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TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 4499 OF 5 NOVEMBER 1980

INFO PARIS BONN MOSCOW PEKING UKMIS NEW YORK AND UKDEL NATO

INFO SAVING ALL NATO POSTS, ALL CG'S IN USA AND DUBLIN

U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

1. WITH THE OUTCOME IN ONLY ONE STATE STILL UNDECIDED, RONALD REAGAN HAS WON THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH 483 ELECTORAL COLLEGE VOTES TO CARTER'S 49. THE POPULAR VOTE GAVE REAGAN 51 PERCENT, CARTER 41 PERCENT AND ANDERSON 7 PERCENT. REAGAN'S MARGIN OF VICTORY IN THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE IS SMALLER THAN NIXON'S IN 1972, BUT GREATER THAN EISENHOWER'S IN 1956, AND COMPARABLE TO THAT OF JOHNSON OVER GOLDWATER IN 1964.
2. REAGAN, WHO BEGAN HIS CAMPAIGN FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN 1968, WILL HAVE TURNED 70 BY INAUGURATION DAY ON 20 JANUARY, AND WILL THUS BECOME THE OLDEST MAN TO BECOME PRESIDENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY. CARTER IS THE FIRST ELECTED INCUMBENT PRESIDENT TO BE DEFEATED SINCE HOOVER IN 1932.
3. IN THE FINAL DAYS BEFORE POLLING IT WAS GRADUALLY BECOMING APPARENT THAT VOTER SENTIMENT WAS MOVING TOWARDS REAGAN, ALTHOUGH THE OPINION POLLS PROVIDED LITTLE CLEAR EVIDENCE OF THIS AND NEARLY ALL CONTINUED TO PRESENT THE TWO MAIN CANDIDATES AS RUNNING NECK AND NECK. BUT THE SIZE OF HIS VICTORY HAS TAKEN EVERYONE BY SURPRISE. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT BY LAST WEEKEND REAGAN'S OWN POLLSTER WAS FORECASTING A 7-10 POINT POPULAR VOTE MAJORITY: BUT THE REAGAN CAMP SENSIBLY KEPT THIS INFORMATION TO THEMSELVES. THE CARTER-REAGAN DEBATE ON 28 OCTOBER MAY HAVE BEEN A TURNING POINT. CARTER HAD SOUGHT TO COUNTER HIS OWN VULNERABILITY ON HIS RECORD BY MAKING REAGAN'S SUPPOSED BELLICOSITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS THE MAIN ISSUE. CARTER GOT THE BETTER OF THE ARGUMENT IN DEBATING TERMS. BUT REAGAN'S CALM, DIGNIFIED AND GOOD-HUMOURED DEMEANOUR IN THE FACE OF CARTER'S REPEATED ATTACKS DISARMED THE FEARS WHICH CARTER HAD SOUGHT TO AROUSE IN THE ELECTORATE; AND IN HIS FINAL INTERVENTION IN THE DEBATE, REAGAN TURNED THE TABLES WITH A SERIES OF RHETORICAL QUESTIONS (BEFORE YOU VOTE, ASK YOURSELF, ARE YOU BETTER OFF THAN FOUR YEARS AGO?... IS THERE MORE OR LESS UNEMPLOYMENT?... IS AMERICA AS RESPECTED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD?...) WHICH EFFECTIVELY MADE THE ELECTION A REFERENDUM ON CARTER'S RECORD. AND THE DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO THE HOSTAGES OVER THE WEEKEND SERVED NOT TO REINFORCE CARTER'S IMAGE AS THE CALM AND PRUDENT MAN IN CHARGE, BUT TO CRYSTALLISE POPULAR RESENTMENT OVER AMERICA'S IMPOTENCE AND HUMILIATION.

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4. THE RESULT OF WHAT BOB STRAUSS, CARTER'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER, TODAY CALLED QUOTE THIS CONFLUENCE OF MANY NEGATIVE THINGS UNQUOTE WAS A CONVULSION OF DISCONTENT ON THE PART OF THE ELECTORATE WHICH IN THE LAST FEW DAYS TURNED WHAT LOOKED LIKE BEING A CLOSE RACE INTO A LANDSLIDE. THREE FACTORS APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN PRINCIPALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS MASSIVE REJECTION OF THE PRESIDENT: THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY AND, ABOVE ALL, CARTER'S FAILURE TO DEAL WITH INFLATION: NATIONAL SECURITY, IE THE PERCEIVED EROSION OF AMERICA'S MILITARY STANDING VIS A VIS THE SOVIET UNION AND THE INABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO EXERT AUTHORITY ABROAD: AND THE GENERAL VIEW THAT CARTER WAS INDECISIVE AND LACKING IN LEADERSHIP. THESE SENTIMENTS AFFECTED ALL SECTIONS OF THE ELECTORATE, INCLUDING THE TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUENCIES: FOR EXAMPLE REAGAN APPEARS TO HAVE WON A MAJORITY OF THE BLUE COLLAR VOTE, INCLUDING OVER 40 PERCENT OF TRADE UNIONISTS. ONLY THE BLACKS STAYED WITH CARTER, BUT LESS OVERWHELMINGLY THAN IN 1976. AS A CONSEQUENCE, REAGAN NOT ONLY SWEEPED THE WEST AND MIDWEST, AS EXPECTED, BUT ALSO CAPTURED ALL OF CARTER'S SOUTHERN BASE EXCEPT GEORGIA, ALL THE GREAT LAKES STATES EXCEPT MINNESOTA (VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S HOME STATE), AND EVEN NEW YORK AND, BY THE NARROWEST OF MARGINS, MASSACHUSETTS. IN ALL, CARTER HELD ONLY 6 STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

5. WHAT WE HAVE SEEN IS THE REPUDIATION OF CARTER BY THE DEMOCRATIC VOTER. IN A NUMBER OF STATES EASILY CARRIED BY REAGAN, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FOR THE SENATE AND GOVERNOR WERE ELECTED BY HANDSOME MARGINS. BUT DESPITE THIS EVIDENCE OF TICKET-SPLITTING BY DEMOCRATIC VOTERS, THE SCALE OF REAGAN'S VICTORY ENABLED THE REPUBLICANS TO MAKE GREATER THAN EXPECTED GAINS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS. MOST IMPORTANTLY, THEY HAVE REGAINED CONTROL OF THE SENATE FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1954. AS EXPECTED, THE DEFEATED DEMOCRATS INCLUDED SENATORS CHURCH (CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE) AND MCGOVERN. THE POLITICAL HUE OF THE NEW SENATE WILL BE WELL TO THE RIGHT. THE FORTHCOMING LAME-DUCK SESSION OF THE 96TH CONGRESS WILL TAKE PLACE WITH THE PRE-ELECTION MEMBERSHIP STILL IN THEIR SEATS. BUT WHEN THE 97TH CONGRESS CONVENES ON 3 JANUARY, ALL SENATE COMMITTEES WILL HAVE REPUBLICAN CHAIRMEN AND REPUBLICAN MAJORITIES. THIS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT ASSET FOR THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION. ONE OF OUR REPUBLICAN SENATE CONTACTS HAS COMMENTED THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE VIETNAM WAR THE MAJORITY IN THE SENATE WILL BE PREDISPOSED TO FOLLOW AND SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT'S LEAD ON FOREIGN POLICY.

6. THE DEMOCRATS HAVE HOWEVER RETAINED CONTROL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BUT WITH A REDUCED MAJORITY. THE REPUBLICANS MADE A NET GAIN OF OVER 30 HOUSE SEATS, COMPARED WITH THE 59 THEY NEEDED FOR A MAJORITY, AND UNSEATED SOME SENIOR DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN (INCLUDING JOHN BRADEMAS OF INDIANA, THE MAJORITY WHIP).

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THE EFFECT IS EXPECTED TO BE TO INDUCE A MORE CONSERVATIVE MOOD IN THE HOUSE AS THE DEMOCRATS BEND TO THE PREVAILING WIND, AT ANY RATE FOR THE TIME BEING.

7. SEE MY 2 LFT'S.

FCO PSE PASS SAVING TO DUBLIN ANKARA ATHENS BRUSSELS COPENHAGEN
LISBON LUXEMBOURG OSLO OTTAWA ROME REYKJAVIK THE HAGUE

HENDERSON

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NAD

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FROM WASHINGTON 060136Z NOV 80

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 4500 OF 5 NOVEMBER

INFO PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, PEKING, UKMIS NEW YORK, UKDEL NATO.

INFO SAVING ALL NATO POSTS, DUBLIN, ALL CC'S IN U S A.

M I P T: U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION: THE TRANSITION

1. PRESIDENT CARTER REMAINS IN OFFICE UNTIL 20 JANUARY AND HIS CONSTITUTIONAL POWERS AS PRESIDENT ARE INTACT. I AM INFORMED THAT HE IS DETERMINED TO GOVERN AS PRESIDENT AND THAT HE HAS NO INTENTION OF ENGAGING REAGAN IN NEGOTIATION REGARDING DECISIONS THAT ARE HIS TO TAKE. NEVERTHELESS HE WILL NOT BE TAKING MAJOR INITIATIVES THAT WILL COMMIT HIS SUCCESSOR AND HIS AIM (AS HE MADE CLEAR IN HIS CONCESSION SPEECH LAST NIGHT) IS TO HELP REAGAN AND HIS TEAM TO TAKE OVER THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT AS SMOOTHLY AS POSSIBLE. HE HIMSELF WAS GREATLY HELPED IN THIS RESPECT BY FORD.

2. SO FAR AS THE CONGRESS IS CONCERNED, THE TWO NEW HOUSES WILL NOT BE CONVENED UNTIL 3 JANUARY. THE LAME-DUCK SESSION WHICH STARTS ON 12 NOVEMBER IS LIKELY TO BE VERY SHORT AND RESTRICTED TO ESSENTIAL BUDGETARY BUSINESS (SEE SEPARATE TELEGRAM). THERE IS NO QUESTION OF SALT II BEING INTRODUCED INTO THE LAME-DUCK SESSION, AND OTHER ITEMS OF PENDING LEGISLATION MAY GO BY THE BOARD.

3. FOR SOME TIME GOVERNOR REAGAN HAS HAD A NUMBER OF GROUPS WORKING ON POLICY ISSUES, AS WELL AS A TEAM CONSIDERING FUTURE APPOINTMENTS. A TRANSITION OFFICE WILL OPEN IN WASHINGTON NEXT MONDAY, HEADED BY REAGAN'S CHIEF OF STAFF, ED MEESE. SUBORDINATE TO THIS TEAM THERE WILL BE TRANSITION STAFFS IN THE MAIN GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS. THESE WILL BE BRIEFED BY THE DEPARTMENTS AND CONSULTED ON MATTERS THAT MIGHT HAVE LONG-TERM IMPLICATIONS. BUT THE TRANSITION STAFFS WILL NOT AMOUNT TO A SHADOW ADMINISTRATION: NOR IS THERE ANY QUESTION OF ANYTHING IN THE NATURE OF A BIPARTISAN GOVERNMENT OR POLICY IN THE TRANSITION PERIOD. REAGAN AND HIS TEAM INCIDENTALLY WOULD NOT WISH THERE TO BE. THEY WILL BE MORE THAN FULLY OCCUPIED IN PUTTING TOGETHER THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND WORKING OUT THEIR FUTURE POLICIES.

4. SO FAR AS FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ARE CONCERNED, THEY WILL NOT DEAL WITH THE TRANSITION STAFFS BUT WITH DEPARTMENTS AS HITHERTO UNTIL 20 JANUARY.

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5. SOME LOW LEVEL APPOINTMENTS MAY WELL BE ANNOUNCED QUITE SOON BUT MEESE HAS SAID THAT REAGAN WILL NOT MAKE CABINET APPOINTMENTS UNTIL THE END OF NOVEMBER OR BEGINNING OF DECEMBER. THESE APPOINTMENTS WILL THEN HAVE TO BE APPROVED BY THE NEW SENATE.

6. PLEASE SEE M I F T.

F C O PASS SAVING ANKARA, ATHENS, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, LISBON, LUXEMBOURG, OSLO, OTTAWA, ROME, REYKJAVIK, THE HAGUE, DUBLIN.

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FROM WASHINGTON 060137Z NOV 80

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 4501 OF 5 NOVEMBER

INFO PARIS, BONN, MOSCOW, PEKING, UKMIS NEW YORK, CAIRO, TEL AVIV,
UKDEL NATO, MADRID.

INFO SAVING ALL NATO POSTS, DUBLIN, ALL CG'S IN USA.

MY 2 I P T S (NOT TO ALL):

TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS: FOREIGN POLICY

1. ~~THERE ARE MANY URGENT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES THAT CANNOT BE LEFT ON ONE SIDE UNTIL 20 JANUARY, AND ACCORDING TO WARREN CHRISTOPHER WITH WHOM I HAVE DISCUSSED THE TRANSITION PROBLEM, THE PRESIDENT IS EAGER TO BE AS BUSINESSLIKE AS POSSIBLE UNTIL HE ACTUALLY HANDS OVER.~~
2. MUSKIE IS INTENDING TO PROCEED WITH HIS PLANNED TRIP TO SOUTH AMERICA IF THE GOVERNMENTS THERE WANT HIM TO DO SO, THOUGH THERE WILL HAVE TO BE A CHANGE IN THE ORIGINAL DATES.
3. I GATHER THAT MUSKIE WILL BE ATTENDING SUCH MEETINGS OF FOREIGN MINISTERS AS ARE SCHEDULED AND IT IS NOT HIS INTENTION AT PRESENT TO TAKE REPUBLICAN PARTY OBSERVERS WITH HIM. AS FOR MEETINGS NOT (NOT) AT PRESENT SCHEDULED (I HAVE ASKED CHRISTOPHER ABOUT HIS IDEA REPORTED IN MY TELNO 4451, NOT TO ALL) THE ANSWER IS THAT ~~IF THE~~ SUBJECT IS REALLY URGENT, MUSKIE WILL OF COURSE BE READY TO ATTEND, BUT THAT IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES THE VALUE OF SUCH A MEETING, SO FAR AS U.S. PARTICIPATION IS CONCERNED, WILL BE LESS THAN HITHERTO.
4. CHRISTOPHER SAID THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WOULD HAPPEN ABOUT THE SUGGESTED TRIPARTITE HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING ON CAMP DAVID. THIS WAS ONE OF THE SUBJECTS CARTER WOULD BE DISCUSSING WITH BEGIN ON 13 NOVEMBER, WHEN HE COMES TO THE USA ON A PRIVATE ENGAGEMENT. (SCHMIDT, INCIDENTALLY, IS ALSO DUE TO SEE CARTER, IN THE CONTEXT OF A PRIVATE VISIT TO THE USA, ON 20 NOVEMBER: BOTH HE AND BEGIN WILL PROBABLY NOW SEEK CALLS ON REAGAN AS WELL).
5. AS REGARDS CSCE, I GATHER THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S INTENTION IS TO CARRY ON AS USUAL AND BELL IS EXPECTED TO GO TO MADRID. BUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE TOLD THE FRENCH THAT THEY ARE HAVING TO HOLD A DECISION ON CDE FOR THE MOMENT. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT COULD HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE AND THEY WOULD NOT WISH TO GO AHEAD WITHOUT REFERRING THE SUBJECT TO THE REPUBLICANS WHEN THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS ARE SET UP.

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6. I EXPLAINED TO CHRISTOPHER THAT THE LANDSLIDE NATURE OF THE REPUBLICANS' VICTORY COULD ENCOURAGE EXPECTATIONS ABROAD OF WIDE-SPREAD CHANGES IN FOREIGN POLICY. FOR THIS REASON IT WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR US TO BE KEPT ABREAST OF WHAT WAS HAPPENING IN THE DISCUSSIONS DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. CHRISTOPHER SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THIS WAS ENTIRELY UNDERSTANDABLE AND HE WAS SURE THAT WE WOULD BE ABLE TO WORK OUT A SATISFACTORY ARRANGEMENT.

F C O PASS SAVING. ANKARA, ATHENS, BRUSSELS, COPENHAGEN, LISBON, LUXEMBOURG, OSLO, OTTAWA, ROME, REYKJAVIK, THE HAGUE, DUBLIN.

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