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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TOP SECRET//SENSITIVE//XGDS April 11, 1977 ⁵

NSC REVIEWED DOCUMENT AND HAS NO OBJECTION TO
DECLASSIFICATION - IN PART, 10567

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE VICE PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
THE CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF
THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
THE DIRECTOR, ARMS CONTROL AND
DISARMAMENT AGENCY

SUBJECT: SALT and Other Arms Control Issues Addressed
in Moscow

The following summarizes the outcome of the SCC meeting of
April 7, 1977.

SALT

Our public posture will be to make clear that SALT is a long-term
process requiring our patient efforts to try to achieve an agreement.
We will not underplay the potential difficulties, and we should avoid
over-optimistic assessments. We should play down the significance
of the May meeting between Gromyko and the Secretary of State. In
this connection, it was decided to propose that the Geneva discussion
be resumed as soon as practical under Paul Warnke's chairmanship



Cold War Map: 1970

Green — Non-self-governing possessions of US allies.

Blue — US and US allies.

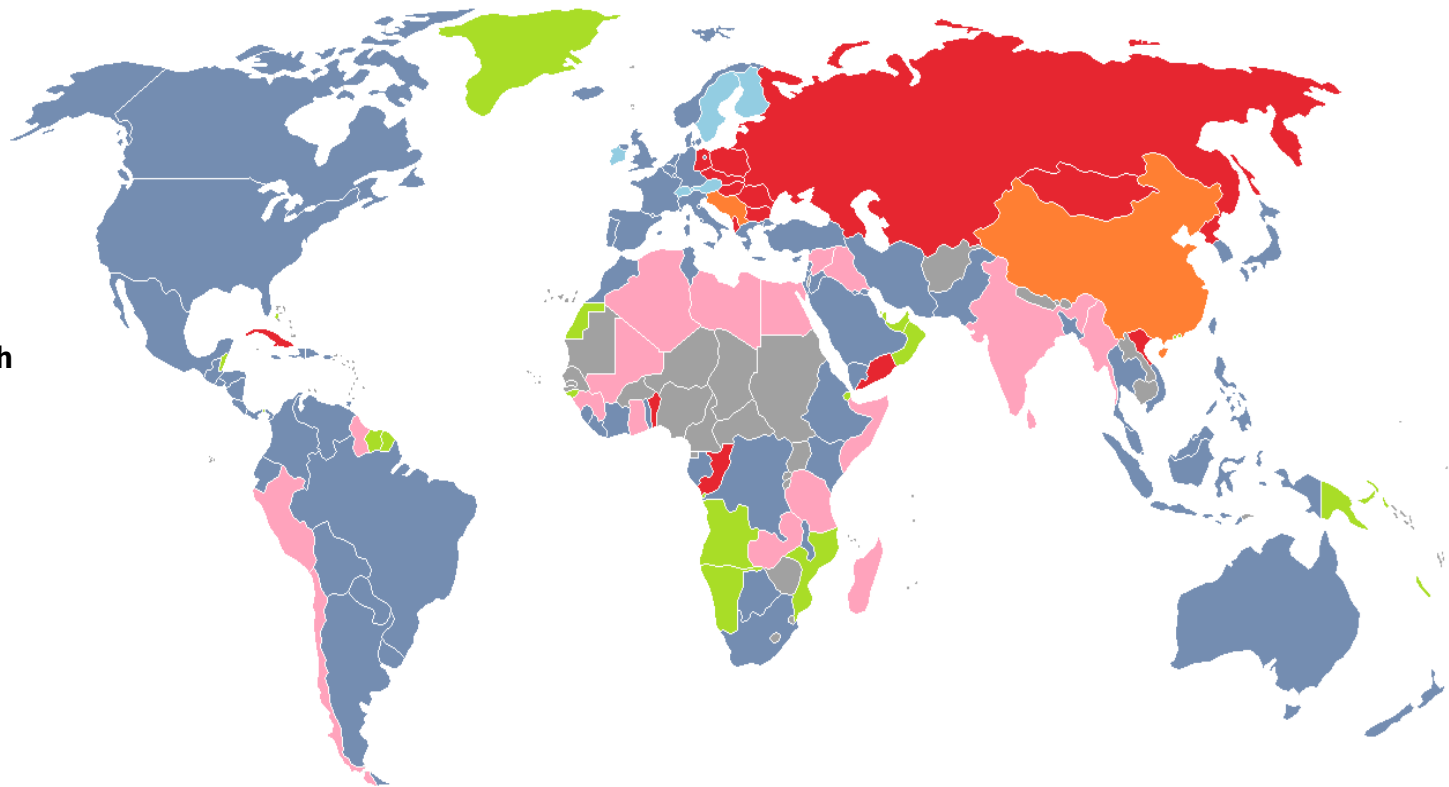
Red — Soviet Union and other communist allies.

Orange — Communist countries not aligned with the USSR.

Pink — Non-Communist allies of USSR.

Light Blue — Non-NATO members of EFTA and OECD.

Gray — Unknown or non-aligned.



(Image: Public Domain)

Notable Cold War Developments

- Israeli-Arab conflicts begin to magnify Cold War alliances in Middle East
- **1963:** Cuban Missile Crisis bolsters U.S., creates tension between China & Soviet Union over leadership of Communist World
- **1969:** Open fighting briefly breaks out along Soviet-Chinese border
- **1969-1979:** Détente brings easing of Cold War tension between U.S. & Soviet Union
- **1972:** Nixon welcomed to Beijing, China



Top: President Nixon eating with Premier Chou En-Lai, 2/21/1972 ([Nixon Library](#))

Bottom: Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon, and Mrs. Sadat at the Great Pyramids at Giza, 6/12/1974 (NARA Identifier: [194581](#))

dictated by phone by JH
Pres. Vorontsov p.m., June,
7/25/75

SALT & Détente, 1969-1979

Dear Mr. President:

On the occasion of the successful accomplishment of the first ever joint flight and docking of the Soviet Spaceship Soyuz and the U. S. Apollo, I am sending you and the people of the United States of America, sincere congratulations on behalf of the Soviet people and on my personal behalf. Please extend our congratulations and best wishes to courageous U. S. Astronauts Thomas Stafford, Vance Brand, Donald Slayton, and U. S. scientists, designers, specialists and workers who took part in the preparation for the fulfillment of the Soyuz-Apollo program.

As a result of the flight of the Soyuz and Apollo Spaceships, their docking in the Earth orbit and mutual crew transfers tested and practiced, have been the compatible systems of the Spaceships developed for increasing the safety of man's flights into space, and also displays the possibility of joint work in space of representatives of different countries. Being an important milestone in cooperation between the USSR and the USA in the exploration and use of outer space for peaceful purposes, the accomplished joint flight lays the foundation for the possible subsequent Soviet-U. S. projects in this field.

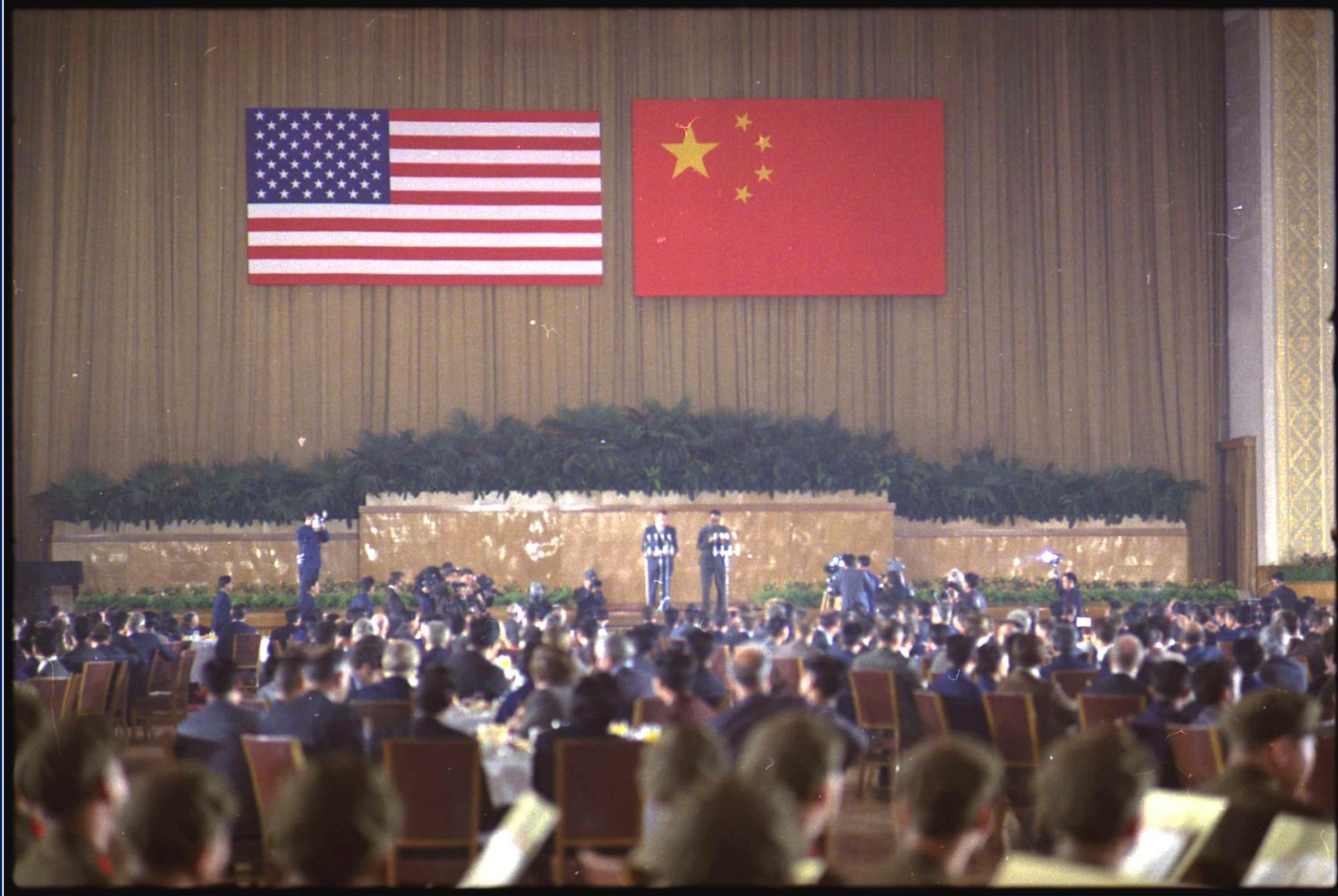
The success of this outstanding experiment was insured by the faultless fulfillment by the Soviet and U. S. crews of the complex flight program. It was the result of close and efficient cooperation of scientists and specialists of our countries at all the stages of its preparation and fulfillment. The experiment carried out, constitutes a major scientific technical achievement paving new ways for further space exploration for the good of all mankind.

The flight of the Soyuz and Apollo Spaceships is of historic significance as a symbol of the current process of easing of international tension and improvement of Soviet-U. S. relations on the basis of the principals of peaceful coexistence. At the same time it constitutes a practical contribution to the cause of further development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and USA in the interest of peoples of both countries in the interest of peace on Earth.

L. Brezhnev



Left: Message from Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev to Gerald Ford regarding the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, 7/25/1975 (NARA Identifier: [7347327](#)) *Above:* Richard Nixon meets Leonid Brezhnev during the Soviet Leader's U.S. visit, 6/19/1973 (NARA Identifier: [194517](#))





Arab-Israeli Conflicts/Cold War

1948: First Arab-Israeli War; Arab coalition attacks Israel upon its Declaration of Independence following end of British Mandate for Palestine

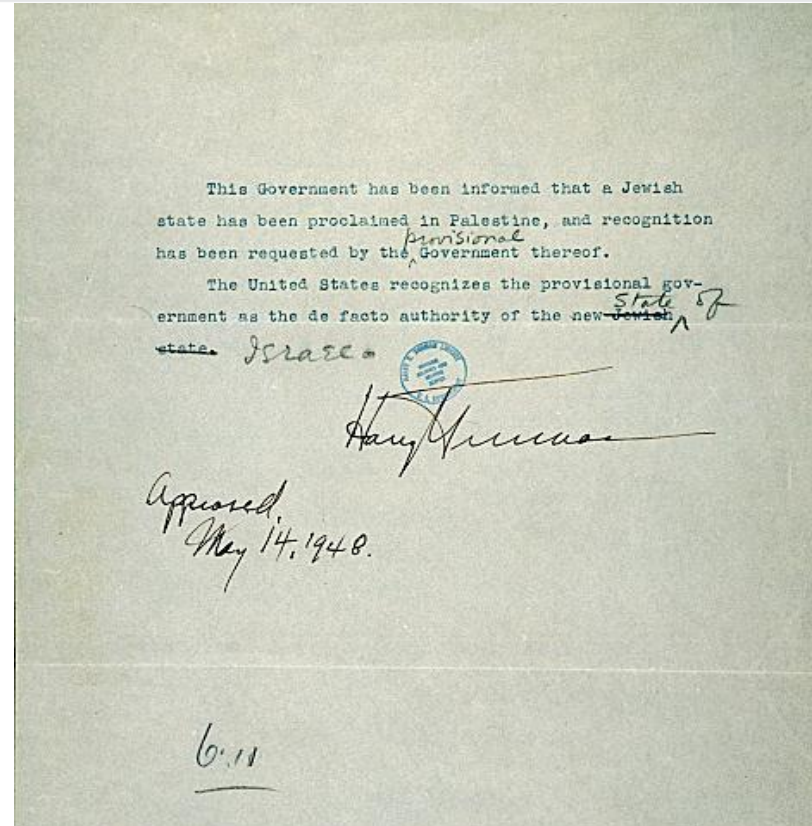
1956: Egyptian President Nasser nationalizes Suez Canal, sparking conflict with Israel, France and Britain

1967: Six-Day War results in decisive Israeli victory, occupation of **Golan Heights** (Syria), **West Bank** (Jordan), **Gaza Strip** and **Sinai Peninsula** (Egypt)

1970: War of Attrition brings Egypt, PLO and Soviets together to pressure Israel to return Sinai Peninsula to Egypt; **Israel shoots down five Soviet aircraft**

1973: Yom Kippur War pits Soviet-supported Egypt and Syria against U.S.-backed Israel; results in marginal Israeli victory, **initiation of Arab oil embargo of U.S.**

*Right: Press release announcing United States de facto recognition of the State of Israel 5/14/1948
(National Archives Identifier: [200612](#)).*



The Energy Crisis



United States 1940-1980

- Population increases 71%
- Real Gross Domestic Product increases 508%
- U.S. imported 25% of OPEC's oil to support expanding population & economy
- Arab Oil Embargo drives oil prices up 350%

Left: An empty gasoline pump during the gas shortage, 6/1973 (National Archives Identifier: [548175](#))

**How can higher energy
costs lead to higher
inflation and
unemployment?**

Turning a Cold War Foe



Photograph of President Anwar al-Sadat and President Gerald R. Ford Meeting in the Oval Office, 10/27/1975 (National Archives Identifier: [7839979](#))

1971: Egypt host to 15,000 Soviet military advisors/personnel, receives arms assistance

1972: President Nixon & Soviet Premiere Brezhnev sign Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty; Soviet Union unable to deliver on arms promises to Egypt; **Egyptian President Sadat expels all Soviet military personnel, moves economy towards free market system**

1974: President Ford continues to court Sadat; **Arab oil embargo against U.S. lifted**

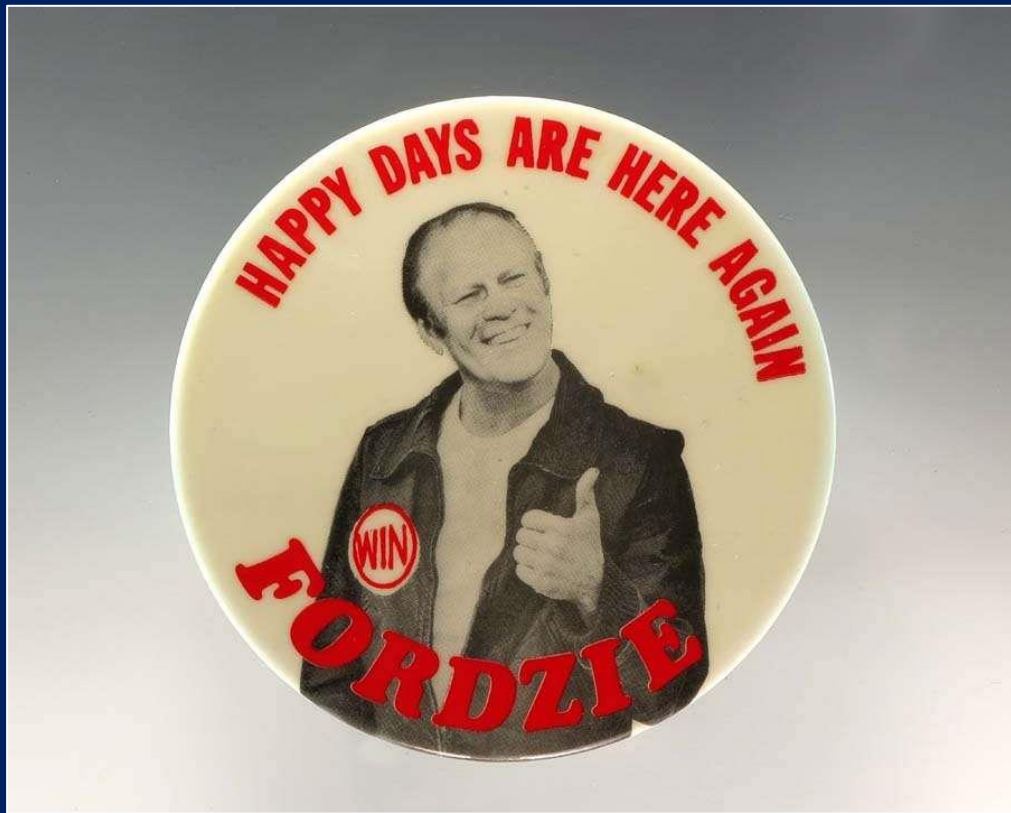
1975: Fall of Saigon

- **1973:** U.S. withdrawal of military forces from Vietnam effected by [Paris Peace Accords](#)
- **1975:** Capture of Saigon by North Vietnamese forces effectively ends Vietnam War
- **1977:** Carter issues pardon of Vietnam-era military draft evaders with [Presidential Proclamation \(4433\)](#) and [Executive Order \(11967\)](#)



Right: National Security Council Discussing the Situation in Vietnam, 4/28/1975 (National Archives Identifier: [186800](#))


1976: Different Appeals to Different Voters



Left: Campaign Button with President Ford as Fonzie, 1976 (National Archives Identifier: [28360684](#)) Right: The Allman Brothers Band Concert Poster, 11/25/1975 (Carter Library)

TONY RUFFINO, LARRY VAUGHN & DON LAW
present

**THE
ALLMAN BROTHERS BAND**



IN A BENEFIT CONCERT FOR
Jimmy Carter
Democratic Presidential Candidate

TUES. NOVEMBER 25 at 8 P.M.
PROVIDENCE CIVIC CENTER

Tickets \$6.50 Advance \$7.50 Day of Show

PAID FOR BY THE COMMITTEE FOR JIMMY CARTER, R.J. LIPSHULTZ—TREAS.
TICKET PURCHASE IS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE JIMMY CARTER PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.
A COPY OF OUR REPORT IS FILED WITH THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

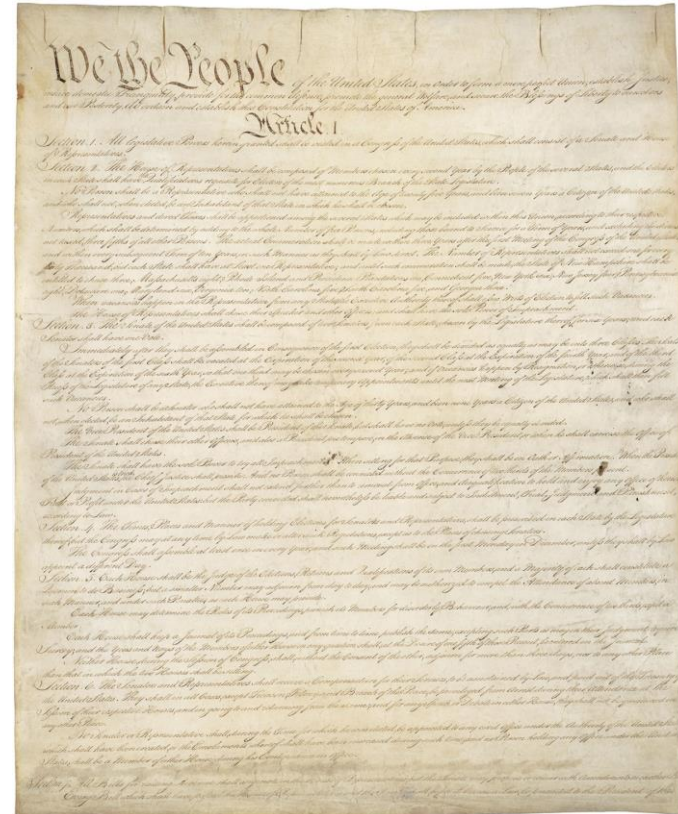




Jimmy Carter: A Navy Story ([U.S. Navy](#))

The Tools of Diplomacy

- **Congressional Legislation** ([Article I, Section 1](#))
 - Subject to approval or veto by the President
- **Executive Action** ([Article II, Section 1](#))
 - Powers not relegated to other branches, nor explicitly denied to the Executive
- **Appointments, Diplomacy** ([Article II, Section 2](#))
 - The President appoints approximately 5,000 public officers including Ambassadors, Cabinet Secretaries, Advisors
 - Negotiate international treaties with 2/3 Senate approval
- **Carter's Previous Experience**
 - [Submarine Commander](#), Entrepreneur, Civic Leader, State Senator, Governor, Human Rights Advocate



Right: The Preamble and Article I of the United States Constitution (National Archives Identifier: [1667751](#))

Senate Confirmation of Nominees

- All executive and judicial nominations by President must be approved by the Senate
- Current Senate rules require a simple majority for confirmation (51 votes)
- Most are routinely confirmed while some higher visibility nominees may receive no action or are rejected by the Senate

Jimmy Carter Cabinet Nominations

Article II, section 2 of the *Constitution* gives the Senate responsibility for considering and confirming the president's executive and judicial nominations.

| Nomination | Announced | Hearings | Received | Confirmed | Vote |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| Secretary of Agriculture | | | | | |
| Robert Bergland | Dec 20, 1976 | Jan 11, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Attorney General | | | | | |
| Griffin Bell | Dec 20, 1976 | Jan 11-14, 17-19, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 25, 1977 | 75-21 No. 10 ¹ |
| Benjamin Civiletti | Jul 19, 1979 | Jul 25-27, 1979 | Jul 20, 1979 | Aug 1, 1979 | 94-1 No.245 |
| Secretary of Commerce | | | | | |
| Juanita Kreps | Dec 20, 1976 | Jan 10, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Philip Klutznick | Nov 16, 1979 | Dec 19, 1979 | Dec 11, 1979 | Dec 20, 1979 | 74-0 No.506 |
| Secretary of Defense | | | | | |
| Harold Brown | Dec 21, 1976 | Jan 11, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Secretary of Education (Established May 4, 1980) P.L. 96-88, Oct 17, 1979 | | | | | |
| Shirley Hufstедler | Oct 30, 1979 | Nov 27, 1979 | Nov 14, 1979 | Nov 30, 1979 | 81-2 No.449 |
| Secretary of Energy (Established Oct 1, 1977) P.L. 95-91, Aug 4, 1977 | | | | | |
| James Schlesinger | Aug 4, 1977 | Aug 3, 1977 | Aug 4, 1977 | Aug 4, 1977 | voice vote |
| Charles Duncan, Jr. | Jul 20, 1979 | Jul 30, 1979 | Jul 21, 1979 | Jul 31, 1979 | 95-1 No.241 |
| Secretary of Health & Human Services (Renamed May 4, 1980) P.L. 96-88, October 17, 1979 | | | | | |
| Joseph Califano, Jr. | Dec 23, 1976 | Jan 13, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 24, 1977 | 95-1 No.7 |
| Patricia Harris | Jul 19, 1979 | Jul 25-26, 1979 | Jul 20, 1979 | Jul 27, 1979 | voice vote |
| Secretary of Housing & Urban Development | | | | | |
| Patricia Harris | Dec 21, 1976 | Jan 10, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Moon Landrieu | Jul 27, 1979 | Sep 6, 1979 | Aug 2, 1979 | Sep 12, 1979 | 97-0 No.274 |
| Secretary of Interior | | | | | |
| Cecil Andrus | Dec 18, 1976 | Jan 17-18, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Secretary of Labor | | | | | |
| Ray Marshall | Dec 21, 1976 | Jan 13, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 26, 1977 | 74-20 No.12 |
| Secretary of State | | | | | |
| Cyrus Vance | Dec 3, 1976 | Jan 11, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Edmund Muskie | Apr 29, 1980 | May 7, 1980 | May 5, 1980 | May 7, 1980 | 94-2 No.102 |
| Secretary of Transportation | | | | | |
| Brockman Adams | Dec 14, 1976 | Jan 7, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| Neil Goldschmidt | Jul 27, 1979 | Sep 5, 1979 | Sep 10, 1979 | Sep 21, 1979 | 83-0 No.307 |
| Secretary of Treasury | | | | | |
| W. Michael Blumenthal | Dec 14, 1976 | Jan 12, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | Jan 20, 1977 | voice vote |
| G. William Miller | Jul 19, 1979 | Jul 27, 1979 | Jul 20, 1979 | Aug 2, 1979 | 97-1 No.247 |

Right: Jimmy Carter Cabinet Nominations, 1977-1980 ([U.S. Senate](#))

**How can legislation be used
to impact diplomatic
relations between the U.S.
and other nations?**

National Security Act of 1947

- Major reorganization of U.S. foreign policy and military establishments
- Creates National Security Council (NSC)
 - **President**
 - **Vice-President**
 - **Secretary of State**
 - **Secretary of Defense**
 - **Others at discretion of Council e.g., CIA**
- NSC used at discretion of Presidents as outlet of foreign policy and diplomacy



President Nixon speaks with Henry Kissinger during a National Security Council meeting, ca. 1968-1972 (Nixon Foundation)

Defense Spending

- **Nixon & Ford administrations cut defense spending with drawdown of Vietnam War**
- **Carter administration seeks nuclear non-proliferation with Soviet Union with completion of SALT II negotiations**
- **Increased investment in traditional and new non-nuclear weaponry = 3% increase**
- **Medium-range missiles positioned in Europe against Soviet Union**

Any other accomplishments listed here that may strengthen the military position of the U.S. against the Soviet Union?

Right: Excerpt from *The Record of Jimmy Carter*, ca. 1/20/1977 – 1/20/1981 (NAID: [143373](#))

FOREIGN POLICY

National Security

- SALT II - completion of negotiations begun 7 years ago; most comprehensive nuclear arms limitation agreement ever negotiated
- Continuation of TRIDENT submarine and missile, cruise missile program
- Adoption of MX missile system
- 3% Real Growth in Defense Spending (reversing spending decline of prior Administrations)
- No American soldiers killed in combat -- first time in 40 year

Cooperation with Allies

- Strengthening of NATO
- Completion of Multilateral Trade Negotiations; Congressional approval of MTN Agreement
- Improved Relationship with Japan

East-West

- SALT II
- Recognition of People's Republic of China

Regional Conflicts

- Completion of negotiation of Panama Canal Treaties; obtaining Senate ratification
- Middle East Peace Treaty - historic agreement ending 30 years of war between Egypt and Israel and establishing framework for broader Middle East peace
- Southern Africa - commitment to majority rule; repeal of Byrd Amendment; non-recognition of Muzurewa government in Zimbabwe

Global Issues

- Nuclear Non-Proliferation
- Establishment of nation's first comprehensive conventional arms transfer policy - reduction of U.S. arms sales as result

Human Rights

- Reassertion of American commitment to human rights
- Negotiation of Prisoner Exchange with Soviet Union

International Economy

- Historic Program to Save the Dollar's Value in international markets
- Record Export levels
- Development of country's first comprehensive trade policy

Gender Equality in the Soviet Constitution

“Women in the USSR are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, and political life.”

Right: Cover of *The Soviet Woman* publication, ca. 1948 (Soviet Woman Digital Archives)



Equal Rights Amendment of 1972

Joint Resolution

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to equal rights for men and women.

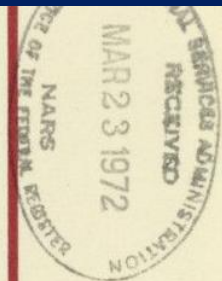
Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission by the Congress:

“ARTICLE —

“SECTION 1. Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

“SEC. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

“SEC. 3. This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.”



Legislating Gender Equality

Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978

- Women previously subject to termination from employment because of pregnancy
- Amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Prohibits discrimination based upon pregnancy

Left: A baby care class for new and expectant mothers at Loretto Hospital in New Ulm, Minnesota, 10/1974 (National Archives Identifier: [558172](#))

Executive Action: Women in Business

- Intentional or not, Carter addresses communist charges of gender inequality in West
- Carter creates [Task Force on Women Business Owners](#)
- Carter appoints prominent women in business to administration (e.g., Juanita Kreps)
- Number of businesses owned by women rises from 1.9 million in 1977 to 2.5 million in 1980 (33.4% gain)

Left: Jimmy Carter addresses the Task Force on Women Business Owners, 6/28/1978 (National Archives Identifier: [180131](#))

Executive Action: Women at the Table



Building on Ford's Work

- Carter expands membership of National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year from 35 to 45 ([Executive Order 11980, 3/29/1977](#))
- Upon expiration of its congressional statute, Carter creates the Advisory Committee of the International Women's Year ([Executive Order 12050, 4/4/1978](#))

Left: Jimmy Carter meet with the Advisory Committee of the International Women's Year, 1/12/1979 (National Archives Identifier: [182989](#))

Carter's Diversity Legacy

Equal Rights and Protections

- Extension for 3 years of ERA Ratification Deadline
- D.C. Voting Rights Amendment
- Anti-Boycott Law
- Issuance of 504 Regulations to ensure rights of handicapped
- Mandatory Retirement - raised from 65 to 70 in private sector and eliminated from civil service
- Wiretap Protection Act - first controls on foreign intelligence wiretapping
- Appointments
 - o Senior Management - appointment of more blacks, Hispanics and women to Cabinet, sub-Cabinet, White House and other senior management positions than any other President
 - o Judgeships - appointment of more blacks, Hispanics and women than all previous 38 President combined
- Minority Business - tripling of federal purchases from minority-owned businesses

How do you define “diplomacy?”

Right: Deng Xiaoping and Jimmy Carter sign diplomatic agreements between the United States and China, 1/31/1979 (NARA Identifier: [183277](#))



Diplomacy Defined

- The management of a nation's relationships with foreign governments, international organizations, and people of other countries
- A President's foreign policy is carried out by the Department of State



Left: Photograph of President Truman with Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and others, standing inside the Jefferson Memorial looking up at a statue of Thomas Jefferson, 1/14/1946 (National Archives Identifier: [199303](#))

Department of State



Main Goals

- Protect the United States and Americans
- Advance democracy, human rights, and other global interests
- Promote international understanding of American values and policies
- Support U.S. diplomats, government officials, and all other personnel at home and abroad

Left: Jimmy Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, 3/7/1977 (National Archives Identifier: [173936](#))

Multiple Perspectives for Carter



- Two distinct diplomatic camps emerge in Carter administration
- **Secretary of State Cyrus Vance** advocates strategy of increasing cooperation with Soviet Union, not linking Third World crises with SALT to sustain détente
- **National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski** believes Soviets seek to overtake U.S. spheres of interests abroad, connects SALT with human rights, and advocates for countering aggressive Soviet actions

Left: Cyrus Vance and Zbigniew Brzezinski work on the peace accords at Camp David, 9/14/1978 (NARA Identifier: [181300](#))

Human Rights as U.S. Policy

- Carter breaks with previous administrations in not overlooking human rights abuses of allies including:
 - **South Korea**
 - **Iran**
 - **Argentina**
 - **South Africa**
 - **Rhodesia**
- Carter ends 30 years of U.S. support for oppressive Nicaraguan President Somoza
- Carter's efforts lead to Congressional requirement of Dept. of State to submit "full and complete" report on human practices around the world

Right: Human Rights Memorandum, 7/8/1977 (NARA Identifier: [139761](#))

DRAFT
7/7/77

CONFIDENTIAL

PRESIDENTIAL REVIEW MEMORANDUM/NSC-28: HUMAN RIGHTS

Introduction

This memorandum is submitted in response to the NSC memorandum of May 20, 1977, requesting a review of U.S. foreign policy with respect to human rights.

I. Definition of U.S. objectives in the area of human rights.

A. Over-all Objective.

The over-all objective of our human rights policy is to encourage the respect that governments accord to human rights.

1. Definition of Human Rights.

The most useful generally recognized expression of these rights is included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948. To maximize our effectiveness our policy should be directed to the most fundamental and important human rights:

First, the right to be free from governmental violations of the integrity of the person: such violations include torture; cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and punishment; arbitrary arrest or imprisonment; denial of fair public trial; and invasion of the home ("the first group").

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

CONFIDENTIAL

PER John N. V. RE NLC-9-84
BY J NARS DATE 11/13/82



Salt II and Human Rights "He Dares" Carter at table with USSR on Salt Talks. Carter wearing a large "Human Rights" Button. By Al Liederman, copyright 1977 Long Island Press

Panama Canal Treaties Signed

- **1960s-70s:** Political and civil unrest in Panama, U.S. fears a Communist insurgency
- **1979:** Treaties are signed that will eventually turn over control of canal to Panama
- U.S. reserves right to military intervention if control of canal is threatened
- **1999:** Official transfer fully implemented

Right: Jimmy Carter and Omar Torrijos at the signing of the Panama Canal Treaties, 6/16/1978 (National Archives Identifier: [179906](#))



Camp David Accords

Right: Sculpture by Paolo Corvino commemorating the famous handshake between Anwar Sadat, Menachem Begin, and Jimmy Carter after they signed the Camp David Accords (Carter Library)



Checks & Balances

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

June 28, 1977

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

We write to you because the Senate will play a major part in decisions affecting the Middle East in the time ahead, and, like any President, you will need strong support in your efforts to contribute to the cause of peace in the Middle East.

With this in mind we join in assuring you that you do have strong support in the Senate for your efforts to help Israel and the Arab nations secure a genuine and lasting peace.

We understand that the key elements of your approach -- which we believe to be consistent with UN Security Council Resolution 242, supported by all the nations involved -- are:

- (1) No alteration of our historic commitment to assure the security of Israel, and no use of our military aid to place pressure on Israel.
- (2) A commitment to a comprehensive and genuine peace, including concrete acts to normalize relations among the nations of the area.
- (3) The establishment of mutually accepted and secure borders, recognized by all.
- (4) A fair and permanent solution to the problem of the Palestinians in a way that will contribute to a lasting peace.

We endorse your view that peace cannot be imposed from the outside and that the United States does not intend to present the nations involved with a plan or a timetable or a map. Peace can only come from a genuine recognition by all the states that their interests are served by reconciliation and not by war.


Robert C. Byrd


Robert H. Humphrey


Alan Cranston


Daniel K. Inouye


John Sparkman


Abraham Ribicoff


Edward M. Kennedy


Gaylord Nelson


Edmund S. Muskie

- The Constitution mandates 2/3 Senate approval of treaties or agreements with foreign nations
- “...the United States does not intend to present the nations involved with a plan or a timetable or a map.”

Left: This letter from nine United States Senators represented the support that President Carter was to have in his quest for Middle East peace. ([Carter Library](#))



Words Matter: U.N. Resolution 242

- “*Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;*”
- Begin does not believe U.N. Resolution 242 mandates withdrawal of Israeli forces from ALL territories occupied, just one or more

Right: United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338, considered basic instruments in all subsequent discussions of a Middle East peace settlement ([United Nations](#))

Resolution 242 (1967)

of 22 November 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

1. *Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:*

- (i) *Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;*
- (ii) *Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;*

2. *Affirms further the necessity*

(a) *For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;*

(b) *For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;*

(c) *For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

3. *Requests the Secretary-General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;*

4. *Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.*

Adopted unanimously at the 1382nd meeting.

Decision

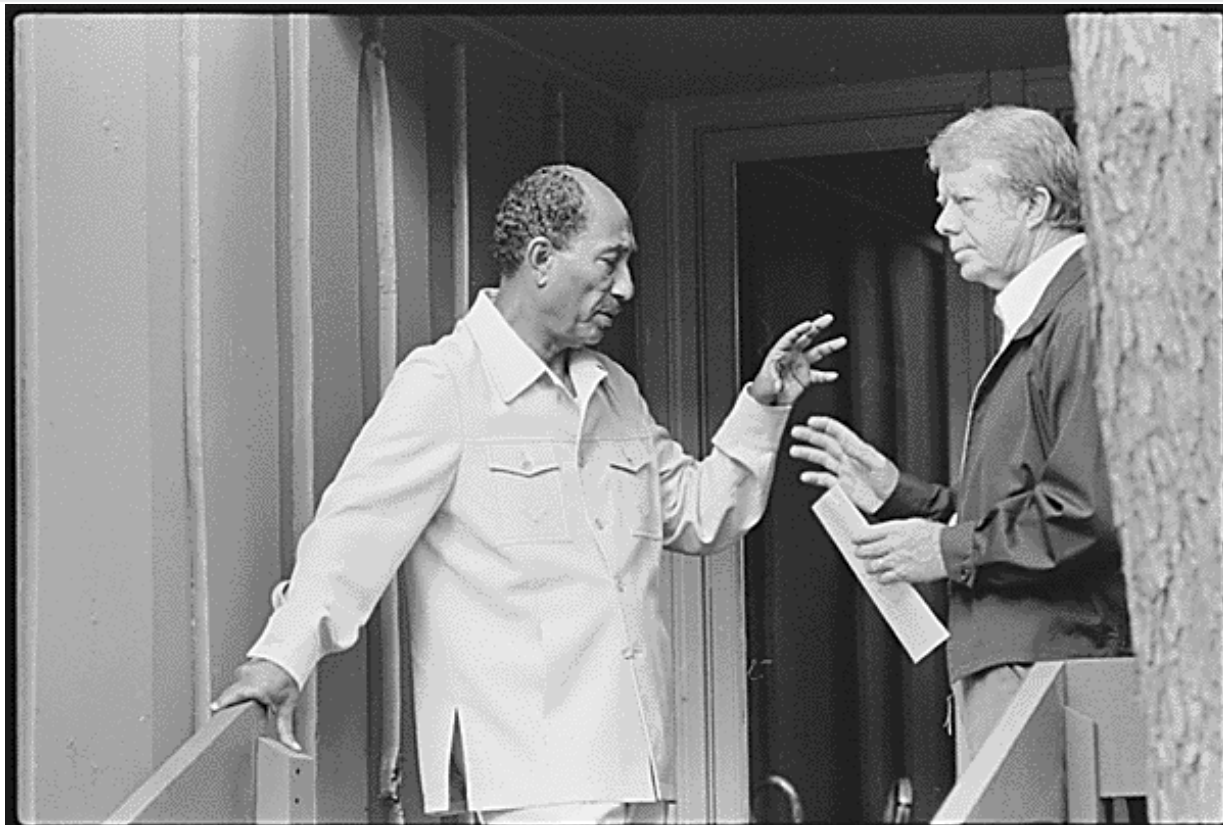
On 8 December 1967, the following statement which reflected the view of the members of the Council was circulated by the President as a Security Council document (S/8289).¹²

“As regards document S/8053/Add.3,¹² brought to the attention of the Security Council, the members, recalling the consensus reached at its 1366th meeting on 9 July 1967, recognize the necessity of the enlargement by the Secretary-General of the number of observers in the Suez Canal zone and the provision of additional technical material and means of transportation.”

13 Days of Deadlock

- All sides become deadlocked over withdrawal of Israel's armed forces and settlements from occupied territories
- Frustrated Sadat makes preparations to exit talks; Carter makes successful appeal to stay

*Right: Anwar Sadat and Jimmy Carter speak on a lodge porch at Camp David, 9/17/1978
(National Archives Identifier: [181329](#))*



Day 13: A Race to the Finish

- [Diary entry for 09/17/1978](#) twice as long as typical day; 4 pages instead of 2
- Written documents, photographs do not account for Carter gaining support for U.S. peace plan from Begin at the end of the summit

Left: *The Daily Diary of President Jimmy Carter, 09/17/1978* ([Carter Library](#)) Right: Jimmy Carter with members of the Israeli delegation at Camp David, 9/12/1978 (National Archives Identifier: [181212](#))

| TIME | | PHONE Number or Extension | ACTIVITY |
|------|------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| From | To | | |
| 6:29 | 6:30 | R | The President talked with Secretary Vance. |
| 6:30 | 7:35 | | The President met at Aspen Lodge with: Vice President Mondale Secretary Vance Mr. Brzezinski Mr. Powell Mr. Jordan Gerald M. Rafshoon, Assistant for Communications |
| 6:50 | 6:56 | P | The President placed telephone calls to the following Members of Congress: Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-West Virginia) Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D-Massachusetts) Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr. (R-Tennessee) |
| 7:17 | 7:19 | P | The President talked with Secretary Vance. |
| 7:20 | 7:22 | R | The President talked with Senator Byrd. |
| 7:36 | 7:37 | R | The President talked with Representative O'Neill. |
| 7:41 | 7:42 | R | The President talked with Senator Baker. |
| 7:45 | 7:46 | P | The President talked with Ms. Clough. |
| 7:49 | 7:51 | P | The President talked with his Chief Speechwriter, James M. Fallows. |
| 7:55 | 7:58 | P | The President talked with Mr. Brzezinski. |
| 8:12 | 8:13 | R | The President talked with Prime Minister Begin. |
| 8:14 | 8:15 | P | The President talked with Ms. Clough. |
| 9:21 | 9:22 | P | The President talked with Secretary Vance. |
| 9:24 | | P | The President telephoned former President Gerald R. Ford. The call was not completed. |
| 9:25 | 9:27 | P | The President talked with Mr. Brzezinski. |
| 9:34 | 9:35 | | The President motored from Aspen Lodge to the Camp David helipad. He was accompanied by: President Sadat Prime Minister Begin |



In Carter's Own Words

*President Carter
speaks on the
subject of
Menachem Begin
at the LBJ
Foundation Civil
Rights Summit,
04/09/2014 ([LBJ
Foundation](#))*



Impact of Camp David Accords

- [13 days](#) from September 5-17, 1978
- Normalized relations between Egypt and Israel
- Return of Sinai Peninsula to Egypt
- Withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian lands
- Opening of Suez Canal to Israeli ships
- Provided framework for Israeli-Palestinian Peace
- **Bolsters U.S. Position in Cold War**

Right: Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin greet each other for their first meeting at the Camp David Summit as President and Mrs. Carter watch (National Archives Identifier: [181104](#))



Diplomatic Relations with China

Right: Jimmy Carter, Richard Nixon and Deng Xiaoping during the state dinner for the Vice Premier of China, 1/29/1979 (National Archives Identifier: [183214](#))



**What is the significance of
diplomatic relations
between nations?**

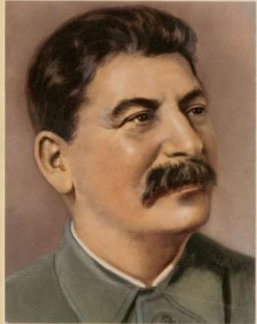
Former Allies Turned Foes



WINSTON S. CHURCHILL



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT



JOSEPH STALIN



CHIANG KAI-SHEK



Left: Winston S. Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Joseph Stalin, Chiang Kai-Shek, 1942-1945 (National Archives Identifier: [44266076](#)) Above: Mao Tse Tung (now called Mao Zedong) proclaims the People's Republic of China in Peking, 10/1/1949 ([Truman Library](#))

- U.S. & China (and Soviet Union) are allies in WWII in fight against Japan & Axis Powers
- **1955:** Communist revolution (PRC) led by Mao defeats Republic of China (ROC) who withdraws to Taiwan
- U.S. & China fight proxy wars in Korea, Vietnam
- U.S. recognizes ROC as sole Chinese government for 30 years

China-Soviet Relationship

- Birth of People's Republic of China (PRC) begins power struggle with Soviet Union for symbolic leader of Communist world
- Bi-polar Cold War becomes tri-polar
- **1962:** PRC breaks off relations with Soviet Union over outcome of Cuban Missile Crisis and De-Stalinization efforts
- PRC sees nuclear disarmament efforts by U.S. and Soviets as threat to its own fledgling nuclear program
- Sino-Soviet relations worsen over competition to court India
- Carter attempts balancing normalizing diplomatic relations with China with maintaining détente with Soviet Union while also addressing human rights

Right: Map of Northern America showing the full range of the nuclear missiles under construction in Cuba, used during the secret meetings on the Cuban crisis, 10/16/1962 (JFK Library).



Shanghai Communiqué

- Relations thaw during [Nixon administration](#)
- **1973:** Liaison offices opened in respective capitals, functioning as “de-facto” embassies
- Taiwan maintains embassy in Washington, D.C.
- U.S. begins removing military personnel from Taiwan & scales back official contact with ROC
- Ford continues to build relations following Watergate, but efforts complicated by collapse of South Vietnam

Right: President Nixon meets with China's Communist Party Leader, Mao Tse-Tung, 2/29/1972 (National Archives Identifier: [194759](#)).



Carter's Cold War Balancing Act

- Carter administration balances relations with China, Soviet Union and Taiwan
- “There is but one China and Taiwan is part of China”
- Taiwan Relations Act to “maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.”
- **1/1/1979**: Diplomatic relations with China quietly normalized
- Hailed by Carter as “**most significant accomplishment of his administration**”



Right: Deng Xiaoping and Jimmy Carter meeting in Washington following the normalization of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and China, 1/29/1979 (National Archives Identifier: [183165](#))

Impact on U.S. Soviet Relations



- Increases tension with Soviets
- **Dec. 1979:** Soviet Union invades Afghanistan
- U.S. begins support of mujahideen fighting Soviets
- Carter declares any Soviet incursion into Persian Gulf region will be an assault on the interest of U.S.
- Tensions play out in 1980 Winter Olympics
- Carter leads boycott of 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow, supported by China

Left: Painting of the Men's U.S. Hockey Team defeating the Soviet Union at the 1980 Winter Olympic Games (Carter Library)

SALT II...ish



- **1972:** Seeking to replace interim [SALT](#) agreement with long-term comprehensive treaty
- **1974:** Basic outline agreed to by Ford, Brezhnev
- **1979:** SALT II Treaty signed
- **1980:** Treaty left unratified by U.S. Senate after invasion of Afghanistan, but informally implemented by U.S. & Soviets

Left: President Carter and General Secretary Brezhnev participated in a signing ceremony for the SALT II treaty between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (National Archives Identifier: [185475](#))

**How did Carter's actions
impact U.S.-Soviet
relations? Did they hasten
the end of the Cold War or
prolong it?**

DocsTeach Resources for Teaching The Cold War

Elementary

- [Cold War Propaganda Analysis](#)
- [Was Francis Gary Powers an American Hero or did he Betray the U.S. Government?](#)

Middle: [Introduction to the Domino Theory and Containment Policy in Vietnam](#)

High: [How did the Cold War Impact American Foreign and Domestic Policies?](#)



Left: *Between the Hammer and the Sickle* propaganda poster, 9/12/1951 (NARA Identifier: [6948939](#))