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## ABSTRACT

Documents diaries, letters, drawings, and memoirs created by those who participated in or witnessed the events of the past tell something that even the best-written article or book cannot convey. The use of primary sources exposes students to important historical concepts. This lesson plan is built around U.S. President Jimmy Carter's negotiation of treaties with Panama for the return of the Panama Canal and steering those treaties through the Senate ratification process. The lesson plan states that the objective is to offer students an understanding of how the executive and legislative branches of the U.S. government, influenced by popular opinion, work toward the ratification of a treaty. It provides background historical information for teachers and a timeline that follows President Jimmy Carter's activities. Student materials include: timeline; terms of treaties; executive branch (list 1); legislative (U.S. Senate) branch (list 2); list of documents; looking for documents (sheet 2); and looking at cartoons (sheet 3). The lesson plan provides detailed instructions for teachers regarding classroom implementation. It contains 16 primary source documents. (BT)

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# The Panama Canal Treaties: How Treaties are Ratified

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## **The Panama Canal Treaties: How Treaties are Ratified**

### **Objective:**

To give students an understanding of how the executive and legislative branches, influenced by popular opinion, work toward the ratification of a treaty.

### **Correlation to Georgia QCC Standards:**

#### **9-12th American Government**

- Identifies the influences and impact of lobbying, special interests, constituent demand and pork-barreling in the legislative process
- Identifies and illustrates the various roles a president must simultaneously fulfill while in office
- Identifies and analyzes the constitutional process a president has at his/her disposal and how various presidents have used or been unable to use these powers

#### **Skills:**

- Analyzes interpretations of same event from different sources
- Distinguishes between fact and opinion
- Determines the sequence of events required for a given historical interpretation
- Collects evidence using appropriate, reliable data
- Cites short and long range positive and negative consequences of alternatives

#### **Lesson:**

- Suggested Ways to Use Material
- "History in the Raw"

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## **History in the Raw**

Documents--diaries, letters, drawings, and memoirs--created by those who participated in or witnessed the events of the past tell us something that even the best-written article or book cannot convey. The use of primary sources exposes students to important historical concepts. First, students become aware that all written history reflects an author's interpretation of past events. Therefore, as students read a historical account, they can recognize its subjective nature. Second, through primary sources the students directly touch the lives of people in the past. Further, as students use primary sources, they develop important analytical skills.

To many students, history is seen as a series of facts, dates, and events usually packaged as a textbook. The use of primary sources can change this view. As students use primary sources they begin to view their textbook as only one historical interpretation and its author as an interpreter of evidence, not as a purveyor of truth. For example, as students read personal letters from distressed farmers to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, as they look at WPA administrators' reports on economic conditions in Pennsylvania and Oregon, or as they listen to recordings of government-produced radio dramas, they weigh the significance of these sources against such generalizations as that provided by Todd and Curti: "The most urgent task that Roosevelt faced when he took office was to provide food, clothing, and shelter for millions of jobless, hungry, cold, despairing Americans." Students begin to understand that such generalizations represent an interpretation of past events, but not necessarily the only interpretation. They become aware that the text has a point of view that does not make it incorrect but that does render it subject to question. Primary sources force students to realize that any account of an event, no matter how impartially presented it appears to be, is essentially subjective.

As students read eyewitness accounts of events at Little Big Horn or letters to congressmen expressing concern about woman suffrage, or look at photographs from the Civil War and then attempt to

summarize their findings, they become aware of the subjective nature of their conclusions. The disagreements among students in interpreting these documents are not unlike those among historians. Through primary sources students confront two essential facts in studying history. First, the record of historical events reflects the personal, social, political, or economic points of view of the participants. Second, students bring to the sources their own biases, created by their own personal situations and the social environments in which they live. As students use these sources, they realize that history exists through interpretation--and tentative interpretation at that.

Primary sources fascinate students because they are real and they are personal; history is humanized through them. Using original sources, students touch the lives of the people about whom history is written. They participate in human emotions and in the values and attitudes of the past. By reading a series of public opinion surveys from World War II, for example, students confront the language of the person interviewed and his or her fears about shortages, as well as the interviewer's reactions recorded after the interview. These human expressions provide history with color and excitement and link students directly to its cast of characters.

Interpreting historical sources helps students to analyze and evaluate contemporary sources--newspaper reports, television and radio programs, and advertising. By using primary sources, students learn to recognize how a point of view and a bias affect evidence, what contradictions and other limitations exist within a given source, and to what extent sources are reliable. Essential among these skills is the ability to understand and make appropriate use of many sources of information. Development of these skills is important not only to historical research but also to a citizenship where people are able to evaluate the information needed to maintain a free society.

Perhaps best of all, by using primary sources, students will participate in the process of history. They will debate with teachers and classmates about the interpretation of the sources. They will challenge others' conclusions and seek out evidence to support their own. The classroom will become a lively arena in which students test and apply important analytical skills.

## Suggested Ways to Use the Material

This material can be used in many different ways. You may want to choose other teaching strategies besides those outlined in this material. Some of the documents have special notes on them. You may want to cover the notes when making photocopies for your students. (**Note:** You may find it helpful to make a set of the documents as photocopy masters and then laminate another set for your own use.)

To begin, provide each student with a copy of **Sheet 1**. This is a good introduction to the use of primary sources and learning about historical events. **Searching for History** focuses upon sources of historical information and introduces students to the prevalence of different points of view, biases, and special interests. While a specific document is not required in order to use **Sheet 1**, students will greatly benefit from classroom discussions of the issues raised in the activity as the questions are structured for multiple answers. **Sheets 2 and 3** are designed to be used in conjunction with the Exercises.

Copies of the **Terms of the Panama Canal Treaty and Neutrality Treaty** contain important background information for the students to read before working on the exercises. Each exercise has a list of the documents needed by students. For each exercise (except 4), each student will need a copy of **List 1** and the **Time Line**. These will be helpful in knowing the names of administrative officials and having a time frame for the important events.

## **Introduction: Searching for History (Sheet 1)**

### **Background Information for Teachers**

#### **Student Materials:**

- Time Line
- Terms of Treaties
- Executive Branch (List 1)
- Legislative (Senate) Branch (List 2)
- List of Documents
- Looking for Documents (Sheet 2)
- Looking at Cartoons (Sheet 3)

#### **Activities:**

The Document Files (**List of Documents**) are attached or can be found on the web in PDF format. You may view the pages either in your browser with Adobe's Acrobat plug-in, or downloaded and viewed with Adobe's Acrobat Reader.

#### **Document Analysis**

Provide students with copies of Documents 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, 16; List 1, Sheet 2, and the Time Line. Allow students time to read and study the document(s).

Instruct students to respond to the following:

- **Document 1 and 2**  
What are the writers of these letters trying to tell the President? What key phrases or sentences do these writers use to get their point across? How are their views different? Read Document 3 and 4, then write a response to either Document 1 or 2.
- **Document 4**  
Use Sheet 2 to analyze this document.  
When finished, write a letter to your newspaper editor in response to the two-column article that Ronald Reagan wrote.
- **Document 5, 12, and 16**  
Compare these three letters from President Carter. What are the differences and similarities between them? If you received these letters, what would your response be?  
Note the dates of the letters and place them in the Time Line.  
Compare the letters to what was going on at the time.

- **Document 6**  
Use Sheet 2 to analyze this document.  
Upon completion of the analysis, read Document 14. How does Document 6 tie in with Document 14?
- **Document 15**  
Using the Note for this document and List 1, identify the people mentioned. Use Sheet 2 to analyze these documents.
- **Persuasion and Politics - role play debate exercise**

**Materials:**

- nametags for each role
- copies of Documents 5, 6, 7, 13, 14
- copies of Lists 1 and 2

Familiarize students with treaty provisions outlined in Document 5 (**Note:** even though Document 14 deals with a later date, it provides useful administration strategy information for the students.)  
Have students choose roles from List 1 and List 2

**Instruct Students as follows:**

It is February 1978 and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd announces that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has voted to recommend the Panama Canal Treaties for approval by the complete Senate. You will debate the Neutrality Treaty. Refer to Documents 6, 7, 13, and 14 and to Lists 1 and 2 when you are preparing for the Senate debate.

Extension Activity - As a follow-up to the debate, students will write position papers for or against both of the Panama Canal Treaties.

- **Public Opinion - class discussion**

**Materials:**

- copies of Documents 7, 8, 10, 11,
- copies of Sheets 2 and 3

Procedure: Distribute Sheets 2 and 3 to each student. Divide the class into 7 groups and assign one document per group. Allow each student 15 minutes to individually analyze the assigned document using the appropriate Sheet (2 or 3). Then allow each group 10 minutes to discuss



among themselves the viewpoint of their document. When each group is ready, call for a class discussion between the different viewpoints (15 minutes). At the end of the discussion, summarize the activity by having the class list the advantages and disadvantages of the Panama Canal Treaties (10 minutes).

- **Political Cartoons - class discussion and mini-reports**

**Materials:**

- copies of Documents 10 and 10a
- copies of Sheet 3

**Procedure:** Distribute Sheet 3 and Documents. Allow students time to examine the Documents. Lead a discussion focusing on analyzing the two political cartoons using Sheet 3. Compare the cartoonists' viewpoints and the political climate. Have students write mini-reports on the history of the Panama Canal.

## **Primary Sources and Where to Find Them: Suggestions for Teachers**

To introduce your students to primary sources, you might begin with materials that they themselves possess, such as birth certificates, social security cards, passports, or drivers' licenses. What do these sources tell us about the individuals and the society in which they live? How might these sources be used by historians? Consider how school, employment, medical, and family records could be used to develop generalizations about twentieth-century student life.

Beyond personal records, there are a variety of other sources available. Where can you locate documentation on your neighborhood or community? Your sources can be both governmental and private: Federal census figures, newspapers, local government files, personal diaries, and interviews with longtime residents. In most cities and towns, local historical groups, preservation societies, and museums serve as excellent starting points for classes locating documentary materials about local communities. On the state level, historical societies, archives, and museums are valuable depositories for useful primary materials. Many of these agencies offer specific programs for high school students, and many would welcome suggestions for joint projects.

At the federal level, materials and training courses are available from the National Archives. In addition to document based materials for the classroom teacher, the National Archives runs an 8-day summer workshop for educators: Primarily Teaching. In this workshop, teachers of all levels use National Archives Records to develop units based on topics of their choice and design. It is not necessary to take a course, however, to turn your classroom into an active history laboratory. Local resources and teacher imagination are enough. When students and teachers participate together in the exciting and evolving process of historical inquiry, returns, in terms of knowledge, skills and interest, can be great and lasting.

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## \*SHEET 1

### Searching for History

1. Think of three sources of historical information and list them below.

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2. Sources of historical information are called **primary** or **secondary**. Primary sources are those created by eyewitnesses to an event or who were part of that event. Secondary sources are those created by a person who was not present at the event but writes about it at a later time. Were the sources that you chose primary or secondary sources?
3. The next thing to consider is whether you would believe the primary source. Is it **reliable**?
4. If you believe the primary source to be reliable, then how do you understand what it is telling you? What things do you have to know? Have you ever read two accounts of the same event that did not match each other? How did you know which one was telling the "real story"? Are some sources more reliable than others?

\*Adapted from worksheets designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408

## Background Information For Teachers

The following chronology gives some background about the Panama Canal Treaty of 1903 and the subsequent building of the Canal.

At great political risk, President Carter countered decades of "ugly Americanism" by negotiating treaties with Panama for the return of the Canal and then by steering those treaties through the Senate ratification process.

### Chronology

**EARLY EFFORTS.** Clayton-Bulwar Treaty of 1850. United States and Great Britain agree to joint control of a canal to be built across Central America.

**PANAMA ROAD.** Isthmus of Panama becomes important transportation route to California during Gold Rush of 1840's. New York businessmen receive permission from Colombia to build railroad connecting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans at the isthmus.

**FRENCH FAILURE.** French company under Ferdinand de Lesseps buys franchise to build a sea-level canal across Panama. Inadequate tools and machinery, tropical diseases, and corruption lead to bankruptcy of the company in 1889.

**HAY-BUNAU-VARILLA TREATY OF 1903.** United States encouraged to take initiative to build a canal following battleship Oregon's 13,000 mile trip from the west coast around South America during Spanish-American War. In 1899 Congress authorizes a commission to study and survey canal routes. In 1902 Theodore Roosevelt is authorized to purchase canal property and rights from the French. United States Congress offers \$10,000,000.00 to Colombia for the right to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Colombian government refuses offer. Because the United States, France, and the Panamanians are afraid that the agreement will not be approved, Panama (with the encouragement and assistance of the U.S.) successfully revolts against Colombia. The U.S. signs the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty (1903), an agreement with Panama, which gives the U.S. exclusive control of a ten-mile wide canal zone in exchange for \$10,000,000.00 as an initial payment and an annual payment of \$250,000.00.

**VICTORY OVER DISEASE.** Led by Dr. William C. Gorgas, the battle against malaria and yellow fever is won, making possible the completion of the canal. Before this, the high death toll, among workers slowed work on the canal.

**CONSTRUCTION OF CANAL, 1906-1914.** The United States chooses to build a lock-type canal because of mountainous conditions instead of the French plan of a sea-level canal. (A sea-level canal is cheaper and easier to build.) The canal is completed in 1914 and the first vessel, the S.S. *Ancon*, makes the transit from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

**MORE RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.** The canal treaty is renewed in 1939, 1951, and 1955, and annual payments are increased to \$1,930,000.00. Administrative changes are made in operation of the canal and the Canal Zone. The United States agrees to pay Panamanian workers the same pay that American workers received for the same work. Unrest in Panama over United States presence causes riots in 1959 and 1964. In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson and Panamanian President Marco Robles conclude three years of work with agreements addressing Panamanian concerns. However, these agreements are not submitted for ratification because of intense U.S. congressional opposition. Robles' support of the agreement leads to his eventual ouster as president. His successor, Arnulfo Arias renounces the terms of all agreements.

**RENEGOTIATION OF TREATY DURING CARTER ADMINISTRATION.** On April 18, 1978, the United States Senate ratifies the second of two Panama Canal Treaties which will eventually turn over to Panama the control and operation of the Canal in the year 2000. Negotiations were undertaken in the Johnson, Nixon, and Ford administrations to sign a new treaty with Panama, but because of intense opposition from Congress, the ratification of such a treaty is impossible. Growing unrest among Panamanians about America's presence in Panama, and the threat of this unrest to the very existence of the Canal, forces President Carter, upon his election, to resume negotiations with Panama for a new treaty in spite of strong opposition throughout the country. The documents in this packet show how the treaties are finally ratified.

Panama Canal negotiations were discussed by President-elect Carter and his advisors as a top priority for his administration. He felt that tensions in the area would surely explode without some serious changes to the existing Panama Canal Treaty.

The first Presidential Review Memorandum of June 21, 1977 from the National Security Council was on the topic of renegotiating the Panama Canal Treaty. The President writes, "My very first Presidential Review Memorandum (PRM 1) addressed the Panama Canal problem. During the early months of 1977, our negotiators were hard at work, consulting with me and trying to protect our national interests while dealing in good faith with their Panamanian counterparts." (Jimmy Carter in *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of the President* p. 157.)

After many discussions between Panamanian and U.S. negotiators, an agreement was reached. The Panama Canal Treaties were signed by President Carter and General Torrijos of Panama in the Hall of the Americas at the Pan

American Union Building in Washington on September 7, 1977. [The terms of the Panama Canal Treaty and the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal are provided in this packet. Most of the documents included in the packet deal with Senate ratification of the Neutrality Treaty. The portion that caused so much anguish was the provision that "the U.S. does not have the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Panama."]

Anti-treaty groups countered the President's push for Senate ratification with a strong public relations campaign. Senate opponents of the treaties accused the President of giving away the Canal.

Senate debate on the treaties produced a flood of "killer" amendments, including one that would have allowed the U.S. to intervene militarily in Panama's internal affairs. This amendment would have violated the United Nations charter principle of non-intervention and its inclusion would have caused the death of both Canal treaties.

Treaty ratification by the Senate requires a 2/3 vote- 67 Senators. President Carter and his staff kept very close count of the senators and their positions regarding the treaties. President Carter writes, "I kept a large private notebook on my desk, with a section for each senator. There I would enter every report or rumor about how the undecided ones might be inclined. If anyone on my staff knew of a question a senator had asked, we got the answer for him. If key advisers or supporters of a senator were known to oppose the treaties, we worked to convert them. I shared these responsibilities personally with my congressional liaison team, and worked on the task with all my influence and ability." (Jimmy Carter in *Keeping Faith: Memoirs Of A President p. 164.*)

The first treaty debated, the Treaty Concerning the Permanent Neutrality and Operation of the Panama Canal (called the Neutrality Treaty), passed the Senate on March 16, 1978 by a one-vote margin (68 for; 32 against). President Carter recalls, "The Senate had been debating the treaty for twenty-two days and everyone- whether friend or foe- was ready for the verdict.

I listened to the final vote in my little private office, checking off each senator against the tally sheet where I had listed his or her commitment. I had never been more tense in my life as we listened to each vote shouted on the radio. My assistants and I had not missed one in our count; there were no surprises. I thanked God when we got the sixty-seventh vote. It will always be one of my proudest moments, and one of the great achievements in the history of the United States Senate." (Jimmy Carter's account of March 16, 1978, *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President p. 173.*)

The final congressional battle on this issue took place in the U.S. House of Representatives. The House had to pass the laws to carry out the treaties. Instead of 100 Senators, there were 535 U.S. Congressmen involved. It was not

until September 27, 1979, three days before the Panama Canal Treaty became effective, that a bill was brought to the President for signature.

The President, his staff, and the Congress dealt with many issues and problems of government at the same time. President Carter recalls that a few days before the vote on the Neutrality Treaty, he found it hard to keep his mind on anything except Panama. He writes, "It was remarkable how many different things I had to work on during these last few days: a very serious nationwide coal strike, energy legislation, my upcoming trip to Latin America and Africa, a burgeoning crisis between Israel and Egypt plus an Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the United Nations Disarmament Conference, the midwinter Governors Conference, final approval of our complete urban program, a forthcoming trip by Brzezinski to China to work on normalization, war in the Horn of Africa, our proposals to prevent bankruptcy in New York City, negotiations with the British on air-transport agreements, a state visit by President Tito of Yugoslavia, final stages of the SALT negotiations, the Civil Service reform bill, the coming state visit of Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda of Japan, a decision about whether General Alexander Haig would stay on at NATO, F-15 airplane sales to Saudi Arabia, a visit by Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and preparations for an early visit by Prime Minister Begin, and a major defense speech at Wake Forest the day after the treaty vote." (Jimmy Carter in *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* p.171.)

## Time Line

<b>1976</b>	
November 4	Governor Jimmy Carter is elected U.S. President
<b>December</b>	<b>Sol Linowitz, expert on Latin America and former ambassador to Organization of American States (OAS) appointed by President-elect Jimmy Carter to head Linowitz Commission on U.S.-Latin American Relations.</b>
<b>1977</b>	
January 21	Governor Jimmy Carter inaugurated as U.S. President
March 9	Food and Drug Administration announces a ban on the use of saccharin in foods and beverages
March 21	Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi defeated in Indian elections
April 18	President Carter calls for a national energy plan that would involve U.S. citizens in "the moral equivalent of war"
May 4	Former President Richard Nixon admits that he let America down in a T.V. interview with David Frost
May 30-June 12	Rosalynn Carter tours Latin American countries as official representative for the President
June 7	Queen Elizabeth II celebrates her Silver Jubilee (25 Years on Throne)
June 16	Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev becomes first party chief to also be named president of the Soviet Union
July 13	Huge power failure left 9 million people in and around New York city without electricity
July 22	Chinese government announces that Teng Hsiao-ping (Deng Xiaoping) is now rehabilitated and will resume posts as party deputy chairman and deputy prime minister



August 4	Energy Department created.
August 10	<b>Final agreement reached with Panamanian negotiators</b>
September 7	<b>Panama Canal Treaties signing ceremony</b>
September 21	Bert Lance resigns as director of Office of Management and Budget over disputed financial practices
October 14	<b>Carter- Torrijos Statement of Understanding -allowed treaties to; go before a national Panamanian referendum</b>
October 23	<b>Panamanians approve Canal Treaties by a 2/3 majority</b>
November 20	President Sadat of Egypt addresses the Israeli Knesset asking for peace; Israeli Prime Minister Begin pledges "no more war"
<b>1978</b>	
January 13	Senator and former Vice President Hubert Humphrey dies at age of 66
January 19	President delivers first State of the Union address
January 30	<b>Senate Foreign Relations Committee votes to recommend the Panama Canal Treaties for approval by full Senate</b>
February	<b>Full Senate debate on Panama Canal Treaties begin</b>
March 14	Israel invades and occupies southern Lebanon
March 16	<b>Senate ratifies first Panama Treaty</b>
April 18	<b>Senate ratifies second Panama Treaty</b>
May 9	Former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro found dead after kid-napped by Red Brigade Terrorists
May 26	Legalized casino gambling opens in Atlantic City, N.J.
June 16	<b>President Carter goes to Panama to sign the official transfer documents concluding the treaty exchange</b>
June 28	U.S. Supreme Court upholds affirmative action plans, but orders Davis Medical College to admit Alan Bakke who claimed "reverse discrimination"

<b>July 25</b>	First "Test-Tube Baby" born to John and Lesley Brown of Bristol, England
September 17	Camp David Summit concludes with the signing of a framework for peace signed 'by President Carter, President Sadat of Egypt, and Prime Minister Begin of Israel
October 16	Polish Cardinal elected to become Pope John Paul II
<b>December 10</b>	<b>Prime Minister Begin and President Sadat receive Nobel Peace Prize</b>
<b>1979</b>	
<b>September 27</b>	<b>U.S. House of Representatives sends a bill implementing the treaties to President for signature. [This legislation allowed the U.S. to operate the Panama Canal until the year 2000 and to defend the Canal Zone with U.S. forces]</b>
<b>October 1</b>	<b>Panama Canal Zone becomes Panamanian territory</b>

## Terms of the Treaties

### Terms of the TREATY CONCERNING THE PERMANENT NEUTRALITY AND OPERATION OF THE PANAMA CANAL (commonly called the Neutrality Treaty)

- The U.S. retains the permanent right to defend the canal from any threat that might interfere with its continued neutral service to ships of all nations;
- The U.S. does not have the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Panama;
- Panama and the U.S., acting alone or jointly, may defend the canal against any threat and defend the peaceful transit of vessels through it;
- Both U.S. and Panamanian warships entering the canal may go to the head of the line if necessary.

### Terms of the PANAMA CANAL TREATY

- The Canal Zone, as an entity, ceases to exist, October 1, 1979;
- The U.S. retains primary responsibility for canal operations and defense until the year 2000;
- Until 2000, Panama assumes greater degrees of participation in canal operation;
- After 2000, Panama assumes full responsibility for canal operations and becomes primarily responsible for its defense.

## List 1 - Executive Branch

President **Jimmy Carter**

Vice President **Walter (Fritz) Mondale**

Secretary of State **Cyrus (Cy) Vance**

Secretary of Defense **Harold Brown**

National Security Advisor **Zbigniew Brzezinski**

Press Secretary **Joseph L. (Jody) Powell**

Deputy Secretary of State **Warren M. Christopher**

Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs **Hodding Carter III**

Assistant to the President for Congressional Liaison **Frank Moore**

U.S. Co-Negotiator of the Panama Canal Treaties **Sol Linowitz**

Ambassador-at- Large **Ellsworth Bunker**

Latin American Specialist **Robert (Bob) Pastor**

Associate Press Secretary for National Security Council (NSC) **Jerrold (Jerry) Schecter**

Deputy Assistant to the President **Landon Butler**

White House Congressional Liaison Aide **Robert (Bob) Thomson**

## List 2

### **LEGISLATIVE BRANCH (Senate) for treaty ratification**

#### **Robert Byrd [WV]**

You are the Democratic Majority Leader.

#### **Howard Baker [TN]**

You are the Republican Minority Leader.

Both of you support the President by favoring the treaty.

#### **Richard (Dick) Stone [Democrat-FL]**

You are undecided about the treaty. You have pledged never to withdraw or reduce military forces from Guantanamo, Cuba or other places in the Caribbean. You eventually decide in favor of the treaty.

#### **Robert Griffin [Republican-MI]**

You would not give your support to the treaty, but you promised not to vote for the "killer amendments" and would not join groups working against the treaty.

#### **Quentin Burdick [Democrat-ND]**

#### **John Melcher [Democrat-MT]**

Both of you are concerned about maintenance of the Canal after it is turned over to Panama. The President meets with each of you, but you both eventually vote against the treaty.

#### **Richard Schweiker [Republican-PA]**

You want a future sea-level canal (a canal without a series of locks that raise and lower ships across the isthmus) that would replace the existing one. You vote against the treaty.

**Ted Stevens [Republican-AL]**

You are concerned about a rise in the cost of shipping Alaskan oil. You vote against the treaty.

**Edward Zorinsky [Democrat-NE]**

You would like to become a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and you have admitted that the treaty would be for the best. You met with the President and told him that you are worried about how the public back home feels. You placed an ad in the paper back home and received a favorable response, but you still voted against the treaty.

**James Allen [Democrat-AL]**

You are one of the leaders of the opposition forces. On March 3, you announced that the amendments introduced to stall action on the treaties would be withdrawn. This meant that you thought the treaties would be clearly defeated.

**Russell Long [Democrat-LA]**

The President invited you to lunch to gain your support for the treaty. You agreed to vote for the treaty, but you left open the possibility of supporting amendments which would require a treaty referendum in Panama (which the President wants to avoid).

**Sam Nunn [Democrat-GA]**

You are undecided at first, then lean towards supporting the treaty. When you commit your support to the President, he asks your help in convincing Senators Long, Talmadge, and Paul Hatfield.

(Sen. Hatfield might be swayed by your decision, because he values your viewpoint about military concerns.)

**Dennis DeConcini [Democrat-AZ]**

You have introduced an amendment to the treaty. The President and his staff are afraid that this will cause great problems with Panama. The amendment to the Neutrality Treaty would give the U.S. the right to negotiate military bases after 2000. The President has asked you to introduce this as an amendment to the resolution of ratification rather than to the treaty itself. If an amendment was made to the treaty itself, Panama would have to hold another referendum that might not pass. You do ask for amendments to the resolution of ratification, and you vote in favor of the treaty.

*\*\*Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher works with Senators Nunn and DeConcini on last minute wording of the amendments to the resolution of ratification.*

**Paul Hatfield [Democrat-MT]**

You are undecided, particularly because you are afraid that Mike Mansfield, the ambassador to Japan, could sway public opinion about this issue to make you look bad. You finally decide to support the treaties.

**Herman Talmadge [Democrat-GA]**

After much persuasion, your staff called Frank Moore to say that you would support the treaty. You are very conservative and feel strongly about keeping control of the Canal, but you may have been swayed by the fact that the President is a fellow Georgian.

**Henry Bellmon [Republican-OK]**

You are interested in a desalinization plant to be located in Oklahoma. You might consider voting in favor of the treaty if the President would not veto the public works bill that calls for this plant. The President's staff said that he would not veto this bill. Also, Senator Lloyd Bentsen (Dem.-TX) called you and asked you to support the treaty. After a long time of indecision, you decide in favor of the treaty.

## LIST OF DOCUMENTS

The majority of these documents come from the White House Central File [WHCF]. Others included are from the National Security Advisor [NSA], the Press Files, White House News Summaries, and the Staff Secretary's File. The Vertical File is a file made up of pertinent publication clippings.

1. Letter to President Jimmy Carter from U.S. Congressman Daniel J. Flood, January 27, 1977 [WHCF]. **Document 1** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document01.pdf>
2. Letter to President Carter from William. J. Rogers, National Commander, The American Legion, July 5, 1977 [WHCF]. **Document 2** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document02.pdf>
3. Letter to U.S. Congressman David C. Treen from Frank Moore, Assistant to the President for Congressional Liaison. April 13, 1977 [WHCF]. **Document 3** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document03.pdf>
4. Letter to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance from Sol M. Linowitz, May 2, 1977 [WHCF]. **Document 4** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document04.pdf>
5. Letter to U.S. Congress from President Carter, August 12, 1977 [NSA]. **Document 5** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document05.pdf>
6. Letter to Governor Averell Harriman from Landon Butler, Deputy Assistant to the President, August 25, 1977 [WHCF]. **Document 6** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document06.pdf>
7. Memo to Associate Press Secretary for the National Security Council Jerry Schechter and Press Secretary Jody Powell from Robert A. Pastor, Latin American specialist on the National Security Council, September 7, 1977 [Press Files, Powell]. **Document 7** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document07.pdf>



8. Memo to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance from Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs Hodding Carter III, October 4, 1977 [WHCF]. **Document 8** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document08.pdf>
9. White House News Summary, September 8, 1977. **Document 9.** **This visual cannot be reproduced here due to copyright. For a copy, please see Nashville Banner and the Dayton Journal Herald, September 8, 1977.**
10. "Public Opposition. ..Here it comes, folks, the engineering feat of the century!" Cartoon by Draper Hill. *Detroit News* August 15, 1977. [White House News Summary]. **Document 10. "Reprinted with Permission from the Detroit News." Approved by Mark Silverman, Publisher and Editor.** Document is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document10.pdf>  
  
\*10a. "The First Spadeful" Cartoon by William A. Rogers. *New York Herald* circa 1904. ***The American Presidency in Political Cartoons*, 1776-1976, p. 155. Document 10a** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document10a.pdf>
11. "Support for Panama Treaties Increases with Knowledge" by George Gallup. October 23, 1977 [Vertical File]. **Document 11** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document11.pdf>
12. Letter to U.S. Senators from President Jimmy Carter, November 5, 1977 [Staff Secretaries File]. **Document 12** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document12.pdf>
13. Panama Canal Pacts Status of the Senate sheets, February 2 - March 14, 1978 [WHCF]. **Document 13** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document13.pdf>
14. Memo to Hamilton Jordan, Frank Moore, Landon Butler, Bob Thomson from Special Assistant Joe Aragon, March 8, 1978 [WHCF]. **Document 14** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document14.pdf>
15. Note to Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan from Rick (we believe to be Hendrik Hertzberg, Speechwriter), April 10, 1978 memo to National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski from Robert Pastor, April 10,

1978) [WHCF]. **Document 15** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document15.pdf>

16. Letter to U.S. Senators from President Carter, April, 1978 [Staff Secretaries File, 4/26/78]. **Document 16** is attached or can be found at <http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.org/education/panama/document16.pdf>

**\*SHEET 2****Looking at Documents**

1. Type of Document (Check one):

- Newspaper  
 Memorandum  
 Report  
 Other

2. Document Markings:

Letterhead \_\_\_\_\_  
 Typed or Handwritten \_\_\_\_\_  
 Seals \_\_\_\_\_  
 Notations \_\_\_\_\_  
 "Received" Stamp \_\_\_\_\_  
 Other things \_\_\_\_\_

3. Date of Document \_\_\_\_\_

4. Author (or creator) of Document \_\_\_\_\_

5. To whom was the document written? \_\_\_\_\_

6. List three important things you can learn from the document.

7. Why do you think this document was written? What helps you to know why it was written?

8. Can you identify, from reading the document, what circumstances were present at the time it was written?

9. After reading this document, what questions do you have?

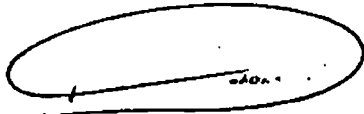
\*Adapted from worksheets designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408

## \*SHEET 3

### Looking at Cartoons

1.
  - a. List the people and/or objects in the cartoon.
  - b. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title.
  - c. Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.
  
2.
  - a. Which objects in the cartoon are symbols? What do they mean?
  - b. Which words or phrases are the most important? Why do you think so?
  
3.
  - a. Describe the action in the cartoon.
  - b. How do the words relate to the symbols in the cartoon?
  - c. What is the cartoon expressing?
  - d. Who would agree or disagree with the cartoon's message?

\*Adapted from worksheets designed and developed by the staff of the Education Branch, Office of Public Programs, National Archives, Washington, D.C. 20408



DANIEL J. FLOOD  
11th District, Pennsylvania

COMMITTEE:  
APPROPRIATIONS

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR,  
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

MEMBER, SUBCOMMITTEE ON DEFENSE

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
Washington, D.C. 20515

HOME OFFICE:  
1015 UNITED PENN BANK BLDG.  
WILKES-BARRE, PENNSYLVANIA  
ZIP CODE: 18701  
PHONE: AREA CODE 717  
878-3443

WASHINGTON OFFICE:  
108 CANNON BUILDING  
ZIP CODE: 20515  
PHONE: AREA CODE 202  
225-6511

MISS HELEN M. TOMASCIK  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 27, 1977

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

JAN 30 1977

ack / Z B

Dear Mr. President:

As a long time student of Isthmian Canal and defense policy questions, I have viewed with deep concern the current indications that your Administration is pushing ahead on the projected give away treaty for the U.S. Canal Zone and Panama Canal. In the Congress, the Canal issue is fundamental and thus transcends all partisan considerations.

Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford, misled by poor advice, all made serious errors in regard to it. You are making a fresh start and there is every reason to avoid their mistakes, which could well be your "Bay of Pigs" and prevent your renomination or re-election.

In the opinion of our most experienced engineers and other ship canal experts, the solution of the canal problem is simple: (1) retention by the United States of its full sovereign rights, power and authority over the indispensable Canal Zone; and (2) the major modernization of the existing canal according to the Terminal Lake-Third Lock Plan. This plan was developed in the Panama Canal organization during World War II and won the approval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt as a post war project. The old idea of a sea level canal is irrelevant and strongly opposed by major conservation organizations, as well as engineers, because of the danger of infesting the Atlantic with the poisonous Pacific sea snake and the crown of thorns starfish as well as the other factors.

The attached measures, H. Res. 92 and H. R. 1587, are aimed at clarifying and making definite the sovereign position of the United States over the Canal Zone and at authorizing the Canal's major modernization. I believe that I reflect the predominant view in the Congress that, in line with our historic policy, it will never approve the large expenditures involved except in territory over which the United States has full sovereign control.

Document 1

I wish to add that the Panama Canal, as originally planned in 1906 under President Theodore Roosevelt, was never completed. H.R. 1587 would complete the work of that great President, render a tremendous service to world shipping, simplify canal management enormously, cause huge benefits to Panama, and bring great credit to your Administration.

With assurances of esteem, I am,

Sincerely yours,

  
DANIEL J. FLOOD, M.C.

DJF/t.g

The American Legion

★ WASHINGTON OFFICE ★ 1808 "K" STREET, N. W. ★ WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 ★

Good Doc

1704314  
(add-on)



OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL COMMANDER

July 5, 1977

President Jimmy Carter  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The American Legion shares the concerns expressed in the attached letters by four former Chiefs of Naval Operations: Admirals Carney, Burke, Anderson and Moorer, and by U. S. Senators: McClellan, Byrd, Thurmond and Helms regarding the value of the U.S. Canal Zone and the Canal to the United States.

*Filed  
Burr*

Having served during World War II as a naval pilot in the Pacific under the leadership of Admirals Carney and Burke, I developed a profound respect for these men. Admiral "Mick" Carney, as Chief of Staff to Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey, and Admiral Burke as Chief of Staff to Admiral Marc Mitscher, emerged as two of Navy's top thinkers and strategists of World War II. As students of using our power at sea, they, like yourself, developed an intuitive understanding of actions which enhance or detract from our country's total strength.

Admirals Anderson and Moorer followed on as brilliant sea strategists, both commanding fleets during critical periods before they became Chiefs of Naval Operations. Admiral Moorer is the only American who has commanded both the Atlantic and Pacific fleets as well as serving for a number of years as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The combined experience and wisdom of these men is one of America's priceless assets. We are most fortunate they are still able and willing to share their views on such a critical subject as the Panama Canal.

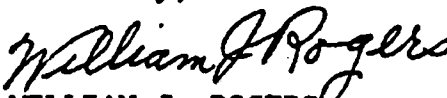
The Senators who forwarded the combined CNO letter, Senators McClellan, Harry Byrd, Thurmond and Helms, like the Admirals whose judgment they endorse, represent a wealth of experienced knowledge which we in The American Legion regard as one of our nation's most valuable resources.

President Jimmy Carter  
July 5, 1977

Page 2

We strongly endorse the letter of the four Chiefs of Naval Operations and the forwarding letter of the four U.S. Senators. The American Legion urges you to instruct the U.S. negotiating team that the interests of both the American people and the Panamanian people can best be served by the United States retaining its undiluted sovereignty of the U.S. Canal Zone and by initiating a modernization program for the canal which all agree is sorely needed.

Sincerely,



WILLIAM J. ROGERS  
National Commander



59

F03-11 Panama Canal  
F02-1

April 13, 1977

Dear Congressman Treen: *David*

I would like to reply to your letter of February 18 enclosing correspondence from several of your constituents expressing concern about the future of the Panama Canal and the appointment of Ambassador Sol M. Linowitz as a Panama Canal co-negotiator.

We have given their views the most thoughtful and careful consideration. It is, nevertheless, our judgment that the 1903 Treaty with Panama no longer provides, as it once did, the most effective basis for protecting our interest in the Canal.

Many changes have occurred in Panama, the United States, and the rest of the world over the more than 70 years that the treaty has been in effect. Today no nation, including ours, would accept a treaty relationship which permits the exercise of the extensive territorial rights in "perpetuity" which we at present enjoy.

Panama's resentment of our exercise of these rights erupted in 1964 into rioting and death. Today the terms of the present treaty continue to cause unnecessary friction between our two countries. The treaty creates a potential for violence that poses a real threat to our efficient operation and defense of the Canal.

To put the problem into more manageable terms, four successive Administrations have conducted negotiations for a new Panama Canal treaty. In that context I would observe that we do not plan to "give away" the Canal. Rather we intend to operate, control and defend it for an extended period of time.

Document 3

APR 15 1977

ORIGINAL FILED

Document 3

(Note: This is typical of many letters written by members of President Carter's staff seeking support for the treaty.)

We expect to have treaty provisions that will safeguard the Canal's continued operation thereafter for as long as it has any benefit to us or world shipping. In short, we believe that the new treaty we are trying to negotiate will offer a greater assurance than does the present one that we will continue to have the Canal open and available for our use.

For your information, I am enclosing a copy of a speech by our chief negotiator, Ambassador-at-Large Ellsworth Bunker, an information sheet on Ambassador Linowitz, and a copy of the Department of State's most recent policy statement.

Sincerely,

Frank Moore  
Assistant to the President  
for Congressional Liaison

The Honorable David C. Treen  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

✓  
Enclosures: As stated

bcc: Frank Moore

FM/VLG/State/NSC/JN/AVH/rq

SOL M. LINOWITZ

*file*

ONE FARRAGUT SQUARE SOUTH  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

May 2, 1977

Dear Cy:

On Saturday, April 30th, I had lunch here with Ronald Reagan and Mrs. Reagan, and I thought I ought to send you this report about the substance of our conversation.

A few weeks ago Ronald Reagan wrote two columns about the Panama Canal negotiations which contained some innuendoes and misstatements, and I wrote to him setting forth the true facts and indicating my willingness to sit down and talk with him about the situation if he would like to do so. He responded by inviting me to have lunch with him and Mrs. Reagan during their visit to Washington on April 30th, and I accepted. We met for lunch in their suite at the Madison Hotel, and our session lasted about an hour and a half.

At the outset Governor Reagan asked me some questions about the state of the Panama Canal negotiations and I gave him a brief overview, stressing the urgent need to find a mutually agreeable solution which would take into account the proper aspirations of the Panamanian people and yet preserve the important interests of the United States. He listened politely and then made the following points:

He said that in his judgment our foreign policy has been in retreat over the past years and that this had concerned him deeply. For this reason he said that he thought "giving up Panama" would be another retreat which would lose the respect of the rest of the world. He said that he thought we were already without the support of our allies who questioned our willingness to stand up for principles in which we said we believed. He then went on to say that Panama's President Torrijos was a military dictator who did not have the support of

Document 4

Document 4

(Note: Linowitz was former ambassador to the Organization of American States. He became President Carter's special representative in the treaty negotiations. Ronald Reagan was the governor of California at this time.)

his people in connection with his efforts regarding the Canal, and that under no circumstances did he think we should "surrender sovereignty". Finally, he said that he did not think that it was proper for the United States to be negotiating under a threat of possible violence as he thought we were now doing and that we ought to stand our ground firmly against this crude dictator.

I responded by pointing out to him first that the Panamanian position was now being supported by all the countries of Latin America and, indeed, by most of the Third World; that the Treaty itself was almost universally regarded as outmoded and its provisions anachronistic, which led to the charge that in the Canal we were maintaining a "colonial enclave"; and that our true vital interest was in assuring that the Canal remained open, free and neutral on a non-discriminatory basis, and that this was an essential condition in our negotiations. I traced the sovereignty issue pointing out that we had acquired rights to the Canal but not title to the land itself. The main question was, I suggested, what course of action would be in the best national interest of the United States; and that I was firmly convinced that seeking to adhere to the present Treaty would be adverse to our best interests and that persisting in our efforts to work out a mutually fair and acceptable new Treaty arrangement would advance our national objectives.

Reagan responded by saying that that position was simply not acceptable to the American people who were in such large measure opposed to a new Treaty. He then told me that he himself had never sought to raise the Panama Canal issue during the campaign but that it had been raised through audience questions at various times in the course of the primary in New Hampshire. He said that he was amazed to find that there was such intense interest in the Panama Canal and that in one community after another there was "utter disbelief" that we would be negotiating to "give it away". He said he found as the campaign proceeded that whenever he gave his answer insisting that we retain the Canal he would receive tumultuous applause.

Reagan then told me that he was sure that he had won the primary in Texas from President Ford solely on the Panama Canal issue. He said that Congressman Snyder had telephoned him after Ambassador Bunker had testified in secret before the Merchant Marine Committee respecting the course of the negotiations and had told Reagan that the Committee had voted to allow Snyder to pass on the substance of the secret testimony summarizing the American position in the negotiations. Reagan said that when President Ford came to Texas and denied that such negotiations were, in fact under way, Reagan felt compelled to disclose what he had been told by Congressman Snyder and this, in his judgment, destroyed Ford's credibility and led to Reagan's Texas victory.

Reagan also said that in his talk with Latin Americans he did not get the same impression I had conveyed to him about their support for the Panamanian position.

I told him that Ambassador Bunker and I had just visited with the Presidents of Colombia and Venezuela and that they had clearly indicated their support for the Panamanian position, and that I had discussed the Canal negotiations with many Latin American leaders and one after another had expressed his backing of Panama in the Canal negotiations. I asked him specifically which countries he knew were not disposed to favor the Panamanian position, and he mentioned Brazil. I pointed out that the Brazilians were, in fact, clearly committed to support of the Panama position and he did not challenge this.

Reagan then went into a discussion of the situation in Brazil and the problems which had arisen between Brazil and the United States. He said that in his judgement the situation had been handled badly by us in both the human rights and nuclear areas and that he was concerned that we had alienated a nation of such significance in the hemisphere.

I asked Reagan then whether he had ever been to Panama and he said that he had not. I urged him to visit the country and to see for himself why the Canal Zone was regarded by the Panamanians as such an unwelcome intrusion into their country and why it was a

festering problem which was bound to erupt if serious and conscientious efforts were not made to find a mutually satisfactory basis for a new Treaty. Mrs. Reagan was especially interested in this suggestion and asked if Governor Reagan would have "proper body guards" if he should make the trip. I assured her and him that he would, and indicated that we would be willing to arrange an opportunity for him to meet with various people in Panama to discuss the whole situation. He said he would like to think about it and then get in touch with me about it. He seemed genuinely interested and asked whether I would be willing to help him set up an itinerary for such a visit. I said I would be glad to and I was sure the State Department would be pleased to cooperate.

Our luncheon ended on a pleasant note.

My over-all impressions of Reagan's position based on this luncheon conversation are as follows:

1. Reagan has not carefully familiarized himself with all the significant facts about the Panama Canal negotiations and has been content to make great political capital out of sloganeering and playing on the "give away" theme invoking the national pride in the Canal.
2. He seemed interested and in some cases surprised by some of the facts I put before him. He was especially uneasy, I thought, when I kept impressing upon him the danger of the situation and its potentially explosive nature. He remained silent when I asked: "Would you feel comfortable if our unwillingness to negotiate led to bloodshed?"
3. He seemed to find significant the fact that we were trying to work out some formula whereby the United States would continue to participate in assuring the continued neutrality and openness of the Canal even after the new Treaty came to an end.
4. He is going to remain adamant on the sovereignty issue and seems disposed to make his major argument on the "we bought it, we paid for it" line. I pointed out Supreme Court decisions on this point, but he was

unimpressed and almost disinterested.

5. Surprisingly, he did not even mention either Castro or Communist nations generally in the entire course of our discussion.

6. If the Canal issue remains a politically profitable one, then he will continue to highlight it. If, on the other hand, there should be a shift in popular sentiment and a readiness on the part of the American people to accept the fact that a new Treaty is necessary, then I think he is pragmatic enough to adjust his own position accordingly. The important fact is that I did not detect that he had a sense of mission on this issue.

7. I do believe he is genuinely interested in the possibility of a trip to Panama before long. If he indicates an interest in doing so, I believe we should cooperate in every way so that he can have a look for himself and a full opportunity to discuss the situation on the spot with both Panamanians and Americans.

Sincerely,

Sol M. Linowitz

The Honorable  
Cyrus R. Vance  
Secretary of State  
Department of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 12, 1977

To The Members of the United States Congress

As you know, Ambassadors Bunker and Linowitz have reached an agreement in principle with the Government of Panama on the Panama Canal Treaty, and have now reviewed the terms with me, the Acting Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. It was the unanimous conclusion of us all that our national interests will be advanced by the terms of this agreement. The Joint Chiefs have been represented in the negotiations, and give their unqualified support to the terms of the agreement.

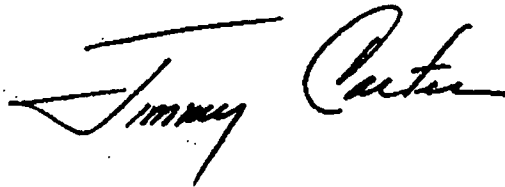
I will continue my review of these principles, and I expect to authorize the completion of the formal treaty drafting.

This is a difficult political question, and I need your help during the coming weeks.

I am convinced that the treaties are essential to ensure the continued effective use of the Canal for American commercial and security needs.

You can call us directly with specific questions, but in the meantime I am enclosing for your use a short summary of the agreement in principle.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Sincerely,".

Document 5



## Defense and National Security

Under the new treaties the U.S. will be able to guarantee the security and defense of the Panama Canal:

-- The U.S. will have the permanent right to defend the neutrality of the Canal from any threat, for an indefinite period;

-- U.S. warships will have the permanent right to transit the Canal expeditiously and without conditions, for an indefinite period;

-- For the rest of the century, U.S. military forces will have the primary responsibility to protect and defend the Canal; the Government of Panama guarantees the U.S. the right to station troops in Panama and to use all lands and waters necessary for the Canal's defense.

## Canal Operations

The United States will maintain control over all lands, waters and installations -- including military bases -- necessary to manage, operate, and defend the Canal. A new agency of the U. S. Government will operate the Canal. This agency, which replaces the Panama Canal Company, will assure United States control of Canal operations for the rest of the century. The Canal will be open to all shipping on a non-discriminatory basis.

On the effective date of the treaty, Panama will assume general territorial jurisdiction over the present Canal Zone, and may use portions of the area not needed for the operation and defense of the Canal. At the end of 1999, Panama will assume control of the Canal operations.

## Economic Factors

Difficult financial negotiations have produced a fair and equitable package, which will not involve any Congressional appropriations. Panama will receive exclusively from Canal revenues:

- a share in tolls - 30 cents per Panama Canal ton;
- \$10 million per year from toll revenues;
- up to an additional \$10 million per year only if Canal traffic and revenues permit.

In addition, the United States has pledged its best efforts, outside the treaty, to arrange for an economic program of loans, loan guarantees and credits:

- up to \$200 million in Export-Import Bank credits;
- up to \$75 million in AID housing guarantees;
- a \$20 million Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) loan guarantee.

This 5-year package will contain standard "Buy American" provisions that will greatly benefit U. S. businesses which invest in and sell goods and services to Panama.

#### Rights of U. S. Employees

All U. S. civilians currently employed in the Canal can continue in United States Government jobs until retirement. They will enjoy the rights and guarantees extended to all U. S. Government employees overseas.

#### New Sea Level Canal

The agreement envisions the possibility of building a new sea level canal. The U. S. and Panama will jointly study its feasibility. If they agree that such a canal is desirable, they will negotiate the terms for its construction.

#### Treaties

There will be two treaties: (1) a treaty guaranteeing the permanent neutrality of the Canal, and (2) a basic treaty governing the operation and defense of the Canal through December 31, 1999.

EXECUTIVE

①

59

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

F13-1/Panama  
Canal

August 25, 1977

Dear Governor Harriman: *Amint*

Any of the following reasons would be appropriate in statements of support of the new Panama Canal Treaty:

1. The new treaties will better insure the defense of the Canal.
2. The new treaties will create a more hospitable climate for American trade and investment in Latin America.
3. The new neutrality treaty lets us keep the Canal open to all shipping, of all nations, forever.
4. The new treaty guarantees that no other country could come in and build a new sea-level canal under our nose in Panama.
5. Replacing the outdated 1903 treaty with a modern one will remove an irritant which threatens our relations with the entire third worlds.
6. The best way to keep the Canal safe is to change the Panamanians from sometimes hostile bystanders into partners in the waterway's defense.
7. In Panama, this administration has its first great chance to show that the United States is ready to act, not merely talk, with the maturity, confidence and generosity that befit a great power. Failure to ratify the new treaties would hinder us badly as we try to regain the moral high ground in world affairs.
8. A treaty in the true best interests of both the United States and Panama is the most effective way to insulate the Canal from dangers arising

Document 6

RECORDED  
AUG 25 1977  
CENTRAL FILE

Honorable Averell Harriman  
Page Two  
August 25, 1977

out of possible political instability in  
Panama. A truly fair treaty will remain  
acceptable, no matter who is in power.

Thank you very much for your help. I'll try to keep  
you posted as our efforts progress.

Cordially,



Landon Butler  
Deputy Assistant  
to the President

Honorable Averell Harriman  
Birchgrove  
Route 100  
Yorktown Heights, New York 10598  
3

Document 6

(Note: Harriman had been advisor to several presidents beginning  
with Franklin Roosevelt. He was governor of New York from 1955 to  
1959. He was an advisor to President Carter during SALT II  
negotiations.)

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

September 7, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: JERRY SCHECTER  
JODY POWELL

FROM: ROBERT A. PASTOR

SUBJECT: Statements by Foreign Governments About  
the Panama Canal Treaties

I requested a short summary from the State Department on the responses by leaders in the Western Hemisphere and throughout the world to the signing of the Canal Treaties. It is not very good, but it is attached for your use.

Document 7

(Note: Robert Pastor was Latin American specialist on the National Security Council during the Carter administration. Jody Powell was Press Secretary. This report was to provide further support for treaty negotiations.)



S/S 772821

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

UNCLASSIFIED

September 6, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ZBIGNIEW BREZIEZINSKI  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Subject: Statements by Foreign Governments about the Panama  
Canal Treaties

Yesterday, Mr. Robert Pastor requested information  
on statements made by world leaders regarding the Panama  
Canal Treaties. Attached is a report.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Peter Tarnoff", written in a cursive style.

Peter Tarnoff  
Executive Secretary

Attachment:

As stated.

Most public statements made by foreign governments or leaders about the Panama Canal agreements have come from the hemisphere. Moreover, many governments and their leaders have thus far refrained from committing themselves to support the treaties. They prefer to read the documents first. The following is a digest for the statements which have been made to date.

General Torrijos of Panama has called the treaties "a triumph". The Panamanian people are accepting the treaty "with satisfaction" and "because it is a treaty which decolonizes and does so rapidly." Finally, "it is a treaty which will strengthen our personality as Panamanians and will give Panamanians more dignity everywhere in the world."

Foreign Minister Forde of Barbados welcomed the agreement saying, "I hope that the Congress of the United States will react favorably to this settlement. It has the support of the Caribbean nations in particular..."

Bolivia issued one of the strongest statements. The government declared August 11, the day after the conceptual agreements were announced, to be a "day of national rejoicing". The Bolivian press release stated, "The Panamanian and U.S. governments have reached an agreement which is an important step toward final solution of one of the problems affecting Latin America, which shows that the good will of nations can always overcome the unjust situations still existing in this continent." The announcement went on to declare that the time had come for a solution of Bolivia's problem, i.e., access to the sea.

President Pinochet of Chile sent President Carter a telegram which said in part, "I fully agree with Your Excellency that such treaties represent an historic benchmark in Inter-American relations. I also share your hope that the same spirit of alliance and of mutual respect will guide relations among all nations of the Hemisphere."

Costa Rican President Oduber issued a strongly supportive statement and followed it up with a letter to President Carter. He says the "U.S. is showing the Third World that in this hemisphere the relations between the most powerful nation and the small countries are conducted

in an atmosphere of equality and mutual respect." He says that the agreement with Panama fortifies this theory, and that President Carter can "count on the enthusiastic support of Costa Rica."

A statement was released to the press in Washington by the Dominican Embassy. Speaking for the Dominican government, the statement expressed its happiness that the negotiations resulted in a new agreement between the two governments. The Dominican Republic believes "that the new treaty with Panama opens a new era in Inter-American relations and that President Carter's decisive and inspired action in seeking a treaty between the two countries has done a service of far-reaching scope to the ideal of Washington and Bolivar about the unity of destiny and the indestructable solidarity of the nations of this Western Hemisphere."

Guatemala instructed its Embassy in Washington to express "the satisfaction of the people and Government of Guatemala with the agreement in principle concluded between the United States of America and the Republic of Panama on the Panama Canal, and transmit our congratulations to President Carter for finding a solution to this problem of great importance to the hemisphere." The Guatemalan note also remarked that the agreement with Panama "proves that negotiations are an appropriate and effective means of settling disputes between States" and expressed the hope that negotiations could also solve the Belize problem.

An Agence France Presse report quoted Guyanese Foreign Minister Fred Wills as calling the agreement a "just document." The report stated that the treaty "will eliminate the last remains of neo-colonialism in Panama and will contribute to the dignity of the Latin American and Caribbean countries."

The Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry received the news of the conceptual agreements "with great satisfaction, since the agreement that has been reached will have a most favorable impact on hemispheric relations."

Peruvian Ambassador Carlos Garcia Bedoya, speaking for his government, characterized the agreements as a stimulant for the future of Washington's relations with Latin America." The accords "acquire even greater importance because they have been reached by means of dialog and direct negotiations between the parties."



In a press conference, President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela made the following remarks: "I wish to congratulate President Carter, very sincerely, for his great sense of justice and for the way he has brought his great sense of ethics to his great country by facilitating these negotiations, as it has done, by which Panama may recover sovereignty over an important part of its territory. I am convinced that this basic element of U.S. policy is going to change for the better relations between North America and Latin America."

7725311



DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
BRIEFING MEMORANDUM

S/S

October 4, 1977

To: The Secretary  
From: PA - Hodding Carter III

(170)

Press Comment on the Panama Canal Treaties

A review of nation-wide press comment in several hundred papers since announcement of the draft Panama Canal Treaties reveals:

1. The trend in editorial comment has moved away from outright opposition to any treaty. But, there are very widespread concerns about the details of the proposed treaties and the atmosphere in which they were negotiated.

These concerns are most persuasively stated by those who have not firmly committed themselves. In order of frequency they are:

- A. Abhorrence for "threats of violence," which are seen as having been the major impetus for negotiations and the major argument for ratification.
- B. Resentment of an "apologetic attitude" for what is seen as a great U.S. achievement that benefitted Panama.
- C. Belief that the financial arrangements with Panama--including those outside the treaties--are excessive or foolish: "Not only are we giving them the Canal, we're paying them to take it."
- D. Questions about the ability of the treaties to preserve U.S. access to the Canal and the U.S. right to defend it.

2. Overwhelmingly, the press wants a full--and unemotional--debate about ratification.

Newspapers that are not firmly committed are particularly critical of perceived attempts--by both the Administration and treaty opponents--to "rush to judgment." The signing ceremony was widely perceived as an attempt to pressure the Senate toward ratification and was criticized by a number of commentators, including those who support the treaties.

3. There is widespread perception that failure to gain ratification will damage President Carter's ability to gain Congressional approval for other foreign, and domestic, policies. However, this is rarely used as an argument for ratification.

4. Unanimously, the press believes the public is, for the present, firmly opposed to the treaties.

The press view of the current public mood comes from its reading of national and local public opinion polls, man-in-the-street interviews, and the volume of anti-treaty letters being received by newspapers. Pro-treaty commentators believe this opposition can be altered by a fairly lengthy "education" campaign led by the President. Anti-treaty commentators think the Administration is attempting to thwart the clear will of the people.

Some commentators, particularly those leaning toward opposition, decry statements about the need for "education" as a slur on the intelligence of the public. This view is increasingly appearing in public correspondence addressed to the White House and the Department.

5. Endorsement of the treaties by noted conservatives is apparently persuasive with a certain segment of the press. Columnist William F. Buckley's support and columnist James Kilpatrick's neutrality have been widely quoted. Their attitudes have, apparently, persuaded a number of newspapers at least to keep an open mind.

6. To date, White House briefings of state delegations have produced highly favorable news stories on treaty provisions and, in some instances, shifts from editorial opposition either to support or neutrality.

*Jee*  
Drafted: JACollinge:bds  
10/3/77 x23165

INSIDE THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE



INSIDE THE PANAMA CANAL ISSUE





*Panama Canal*

⑨2 HM 261 B

# The Gallup Poll

RELEASE SUNDAY, OCT. 23, 1977

Lack of Information Is Widespread

SUPPORT FOR PANAMA TREATIES  
INCREASES WITH KNOWLEDGE

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J. -- The more Americans know about the Panama Canal treaties, the more likely they are to favor Senate ratification of the pact, lending support to President Jimmy Carter's thesis.

When those surveyed who have not heard or read about the debate over the treaties (26 per cent) are given a brief description of the pact and are asked to vote on it, they vote it down by nearly a 2-to-1 margin (39 to 23 per cent with 38 per cent undecided).

However, when the results are limited to just those who have heard or read about the debate (74 per cent), opinion is more closely divided, with 48 per cent opposed, 40 per cent in favor, with 12 per cent undecided.

Finally, the views of the "better informed" were measured. The informed are defined as those who can correctly answer three questions dealing with key facts about the pact:

the year the canal is to be turned over to the Republic of Panama, whether or not the U.S. has the right to defend the canal against third-nation attacks, and whether or not the biggest U.S. aircraft carriers and supertankers are able to use the canal.

The vote among this "better informed" group (i.e. the one person in 14 who can answer all three questions correctly) is 5-to-4 in favor of the treaties.

To determine current attitudes on the Panama pact, as well as the relationship between knowledge and attitudes, a series of questions were asked in the latest nationwide Gallup Poll.

Following is the key question asked of everyone in the sample:

"The treaties would give Panama full control over the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone by the year 2000, but the United States would retain the right to defend the canal against a third nation. Do you favor or oppose these treaties between the U.S. and Panama?"

Here are the results based on varying levels of awareness and knowledge:

Document 11

## THOSE NOT AWARE OF TREATIES

Favor	23%
Oppose	39
No opinion	38

## THOSE AWARE OF TREATIES

Favor	40%
Oppose	48
No opinion	12

## THE 'BETTER INFORMED' \*

Favor	51%
Oppose	46
No opinion	3

\* Results subject to wide sampling fluctuation due to small number of cases.

LACK OF INFORMATION  
IS WIDESPREAD

The current survey reveals a serious lack of knowledge about the key facts of the Panama treaties, with about four in 10 Americans aware that the U.S. has the right to defend the canal, only about one in four aware that the canal is to be turned over in the year 2000 and only about one in seven aware that aircraft carriers and supertankers cannot use the canal.

Here are the responses (based on total sample) to the

Document 11



three questions dealing with facts about the treaties:

"As far as you know, in what year is the Panama Canal to be turned over completely to the Republic of Panama, by terms of the treaties?" (Correct answers: 1999 and 2000.)

Correct 26%

Incorrect/

Don't Know

Not Heard/Read 74

"As far as you know, will the United States have the right to defend the Panama Canal against third-nation attacks after Panama takes full control?" (Correct answer: yes.)

Correct 43%

Incorrect/

Don't Know

Not Heard/Read 57

"To the best of your knowledge, how much do the biggest U.S. aircraft carriers and supertankers now use the Panama Canal -- a great deal, quite a lot, not very much, or not at all?" (Correct answer: not at all.)

Correct 14%

Incorrect/

Don't Know

Not Heard/Read 86

Document 11

Those who have heard or read about the debate over the Panama Canal treaties were also asked what they regard as the best arguments in favor of and against the treaties.

Here are the responses, in order of frequency of mention:

BEST ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR

1. A good public relations move -- remove stigma of colonialism
2. Canal is not important to U.S. interests
3. Maintaining canal is too expensive
4. To avoid a conflict/prevent hostilities
5. Not giving it totally away -- we would be able to defend it against attack from third nation
6. It belongs to the Panamanians -- it's part of their land

BEST ARGUMENTS AGAINST

1. U.S. has economic stake in canal
2. U.S. should not pay them to take the canal
3. Panama may not stick to terms of treaties
4. They will soon keep us from using the canal at all
5. Communists will take it over
6. Canal is important to our national security
7. We built and paid for it -- we should keep it

Document 11

The results reported today are based on in-person interviews with 1,509 adults, 18 and older, taken in person in more than 300 scientifically-selected localities across the nation during the period Sept. 30-Oct. 3.

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Document 11

FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE AB  
401 NORTH WABASH AVENUE CHICAGO, ILL. 60611

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

November 5, 1977

To Senator

It has been four months since we negotiated an agreement on the new Panama Canal treaties. At that time I wrote to you stating my belief that these treaties are fair and equitable, and essential to assure the continued effective use of the canal for American commercial and security needs.

I am writing again to reaffirm that position and to pledge my full effort to convince the American people that the agreement serves the best interests of the United States. A recent nationwide poll by CBS-*New York Times* indicates that Americans will support the treaties when they understand that

(Note: This is typical of many personal letters President Carter wrote to members of the Senate trying to convince them to vote for treaty ratification.)

Document 12

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

our country has the right to defend the Canal. By a margin of more than 2:1 (63% to 24%) Americans say they would support the treaties if -- the treaties provided that the United States could always send in troops to keep the Canal open to ships of all nations." As you know, the Treaty of Neutrality and the recent Statement of Understanding provide the United States this right.

It is essential, therefore, that the American people be given a full, factual explanation of the new treaties. I, with members of my Administration and many distinguished Americans, will undertake this task in the coming months. I urge you to support the treaties and to help in laying

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

the facts before the public so  
that this education process can  
go forward as you approach  
a final decision in the Senate.

I ask this of you in what  
I truly believe to be our highest  
national interest. I need your  
help.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

BANANA CANAL PACTS  
STATUS OF THE SENATE

	FOR		UNDECIDED	AGAINST	
	AS REPORTED	SOFT ON AMENDMENTS		WITH UNACCEPTABLE AMENDMENTS	OPPOSED
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>	AROUSEK ARONSON BAYN BENSON BIDEN DUNFORD EYRE (NY) CHURCH CLARK CRANSTON CULVER DURREN EAGLETON GLENN GRAVEL HART HOLLINGS HULLSTON MURPHY HOUSE JACKSON KENNEDY LEAHY MAGNUSON MATSUNAGA PCOVERER METZENBAUM MORGAN MOYNIHAN MUSKIE NELSON PELL PROKOFF PISCOPF RIGGLE SARANTIS SPARKMAN STEVENSON STONE WILLIAMS	CHILES FARRELL HATHAWAY HOGES MCINTYRE SASSER	OPCONCINI FOOD HATFIELD (OP) MUNN RANDOLPH TOBINSEY	PUEBICK CAPHON LONG PELCNER TALMADGE	ALLEN BIRD (VA) CASTLANE JOHNSTON STERNIN
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>	CASE CRAPPE HATFIELD (OP) MAYANAKA JAVITS MATHIAS PACSONICK PELTY MURPHY	BARFF DELMON ROBERT SANDPITZ STAFFORD	FEINZ FOY STEVENS	ROSE MATHIAS GOLDFATE LANSAB CUNNING SANDPITZ MURPHY	PARLETT CURTIN GARD GRIFFIN HARRIS HATCH HELMS LIVELY MCCLELLY SCOTT THURMOND TUNCE WELCH
	11	12	9	12	18

(Note: The following sheets, dated from February 2, 1978 to March 14, 1978, represent tallies showing how the Senators felt about the treaty. Note the shifts in position over three weeks. Remember that two-thirds of the Senate have to approve of a treaty.)

Document 13

FOR

GA/ISS

(39)

**DEMOCRATS**

ABOURN  
ANDERSON  
BAYH  
BENTSEN  
BIDEN  
BUMPERS  
BYRD (WV)  
CALLE  
CHURCH  
CLARK  
CHRISTON  
CULVER  
DURBIN  
ENGLETON  
GLENN  
GRAVEL  
HART  
HASKELL  
HATHAWAY  
HODGES  
HOLLINGS  
HUDDLESTON  
HUMPHREY

INOUE  
JACKSON  
KENNEDY  
LEAHY  
MAGNISON  
MATSUNAGA  
MCDOVERN  
MCINTYRE  
METTENBAUM  
MOND  
MORTINIAN  
MORRIS  
NELSON  
PELL  
PROXNER  
RISICOFF  
RISKE  
SABANS  
SASSER  
SPARKMAN  
STEVENS  
STONE  
WILLIAMS

LEAVING

PORD - P...

UNRECORDED

WATTS-SELD  
LONG (PA)  
FORINNEY

Mun. Ass  
P...

LEAVING

ALLEN  
BYRD (VA)  
EASTLAND  
JOHNSTON  
STENNIS  
Burditt  
Roudelot  
Hatfield - P...

30

Thurs 1  
4 PM  
Pres. Dir. of Ref.  
Amend.

**REPUBLICANS**

BAKER  
CASS  
CHAFES  
DANFORTH  
HATFIELD (JR)  
HARTMAN  
JAVITS  
MATHIAS  
PACHTWOOD  
PEARSON  
PERCY  
STAFFORD  
WEIKER

WEINER - ...  
Bellman - ...

Brooks - UP

BARTLETT  
CURTIS  
DOLE  
DOMENICI  
GANN  
GOLDBERGER  
GRIPPIN  
HANSSEN  
HATCH  
HELMS  
Steven S. ...

LAXALT  
LUGAR  
MCCLURE  
SCOTT  
TURNER  
TOWER  
WALLOP  
YOUNG  
Stroms





ADMINISTRATIVE CONFIDENTIAL

PANAMA CANAL FACTS

03/14/78

FOR

STATUS OF THE SENATE

AGAINST

FOR		LEANING	UNDECIDED	LEANING	AGAINST
(63)	(67)	(10)	(2)	(2)	(20)
<b>DEMOCRATS</b>					
ABQUEZ	KENNEDY		SECORNS	BURDICK	ALLEN
ANDERSON	LEAHY		PORG	FORINSKY	BYRD (VA)
BAYN	LONG		HATFIELD (MT)		CANNON
BENTSEN	MAGNUSON		RANDOLPH		CARTLAND
BIDEN	MATSUMAGA				JOHNSTON
BUMPERS	MCDEVENS				MELCHER
BYRD (WV)	MCINTIRE				STENNIS
CHILES	NETERBAUM				
CHURCH	NORGAN				
CLARK	NOTMANN				
CRANSTON	MUSKIE				
CULVER	NELSON				
DURBIN	NEW				
EAGLETON	PELL				
GLENN	PROXNER				
GRAVEL	RISICOFF				
HART	RIGGLE				
HASKELL	SARBANES				
HATHAWAY	SABER				
HODGES	SPARKMAN				
HOLLINGS	STEVENSON				
HOOVER	STONE				
HUMPHREY	TALMAGE				
INOUÉ	WILLIAMS				
<b>REPUBLICANS</b>					
BAKER			BEILSON		BARTLETT
CASE			BOOKER		CURTIS
CHAYES					DOLE
DANFORTH					DOMENICI
HATFIELD (OR)					GANN
HAYAKAWA					GOLDWATER
HEISE					GRIFFIN
JAVITS					HANSEN
MATHIAS					HATCH
PACKWOOD					HELMS
PEARSON					LAXALT
PERCY					
STAFFORD					LUGAR
WEISER					MCCUNE
					ROTH
					SCHMITT
					SCHWEIKER
					SCOTT
					STEVENS
					THURMOND
					TOYER
					WALLOP
					YOUNG

STATUS OF THE SENATE

FOR		AGAINST		
AS REPORTED (55)	SOFT ON AMENDMENTS ( 8)	UNDECIDED ( 8)	WITH UNACCEPTABLE AMENDMENTS ( 7)	OPPOSED (22)
<b>DEMOCRATS</b> ABOURER ANDERSON BAH BENTSEN BIRN BUMPERS BYRD (WV) CHILES CHURCH CLARK CRANSTON CULVER DURKIN EAGLETON GLENN GRAVEL HART HASKELL HODGES HOLLINGS HUDDLESTON HUMPHREY INOUYE JACKSON KENNEDY LEAHY MAGNUSON MATSUNAGA MCCLELLAN METTENBAUM MORGAN MORTIMAN MURKIS NELSON PELL PROXMIRE RIBICOFF RIEGLE SARBANES STARKMAN STEVENSON STONE WILLIAMS	NATHAWAY MCINTYRE SASSER	BURDICK DECONCINI FORD HAYFIELD (MO) HELCHER MURN SORTINSEY	CANNON LONG RANDOLPH TALMADGE	ALLEN BYRD (VA) EASTLAND JOHNSTON STENNIS
<b>REPUBLICANS</b> BROOKE CASS CHAFFET HAYFIELD (OR) HAYAKAWA JAVITS MATIAS PACEWOOD PEARSON PERCY STAFFORD WEIKER	BAKER BELMONT DANFORTH HEINE SCHWEIKER	BOTH	DOLE STEVENS YOUNG	BARLETTE DOMENICI GOLDWATER HANSEN HELMS LUGAR SCHMITT THURMOND WALLOP

EXECUTIVE

105-1 / Panama Canal  
Feb-1-1 / Aragon, C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 8, 1978

MEMORANDUM FOR HAMILTON JORDAN  
FRANK MOORE ✓  
LONDON BUTLER  
BOB THOMSON ✓

FROM: JOE ARAGON ✓  
SUBJECT: PANAMA MEETING

At today's Panama meeting the following points were made:

- (1) This weekend will be crucial to those undecided Senators who will be home. A push has to be made to generate local activity in those states where Senators will be home.
- (2) Once the neutrality treaty is approved by the Senate the next treaty if it comes after the recess will be highly vulnerable to critics who will be after those Senators who voted for the neutrality treaty. This means that the Easter recess is also a crucial period.
- (3) We need, if it has not yet been done to make a fresh inventory of all 100 Senators just to make sure there has not been any shift which has escaped our notice.
- (4) The single most influential source of persuasion vis a vis Senator Brooke is The Boston Globe. Ideally, The Globe would urge both Senators to support the treaties.
- (5) Steve Selig will re-contact Washington corporate representatives who have expressed support for the treaties and ask them to pursue their support on the Hill. I told Steve this should be cleared through Bob Thomson.
- (6) COACT newspaper ads signed by local treaty supporters will appear on Monday in Pennsylvania and Delaware.
- (7) The Kirk Douglas radio spots were being taped today for rebroadcast in 11 states.
- (8) Tim Davis and Betty Rainwater were going to discuss ways in which the DNC could immediately begin generating support through telephone banks, etc.

(Note: Another example of the administration's activities to assure passage of the treaty.)

Document 14

I followed up the meeting by talking with Dan Horgan who is anxious to make a major push throughout the DNC on behalf of the treaties. He agrees that this weekend is key and they will move on it.

One question was raised as to whether or not former Speakers of the House Carl Albert or John McCormick should be asked for support.

*This may be  
Rick Hertzberg  
Staff Sec. Office -*

Names for this document:

Hamilton Jordan  
Rick (we believe to be Hendrik  
Hertzberg, Speechwriter)  
Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Robert Pastor

Handwritten Note: "Zbig-- Meeting with DeConcini is planned for Tuesday or Wednesday of this week. We are proceeding along the lines Pastor outlines. It is very precarious-- like it or not, DeConcini holds the fate of the treaties in his hands. We'll talk. H.J."

-151

EXECUTIVE

FD-3-1 / Panama Canal

PR 7-1

FE 6-12

Pastor, Robert

PH

RP  
7-5-78?  
ZB.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 10, 1978

Hamilton,

ZB would like you to take a look at the attached. He would like you to raise the suggested call to DeConcini with the President if you believe it is appropriate. He believes the statement at Tab A is good.

*DeConcini*

Rick

Zbig-

Meeting with DeConcini is planned for Tuesday or Wednesday of this week.

We are proceeding along the lines Pastor outlines. It is very precarious - like it or not, DeConcini holds the fate of the treaty in his hands. Well talk.

HQ.

Document 15

(Note: A good example of how a Senator whose vote was essential was wooed by the administration to vote for the treaty. DeConcini is from Arizona. Tab A is not available.)

## MEMORANDUM

## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

April 10, 1978

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

FROM: ROBERT PASTOR *R.P.*

SUBJECT: Getting the Panama Debate Back on Track

Having come this far, it is ironic that we were almost de-railed last week on a non-issue: the Senate being disturbed that the Panamanians were upset by the DeConcini reservation. The question is how do we get the Panamanians and the DeConcini people back on board helping us through the vote on the second treaty.

The problem last week stemmed from confusion and misunderstanding. We need to begin by untangling this web.

The Senate thought that the Panamanians rejected the treaties. This is untrue; the Panamanians are upset by the DeConcini reservation and fearful of future reservations. To keep his government in tact, Torrijos needs some language in the new treaty, which makes a self-evident point: that the treaties are consistent with the U.N. and O.A.S. Charter. (In fact, the U.N. Charter prohibits a state from entering into an agreement which overrides any provision--especially the principle of non-intervention--in the U.N. Charter.)

I don't think there are any Senators who voted for the Neutrality Treaty who believe that their actions would violate the U.N. Charter. Indeed, the leadership amendment restates the point which the President has often made: that we have no intention or desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Panama. The DeConcini reservation has not really hurt as much as his language on the floor. The Panamanians need a re-statement of the principle of non-intervention, and the best person to do it would be DeConcini. Perhaps the President could call him, explain to him that the Panamanians have been misinterpreting his reservation, and telling him that, of course, his reservation is not intended to violate the U.N. or O.A.S. Charter. I have written a Q and A along these lines for the President and mentioned the idea to Hamilton.

We are in an extremely delicate position right now; we share a none too steady ship, and there are many in the Senate and in Panama who are eager to sink it. Regardless of who sinks it, the President will be hurt very badly if the ship goes down. Therefore, we need to be sufficiently sensitive

to the concerns of the Panamanians to keep them on our side. A statement along the lines of the Q&A would probably do the trick, but the President should probably call DeConcini first. You may want to mention this to the President tomorrow.

cc: Jerry Schecter

Attachments:

Tab A - Q&A

Tab B - Wash. Post Article



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April, 1978

To Senator

As President, I want to express my admiration for your support of the Panama Canal treaties. Rarely is a national leader called upon to act on such an important issue fraught with so much potential political sacrifice.

On behalf of the people of the United States, I thank you for your personal demonstration of statesmanship and political courage.

Sincerely,  
Jimmy Carter

(Note: Typical of many personal notes of thanks written by President Carter after the treaty was ratified.)

Document 16



*U.S. Department of Education  
Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI)  
National Library of Education (NLE)  
Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)*



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