also provides the President with authority to remove any director of FNMA for good cause. This authority has been exercised once in the past and upheld. The proposal now being considered would remove for good cause Oakley Hunter, President and Chairman of the Board of FNMA, and Lester Condon, Executive Vice-President and a member of the Board, as Directors.

As stated in the memorandum from Myer Feldman to the Secretary, and as supported by affidavits from two members of the Board (including a shareholder elected member) and the documentary evidence, good cause for removal clearly exists for the following reasons: (1) Messrs. Hunter and

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING BY CS

DATE 6/9/06

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Condon have impeded the Secretary's efforts to discharge her statutory responsibilities, by withholding information; (2) they have refused to recognize the supervisory function of the Secretary; (3) they have withheld important information from their own Board of Directors; (4) they have disregarded the directions of their Board of Directors; (5) their working relationship with both their own Board and with the Secretary makes accomplishment of the purposes of the FNMA Charter Act extremely difficult; and (6) they are guilty of conflicts of interest.

With regard to number 6, you should know that a motion to censure management at the November 1977 Board meeting was defeated by a vote of 8 to 6, but only after the three management Directors, Messrs. Hunter and Condon, as well as Robert Bennett, voted against the motion despite clear conflicts of interest.

The timing of the proposals to removal is critical, since, at the February meeting of the Board, now scheduled for February 21, 1978, the FNMA Board will consider and, in all likelihood, approve a slate of nominees for next year's Board. According to the letter drafted for the President's signature, Messrs. Hunter and Condon would be given 10 days to respond to the proposal to remove them from the Board. However, we should probably assume, as Myer Feldman suggests, that a request for an extension of time will be made and that the President will allow five additional days for such a response. You can see, therefore, that a notice to remove must come at least 15 to 20 days before the February Board meeting. Accordingly, we suggest that February 1, 1978 be established as the absolute deadline for transmittal of the letters.

In our view, there is substantial reason to believe that Mr. Hunter would be willing to resign and have his long term contract purchased by the Board, if he were to be notified that removal would be imminent and certain. Thus, we further suggest that if the President agrees to remove Mr. Hunter, we be allowed approximately one day to reach an amicable solution to the problem and, thereby, avoid the need of sending the letter of proposed removal to Mr. Hunter.

I am available to discuss with you any questions you may have, particularly any questions you have concerning the Administration's strategy should proposals to remove actually be sent to Mr. Hunter and Mr. Condon. Indeed, Myer Feldman has prepared another memorandum which suggests a public relations and litigation strategy should these prove necessary.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

January 23, 1978

FOR: DICK MOE
FROM: Denis Clift *DK*

I am attaching talking points
for inclusion in the memorandum
being prepared for the Vice
President's luncheon with the
President on Tuesday, January 24.

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NLJC-06-080
per 6/2/06 NSC/Hr
CS 6/12/06



Stauss
Energy

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

January 28, 1978

Energy

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DICK MOE

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 1978

I. Middle East *1.28.7*

II. Meeting with Judge Webster

III. ~~Meeting with Lane Kirkland~~ *to be*

IV. ~~Greece/Turkey - Sarbanes et.al.~~ (?) *Reaction says not Greece*

V. Ham

- Your two mandates to Ham were excellent. They will do a great deal to improve coordination throughout the White House. I will cooperate fully with him in his new role.

VI. Asian Trip *Joint* *Blkt.*

- You are currently expected to return from your South American trip April 2. I am therefore thinking of going to Asia approximately April 7-17. OK?

VII. Canada/Mexico

- I will follow up on these two trips in the ways that you indicated on my memo.

VIII. US-Vatican Relations

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NLTC-133-3-3-3
per 6/26/06 NSE/HR re NLTC-06-80
DATE 6/9/06

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H *Marshall* *Dash*

- On Thursday, January 26, I met with Archbishop Casaroli, the Vatican Foreign Minister. We had had a conversation at the time of my audience with Pope Paul a year ago.
- There were three noteworthy points in the conversation. I asked the Archbishop for his reaction to the position we were taking on Italy and the dangers of Communist participation.
- While he did not say so, it was clear from his reply that the Vatican is pleased to have us taking a strong line on this. The Holy See does not want Communist participation in the Italian Government, and he lamented the fact that the Italian Socialists are so weak that they do not provide a meaningful alternative to the Communists. He did not see Communist participation as inevitable in the near term.
- On human rights, I emphasized your commitment to this issue, noting its complexity but adding that we had seen some progress in 1977.
- He commented that Pope Paul had addressed the Diplomatic Representatives to the Holy See on January 14 with human rights as his subject.
- The Apostolic Delegate has supplied me with a copy of the address (attached) which I thought you might wish to read.
- Finally, Archbishop Casaroli noted that the Vatican has come under pressure from the Soviet Union on the neutron bomb. Pope Paul has been included as a recipient of Brezhnev's letter, and Soviet Ambassador has been pressuring Casaroli to have the Vatican denounce the bomb as immoral.
- Casaroli said that he had told the Soviet Ambassador that the Vatican is against all nuclear weapons but that it does not pick and choose among them. He added, stressing the confidentiality of his request, that it would be very helpful to the Holy See if we would provide an analysis of the neutron bomb issue that could be drawn upon in a response from Pope Paul to Brezhnev. I said we would be pleased to provide information, and Zbig is developing background that we will pass to the Apostolic Delegate.

~~SECRET~~

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NLIC-06-080

per 6/10/06 NSC ltr
6/12/06

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Pope Addresses Diplomats

The Status of Human Rights

Diplomats accredited to the Holy See heard Pope Paul VI say Jan. 14 that the emphasis placed by society today on the human rights to religious liberty, to racial equality, and to physical and psychological integrity, represents a positive thrust that must be encouraged. Each of these rights touches on the relationships between individuals and public authority, the Pope observed in his annual address to representatives of the public authorities of many nations. "Some widespread ideologies want to list faith in God among the signs of weakness and human alienation," the Pope commented. He asked how government can expect to have the confidence of its people, or how parents can place hope in a society, when the government takes a stance against the faith of a part of its citizenry or when an all-pervasive ideology is given a privileged place in schools. Speaking of racism, Pope Paul acknowledged the "paradigmatic character" of situations in Africa where racial conflict is often "linked to decolonization and the independence of African peoples." He said the "church understands the just reasons why the African peoples reject" oppressive situations. Still, he said, the church cannot encourage nor justify violence. But, neither can the church be silent about racism. The Pope spoke forcefully against the use of torture on political prisoners. He also spoke out against the practice of placing some political prisoners in mental institutions. The text of the Pope's address, translation by NC News Service, follows.

We wish to choose as a subject for reflection today the very important and current theme of human rights. People speak about them passionately, and sometimes angrily, and almost always with a view toward greater justice — either real or presumed.

Some of these calls do not seem either reasonable or realizable because they sometimes spring from individual bursts of enthusiasm or out of anarchic utopias. Some of them are even morally inadmissible.

But taken together, as aspirations for and movement toward greater hope, this mounting concern that persons be given more space to exercise freedom and responsibility is a positive thing that must be encouraged. The church is following it and wishes to continue to follow it with sympathy.

And at the same time she offers it her light and necessary insights, as her mission demands. From among the many, broad and complex themes which touch upon human

rights we feel that it is valuable to speak especially about religious liberty, racial equality and the human right to physical and psychological integrity. This choice of theme is suggested by the fact that these three values fall within the sphere of relationships between persons and public authority. And today our listeners are you who represent the governments of so very many states.

1. Religious liberty: one of the characteristics of our secularized society is without doubt the tendency to relegate religious faith to the level of private option. Yet never before has freedom of religion and conscience been called for and demanded with so much insistence or passion, especially in places where it is oppressed or restricted, as a life value which requires an external and communal manifestation.

Proof of this are the appeals which continually come to us from persons and groups — some non-Catholic — and from men and women of all convictions as well as the broad consensus which the Holy See receives when it demands at international meetings respect for the religious liberty of all people.

Some widespread ideologies want to list faith in God among the signs of weakness and human alienation. Yet rarely as in these last decades have believers shown themselves to be so clearly free men, independent in moral judgment, resistant in trials, intrepid before pressure, oppression and death.

We have as proof the testimony of those who have shared prison or confinement with them and also the sacrifices which multitudes of believers bear serenely on the level of civic life, at work, at school and in their professions, willing to suffer discrimination themselves or for their children, provided that their convictions are not harmed.

All or almost all the constitutions in the world, not to mention numerous solemn international documents, contain guarantees — often ample and detailed — of freedom of religion and conscience, and equality of citizens without distinction based on religious faith. But one cannot fail to call attention to the limitations and bans placed in various countries, either on the administrative and legislative level or else simply on the level of fact, on religious activities: individual profession of faith, education of youth, pastoral action by priests and bishops, internal autonomy of religious communities, evangelization, use of the press, access to the mass media, etc.

The lack of religious liberty in many parts of the world was a matter of concern discussed numerous times during the most recent international Synod of Bishops, held in October 1977. In a final message to the people of God (see Origins, current volume, p. 321), the synod delegates said: "In many nations the mission of catechesis cannot be exercised freely. These are nations where fundamental human rights, including religious freedom are mere formalities. . . . The church in reaffirming the right to catechize is reaffirming the fundamental rights of all human beings."

During the synod, the manner in which Christians might function as productive members of a Communist nation, while retaining their Christian identity, was discussed by Archbishop Paul Nguyen Van Binh of Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon). His address had a strong impact on the synod delegates. The archbishop's address appeared in the current volume of Origins on p. 328. In his address he proposed that Christians, retaining their religious liberty, help construct the future Vietnam. It is interesting that in the text appearing here, the Pope takes note of the way in which Christians function as productive members of society in Communist nations and suggests this is a reason why their religious liberty should be given higher consideration.

**QUOTE FROM A PAST
TEXT OF CURRENT
INTEREST:**

"Totalitarian regimes of the right and of the left clamp down on 'subversive elements' — a convenient, and indeed emotive, categorization of persons with other points of view and aspirations. To justify this, such governments frequently appeal to 'national security,' a concept that sounds reassuring, but is more often than not the velvet glove concealing the iron fist. Criticisms or questions voiced by outsiders are claimed to be unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the state.

"There is, no doubt, an interference which is unacceptable. But when it concerns the basic rights of human beings who have no way of escaping from their predicament, can it be dismissed 'tout court' as interference? The brotherhood of man is a more fundamental concept than the brotherhood of nations, and it is more profound.

"If I know that a man is being tortured, I am tortured too..." (From, "The Bishop's Role as Justice Advocate," in Origins, current volume, quote on p. 78.)

We must therefore conclude that believers are still looked upon as suspect citizens who must be watched very carefully. We want to speak frankly, with respect for the truth and in a friendly and constructive way.

It is a fact that individuals who believe sincerely in God and try, despite their sins and weaknesses, to live in communion with him, feel strong and free. Their strength is not their own: it belongs to the other, to whom they have entrusted themselves. Their freedom comes from the fact that they do not fear powers "which kill the body" (Lk 12, 4). "It is a curious paradox," as was cleverly said by Sir Thomas More, humanist and statesman, to his daughter Margaret before dying, "that a man can lose his head without being harmed."

Less inclined to be influenced, the believer is open to truth and justice. His heart is at the service of his brethren. He feels the imperative duty to be faithful to his responsibilities. He can be asked to do anything for other men and society, except what his conscience forbids.

Even those who formerly considered religious faith to be a flight from reality now are beginning to recognize that Christians know how to draw from their faith a special moral force which puts them to work, at least as much and even more than others, in quest of a more just and human society.

It seems permissible, then, to ask: Can a state successfully call for trust and full cooperation when, through a kind of "negative confessionalism," it proclaims itself to be atheist and takes a stance against the faith of a part of its citizenry, while proclaiming in a certain sphere respect for the beliefs of individuals?

How can a mother or father place hope in a society which wishes to be novel and more just when an all-pervasive ideological education is given a privileged place in schools and when it is difficult, even in the privacy of one's home, for a family to communicate the spiritual values which are the foundation of its life?

How can the church and its shepherds, who nourish a sincere and motivated respect for civil authority, according to the words of Saint Paul, "not for fear of punishment but for reasons of conscience" (Rom 13.5), feel at peace when opposition is still placed in the way of opening new places of worship, of sending priests where their presence is called for by the faithful, or when the possibility of becoming a priest or religious is limited?

We have already encouraged the bishops and the faithful to give proof of their persevering patience, to be loyal toward legitimate authority, and to work generously in the civic and social sphere for the good of their country. We gave public proof of this recently on the occasion of the deferential and courteous visits by high civil authorities.

Except for a few countries which have not yet reached this point, we have begun after

a long period a frank and open dialogue which cannot be considered to be without results and which we hope will be deepened, and broadened even to include difficult issues not yet discussed.

We would now like to pose a question, turning to a wider perspective and speaking not only for Catholics but on behalf of all believers.

The question is this: is not the time now ripe, has not the evolution of history advanced sufficiently for a softening of the hardline of the past, for the acceptance of the pleas of millions of persons so that all — equal as citizens and united in seeking their country's civil and social good — might have the benefit of sufficient liberty for their faith in its personal and communal expression?

Does there not come a time in the evolution of peoples when, even after the most radical upheavals, a natural maturation of events and a detente of spirits takes place as generations begin a new, more open and more human stage — a stage during which oppositions and divisions melt and dissolve as elements which create brotherhood, reunion and togetherness are reborn and reaffirmed?

We feel that justice, wisdom and realism are converging to support the hope and the heartfelt wish that the arrival of a period capable of giving so many people happiness will not be postponed or evaded.

2. Equality among men: solemn, international documents, like the United Nations Convention of Dec. 21, 1965, against all forms of racial discrimination, to which the Holy See has adhered, have been dedicated to equality without distinction of race or origin.

We would like to call attention to the religious and moral meaning of the equal dignity of all men, rather than speak about its juridical and political aspect.

For those who believe in God, all men, even the least of them, are sons of the universal Father who created them in his image and guides their destinies with provident love. The paternity of God means fraternity among men: this is a strong point of Christian universality, a point held in common with other great religions and an axiom of the highest human wisdom which has professed the dignity of man throughout the ages.

For a Christian, no man is excluded from the possibility of being saved by Christ and enjoying the same end in the kingdom of God. It is therefore inconceivable for anyone who has received the Gospel message, even while taking into account physical, intellectual or moral differences, to deny fundamental human equality in the name of alleged superiority of one race or ethnic group.

We recall with emotion the strong expressions used by our great predecessor Pius XI of happy memory in his encyclical letter which was published 40 years ago condemning those who wanted to slur the universality of Christian redemption by citing the so-called

"revelation" of a "myth of blood and race."

The Catholic Church — universal in its mission and presence and therefore pained by every reappearance of antagonistic nationalism — is concerned also about the worsening of racial and tribal rivalry which foments division and rancor among men and peoples, and can even go so far as to affect brothers in faith.

We propose here to call special attention to the more general racial conflict which in the history of Africa in recent decades has taken on again a paradigmatic character since it is linked to decolonization and the independence of African peoples.

We are speaking about the attempt to create juridical and political constructions which violate the principles of universal suffrage and the self-determination of peoples. These principles have been affirmed and spread throughout the world with the help precisely of European and Western culture.

The church understands the just reasons why the African peoples reject such a situation. Certainly, the church cannot encourage nor justify violence which sheds blood, sows destruction, blows hate out of proportion and unleashes reprisal and vengeance.

But the church cannot be silent concerning its teaching that all racist theories are contrary to the faith and Christian love. The horror which Christians have of violence must push them to affirm the equal dignity of all men with more clarity and courage. In recalling the words which several years ago formed the theme for the World Day of Peace: "Every Man is My Brother," we want to see the active solidarity of all on behalf of a just solution especially in Southern Africa expressed in a stronger way, with more conviction and in a legitimate and effective way. Up until now different initiatives and propositions have failed to reach a solution.

3. Physical and psychic integrity of men: for a believer in God, human life is a gift which comes from him, a sacred deposit which must be kept in its integrity. The church is caught up in teaching respect for life under all circumstances and at all stages of existence, from the instant when life begins to form in the maternal womb, until its meeting with "sister death."

From the cradle to the tomb, all human beings, even the weakest, the most destitute, diminished and forgotten, possess an element of nobility which is the image of God and our resemblance to him. Jesus taught his disciples that his own person is represented in the person of the poor and the small.

Believers and the church cannot, therefore, remain insensitive and inert before the multiplying charges of torture and bad treatment practiced in various countries on persons arrested, interrogated or placed under surveillance or detention.

While laws and constitutions give space to the principle of the right to defense in all

stages of justice, while plans for the humanization of places of detention are developed to weaken the resistance of prisoners, sometimes irreversible wounds to body and spirit are inflicted on prisoners without hesitation.

How can we not be troubled by the knowledge that numerous anguished families are addressing pleas in vain on behalf of their loved ones and that requests for information are mounting up unanswered?

Likewise we cannot be silent concerning the practice, denounced by many, of grouping together the guilty — or allegedly guilty — of the political opposition with persons

"But one cannot fail to call attention to the limitations and bans placed in various countries . . . on religious activities We must therefore conclude that believers are still looked upon as suspect citizens who must be watched very carefully."

in need of psychiatric care, thus adding to their pain another, perhaps even harsher, reason for bitterness.

How can the church not take a strong position against torture and analogous acts of violence inflicted on human persons, as she did with dueling and does still regarding abortion?

Those who order it or carry it out commit a crime which is truly very grave for Christian conscience. That conscience must react and work in whatever way possible to seek adequate and effective remedies.

These, in brief, are the reflections which we want to express to you, excellencies and dear sirs. We are sure that you will be sensitive to them and welcome them.

We entrust them, along with our wishes of prosperity and peace for the authorities of the countries which you represent, to him who presides over the destinies of men and peoples and opens the heart to truth, justice and love.

May the year just beginning be enriched by a new gift of God — the gift of considerable progress on behalf of human rights. We add this wish to all of the wishes which we formulate for you and for your loved ones, praying the Lord to pour out blessings on you.

For material in this week's issue of Origins related to Pope Paul's discussion on this page of racism in Africa, see the communique of the Pan African Conference of Third World Theologians, p. 510.

The use of violence as a means of attaining rights has been a topic of great concern to Pope Paul VI during his pontificate. In the text appearing on this page, he opposes the use of violence in Africa.

An advisory body serving the Pope, the International Theological Commission, recently took up the question of the promotion of human development and its relationship to the church's mission. The commission issued a paper titled, "Human Development and Christian Salvation." It appeared in the current volume of Origins beginning on p. 305.

At one point in that document, the commission said: Christians are recognized by the way they try to solve conflicts; "they do not persuade the masses to destroy violence by counterviolence, rather, they try to effect change by, e.g., shaping the consciences of men and women, entering into discussion, initiating nonviolent action."

Archbishop Jean Jadot
Apostolic Delegate

PRESIDENT

978

Vacation

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DICK MOE *DM*

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1978

- I. Middle East/Sadat visit
- II. Horn of Africa
- III. Energy Bill
- IV. Panama Canal Treaties
- V. Bill Miller
- VI. Bilingual Education (?)
- VII. Philadelphia U.S. Attorney (?)
- VIII. Plans to be gone next week
- IX. Lambsdorff Visit
(continued on next page)

Info to Javits
- *united about Plan*
St. Louis
- *7600 Fri. 4 (8-10)*
(A French; K. G. G. G.)
Fransaphone

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1978

MEMO FOR DICK MOE

FROM: Denis Clift



SUBJECT: Insert for Luncheon Talker

Dick, I am certain that the Sadat talks will be the centerpiece of the foreign policy agenda during this Monday's luncheon. Accordingly, I forward the attached abbreviated submission.

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-2-

- I met briefly with Count Lambsdorff, the FRG Economic Minister, last Friday. He has been in Washington for a round of talks with State, Treasury, CEA and members of the Congress -- and in every meeting our officials have been stressing the importance we attach to German economic growth.
- I noted that indications of such growth will be important in terms of a decision on the next industrialized summit.
- Lambsdorff noted that the Germans, of course, have their own domestic problems, but he felt there would be signs of growth.
- We agreed on the importance of having the summits well prepared so that there are genuine good results. It is clear that the Germans want a summit.
- Lambsdorff had high words of praise for Bob Strauss as MTN negotiator and he thought that the prospects for MTN look fairly good -- e.g. relaxation of non-tariff barriers.

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Talking Points for Vice President's Luncheon with the President, Monday, February 6, 1978

In terms of the foreign policy issues to be discussed, you and the President will probably wish to focus on the weekend talks with President. Additional subjects might include:

Lambsdorff Visit

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OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON


INFORMATION

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Memo No. 132-78

February 24, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK MOE


FROM: Denis Clift 

SUBJECT: Insert for Monday Luncheon

I am forwarding the insert for the talker you are preparing for the Vice President's luncheon with the President on Monday, February 27.

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Insert, Vice President's Remarks, White House Luncheon

Thursday, February 9, 1978

--President and entire Administration committed to a secure and independent Jewish state of Israel

--Following the important events of November 20, President Sadat's visit to Israel, we have been working with the parties to assist as best we can as negotiations settle down to complex difficult process.

--President met with Prime Minister Begin in December.

--Talks with Sadat at Camp David over the weekend and yesterday at the White House permitted us to understand his thinking his concerns as fully as possible.

--Foreign Minister Dayan is now in the United States and will be coming to Washington next week.

--It has been agreed that Assistant Secretary Atherton will return to the Middle East to help get the negotiating process moving again -- particularly to help the parties reach agreement on a declaration of principles that will provide a framework for the negotiations.



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

February 24, 1978

Education
Statement
to members

Harvey
Meany

Israel - 242

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: DICK MOE

Rm

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1978

Civil Liberties
Miller
Burris' Place

I. Coal Strike

II. Energy Bill

III. Middle East

IV. Horn of Africa

V. Leadership Breakfasts

- Leave more time for others to speak

VI. Public Appearances

- Are there any issues on which I can publicly help by giving a speech or TV appearance? Jody mentioned perhaps Civil Service reform, but that you were considering doing a speech on it. If not, I would be happy to.

anything?
Diplomats
March 31st - must leave March 31st
Serial Summary

Energy
need to move
to move

VII. Peter Hart Lunch - *notes attached*

Get out with the People

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