


OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL

April 22, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK MOE

FROM: Denis Clift   
SUBJECT: Nordic/Netherlands Talking Points for  
Vice President's Use - Monday, April 23, 1979

I have drafted the attached with the thought that the Vice President draw on the points as required during the Cabinet meeting and the President's luncheon.

DECLASSIFIED  
NLC-06-083  
725/36/04 NSC LETTER  
BY C NARA, DATE 6/8/04



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM:

RICHARD MOE

SUBJECT:

TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT --  
MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1979I. Rhodesian Elections

- Case-Javits certification - 3

II. SALT / Breznev - Plans

- We must set verification issue to rest at outset, and get on the offensive. Therefore, at time of signing, two things should happen:
  - Joint Chiefs should be prepared to say they believe treaty is verifiable;
  - Senators should be invited to confidential briefings on our technical means.
- If we don't move quickly and forcefully on this issue, we'll never get the debate on our terms.
- I intend to spend a lot of time with the Senate on this.

III. Middle EastIV. IranV. MFN for USSR & PRC (see attached)VI. Soviet Reaction to Nordic Trip/US Ambassadors (see attached)VII. Economy/Inflation

- Biggest problem is that Administration spokesmen are not speaking with one voice (see attached Bosworth clip).
- We need that same kind of political and press coordination here that we need in foreign policy.
- Might consider having Ham and Jody sit in on weekly breakfasts. Also make known your displeasure when this happens.

VIII. Excess Profits Tax

- We're off to an excellent start. Keep the heat on.

IX. Excellent New York Trip

- Japan: OHIRA

- Hard

CONFIDENTIAL

Insert for Vice President's luncheon with President, Monday,  
April 30, 1979

MFN for USSR and PRC

(As you know, we are presently at a point where the President has instructed State to give Dobrynin the Oral Note on MFN and emigration. The President has further instructed that no fresh moves be made on Capitol Hill until he has had a chance personally to consider the USSR response.

Secretary Blumenthal has steadily maintained that Jewish American groups favor early MFN for the USSR. You have indicated, and I have concurred, that the position of these groups has to be very carefully evaluated, that one should not rush to the conclusion that they will support Administration efforts relating to early MFN for the USSR.

The April 26 New York Times contains a letter from Eugene Gold, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, which underscores the need for great care when the President weighs a decision of tactics and timing with the Congress.

You may wish to comment on the Gold letter during your luncheon with the President.)

Visit to Nordic Countries and Netherlands - Soviet Reaction and U.S. Ambassadors

I was pleased to see that the visit to the Nordic countries produced some articles in the Soviet press saying that the purpose of my visit was to strengthen NATO's northern flank.

We could not have asked for better coverage by the Soviets - its a pity it wasn't matched in the US media.

The visit gave me a chance to see six US Ambassadors in action. We have two career people - Ericson in Iceland and Roz Ridgway in Finland, both excellent.

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DECLASSIFIED  
NL/C-06-1083  
PER 5/30/06 NSC LETTER  
BY Q NARA, DATE 8/8/06

CONFIDENTIAL

In candor, I believe three of the four political appointees are doing an outstanding job: Lou Lerner in Norway, Rodney Kennedy-Minott in Sweden and Geri Joseph in the Netherlands.

We had some carefully phrased indications of dissatisfaction from our Danish hosts over the Embassy staff in Copenhagen, where Warren Manshel is Ambassador. The Danes do not feel that Manshel is particularly sensitive to their viewpoint and he is in a somewhat difficult position in this regard following as he does after a capable career Ambassador, John Gunther Dean, who is now in Lebanon.

The biggest Danish concern, however, is that Manshel does not have a good number two man with whom they can consult. Apparently he chose a rather bland economic officer for DCM. This is troublesome to the Danes at a time when they want good contacts with the Embassy on tough, evolving issues of domestic importance and Alliance importance, such as TNF. I thought I would mention this DCM problem to Cy.

Lou Lerner is doing a fine job in Norway. He is respected. He speaks Norwegian and his wife has amazed everyone by becoming almost fluent in the language. Lou gave us some indication that he may wish to return to Chicago later this year to play an active role for you in the 1980 campaign.

CONFIDENTIAL



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## Letter: On Soviet Trade Credits

# Why Alter the Jackson-Vanik Amendment?

To the Editor:

March's record-breaking Soviet Jewish emigration undoubtedly prompted your April 6 editorial, "Time to Trade Up in Soviet Trade," which urged the Congress to support Senator Adlai Stevenson Jr.'s bill that would grant \$2 million in foreign trade credits to China and the U.S.S.R. The bill would also replace provisions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment that now require assurances on improved emigration with promises from the President that emigration will be satisfactory.

We can't understand, nor do we support, the rush to alter a perfectly good piece of legislation that already contains a waiver provision for the granting of foreign trade credits and most-favored-nation treatment when the Soviets perform according to the intent of this freedom-of-emigration law.

Our 39 national member organizations and hundreds of affiliated community councils and federations are,

of course, pleased with the recent improvements in emigration and realize some gesture must be given in return.

But with six times as many Jews applying to leave as are actually permitted, we cannot support those who would offer the Soviets significant rewards for this partial concession to basic human rights. And what about the Jewish prisoners of conscience whose real "crime" was to struggle for the right to leave? Or the 3,000 "refuseniks" who have been waiting years to leave and suffer daily indignity because they want to be reunited with their families in Israel?

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment has literally and figuratively given tens of thousands of Soviet Jews an opportunity for a new life as Jews. Isn't it odd that the same people who opposed this amendment when it was first introduced still want to destroy it despite the fact that it has proven its worth?

As we have said, human rights is not a game of numbers. While one Soviet

hand has partially opened the emigration tap, the other Soviet hand continues to squeeze Jews who live in the U.S.S.R. with widespread anti-Semitism and a refusal to allow them to pursue their religious, cultural and historic identity.

It may be old-fashioned, but we believe in freedom. Freedom to come and go as you please (as the Soviets have supported in numerous international covenants, but never actually adopted) and to believe and act as you please as long as it doesn't interfere with anyone else's rights.

If economic incentives will encourage the U.S.S.R. to grant these rights, then we support them. Until it can be proven otherwise, we have to draw the conclusion that the increased emigration is a direct result of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment and we are therefore opposed to attempts to repeal or amend the law.

EUGENE GOLD  
Chairman, National Conference  
on Soviet Jewry  
New York, April 16, 1979

MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON


ACTION

Memo No. 248-79

CONFIDENTIAL

April 26, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK MOE

FROM: Denis Clift 

SUBJECT: Insert for Vice President's Luncheon with  
the President, Monday, April 30, 1979

I am forwarding at Tab I a recommended insert for the  
talking points being prepared for the Vice President's  
lunch with the President next Monday.

CONFIDENTIAL  
Classified by Source  
Review April 26, 1985

DECLASSIFIED  
NLC-CG-082  
H28/30/CGN-08  
BY C NARA, DATE 6/1/00

## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON  
May 4, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD MOE *Rm*SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE  
PRESIDENT -- MONDAY, MAY 7, 1979I. Intelligence Charters

- o You should be aware of my differences with the current direction of Administration policy regarding:
  - infiltration of American groups at home and abroad - ?
  - tapping phones of Americans abroad
- o I have felt strongly about these issues going back to my days on the Senate Select Committee; I still do.
- o Here is an LA Times story on the matter (give him attached).

II. SALT/Brezhnev - *Kiminger*

- o Status
- o Briefing of Americans (see attached)

III. Foreign Policy Contingency Fund -- Liberia (see attached)IV. Yugoslavia Trip by Joan (see attached)V. Middle EastVI. RhodesiaVII. Flap with Kennedy (?)VIII. State Dinner Goof -- Glenn/Mineta/MatsuiIX. Saratoga VictoryX. Nuclear Policy (see attached)

- o We're getting boxed in on the issue by Jim's statements.
- o This is a politically volatile issue, one that could be a rallying point against us next year.
- o We should review our policy in this context and establish a mechanism for clearing all administration statements on the matter.

*Italians**Issue**Regulations**Afghan**Actions**Abraham*  
*Lincoln**Energy**Inflation (Energy)**Greece**Patties*  
*Turkey/Greece*  
*Dairy**Wilkes*



CONFIDENTIAL

INSERT FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S LUNCHEON WITH PRESIDENT,  
MONDAY, MAY 7, 1979

SALT -- US Briefings

- On Friday Zbig, David and I briefed the Executive Board of United Steel Workers of America.
- Lloyd McBride, President of USWA, has indicated he will give us his support.
- There can be no doubt that the overriding question in the average uncommitted American's mind is not the details of the treaty but can we trust the Soviets to honor the treaty.
- These meetings with a cross section of Americans, as was the case with the Panama treaties, are of central importance to successful consent by the Senate -- our handling of the verification question, in turn, will be central to the success of these briefings.

(NOTE: We are separately scheduling a meeting for you with David and other NSC staff to review the classified verification presentation that will be made by the Administration to members of the Senate.)

Presidential Foreign Policy Contingency Fund

- My meeting last Thursday with Foreign Minister Dennis of Liberia underscored again to me how much we are hurt by the absence of a foreign policy contingency fund which would permit you to respond modestly but effectively to a good friend such as Liberia in time of need.
- With your agreement I will ask Cy to develop recommendations on how we might reinstitute such a fund as soon as possible.

Mrs. Mondale's Trip to Yugoslavia

- ICA Director Reinhardt has invited Joan to represent the US at the opening of a major ICA exhibit, "America Now," in Belgrade this June.

CONFIDENTIAL

Classified by A. Denis Clift  
Review 5/4/85

DECLASSIFIED

NL/C-06-083

RE 5/30/06 NSC LTR

BY C NARA, DATE 6/8/06

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-- Joan plans to accept. The visit will also permit her to visit the region recently stricken by earthquakes; and I believe the visit will contribute to the excellent state of US-Yugoslav relations under your Administration.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

## TALKING POINTS ON NUCLEAR POWER

- You have worked hard to build a strong record on nuclear safety, and to make sure that federal policies put safety first.
- Especially after Three Mile Island, this is a volatile issue and people are legitimately worried. Brown is obviously working this issue, and would like nothing better than for us to become the enemy in the eyes of organized groups.
- While Jim Schlesinger knows an enormous amount about nuclear power, he is playing right into Brown's hands by publicly attacking movement leaders and by volunteering strong support for nuclear power. Our position should be one of caution and concern, and not one of advocacy. If we fail to convey that message, we will only heighten public anxiety on this issue.
- You are the only one who can tell Jim to keep quiet. If you don't do that we run the risk of deeply alienating our environmental constituency, of helping Brown to make this a major election year issue, and ultimately of having to repudiate him publicly.
- I would strongly urge that you call him in and tell him that this is one case where you believe we make a serious mistake by speaking our minds. We should keep quiet, we should be cautious, we should not attack nuclear critics, we should stress safety and we should at all costs avoid giving nuclear opponents a forum and a target that will guarantee them the publicity they want.

VICE PRESIDENT'S OPENING REMARKS  
SALT BRIEFING FOR  
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA  
MAY 4, 1979

LLOYD MCBRIDE, MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, AND DISTRICT DIRECTORS OF THE UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA:

- ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT CARTER, WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE. WE ARE DELIGHTED TO HAVE YOU HERE TODAY TO DISCUSS THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS.-- THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS. WE HAVE TWO OF OUR FOREMOST EXPERTS ON SALT TO REVIEW THE PROGRESS WE ARE REALIZING ON SALT AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS TO OUR MOST VITAL INTERESTS AS A PEOPLE AND A NATION.
- DAVID AARON, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS WILL EXAMINE THE PROVISIONS OF THE SALT II TREATY IN DETAIL AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR MILITARY SECURITY.
- ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS WILL EXAMINE SALT IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT OF U.S. INTERESTS. YESTERDAY, ZBIG SUBSTITUTED FOR ME AT A LUNCHEON AT MY HOUSE -- AND SO HE WILL BE SPEAKING TO YOU WITH THAT ADDED AUTHORITY TODAY.
- AT THE OUTSET LET ME SAY WHAT A PLEASURE IT IS FOR ME PERSONALLY TO BE WITH THE UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA AGAIN. LAST EVENING, I WAS IN STEEL COUNTRY, IN GARY INDIANA, AT A DINNER HONORING MAYOR HATCHER.

- WHEN WE TOOK OFFICE, MILLS WERE RUNNING AT LOW CAPACITY, IMPORTS WERE HIGH, AND THERE WERE MANY CLOSINGS AND LAYOFFS. SINCE THEN THE PRESIDENT HAS CREATED THE TRIGGER-PRICE SYSTEM, AND THE RESULT IS THAT THE STEEL INDUSTRY IS RUNNING AT 91% CAPACITY; FOREIGN IMPORTS HAVE FALLEN; DOMESTIC DEMAND AND SALES HAVE RISEN; AND THE LAYOFFS HAVE STOPPED.
- IN GARY, THE MILLS ARE RUNNING AT NEAR 100% CAPACITY. WHERE BECAUSE OF LONG-NEGLECTED PROBLEMS CLOSINGS WERE NOT PREVENTABLE SUCH AS THE CLOSING OF GARY'S OPEN HEARTH FURNACE #4 BEFORE WE TOOK OFFICE, WE HAVE HELPED CREATE NEW JOBS. THAT WAS THE PURPOSE OF THE \$6.6 MILLION GRANTED TO GARY UNDER THE ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM -- MONEY THAT GARY HAS SPENT ON DOWNTOWN REHABILITATION, THE CIVIC CENTER, AND OTHER PROJECTS.
- PUTTING PEOPLE BACK TO WORK HAS TOP PRIORITY IN THIS ADMINISTRATION - THIS IS OF IMPORTANCE TO YOUR UNION, AND IT IS OF IMPORTANCE TO AMERICA (NATION: 8.1 MILLION JOBS SINCE TOOK OFFICE. INDIANA: 194,000 JOBS. GARY CITY: 5,100 (WITH UNEMPLOYMENT DROPPING 25%, FROM 10.6 TO 7.6%))
- IF WE ARE TO BUILD ON THIS RECORD, AND IF WE ARE TO PROVIDE A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE, WE MUST PROVIDE FOR OUR NATIONAL SECURITY. PRESIDENT CARTER IS TOTALLY COMMITTED TO A STRONG DEFENSE, AS REFLECTED IN THE INCREASED DEFENSE BUDGET HE HAS SUBMITTED TO THE CONGRESS, AND HE IS PROCEEDING ON TWO FRONTS.
  - FIRST WE ARE MODERNIZING OUR DEFENSE FORCES, INCLUDING OUR STRATEGIC DEFENSE FORCES, AND OUR ALLIES ARE

MODERNIZING THEIR FORCES.

- SECOND, WE ARE WORKING TO PLACE TIGHTER LIMITS ON THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE THAN PRESENTLY IMPOSED BY SALT I -- THAT IS THE PURPOSE OF SALT II.
- FOR THE PAST SIX YEARS, THREE PRESIDENTS OF BOTH PARTIES HAVE BEEN NEGOTIATING THIS NEXT STEP IN STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL. THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN INTENSE. WE HAVE PROCEEDED CAREFULLY AND DELIBERATELY. AND WE ARE NEAR COMPLETION OF A SALT II AGREEMENT THAT IS IN OUR NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS.
- IN BRIEF, AND AS DAVID AND ZBIG WILL EXPLAIN IN GREATER DETAIL, WITH SALT II
  - WE WILL BRING DOWN THE OVERALL NUMBER OF SOVIET STRATEGIC WEAPONS.
  - THE STRATEGIC BALANCE WILL BE MORE STABLE AND THEREFORE SAFER.
  - THE DEFENSE PROGRAMS THAT WE AND OUR ALLIES NEED AND HAVE PLANNED CAN PROCEED ON SCHEDULE.
- JUST ONE ADDITIONAL POINT, I HAVE HEARD THE CHARGE THAT OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES IN EUROPE DO NOT LIKE THE SALT II AGREEMENT -- THAT IS NONSENSE AND IT IS WRONG. WE HAVE CONSULTED CLOSELY WITH OUR ALLIES THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE LEADERS OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND CANADA HAVE GIVEN THEIR STRONG SUPPORT TO SALT II.
- I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO SIX NORTHERN EUROPEAN NATIONS, SIX FELLOW DEMOCRACIES -- OUR NATO ALLIES IN ICELAND, NORWAY, DENMARK AND THE NETHERLANDS -- AND

OUR FRIENDS IN SWEDEN AND FINLAND. IN EACH NATION THE  
SALT NEGOTIATIONS WERE UPPERMOST ON THE AGENDA FOR  
OUR TALKS AND IN EACH NATION STRONG SUPPORT WAS GIVEN  
TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE SALT II AGREEMENT.

-- NOW, I AM PLEASED TO INTRODUCE DAVID AARON.

James Balanoff, Director  
District 31, USWA  
720 W. Chicago Avenue  
East Chicago, Indiana 46312

Bertrum McNamara, Director  
District 32, USWA  
615 E. Michigan Avenue  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202

Linus Wampler, Director  
District 33, USWA  
332 W. Superior Street, Room 609  
Duluth, Minnesota, 55802

Buddy W. Davis, Director  
District 34, USWA  
818 Olive Street, Suite 1206  
St. Louis, Missouri, 61301

Bruce Thrasher, Director  
District 35, USWA  
3400 Peachtree Road, N.E., Suite 1411  
Atlanta, Georgia 30326

Howard Strevel, Director  
District 36, USWA  
409 N. 21st Street  
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Edgar L. Ball, Director  
District 37, USWA  
10202 East Freeway, Suite 104  
Houston, Texas 77029

Robert Petris, Director  
District 38, USWA  
1520 West Cameron Avenue, Suite 300  
West Covina, California 91790



MEMORANDUM

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON


INFORMATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memo No. 389-79

May 4, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK MOE

FROM: Denis Clift   
SUBJECT: Vice President's Luncheon with President,  
Monday, May 7, 1979

I am forwarding at Tab A a foreign policy insert for the talking points being prepared for the Vice President's May 7 luncheon with the President.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
Classified by Source  
Review 5/4/85

DECLASSIFIED

N/C - DG - DP3  
REL 5/30/06 NSC LETHIC  
BY C NARA DATE 4/8/06

SECRET/EYES ONLY

INSERT FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S LUNCHEON WITH THE PRESIDENT  
Thursday, May 17, 1979

Visit to People's Republic of China

- I had a very good dinner with Ambassador Chai at the PRC Embassy on Monday, May 14.
- Following up on your Oval Office conversation a few weeks ago, Ambassador Chai told me -- and subsequently repeated to Zbig, that I would be welcome to visit China. He said he hoped I would contact him soon to provide his government with preferred dates for the visit so that the PRC can make appropriate plans.
- He indicated that Autumn would be the most satisfactory time for the PRC.
- Realistically, looking at our agenda for the balance of the year, the best and only time for the visit would be when the Senate is in recess.
- The major Congressional recess this summer runs from August 4 until September 5. After that I think we will have to plan on the Senate being in session and grappling with SALT conceivably right up to Christmas.
- Accordingly, my preferred timing option for the visit would be late August with departure on Friday or Saturday, August 24-25 and with return approximately a week later over the Labor Day weekend (this would then give a couple of days to readjust to the time change before the Senate returns).
- With your approval I will work with Zbig and Cy and propose the period August 24-September 3, 1979 to Chai for the visit.

Intelligence Executive Order 12036

- I have spoken to Judge Bell, Harold Brown and Frank Carlucci, in Stan Turner's absence, on the need to expedite implementation of Intelligence Executive Order 12036.
- All three promised to increase their attention and to get right on it. Defense and CIA's submissions for implementation

SECRET/EYES ONLY

Classified by A. Denis Clift

Review 5/15/85

DECLASSIFIED

ML/C-06-083  
FOR 5/30/00 NSC LTR  
BY: C- NARA DATE 6/18/00

are now with Justice, and Judge Bell told me ~~on May 11~~ that he was working hard on the issue at the time of my call.

Meeting with Portuguese Socialist Leader Soares

- I met with Portuguese Socialist leader Mario Soares this Tuesday. he is in the US on a private visit and touching base with a number of people.
- He asked me to thank you for your support during Portugal's return to democracy, particularly during his Administration when the Portuguese were struggling to put together their democratic institutions.
- I think we are making a sound investment in giving Portugal all possible support at this point in her history.
- Soares told me that on the labor union front, his party, the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats are backing a union movement to rival the communist unions which until now have totally dominated Portuguese labor. This is an important development.
- Soares is a bit more critical of President Eanes than I had expected him to be, saying that he has, at least for the moment, estranged himself from the political parties. I stressed the importance of the political parties working in the parliamentary process to produce results that would bring them the continuing support of the Portuguese people.

SECRET ATTACHMENT



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

May 23, 1979

Baker

(Daniel Horowitz)

MEMORANDUM FOR THE VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: RICHARD MOE

SUBJECT: TALKING POINTS FOR LUNCHEON WITH THE  
PRESIDENT -- THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1979

I. Report on Trips to New Jersey, Boston, New Hampshire

- o Tip
- o Hugh Gallen

II. SALT

- o Meetings with Church, Cranston group
- o ~~Summit~~
- o General Ellis' speech (see attached)

III. Energy

- o Decontrol/Hill
- o Schlesinger
- o Need for TV address

IV. PRC (see attached)

V. Cyprus (see attached)

VI. Intelligence (see attached)

VII. Inflation

VIII. Middle East

OPEC

Don't trust info

→ C recs = mtg

W/ Yao

21. H.I.

A (un)official,  
Single. Plan

SECRET ATTACHMENT

~~SECRET~~

FOREIGN POLICY/DEFENSE INSERT FOR VICE PRESIDENT'S LUNCH  
WITH THE PRESIDENT, THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1979

SALT

[General Ellis, SAC Commander, who you met at SAC headquarters in December '77 has given a speech on the Soviet military threat and SALT (text at Tab A) which is perhaps the most positive statement by a uniformed general officer to date. You may wish to mention this address to the President - (on a personal note, it is my understanding that General Ellis is being treated for cancer).]

- General Dick Ellis, SAC Commander, gave a positive speech on SALT at the Economic Club of Detroit on May 15.
- In brief, the General reviews the very aggressive Soviet military program, he then goes through the principal provisions of the SALT treaty stating "on balance, I judge them to be positive steps in the strategic nuclear arms limitation process. Of overriding importance, our negotiations have preserved the flexibility to modernize our strategic nuclear forces: specifically, to deploy the air launched cruise missile, to develop a inter-continental missile required (emphasis added) to counter the approaching vulnerability of our Minuteman, to continue production of the Trident submarine, to develop in the out years a new strategic manned penetrator and to continue to seek solutions to the pressing threat of the early Eighties."
- I read this to say that if SAC gets a favorable decision on MX, SALT II is satisfactory.
- General Ellis' speech is just starting to circulate around Washington, I think Zbig and the White House SALT Task Force should take great care, and, in fact, review with you, how this speech is to be referenced or quoted from -- it could be very easy for us to force the SAC Commander into a more conservative, qualifying press statement if the Administration starts "trumpeting his support" improperly and prematurely.

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY A. DENIS CLIFT  
Review 5/23/85

DECLASSIFIED

ML/C-OG-083  
R2530/OG MSC LTR  
BY Q NARA DATE 6/18/09

~~SECRET~~

Visit to People's Republic of China

- I had a very good dinner with Ambassador Chai at the PRC Embassy on Monday, May 14. Following up on your Oval Office conversation of a few weeks ago, Ambassador Chai told me - and subsequently repeated to Zbig - that I would be welcome to visit China and that his government hopes I would do so. He indicated that Autumn would be most satisfactory for the PRC.
- Given the importance of my being in Washington when the Senate is debating SALT, I believe the best and only time for the visit would be when the Senate is in recess.
- The major Congressional recess runs from August 4 until September 5 - after that we may be grappling with SALT right up to Christmas.
- My preferred timing for the visit to the PRC would be late August, early September. With your approval, I will work with Zbig and Cy to propose this timing to Chai for the visit.

[NOTE: Zbig's memorandum to you on timing is at Tab B. He lists July, August, September and October options. The July recess option is questionable at best given the fact that the President departs for Tokyo June 23 and does not return to Washington until at least the night of July 1, and possibly not until July 4. Given the date time line and the long flight, this option really does not work.]

Cyprus

- I noted that you met with the new Archbishop of Cyprus on Tuesday. I had meetings with Greek-Americans both in Boston and New Hampshire earlier this week.
- The 10 Point Communique emerging from the May 18-19 talks was more positive than many would have hoped for. It will be useful to review this at tomorrow's breakfast. I think Warren should keep Secretary General Waldheim aware of our intense interest in progress when the intercommunal talks resume on June 15. The Senate's decision on aid for Turkey should help.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

- If there is, in fact, such a thing as a "window" for progress on Cyprus, I believe we are now at that window and we should do everything we can to facilitate progress.
- I have separately sent you a memorandum recommending that you agree to meet with Andy Athens, National Chairman of the United Hellenic American Congress, given the positive results of the May 18-19 talks. The timing is good. Athens wants to be helpful and I think this is important domestically.

Intelligence Executive Order 12036

- I have spoken to Judge Bell, Harold Brown and Frank Carlucci, in Stan Turner's absence, on the need to expedite implementation of Intelligence Executive Order 12036.
- All three promised to increase their attention and to get right on it. Defense and CIA's submissions for implementation are now with Justice, and Judge Bell told me that he was working hard on the issue at the time of my call.

~~SECRET~~

REMARKS BY  
GENERAL RICHARD H. ELLIS  
COMMANDER IN CHIEF  
STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND  
AND  
DIRECTOR STRATEGIC TARGET PLANNING  
JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
TO

THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF DETROIT  
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

15 MAY 1979



## AMERICAN MILITARY POWER IN THE 1980'S:

### WILL IT MEET THE COMPETITION?

IT IS A PLEASURE TO JOIN YOU DURING ARMED FORCES WEEK AND ADDRESS THIS SESSION OF THE ECONOMIC CLUB. DETROIT IS ONE OF THE FEW MAJOR CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH STILL ACTIVELY CELEBRATES ARMED FORCES WEEK. IT CLEARLY EXPRESSES YOUR COMMUNITY'S CONCERN AND DEDICATION TO A STRONG, HEALTHY AMERICA -- ECONOMICALLY, POLITICALLY, AND MILITARILY.

IT WASN'T TOO MANY YEARS AGO WHEN EACH OF THESE AREAS WAS AN ENTITY UNTO ITSELF. AN ECONOMIST, OR A POLITICIAN, OR A GENERAL OFFICER COULD STAND BEFORE THIS DISTINGUISHED AUDIENCE AND ADDRESS THE MAJOR ISSUES IN HIS FIELD WITHOUT BECOMING DEEPLY INVOLVED IN THE OTHER TWO. BUT OUR GLOBAL ECONOMY AND THE CHANGING WORLD ORDER NO LONGER ALLOW US TO NEATLY DIVIDE TODAY'S DIFFICULT ISSUES INTO PRECISE CATEGORIES.

UNFORTUNATELY, THIS MOSAIC OF COMPLEX INTERACTING FACTORS HAS SOMETIMES HAD AN ADVERSE EFFECT ON THE ABILITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO UNDERSTAND CLEARLY SOME OF THE MAJOR ISSUES IMPACTING ON THEIR NATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL WELL-BEING.

MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, CONFLICTING VERBIAGE ON THESE ISSUES RESULTS IN FURTHER PUBLIC CONFUSION, FRUSTRATION, AND SKEPTICISM -- PARTICULARLY IN THOSE AREAS INVOLVING NATIONAL MILITARY POLICY AND STRATEGY.

THIS WAS NOT ALWAYS THE CASE. THOSE AMONG THIS AUDIENCE OF MY GENERATION HAVE WATCHED THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD OUR NATION'S MILITARY CHANGE DRAMATICALLY DURING THE LAST THIRTY-FIVE YEARS. FOR EXAMPLE, WORLD WAR II WAS A VERY STRAIGHTFORWARD WHITE HAT-BLACK HAT SITUATION. WE KNEW EXACTLY WHO THE ENEMY WAS AND WHY WE WERE FIGHTING THE WAR; AND, IN THE END, A DECISIVE VICTORY WAS ACHIEVED.

SINCE THAT TIME, IT HAS BEEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE PUBLIC TO SORT OUT NATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND GOALS -- TO UNDERSTAND WHY WE FOUGHT WARS WE DID NOT WIN OR ESTABLISHED A MILITARY PRESENCE IN PLACES WITH STRANGE NAMES. WHILE THE KOREAN AND VIETNAM WARS INITIALLY HAD CLEAR OBJECTIVES, THEY BECAME LESS CLEAR AS THE CONFLICTS CONTINUED AND THE END RESULTS WERE INDECISIVE -- ESPECIALLY IN VIETNAM. SOME OF THESE MILITARY UNDERTAKINGS INTRODUCED AN UNDERSTANDABLE CHANGE IN THE PUBLIC'S SUPPORT OF OUR DEFENSE POSTURE AND, WHILE IT DOES NOT REFLECT A LACK OF PATRIOTISM OR CONCERN FOR OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, IT IS INDICATIVE OF AN UNFOCUSED UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEED TODAY FOR STRONG MILITARY FORCES AND THE VITAL ROLE THEY PLAY IN INTERNATIONAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC MATTERS.

AS AN EXAMPLE -- NATIONAL DISCUSSION ON THE PENDING STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TREATY IS GETTING UNDER WAY AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THE MAJOR MILITARY ISSUES INVOLVED -- COMPLEXITY NOTWITHSTANDING. TO ASSIST IN THIS EDUCATIONAL PROCESS, WE IN THE MILITARY CAN CONTRIBUTE WITHIN OUR AREAS OF COMPETENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY. ONE OF



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