

SALT

By mid-November some hard decisions will be required on tactics with Brezhnev relating to conclusion of the SALT treaty and a US-USSR summit. I see no useful purpose in another round of ministerial talks. The remaining SALT issues are not that difficult. They can be resolved at the summit. They will have to be resolved at the summit.

Our current position is that we have given the Soviets our bottom line and it is now up to them to make the next move. I am not that sanguine about the Soviets' institutional ability to understand this position in the wake of the Vance-Gromyko talks. The Soviets may believe that as there are still outstanding issues they can, as in the past, expect to hear from us. This could lead to a situation, which neither side desires, of protracted silence during which the December window opens and then closes. I recommend that the President in a message to Brezhnev re-state our bottom line position, re-state his view that it would be useful to have a summit in which a SALT treaty could be concluded based on this position - and underscore for Brezhnev the fact that should we allow the December-January timing to slip by, we may well find ourselves in a position where it will not be possible to conclude an agreement in both sides' interest until at least 1981.

This communication involves no concessions by the U.S. It would have the value of clarifying the situation and putting the burden of rejecting a December summit on Brezhnev's shoulders.

Peoples Republic of China (PRC)

We are at a point in our dealings with the PRC where we have (1) satisfactory consultations, (2) rapidly expanding bilateral contacts and (3) a clear picture of what each side will have to agree to if we are to move forward together to normalize relations. On normalization, we will have to agree to break diplomatic relations with Taiwan, end our defense treaty and withdraw our troops. The Chinese will have to agree to some language, satisfactory to us, assuring that there will be no civil war and that any settlement between the mainland and Taiwan will be a peaceful settlement. They also will have to agree to a continued economic and cultural US presence in Taiwan along the lines of that currently enjoyed by Japan.

I believe the President sees normalization as one of the old order of issues which should be satisfactorily dealt with and put behind us. If normalization is to take place before 1981, hard decisions will be required in mid-November/early December at much the same time that we are taking decisions on SALT. I certainly do not know whether the PRC can accept our "peaceful settlement and continued economic/cultural position." If the PRC can, I do not believe we would overload the 1979 agenda by moving ahead with normalization at the same time we submit a SALT treaty for ratification.

[As an aside, it would be a great mistake to normalize with the PRC in the absence of a new SALT agreement -- this would have an adverse impact on US-USSR relations for years.]

The recent Japanese-Chinese agreement is a strong pro when considering US-PRC normalization. Additionally, and of great importance, if there is a SALT II treaty and USSR summit, a sound strategic argument can be advanced that normalization with the PRC is in our strategic interests -- we are not relying solely on the word of the Soviets, we are moving at the same time to strengthen our relations with a foe of the Soviets -- we are creating a better strategic balance.

If the President decides to move ahead with normalization in 1979, I would anticipate that your role would be much as it was in the Panama Canal treaty process, with the President on center stage with Chairman Hua and with you working with the Senate and participating in a range of briefings.

If, on the other hand, the President decides not to move ahead with normalization in 1979, while at the same time conducting a US-USSR summit and signing a SALT II treaty, I believe a strong argument can be advanced for a high visibility visit by you to the PRC to dramatize that this Administration is committed at the highest levels to improving US-PRC relations and to working in earnest toward eventual normalization.

Possible Visit to Eastern Europe

Looking ahead to your 1979 calendar, you may wish to consider a visit to Romania (you have had an invitation outstanding since 1977), Hungary and Poland to build on our political-level consultations with these nations. You could logically include a stop in the Netherlands on such a trip, possibly during the Easter recess.

As you know, First Secretary Gierek of Poland is pressing the President for an invitation to the US in 1979. To me, this makes little sense. Not enough time has elapsed since the President's visit to Warsaw for another US-Polish summit. It would be far better to invite Gierek to the US in 1980 -- when there would be greater domestic impact. A visit by you to Warsaw, Bucharest and Budapest would continue political consultations -- of importance following a US-Soviet summit -- and would relieve the President of the burden of visits by Eastern European leaders in 1979.

Visit to Scandinavian Countries

Finally, I recommend that a firm decision be taken by the President approving your travel to Scandinavia in 1979. The number of substantive reasons favoring such a visit, foremost among them, a counter to Soviet pressure on Finland and Norway, continue to grow. I do not see how you could make such a visit during an election year. If you do not make such a visit during the first term, I see it as an embarrassment to the nations concerned. Accordingly, I recommend that we pin this down early on the 1979 agenda, again, with the goal of a June-July framework for the visit.

cc: David Aaron

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November 14, 1978

Memo No. 836-78

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK MOE

FROM: Denis Clift

SUBJECT: Vice President's Role in Foreign Policy and
National Security Affairs -- 1978/1979

1978

Since my last memorandum to you in January 1978 assessing the Vice President's role in the fields of national security and foreign policy, the Vice President has continued to play an unprecedented, important role in support of President Carter as the Administration reaches the halfway point in its first term.

Institutionally, the Vice President has continued as a player on the Administration's first team in these fields: receiving the same daily intelligence as does the President, participating in the President's weekly intelligence meetings with Admiral Turner, the weekly White House foreign policy breakfast, and participating in the meetings of the National Security Council and, on occasion, the NSC's committees.

Principal Substantive Issues

While retaining his role as an across-the-board advisor to the President, the Vice President has during the period February - October 1979 devoted particular attention to:

- U.S. policy toward the Pacific,
- Defense policy, including recommendation for veto of Defense Authorization Bill and problems relating to SLEP of Saratoga,
- US-USSR relations/SALT,

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- Southern Africa, and
- the Middle East.

Foreign Missions and Meetings with Foreign Leaders

At the President's request, the Vice President undertook three foreign missions during this reporting period:

- Asian Trip -- April 29 - May 10 visit to the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand;
- Middle East Trip -- July 2-4 visit to Israel and Egypt; and
- Vatican Trip -- September 3-4 trip to Vatican City for Inauguration of Pope John Paul I, with side talks with Prime Minister Andreotti, Chancellor Schmidt and President Videla of Argentina.

During the reporting period, the Vice President met with some 86 foreign leaders in Washington and abroad (list at Tab A), a lesser number than the 160 in the first 12 months of the Administration.

Speeches

During the period February-October 1978 the Vice President's speeches in the foreign policy and national security fields included:

- U.S. policy toward the Pacific, Honolulu, May 1978;
- Address to UN Special Session on Disarmament, UN Headquarters, May 1978;
- Middle East and U.S.-Israeli relations, Knesset address, Jerusalem, July 1978;
- National Press Club address (substantial portion on foreign policy), October 1978; and
- American Lutheran Church address on human rights, October 1978.

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1978 Assessment

The Vice President's role in the Defense Authorization veto, and his mission to the Pacific resulting in a better U.S. working relationship with the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and our ANZUS allies were both of importance.

However, the Vice President's most significant role was in the field of Middle Eastern affairs. During the past eight months he has played a very important role in shaping U.S. policy and tactics (a very complex period involving the Arab-Israeli stalemate early in the year, the arms sale, Leeds Castle and Camp David) -- in the NSC system, in his private meetings with the President, and in his talks with Middle Eastern leaders. His visit to the Middle East resulted in Egyptian-Israeli agreement to the Leeds Castle talks. His visit was later described personally to me by Prime Minister Begin as a turning point for the better in previously strained U.S.-Israeli relations. Begin said that he was deeply impressed by the Vice President's statement on the importance America attaches to good U.S.-Israeli relations made during their 45-minute ride from the airport to Jerusalem.

During the Camp David Summit, the Vice President played an influential role in the shaping of the U.S. proposal presented to the Israelis and Egyptians -- insisting on the elimination of "minor modifications" language and on language relating to Jerusalem that would not prompt bitter rejection by the Israelis.

1979

I recommend no major changes in the role to be played by the Vice President in the months ahead. He has proven and will continue to prove extremely effective as an across-the-board advisor to the President, undertaking specific missions as requested by the President, and shifting the focus of his attention from issue to issue as international developments dictate. Based on the current direction of events, I would anticipate that the Vice President can expect to devote considerable time to SALT if the President and Brezhnev meet and a SALT II agreement is signed -- moving the SALT agreement/treaty through the Senate will demand as much time at least as did the Panama Canal treaties. The Vice President may wish to devote more time to the Multilateral Trade Negotiations, which are entering a troubled period. He will, as in the past, continue to monitor Middle East developments and to participate fully in the development of U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

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Candidates for overseas assignments include:

- Scandinavian Trip. A trip to the five Scandinavian countries with a stop in the Netherlands is of importance (see Secretary Vance's memorandum at Tab B -- which has not yet been submitted to the President at the Vice President's request -- Zbig holds the original). This trip, preferably in late June/early July, should be pinned down on the 1979 Presidential agenda, and coordinated with the President's calendar as soon as possible.
- Eastern European Trip. If a SALT agreement is signed, it would be useful to have political-level consultations with principal eastern European countries including Romania (the Vice President has had an invitation since 1977), Hungary and Poland. Such a trip might eliminate the current demand on the President for a 1979 visit to the United States by Polish First Secretary Gierek.
- Portugal. At the start or finish of a visit to eastern Europe the Vice President might wish again to stop in Lisbon for consultations with President Eanes and Portugal's new Prime Minister Mota Pinto, providing reassurance to the Portuguese leadership as to establish more firmly its fragile democracy.
- People's Republic of China. Should the President decide against normalization with the PRC during the first term and at the same time proceed with a US-USSR summit and SALT agreement, the Vice President might make a high visibility visit to Peking on behalf of the President to dramatize that the Administration is committed to improving U.S.-PRC relations.

Other Foreign Travel Possibilities

When the White House staff is weighing the Department of State's recommendations for 1979 visits by foreign leaders to the United States, I recommend that we screen these recommendations to see if it might not make sense to ease some of the President's burden by proposing that the Vice President visit one or more of the countries concerned rather than having their leaders come to Washington.

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National Command and Control

During the past eight months, the Vice President has not had any event specifically relating to national command and control on his schedule. I recommend that a visit to NORAD in Colorado be scheduled; this might be done in connection with an invitation from the Air Force Academy for a February 1979 event. I will forward further recommendations in this field during the coming weeks.

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FEBRUARY 1978

Meetings with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
2	<u>Donald Woods, South African Newspaper Editor</u> Discuss South Africa
3	<u>Count Otto Lambsdorff, Minister of Economics, FRG</u> In US to discuss economic matters
6	<u>Philippe Yace, President of the National</u> <u>Assembly of the Ivory Coast</u> In US on personal visit
7	<u>Simcha Dinitz, Ambassador of Israel</u> Consultations with White House
7	<u>Karl Carstens, President of FRG Bundestag</u> Consultations with US Government Officials
21	<u>Anker Jorgensen, Prime Minister of Denmark</u> Meeting with President Vice President hosted lunch

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MARCH 1978

Meetings with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
2	<u>Menelaos Alexandrakis</u> , Greek Ambassador to US Consultations on Greek-US matters
1	<u>Roberto Gaja</u> , Italian Ambassador to US Presentation of Italian Government Award to Vice President
3	<u>Lloyd White</u> , New Zealand Ambassador to US Farewell visit.
7	<u>Evangelos Averof</u> , Minister of Defense of Greece Courtesy call
7-9	<u>Josip Broz Tito</u> , President of Yugoslavia State Visit. V.P. hosted lunch on 8th
10	<u>Ezer Weizman</u> , Minister of Defense of Israel Participation in meeting with President
14	<u>M'Hamed Boucetta</u> , Foreign Minister of Morocco Deliver personal message to President
21, 22	<u>Menachem Begin</u> , Prime Minister of Israel Participation in President's meeting
21	<u>Alan P. Renouf</u> , Australian Ambassador to US To discuss forthcoming trip to Australia
28	<u>James Callaghan</u> , Prime Minister of UK Call on Vice President for informal exchange of views.
31	<u>Archbishop Jean Jadot</u> , the Apostolic Delegate to the U.S.

APRIL 1978

Meetings with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
3	<u>D. Ashari, Ambassador of Indonesia</u> Courtesy Call to discuss forthcoming trip
7	<u>Shimon Peres, Israeli Labor Party Leader</u> Call on V.P. while in U.S. for fund raising
12,13	<u>Nicolae Ceausescu, President of Romania</u> State Visit to U.S.
24	<u>Kurt Furgler, Swiss Federal Councilor</u> Courtesy Call

MAY 1978

Meetings with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
3	<u>Ferdinand E. Marcos, President of the Philippines</u> Met with during visit to Philippines
3	<u>Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs</u> <u>of Philippines</u> Met with during visit to Philippines
3	<u>Jaime L. Cardinal Sin, Archbishop of Manila</u> Met with Cardinal Sin and various other opposition members during visit to Philippines
4	<u>General Kriangsak Chamanan, Prime Minister of Thailand</u> Met with during visit to Thailand
4	<u>Bhumibol Adulyadej, King of Thailand</u> Met with during visit to Thailand
4	<u>Uppadit Pachariyangkun, Minister of Foreign Affairs</u> <u>of Thailand</u> Met with during visit to Thailand
6	<u>General Suharto, President of Republic of Indonesia</u> Met with during visit to Indonesia
6	<u>Adam Malik, Vice President of Republic of Indonesia</u> Met with during visit to Indonesia
6	<u>General M. Pangabbean, Minister of State for Coordination</u> <u>of Political and Security Affairs of Indonesia</u> Met with during visit to Indonesia
8	<u>Andrew S. Peacock, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Australia</u> Met with during visit to Australia
8	<u>J. Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia</u> Met with during visit to Australia
8	<u>Sir Zelman Cowen, Governor General of Australia</u> Met with during visit to Australia

MAY 1978, Cont'd

Meetings with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
8	<u>William G. Hayden, Leader of Opposition, Australia</u> Met with during visit to Australia
9	<u>Robert D. Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand</u> Met with during visit to New Zealand
9	<u>Sir Keith Holyoake, Governor General of New Zealand</u> Met with during visit to New Zealand
9	<u>W. E. Rowling, Leader of Opposition, New Zealand</u> Met with during visit to New Zealand
17	<u>Soren Sommerfelt, Ambassador of Norway</u> To deliver a sweater
17,19	<u>Kenneth Kaunda, President of Zambia</u> Official Visit
24	<u>Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of U.N.</u> Met with when in V.P. in N.Y. for SSOD speech
24	<u>Lazar Mojsov, UNGA President and Yugoslav Deputy</u> <u>Foreign Minister</u> Met with when V.P. in N.Y. for SSOD speech
31	<u>Constantine Caramanlis, Prime Minister of Greece</u> President's bilateral with Caramanlis during NATO summit

JUNE 1978

Meeting with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
7	<u>Dawda Kairaba Jawara, President of the Gambia</u> In U.S. as head of 8 nations affected by Sahel drought.
8	<u>Andrew Peacock, Foreign Minister of Australia</u> In Washington for ANZUS Council meeting
8	<u>Leopold Senghor, President of Senegal</u> Official Visit
9	<u>Brian Talboys, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister</u> <u>of Foreign Affairs of New Zealand</u> In U.S. to address the UN SSOD and ANZUS Council meeting
13,14	<u>Morarji Desai, Prime Minister of India</u> Official Visit V.P. hosted lunch
13	<u>Zalman Shoval, member of Israeli Likud Party</u> In U.S. for public relations for Israel
19	<u>Ryosaku Sasaki, Chairman of Japanese Democratic</u> <u>Socialist Party</u> Courtesy Call
21	<u>Sayed Marei, Speaker of People's Assembly of Egypt</u> Parliamentary Visit
30	<u>Yigael Yadin, Deputy Prime Minister of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel

JULY 1978

Meeting with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
1	<u>Golda Meir, former Prime Minister of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel
1	<u>Shimon Peres, Chairman of Labor Party of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel
1	<u>Ezer Weizman, Minister of Defense of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel
2	<u>Yitzhak Navon, President of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel
2	<u>Yitzhak Shamir, Speaker of the Knesset</u> Met with during visit to Israel
2	<u>Moshe Dayan, Foreign Minister of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel
2	<u>Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel</u> Met with during visit to Israel
3	<u>Simcha Ehrlich, Minister of Finance</u> Met with during visit to Israel
3	<u>Anwar al-Sadat, President of Egypt</u> Met with during visit to Egypt
17	<u>Mrs. Avital Shcharansky, wife of Soviet Dissident</u> <u>Anatoly Shcharansky</u> To appeal for U.S. pressure on USSR for release of her husband
19	<u>Guy Darlan, Economic Advisor to Emperor Bokassa of</u> <u>the Central African Republic</u> Met with at Senator Moss' request

JULY 1978 Cont'd

Meeting with Foreign Officials/Leaders

DATE

NAME

19	<u>Dragoslav Markovic and Members of Yugoslav Assembly</u> Delegation Parliamentary Exchange Visit
21	<u>Peter Towe, Ambassador of Canada</u> Informal review of US-Canadian relations
26	<u>Mrs. Imelda Marcos, wife of President of Philippines</u> Visit to Washington en route to Philippines from Soviet Union

AUGUST 1978

Meeting with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
1	<u>General Gutierrez Mellado, First Vice President</u> <u>and Minister of Defense of Spain</u> In Washington on consultations with DOD
4	<u>ASEAN Ministers</u> US-ASEAN economic consultations
21	<u>Ch'ai Tse-min, Ambassador, Chief of the PRC Liaison Office</u> <u>and Chinese Journalists Delegation</u> Courtesy Call by new Chief
31	<u>Simcha Dinitz, Ambassador of Israel</u> Call previous to Camp David Summit

SEPTEMBER 1978

Meetings with Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
1	<u>Ashraf A. Ghorbal, Ambassador of the Arab Republic of Egypt</u> Call previous to Camp David Summit
4	<u>Giulio Andreotti, Prime Minister of Italy</u> Met with during visit to Rome for investiture of new Pope
4	<u>Pope John Paul I</u> Private audience with the Pope during visit to the Vatican for his investiture
4	<u>Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of the FRG</u> Met with during visit to Rome for investiture of new Pope
4	<u>Jorge Rafael Videla, President of Argentina</u> Met with during visit to Rome for investiture of Pope
5-17	<u>Anwar al-Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt</u> Camp David Summit
5-17	<u>Menachem Begin, Prime Minister of Israel</u> Camp David Summit
21	<u>Ja'far Muhammad Nimeiri, President of the Sudan</u> Official visit V.P. hosted lunch
26	<u>Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer of UK</u> In Washington for annual World Bsnk/IMF meeting
28	<u>Robert Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand</u> In US to address the UNGA and World Bank meeting

October 1973

Meetings With Foreign Officials/Leaders

<u>DATE</u>	<u>NAME</u>
2	<u>Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore</u> In US on a Private Visit
6	<u>President Kyprianou of Cyprus</u> Participation in President's Meeting
10	<u>Moshe Dayan, Foreign Minister of Israel</u> Participation in President's Meeting
12	<u>Japanese Delegation & Senator Sasser</u> Courtesy Call by Japanese businessmen
12	<u>General Felix Galvan, Secretary of National Defense</u> <u>of Mexico</u> In US as guest of JCS
18	<u>Egyptian-Israeli Delegations</u> V.P. hosted dinner in honor of

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1978

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

From: Cyrus Vance *LV*

Subject: Visit of the Vice President to the
Five Nordic Countries and the
Netherlands

I believe that a visit by the Vice President this fall to the five Nordic countries and the Netherlands would be in the US national interest and help us achieve our foreign policy objectives in this strategically important area of the world. The Vice President has pending invitations from Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark; the previous Icelandic Prime Minister extended an invitation; and I am confident the Dutch would be delighted to receive him. The last such visit to the Nordic countries was by Vice President Johnson in 1963.

A visit by the Vice President would help solidify relations with our Icelandic, Norwegian, Danish and Dutch NATO allies -- demonstrate to neutral Sweden and Finland our commitment to the stability of the northern region which assures their neutrality -- and counter growing Soviet efforts to impose a special relationship on the Nordic states.

Recent Soviet moves include calculated violations of Norwegian territorial waters, non-compliance with Norwegian sovereignty on Svalbard, intransigence on northern boundary and resources questions, and a proposal to initiate joint military exercises in Finland. This

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pattern of Soviet pressure has had a ripple effect in Denmark, Sweden and Iceland, heightened by Kosygin's rude lecture to Nordic Prime Ministers in Helsinki last December and growing Soviet military strength in the Kola Peninsula.

The frequency and intensity of these Soviet actions argue for an early high-level US response and it is for this reason that I suggest that consideration be given for a visit by the Vice President this November rather than during 1979. We would suggest possibly a 12-day visit commencing sometime after Election Day, perhaps November 10-22.

With respect to each country, I would make the following additional comments:

Norway

-- The Norwegians are the most important focal point of Soviet pressure, and a visit would reassure them of the seriousness of our NATO commitment to defend the Northern Flank.

Denmark

-- A visit to Denmark would have a similar effect, in response to increasing East German, Polish and Soviet military presence in the Baltic, including the permanent basing there of submarine-launched nuclear missiles.

Sweden

-- In Sweden, a visit would reaffirm our support for that nation's role in the defense of Scandinavia, as the most populous and militarily strong state in the area. It would also strengthen a Swedish Government basically friendly to the United States.

Finland

-- In Finland, President Kekkonen would welcome a visit as counterpoint to the geopolitical dominance of the Soviet Union, and as a demonstration of US support for continued Finnish independence.

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The Netherlands

-- With both NATO and the EC located in neighboring Belgium, the Dutch have become especially sensitive to either being overlooked or overflowed by senior American officials visiting Brussels. A visit to Holland would demonstrate not only our support for the new pro-NATO Government there which has courageously committed itself to meet the three percent goal for increase in defense expenditures but also to underscore the importance the Administration attaches to our relatively small but loyal allies.

Iceland

-- In Iceland, a visit would support those in the new Government who favor the continued US presence at the critical NATO base at Keflavik, regularly subject to reappraisal by xenophobic and nationalist elements in Iceland.

Our preliminary thinking would be for the Vice President to begin the visit in Norway, then proceed to Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and end in Iceland.

If you agree to our proposed mission for the Vice President, we would then proceed to contact host governments and arrange a program for his visit to each country.

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