

# James B. McClellan papers on the Panama Canal Treaty debatesMSS.83.1

James B. McClellan papers on the Panama Canal Treaty debates  
1977-1978



## Title Statement

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## Publication Statement

**Publisher:** Arthur J. Morris Law Library Special Collections

Arthur J. Morris Law Library  
580 Massie Road  
University of Virginia  
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903  
archives@law.virginia.edu  
URL: <http://archives.law.virginia.edu/>



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**Creation:** This finding aid was produced using ArchivesSpace on 2026-04-29 11:02:59 +0000.

**Language Usage:** Description is written in: English, Latin script.

**Descriptive Rules:** Describing Archives: A Content Standard

## Descriptive Summary

**Unit ID**  
MSS.83.1

**Unit ID**  
[Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID**  
[Previous Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID**  
[Previous Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID**

/repositories/4/resources/573

**Unit Date**

1977-1978

**Language**

English

**Creator**

McClellan, James B.

**Extent**

11 Cubic Feet

**Repository**

Arthur J. Morris Law Library Special Collections

## Administrative Information

**Immediate Source of Acquisition**

Collection donated by James B. McClellan in May of 1983.

## Biographical / Historical

In 1902, the US attempted to purchase the rights to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama from the Columbian government. When the offer was turned down, Panama (with the encouragement and assistance of the US) revolted against Colombia and signed the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty (1903), which gave the U.S. exclusive control of a ten-mile wide canal zone. The United States completed the canal in 1914 and the first vessel, the SS Ancon, made the transit from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Panama came to resent America's control of the Canal Zone and called the 1903 treaty unfair. Riots along the Canal Zone border erupted in 1964, claiming twenty lives. Panama broke diplomatic relations with the US, prompting President Lyndon Johnson to begin negotiations for a new treaty.

A 1975 Senate resolution reflected continued congressional opposition to the canal negotiations being conducted by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger under the administrations of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford. The challenge President Carter faced was to protect basic U.S. interests in an open and secure canal, while also honoring Panama's sovereignty over its own land.

Within days of his inauguration, President Carter ordered a "Policy Review" of the canal treaty negotiations that had been proceeding for thirteen years. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Secretary of Defense Harold Brown led the review.

President Carter appointed a US team, led by Ellsworth Bunker and Sol Linowitz, to negotiate general terms of the new treaties. In May 1977, the talks stalled when Panama demanded excessive payments of the United States. In July, President Carter broke the stalemate by writing directly to General Torrijos with the final US offer.

After consulting with other Latin American leaders, Torrijos agreed to the United States' proposals in mid-August.

Amid low public support for the treaties, the Carter Administration began a public relations campaign to secure their ratification in the US Senate. Carter and his officials reached out to U.S. Senators, held many public forums in which they explained the Administration's rationale, and welcomed the support of famed actor John Wayne, who issued his own pro-treaty statement in October 1977.

President Carter joined General Torrijos in Panama on June 16, 1978, to sign the documents concluding the treaty exchange. The ceremony symbolized the beginning of a new era of partnership with Latin America.

As the implementation of the treaties progressed, it became apparent that the transfer of the control of the canal and the US military assets to the government of Panama was to be a successful enterprise. The concerns raised by the opponents of the treaties quickly faded. The use of the canal by aggressors became a less and less plausible scenario as the size of naval vessels outgrew the size of the locks. Also, the transfer of the assets was handled on time and in a safe environment, which had been questioned by many. The U.S. legacy in Panama started with the completion of the canal and ended with the improvements to the Panamanian infrastructure through the treaties. The ratification of the treaties demonstrated the good will of the American people for their neighbors in Latin America. The U.S. efforts in shifting control to Panama, from the ratification of the Panama Canal Treaty in 1977 to the final transfer of December 31, 1999, established effective procedures for treaty implementation.

# Keywords

Canals.  
Newsletters  
pamphlets  
Panama Canal (Panama)  
Panama -- Foreign relations -- United States  
United States -- Foreign relations -- Panama  
Panama Canal Treaties (1977 September 7)  
United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on the Judiciary

## Description of Subordinate Components

### Memoranda to Hatch

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63692

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675659]** MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

### Correspondence: Constitutional Issues

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63702

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675659]** MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

### McClellan's Canal Package: Defense and Economic

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63703

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675659]** MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

### Senate Foreign Relations Committee

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63704

**Unit Date** n.d.

**Mixed Materials [35007007675659]** MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

### Senator James Allen

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63705

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675659]** MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

### Hatch's Panama Visit: Packet of Information

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63706

**Unit Date** 1977, August

**Mixed Materials [35007007675659]** MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

## Hatch's Articles

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63806

Unit Date 1977, August-September

Mixed Materials [35007007675659] MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

## Hatch's Speech in the Senate

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63807

Unit Date 1978, April 3

Mixed Materials [35007007675659] MSS 83-1, Box 1 (box)

## Hatch Statements

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63808

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## Hatch Speeches

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63809

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## Hatch Amendment

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63810

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## Helms Material

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63811

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## AIM: Reed Irvine

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63812

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## American Conservative Union

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63813

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## American Security Council

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63814

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

## Background Papers CON

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63815

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675667] MSS 83-1, Box 2 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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## Banking Interests

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63816

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675675] MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## Berger: Correspondence and Testimony

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63817

Unit Date 1978, January - February

Mixed Materials [35007007675675] MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## Brooke Reservation

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63818

Unit Date 1978, 11 May

Mixed Materials [35007007675675] MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## Canal Modernization

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63819

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675675] MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## Canal Zonians

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63820

Unit Date 1978, March - July

Mixed Materials [35007007675675] MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## Capt. M. P. DuVal

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63821

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675675] MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## **Colombia/Costa Rica Privileges**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63822

**Unit Date** 1977, November

**Mixed Materials [35007007675675]** MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## **Communist Initiatives**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63823

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675675]** MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## **Congressional Research Service**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63824

**Unit Date** 1977

**Mixed Materials [35007007675675]** MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## **Conservative Digest/American Legion Cassette Tape and Correspondence**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63825

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675675]** MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## **Conservative Caucus**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63827

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675675]** MSS 83-1, Box 3 (box)

## **Council for Inter-American Security**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63829

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675683]** MSS 83-1, Box 4 (box)

## **Defense Aspects**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63830

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675683]** MSS 83-1, Box 4 (box)

## **DOS: Response to Amendments**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63832

**Unit Date** 1977, 22 December

**Mixed Materials [35007007675683]** MSS 83-1, Box 4 (box)

## Disposal of Property by Treaty

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63833

Unit Date 1978, March

Mixed Materials [35007007675683] MSS 83-1, Box 4 (box)

## Drug Traffic in Panama

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63834

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675683] MSS 83-1, Box 4 (box)

## Economic Arrangements with Panama: House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63835

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675691] MSS 83-1, Box 5 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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## Economic Aspects

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63836

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675691] MSS 83-1, Box 5 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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## Environmental Aspects

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63842

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675691] MSS 83-1, Box 5 (box)

## Fact Sheets

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63843

Unit Date n.d.

Mixed Materials [35007007675691] MSS 83-1, Box 5 (box)

## Fediay Proposal

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63844

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675691] MSS 83-1, Box 5 (box)

## Foreign Policy

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Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63845

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675691] MSS 83-1, Box 5 (box)

## Governors' Disposition

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63846

Unit Date 1977, October

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## Heritage Foundation

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63847

Unit Date 1977, 31 August

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## House Resolutions

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63848

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## Human Rights Issues

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63849

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## Implementing Legislation

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63850

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## Intelligence Activities

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63851

Unit Date 1977-78

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## Interpretations of Treaty

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63852

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Intersea**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63855

**Unit Date** 1978, 8 March

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Kissinger - Tack Agreement**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63856

**Unit Date** n.d.

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Latin American Relations**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63858

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Lawsuit to Stop Treaties**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63863

**Unit Date** 1978

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Legal Status of Canal Zone Property**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63867

**Unit Date** 1978, March

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Library of Congress: Treaty Issues**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63868

**Unit Date** 1977-78

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Linowitz - Chile1977-78; Linowitz - Treaty**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63869

**Unit Date** 1978

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## **Lucier, Dr. James P**

**Unit ID** [Archival Resource Key](#)

**Unit ID** /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63870

**Unit Date** 1977

**Mixed Materials [35007007675709]** MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## Miscellaneous

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63871

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675709] MSS 83-1, Box 6 (box)

## Naturalization Amendment

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63872

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panama - Freedom of the Press

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63873

Unit Date 1978, March-April

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panama - Escobar

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63874

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panama - Treaty Violations

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63875

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panama - Constitutions

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63876

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panama - Interpretations

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63877

Unit Date 1977-78

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## Panamanian Public Reaction

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63878

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panamanian Plebiscite

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63879

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Panama - Torrijos

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63880

Unit Date 1977-78

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## Pollak Exchange

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63881

Unit Date 1977-78

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## Polls

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63882

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Port Reactions

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63883

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Pro-Treaty Special Interest Groups

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63884

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Rockefeller

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63885

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Sea Level Canal

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63886

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Sen. Res. 97

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63887

Unit Date 1975

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Separation of Powers

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63888

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Sources for Canal Information

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63889

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Spanish Translation of Treaties

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63890

Unit Date 1977-78

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## State Department Memoranda

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63891

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## State Legislatures

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63892

Unit Date 1978, 28 May

Mixed Materials [35007007675717] MSS 83-1, Box 7 (box)

## Suez Parallels

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63893

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675725] MSS 83-1, Box 8 (box)

## Treaty - Text

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63894

Unit Date 1977

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## Treaty - Hearings

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63895

Unit Date 1977

Mixed Materials [35007007675725] MSS 83-1, Box 8 (box)

## Treaty - Senate Vote

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63896

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675725] MSS 83-1, Box 8 (box)

## Treaty - International Agreements

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63897

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675725] MSS 83-1, Box 8 (box)

## Treaty - Post-Ratification

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63898

Unit Date 1978

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## UN Charter

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63899

Unit Date n.d.

Mixed Materials [35007007675725] MSS 83-1, Box 8 (box)

## White House

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63900

Unit Date 1977-78

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## Whitman Analysis

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63901

Unit Date 1978

Mixed Materials [35007007675725] MSS 83-1, Box 8 (box)

## Case Notes: Constitutional Issues

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63902

Unit Date n.d.

Mixed Materials [35007007675733] MSS 83-1, Box 9 (box)

## Magazines/Periodicals

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63903

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675733] MSS 83-1, Box 9 (box)

## Xerox Copies of Relevant Court Cases

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63904

Unit Date n.d.

Mixed Materials [35007007675733] MSS 83-1, Box 9 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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## Clippings

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

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Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675733] MSS 83-1, Box 9 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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## Clippings

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Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63906

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675741] MSS 83-1, Box 10 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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## Xerox of Senate Floor Debate on Constitutional Issues

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63907

Unit Date 1978, March

Mixed Materials [35007007675741] MSS 83-1, Box 10 (box)

## Indexed Copies of Xeroxed Pages from the Congressional Record

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63908

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675741] MSS 83-1, Box 10 (box)

## Indexed Copies of Xeroxed Pages from the Congressional Record

Unit ID [Archival Resource Key](#)

Unit ID /repositories/4/archival\_objects/63909

Unit Date 1977-78

Mixed Materials [35007007675758] MSS 83-1, Box 11 (box)

### Scope and Contents

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