

Correspondence - 7/76

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3340 Lamarque Drive
Cincinnati, Ohio 45236

July 16, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Governor Carter:

Congratulations on your nomination. I have followed your primary campaigns and am deeply impressed with your fine personal image and vigor - it is most refreshing.

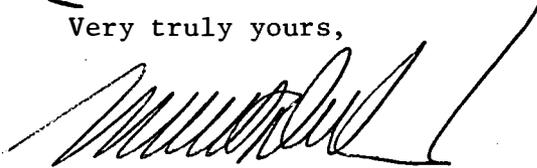
I was born in 1930 and had a taste of the depression while growing up. Both FDR and Truman were dear to me, and, as a matter of fact, the first time I voted for a Republican for President was 1972. That was because McGovern's liberalism was simply too much for me.

In addition to myself, my family, neighbors and a number of friends would like to be able to vote for you in November. We are, however, curious about your position on issues which affect us and in which we have legitimate personal interests as investors and stockholders.

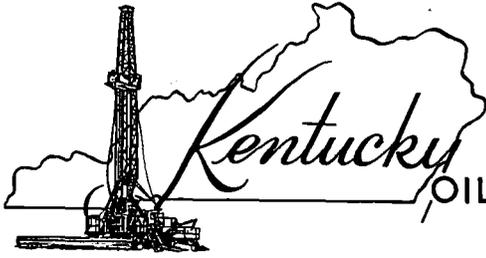
We do not agree with the vicious, mindless, liberal attacks upon the oil industry and big business in general. We do not like the "lynch mob" psychology which seems to dominate the actions of liberal Democrats regards business. It was that very type of liberal psychology which drove us from the party in 1972.

Before we vote in November, we would like to know where you stand on the above issues? We sincerely hope that when we vote in November it can be for you.

Very truly yours,



Malcolm H. Dubin



OIL & GAS ASSOCIATION

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
ROBERT N. TULLIS
P. O. Box 1180
Ashland, Kentucky 41101
(606) 324-3171

218 West 8th Street
Owensboro, Kentucky 42301
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ROBERT N. TULLIS, President
SIDNEY A. NEAL, Secretary
WANDA B. TICHENOR, Executive Secretary

CHARLES F. LUCAS, Vice President
JOHN R. HENNING, Vice President
JAMES VINCENT, Vice President
J. HUNT PERKINS, Vice President
CURTIS DAVIS, Vice President

July 16, 1976

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia 31780

Dear Governor Carter:

Last night I listened to your entire acceptance speech for the nomination as President of our great country and heard the many promises on programs you plan to put into effect if you are elected. If you can accomplish these programs, then America will become an even greater country.

However, the greatest problem facing our country today was not even mentioned by you nor by one of those who made a nominating speech for you as far as I have been able to determine.

Because you describe yourself as a man of simple words, that problem can best be described by one simple word familiar to all...."ENERGY." Our country has been controlled by a Democratic Congress since the beginning of our "known energy crisis" and, yet, the only thing accomplished by them in the field of energy has been an increased dependence upon foreign oil.

Few of your programs can be implemented unless this becomes your number one priority. Perhaps, the enclosed booklets, written by an organization with no connection to the oil and gas industry, will enlighten you on this serious matter.

Most sincerely,


(Mrs.) Wanda B. Tichenor
Executive Secretary

WBT/bs
Enclosures

August 26, 1976

Mr. Lowell L. Clark
P. O. Box 224
La Feria, Texas 78559

Dear Mr. Clark:

Your letter of July 1, 1976 to Governor Carter has been referred to me. Needless to say, we appreciate your interest and advice. Your letter touches on the crucial problems of energy and agriculture. Please be assured Governor Carter is acutely concerned with these areas. Enclosed are brief statements by Governor Carter that deal with these problems.

Again, thank you for sharing your views with us.

Sincerely,

Patrick J. Weagraff

PJW/mg

Enclosures

La Jolla Tex 78559
1 July 1976

Mr Jimmy Carter
Democratic Candidate for President Hdq.
Atlanta Georgia.

Dear Mr Carter:

I have been a long time supporter of Gov. Geo Wallace for President. in as much as Gov. Wallace has withdrawn, I am taking liberty of mailing my Personal folder to you for info it contains.

I am rather hesitant in mailing you this file at such a late date.

Recently I suggested at local Coffee morning club in our small town, for Domestic energy, why not crash research with water, Hydrogen + oxygen - oxygen used for hot flame to broze metals and Hydrogen was what the German used in a Zepplin that burst into flames years ago in New Jersey -

is this serious?

my file contains many suggestions to Gov Wallace, and I hope you may find some ideas from me as a small farmer and a WW-2 ex-1st Col US Army Ret.

Mexican import of winter fresh tomatoes has completely devastated tomato growing in South Tex. We here comply with wage and hour - Mexico has no such regulations
Yours truly,
Lowell L. Clark (Texas)

JOHN VERNON KAMM

INVESTMENT ECONOMIST

2412 N.W. 73RD ST.

SEATTLE, WASH. 98107

(206) 782-1772

July 19, 1976

Honorable James Earl " Jimmy " Carter,
Democratic Nominee for President,
Plains, Georgia 31780

Re: Canadian- American Relations

Subject: Canadian- American Economic Community

Dear Governor Carter:

As a Jackson supporter, I wish to extend to you my congratulations on your winning the Democratic Nomination for President! I am taking the liberty of enclosing my suggestions for the creation of a Canadian- American Economic Community or Canadian- American " Common Market ", and in other letters will set forth my views on other current issues. My professional resume is attached with references.

Briefly, my proposal for a Canadian- American Economic Community or " common market " includes the following provisions with all powers vested in a Canadian-American Economic Community Board of Governors of high level diplomatic rank:

I Board of Governors:

The Board of Governors shall establish all policy for the Canadian American Economic Community including the hiring of the general manager or director-general, treasurer, secretary, and corporation counsel who shall be confirmed by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, and the Parliament of Canada. All members of the Board of Governors shall be confirmed in a like manner. All department heads shall be appointed by the director-general and confirmed by the Board of governors.

The Board of Governors shall consist of 21 members, 10 appointed for six year terms by the Prime Minister and 10 by the President of the United States. The Chairman shall be appointed for six years with alternate terms filled by a Canadian and American...with confirmation by the full Parliament and Congress in either case.

II. Subsidiary Committees of the Board of Governors:

The principle committees of the Board of Governors shall include: Committee on Commerce and Trade; Committee on Administration and Finance; and Committee on Transportation Affairs.

III. Subsidiary International Organizations:

The Canadian- American Economic Community shall include the following " TVA type corporations " which would be subject to the policy of the Board of Governors and the agreed policies of the new nations:

- a. North Pacific Port Authority encompassing trade and transportation development in the States of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Alaska and the Provinces of British Columbia , Alberta and Saskatchewan;
- b. Great Lakes and Saint Lawrence Seaway Authority providing similar services to the Eastern areas of both nations; and,
- c. Canadian- American Power Generation Authority which would be an international TVA securing the cooperation of both nations in meeting the energy problems with appropriate research coordinated and shared by both nations.

The details of these proposals, and my suggestions for reorganization of the American government are enclosed in additional letters.

My resume and summary of references are enclosed. It should be noted that my best comprehensive reference of those set forth in the research summary, resume, and reference " bank " is:

Dr. Elmer C. Hunter,
Director of Management Information
Ciba-geigy Agricultural Chemical Corp.
410 Swing Road,
Greensboro, North Carolina 27409
Phone: (919) 292-7100

Dr. Hunter will be in Europe for 7 weeks beginning July 31, 1976 and therefore requests that you contact him immediately regarding my employment on your staff.

My references for political activity consist of the following people for whom legislative proposals have been prepared on my own initiative and/or I have served as a convention delegate for them. In all cases, this work has been done on a volunteer basis because of my deep belief that each citizen has the responsibility to contribute his own knowledge to those in authority so that the decisions arrived at represent our best, and not just mediocre, decisions. These people are:

Honorable Henry M. Jackson,
United States Senate,
Washington DC 20510

Voluntary Research Assistant,
U.S. Senate Campaign, 1970
Convention Delegate since
1960 (King County &/or Washington)

Honorable Thomas M. Foley,
Member of Congress,
Washington DC 20515

Democratic Conventions,
Legislative Proposals

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey,
United States Senate,
Washington DC 20510

Legislative Proposals,
My own political philosophy
is closest to that of Mr Humphrey,

Honorable John A Cherberg,
Lt. Governor,
State of Washington,
Olympia, Washington 98504

Endorsed me for Director of
Office of Program Planning &
Fiscal Management (OMB) and
Washington State Representative (1970)

Honorable Jacob K. Javits,
United States Senate,
Washington DC 20510

Senator Javits has been my GOP
contact in the Senate. Technical
proposals submitted to him as
in this Common Market Proposal.

In light of the background shown in the attached resume, research summary, and reference bank together with the proposal for the Canadian-American Common Market, I request that I be considered for a staff position at your headquarters in Atlanta or the Western Headquarters in San Francisco... with consideration being given for Presidential assignment upon your election to President of the United States.

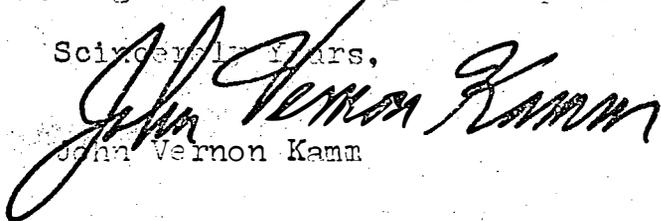
At the Washington State Democratic Convention of 1976, I served as an Assistant Sergeant of Arms under the direction of Mr. Ross Young, Sergeant of Arms of the Washington State House of Representatives.

Xerox Copies:

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey,
Honorable Henry M. Jackson,
Honorable Warren G. Magnuson,
Honorable John A Cherberg,
Honorable Thomas M. Foley

Scindiers, Mrs.

John Vernon Kamm



July 11, 1916

Dartan and Florence Greist
71 Old Toll Road, (Rt. 30)
North Madison, Conn. 06443
(Tel. 421-3090)

Governor James Carter
Plains, Georgia

Greist

Good morning Jimmy!

You want to get elected? I can tell you how!
I consider this is the most important letter I've ever written. And I think it is important to you.

I'd like to vote for you. I may not. I like everything about you and about your plank, except for one item. In your acceptance speech you said your administration would invest in people, not in an arsenal. You would guarantee freedom, opportunity, respect, safety, jobs, and I don't know what-else. Well, good! Very good!

But the umbrella that guarantees people this better life is a strong military deterrent. Old T.R. said "Speak softly but carry a big stick". I rate you 100% speaking softly and persuasively in foreign affairs or whatever, but you will rate respect and consideration only if you deal from strength. Remember the old ad about the 97 lb. weakling at the beach? Everybody kicked sand in his face. But not after he took the exercise course!

Over and over again I see public polls, magazine articles, newspaper editorials, all showing the public is worried about our headlong slide to a second rate military

power. In one poll 80% of the people said they would even support increased taxes if 20 billion or more could be earmarked to rebuild our military strength. They are worried that there will be no guarantee of freedom, safety, opportunity, etc. if we are sucked into a war we lose. They are worried that "confrontations" which are sure to develop, may turn into war if no "big stick" backs up your "speaking softly" to "turn away wrath".

I am enclosing a few pieces of printed information. One is a cartoon. One is an article in T.V. Guide (with the largest circulation in the world). And one is a series of graphs about our military position vs. Russia. And one is one of those many public opinion polls I spoke of.

Military strength may win the Republicans the election, I suggest you steal their thunder. If you change that one Democratic plank from weak to strong you'll win hands down. Justify the change as (1) creating all those jobs you promise and (2) as insurance that the better life you promise will never be snatched away. Superiority in atomic weapons is no guarantee; future confrontations, brush fires, wars, will be with conventional or improved conventional weapons.

Nice talking to you, Jimmy! Thanks for listening.

Darton Crest



If the lion and the lamb
are going to lie down together,
I want to be the lion.
Don't you?

SPECTRUM

Varying shades of personal opinion on current issues

This may be the most important enclosure of all!

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY
CBS RADIO NETWORK
JUNE 22, 1976

I'm Phyllis Schlafly.

Quote, "Twenty years ago, thanks to the decisive military victory we helped to win, we were the leading power in the world, our security unchallenged and inviolable...Today we are encircled by...a coalition of the armed forces of the masters of Europe and Asia....Our policy...has reduced us from a state of perfect security to a state of deadly danger...."

"When...a rich and vigorous nation and the leading power in the world, falls so quickly into such dangers as we now face, there can be no disputing the fact that the nation has been badly led along the wrong road....No amount of words...about how much we love peace...can alter the fact that the net result of the policy...is that we find ourselves...surrounded by enemies...." Close quote.

That sounds like Ronald Reagan criticizing the policies of Henry Kissinger, but it isn't. Those are the words of the former dean of American newspaper columnists, Walter Lippmann, writing in Life magazine exactly 35 years ago. With his mastery of words, he spelled out a hard-hitting indictment of our policy of disarmament in the face of the growing armed might of our enemies, calling U.S. failure to prepare for the obvious danger "stupid," "foolish," "wooden-headed," and "disastrously wrong."

The policy against which Walter Lippmann invoked his righteous indignation was what he called "the theory of passive defense" or the policy of just "waiting to be attacked." Six months before Pearl Harbor, he correctly called that policy "a certain invitation to military disaster" because it allows the enemy to prepare carefully and methodically for the attack at a place and time of his choosing.

Walter Lippmann's critique of American policy is so perfectly applicable to the Kissinger policies as to sound as though it were written this year.

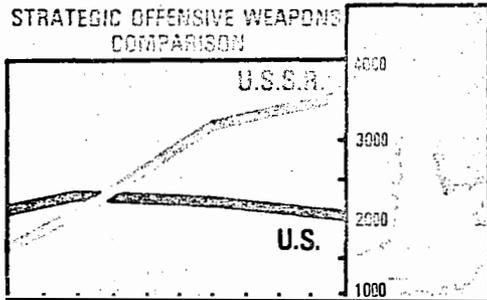
The prevailing fallacy today is that we must stop engaging in an "arms race." But the United States hasn't been racing for seven years. We stopped making additional intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear-firing submarines back in 1969. The second fallacy is that an "arms race" leads to war. As Lippmann's article proves, it was a disarmament race which caused World War II.

The lesson of history is that those who win the arms race will never have to fight a war. Those who lose the arms race become the target for attack.

I'm Phyllis Schlafly for Spectrum.

Who is ahead? Who is #1?
Not U.S.A.!

STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS
COMPARISON

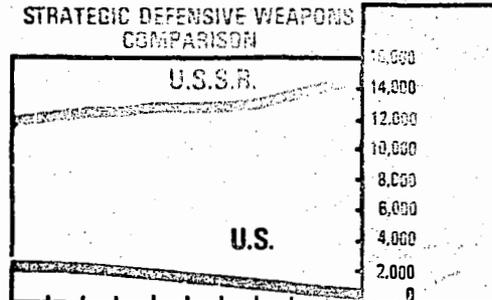


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MID-1975 BALANCE	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles	1054	1,560
Sub Launched Ballistic Missiles	656	865
Strategic Heavy and Medium Bombers	421	825
Sub Launched Long Range Cruise Missiles	0	314
Mobile ICBM's	0	?
	2,131	3,564

Source: Annual DOD report, FY 1977 and The Military Balance, 1975-1976, I.I.S.S.

STRATEGIC DEFENSIVE WEAPONS
COMPARISON

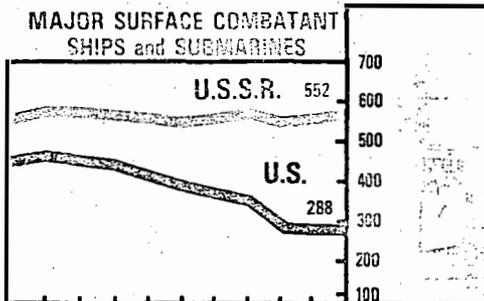


66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76

MID-1975 BALANCE	U.S.	U.S.S.R.
Interceptor Aircraft	315	2,000
Surface-to-Air Missiles	0	12,000
Anti-Ballistic Missiles	0*	64
	315	14,064

* 100 U.S. ABM's became fully operational in October, 1975. In November, 1975, Congress voted to close down all ABM defenses.
Source: Annual DOD report, FY 1977 by SECDEF Donald Rumsfeld.

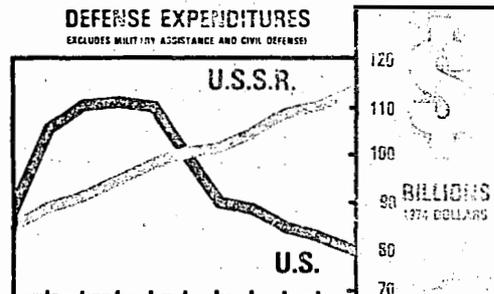
MAJOR SURFACE COMBATANT
SHIPS and SUBMARINES



66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76

Source: Sec. Navy Middendorf before the House Armed Services Committee in 1975 and 1976, plus Navy update.

DEFENSE EXPENDITURES
EXCLUDES MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND CIVIL DEFENSES



65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75

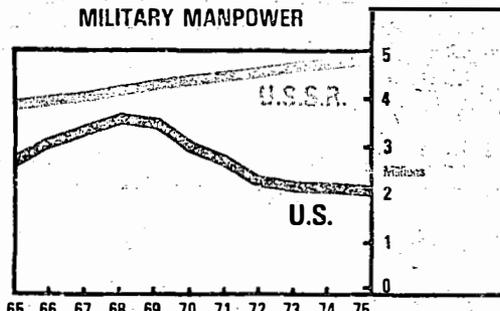
Source: C.I.A. Feb 1976 Special Report - "A Dollar Comparison of Soviet and U.S. Defense Activities, 1965 - 1975".

CONVENTIONAL GROUND FORCE WEAPONS

	U.S.S.R.	U.S.
Tanks	42,000	9,000
Armored Personnel Carriers, and Fighting Vehicles	35-40,000	22,000
Artillery	15-20,000	6,000
Heavy Mortars	5-10,000	3,000
Helicopters	2,500	9,000

Source: Figures from page 52 of "U.S. Military Posture Statement" for Fiscal Year 1977 by Gen. Brown, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

MILITARY MANPOWER



Source: C.I.A. Feb 1976 Special Report - "A Dollar Comparison of Soviet and U.S. Defense Activities, 1965 - 1975".

		YES	NO	UNDECIDED
1. Do you trust the Soviets to keep the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement even though there is no provision for on-site inspection by either side?	A	21%	74%	5%
	B	1%	96%	3%
2. In the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, the United States and Russia agreed not to protect their citizens against nuclear missiles. Instead of that, would you prefer that the United States develop the capability to destroy most missiles before they can strike our cities?	A	86%	10%	4%
	B	93%	2%	5%
3. Should the United States have military strength greater than that of the Soviet Union?	A	76%	21%	3%
	B	88%	5%	7%
4. Let's assume for a moment that we learned that Russia had gained military superiority over the United States and that it would cost \$20 billion a year more for the U.S. to regain superiority. Would you favor spending the extra \$20 billion a year?	A	67%	29%	4%
	B	89%	3%	8%
5. Do the American people have the right to be fully informed about the goals and activities of organizations which are dedicated to the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence?	A	92%	7%	1%
	B	97%	1%	2%
6. This Congress abolished the House Committee on Internal Security and transferred its jurisdiction to the Judiciary Committee, which has reduced most of the Internal Security Committee staff. Should the Internal Security Committee be re-established as a separate committee as before?	A	59%	24%	17%
	B	77%	5%	18%
7. Should the United States have a military research and development program at least as large as that of the Soviet Union?	A	85%	11%	4%
	B	97%	1%	2%
8. In what is known as the Cold War, do you believe the United States should have a national objective of turning back the growth of Communism?	A	73%	21%	6%
	B	91%	2%	7%
9. Should the United States give up its sovereignty over the Panama Canal?	A	16%	76%	8%
	B	2%	92%	6%
10. Should the United States give foreign aid or special trade privileges to Communist countries?	A	12%	85%	3%
	B	5%	88%	9%

A Opinion Research Corporation study

Study of the attitudes of a national probability sample of the general public 18 years of age and older. Telephone interviews with 1022 persons were conducted between May 22 and May 28, 1975.

B 1975 National Security Issues Poll

Mail poll conducted by the American Security Council among opinion leaders and ASC members between December 7, 1974, and December 31, 1975, with 164,677 respondents.

POLL SAYS
RESTORE OUR
MILITARY POSITION
TO #1

Soviet Arms Buildup: More Facts You Won't Find on TV

By John P. Roche

One of the most impressive things about the deluge of mail I received regarding my Feb. 28 column on the massive Soviet arms buildup was that the bulk of it asked for further information. As a teacher, I have never sought disciples. Like any normal human being, I think my views have merit, but not because they are mine: I am not organizing a John Roche Marching and Chowder Society. What cheers me is when readers and students go out and do their own homework. And what has appalled me is not that the networks agree or disagree with me, but that they refuse to provide information on the military balance designed to clarify options for the viewers.

Naturally enough, a small number of correspondents accused me of being a "running dog of the military-industrial complex" (one of the most vivid), a Pentagon flack or a Boeing stockholder. This is worse than silly; it completely misses the point. As I have hardly concealed, I am a veteran antitotalitarian, a social democrat who has spent 35 years (including three in that great commune, the United States Army) opposing fascism and communism. Right now I believe we are in dire peril, sleepwalking into a mine field. Maybe I'm wrong—I hope so—but all I ask is that the issues be brought to the American people in balanced form so they can decide for themselves.

In the persistent absence of any such television coverage, let me continue the

case for the prosecution. If you have been in the anti-Soviet trenches as long as I have, you learn to take seriously the pronouncements of Soviet dictators. For example, in September 1962, Nikita Khrushchev was quoted as saying the United States was "too liberal to fight." (The poet Robert Frost, visiting the USSR, was the first source, but Khrushchev also said it separately to two other American visitors.) The statement, like his famous "We will bury you," was pooh-poohed as just the extravagance of an exuberant peasant.

I didn't pooh-pooh it: I sat down and wrote a letter to The New York Times stating, "No recent pronouncement of Khrushchev's has struck me so ominously as his casual remark . . . that the Americans are 'too liberal to fight.' . . . this could indicate that the Soviet Premier is engaged in the same erroneous process of underestimating the vitality of democratic societies that led Hitler to his fatal miscalculations. [a miscalculation that could similarly encourage] Khrushchev to adventurism."

I was then national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action and this caused some ruckus among our Mad Hatters on the left (who are now the trustees in ideological bankruptcy of ADA); but before they could get me in their cross hairs, Khrushchev started planting missiles in Cuba!

The point of this exercise is not to award myself an oak-leaf cluster on my Good Conduct Medal, but to under-



*From T.V. Guide,
with largest
circulation in
the country.*

line the fact that since the time of V. I. Lenin, the Bolsheviks have always telegraphed their punches. Recall Lenin's sardonic remark to Zinoviev in 1921—when the latter expressed doubts about encouraging capitalist investment in the Soviet Union—that the bourgeoisie would compete in selling the rope to hang themselves.

With this background in mind let us turn to the sayings of Chairman Brezhnev. There are many to choose from, but the most concise was made at a gathering of Warsaw Pact leaders in the summer of 1973 (one year after the Nixon-Brezhnev Summit where détente was enshrined as the salvation of humanity). Said Brezhnev: "We Communists have got to string along with the capitalists for a while. We need their credits, their agriculture and their technology. But we are going to continue massive military programs and by the middle 1990s we will be in a position to return to a much more aggressive foreign policy designed to gain the upper hand in our relationship with the West."

Stop! This is not that insatiable warmonger John Roche telling you what he thinks the Soviets are doing; it is Leonid Brezhnev, and we have every reason to believe that since he made that cold-blooded statement, the American defeat in Indochina has led him to push his time frame back from the middle 1980s. In an earlier essay I mentioned the geometrical growth of Soviet sea power over the past decade. I hate statistics, but for openers put these in your calculator: we today have 479 commissioned naval vessels (361 warships); the Soviets have 2290 (1512 warships)! A while ago Chairman Kissinger mournfully inquired, "What in the name of God is strategic superiority? What do you do with it?" Adm. Sergei Gorshkov seems to be preparing an answer for him.

The easy answer to this charge (made, among others, by Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, retired chief of Naval Operations) is the brushoff recently administered by President Ford, who observed, in effect, that

the Soviets might have numerical superiority, but we had the weight. Maybe he is right, but instead of throwing a blanket of silence over the whole crucial subject, TV news should be fostering informed debate. Simply because I feel we are falling dangerously behind in strategic and conventional power does not for one moment imply that I buy the current Pentagon shopping list. B-1 bombers strike me, for instance, as the most beautiful targets the Soviet Air Defense Force could order.

Leaving the Air Force out of it, what about the Navy? Given the domination of the Navy by the "brown-shoe (air) admirals," we can expect endless requests for bigger carriers. (The Nimitz class, nuclear powered, run to 90,000 tons!) In my view the Navy is getting set once again to fight the Japanese for control of the vast reaches of the Western Pacific. (If you put a Nimitz in the Mediterranean, it would be like a champagne cork in an old-fashioned glass.) Then there are attack carriers designed to sit in an undisturbed parking lot off the coast of North Vietnam and bomb the countryside. These monsters are highly vulnerable to antiship missiles ("cruise missiles") as well as to land-based air and subs. The Soviets are in their third generation of antiship missiles; our first model, the Harpoon, may be deployed this year.

We now have plenty of data. In addition to the International Institute for Strategic Studies' "Military Balance," the Library of Congress has prepared an invaluable study: "United States/Soviet Military Balance: A Frame of Reference for Congress" (known as the "Culver Report"); and Sen. Robert Taft Jr. (R.-Ohio), with the aid of William S. Lind, has distributed to his Congressional colleagues a "White Paper on Defense," which is particularly perceptive in its analyses of naval objectives. None of these are polemical, or even remotely sponsored by the Pentagon (indeed, the admirals must have had a fit when they read Taft); they deserve wide discussion by responsible news media. (RND)

Balance of Power Has Switched, Experts Say . . .

U.S.-Soviet Nuclear War Would Kill 90 Million Americans & Only 10 Million Russians

In an all-out nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, 90 million Americans would be killed while Russian losses would be held to about 10 million, say top nuclear defense experts.

"The so-called balance of terror has been tilted — in the Soviets' favor," former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Foy D. Kohler, told The ENQUIRER.

The reason: the Russians have a vastly superior civil defense program, on which they spend a staggering \$1 billion a year.

By contrast, the U.S. plans to spend only \$71 million next year for civil defense.

Congressman Robert Leggett (D.-Calif.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee's Civil Defense Panel, which held hearings on Soviet and American nuclear defense capabilities, told The ENQUIRER:

"We received truly alarming estimates about comparative casualties.

"They would lose about 10.5 million people and the U.S. would lose about 90 million people."

In addition, Russia's economy would suffer much less

than America's during a nuclear war.

Over the last 10 years the Soviets have conducted a policy of dispersing their industry — 60 percent of new plants have been built in small towns away from key target areas, experts say.

This means the Russians would still keep their industrial war machine going while American industry would be devastated in a nuclear war — up to 70 percent of it would be destroyed, national defense experts warn.

Dr. Leon Goure, director of Soviet studies at the Center for Advanced International Studies at the University of Miami, said the difference in the expected casualty rates in the U.S. and USSR has now "undermined" America's defense posture.

"The American posture is based on deterrence, assuring the Soviet Union that if it attacks us, it is facing destruction.

"This posture calls for the deaths of a quarter of the Russian population and the de-

struction of half to two-thirds of their industry," Dr. Goure told The ENQUIRER.

But because of the wide imbalance in civil defense capability, he added, America's policy of "assured destruction is rapidly being eroded."

Paul H. Nitze, former U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense and a member of the U.S. Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (S.A.L.T.) delegation, said:

"If the USSR had attacked the U.S. in 1970, it would have been quickly defeated. But by 1973 the situation was changing rapidly.

"By 1977, if they attack U.S. forces and we respond against their forces, they would have remaining force sufficient to destroy Chinese and NATO nuclear capabilities and attack U.S. population and conventional military targets."

Nitze estimated the Russian population loss would only be 3 to 4 percent — or 7.5 million to 10 million of the 250 million people — in a U.S. nuclear attack.

— JOE MULLINS

NORTHEASTERN DISTRICT ASSOCIATION OF MASS. LETTER CARRIERS

OFFICE OF ~~SECRETARY~~
GEORGE L. PAYZANT
9 CHRISTINA AVENUE
PINEHURST, MASS. 01866

PRESIDENT

Tack
Q.O.



July 18, 1976

Dear Mr. Carter,

First let me congratulate you on your victory at the recent Democratic National Convention.

As a representative of my Union the National Association of Letter Carriers (N.A.L.C.) I would like to put forth a few views of my Union and would like to know how you feel about them.

We are strongly opposed to the repeal of the Private Express Statutes concerning the Postal Service, it will mean a loss of jobs and will not improve the delivery of mail. President Ford and Ronald Reagan are in favor of repeal.

We also feel a subsidy of \$1 billion a year is not unrealistic especially since the railroads and a few other corporations are government subsidized. President Ford and Ronald Reagan are opposed. The Postal Service was set up many years ago to be just that, a service. It was not set up to be a money making corporation as these people and top Postal management seem to think.

We also would like to see the repeal of the Hatch Act. Under this act we are not able to fully participate in the political process. As you are probably aware it was defeated in Congress this year. Once again President Ford was against us.

We realize there are many ills within the Postal Service And the N.A.L.C. is concerned and will try to do all it can to correct these injustices as it has in the past. We are concerned not just for ourselves, but also for the American people. Repeal of the Private Express Statutes and the Postal Reorganization Act is not the way to go about it.

NORTHEASTERN DISTRICT ASSOCIATION OF MRS. LETTER CARRIERS

OFFICE OF ~~SECRETARY~~ PRESIDENT
GEORGE L. PAYZANT
9 CHRISTINA AVENUE
PINEHURST, MASS. 01866



These are just a few views and I would very much appreciate it if I could have your views on these very important subjects. Looking forward to hearing from you.

Yours Truly,

GEORGE L. PAYZANT PRESIDENT
NORTHEAST DISTRICT NALC

G.L.P.

421 Colon Avenue
Staten Island, N.Y. 10308
July 21, 1976

Hon. James Carter
Plains, Ga.

Dear Mr. Carter:

I would like to extend my congratulations to you on your nomination by the Democratic Party last week to be President of the United States. To be sure, it was a fitting climax to a primary campaign which renewed our nation's faith in the ideal that the language of American political debate is above all one of dignity --- whatever may be the regional dialect in which that language is spoken.

Sir, as an undergraduate at Yale University I was quite active in the public issues which manifested themselves on our cloistered campus: civil rights, freedom of speech, anti-war, impeachment. Throughout, I had but one concern: blessed by God with a family that loved me and supported me, and privileged by Him to have attended a quality school and come into contact with the community of scholars I met there, it was my absolute duty to share what I had with those who were not as lucky as I.

Today I am a law student at American University in Washington, D.C. because I still retain this singular, over-riding concern and believe that the legal profession can best help me live up to it.

"For the religious person," I told Yale worshippers last year at an interfaith service against racism, "prayer is a still and quiet form of action, and action is a form of moving prayer." I felt spiritual as well as political kinship with you when you told the assembled delegates at Madison Square Garden that: "I have spoken many times about love, but love must be aggressively translated into simple justice." In our different ways, we have both come to know the wisdom of the Talmudist who wrote that the world is thrice saved daily by the active virtues of justice, truth, and peace.

Perhaps it was the euphoria and excitement generated by any political gathering, but I doubt it. Watching the proceedings of the final day of the convention on television, I could not help but feel an emotion so keen that it was not until the convention ended that I could understand it. Put simply, I was overwhelmed by the notion that the Democrats brought to the podium of their 1976 convention persons and expressions of decency and compassion which were systematically excluded from mainstream participation a decade ago.

When a national party which at one time was torn apart by demonstrations against the Vietnam war can be addressed by a survivor of that conflict who argues for unconditional amnesty for all who opposed the war on grounds of conscience; when Cesar Chavez can

(cont.)

nominate a Democrat for President a mere four years after the Republicans announced with pride that they were serving non-union grapes and wine at their convention; when Martin Luther King, Sr. can invoke blessings from the Democratic podium upon a nation which claimed his wife and son in the prime of service to their God and country; and when the leadership of a party once typified by racial segregation and mistrust can close their Presidential nominating convention with the singing of "We Shall Overcome", then that is the party in which America's hope for the future resides. In retrospect, it should have been no surprise that you quoted Bob Dylan in your acceptance speech.

In a sermon which I delivered before some 1500 congregants at Yale during the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur (and which I have enclosed), I exhorted my listeners to be wary of falling into the trap of "frequent comment with infrequent commitment". Heeding my own advice, I would like to make a commitment to your campaign, a campaign which I believe represents much of what I hold to be honorable in a country which denied me and others of my generation the right of our conscience for much of our adult lives.

Specifically, I would like to serve in the capacity of speechwriter and/or researcher on a volunteer basis in Washington, D.C. in any capacity which would be of benefit to you. In addition to the aforementioned Yom Kippur sermon, I have enclosed a recent article I wrote critiquing the current state of legal education, one which I thought you would find particularly interesting. Both articles accurately reflect my writing style, just as my membership on the staff of the American University Law Review reflects my research abilities.

Not since George McGovern ran for President have I felt as comfortable with a major politician as I do with you. I would be proud to assist you as a speechwriter and/or researcher, and would serve you to the best of my time and ability.

And, Mr. Carter, you can depend on that!

Most sincerely yours,



Paul K. Bardack

Enc.

PAUL K. BARDACK

School Address

Alban Towers
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Washington, D.C. 20016
(202-965-4342)

Home Address

421 Colon Avenue
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EDUCATION -

LEGAL: American University Law School
Massachusetts and Wisconsin Avenues, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Degree: (J.D., 1978)
Publication: AMERICAN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW
Interest: Municipal Government Law, Zoning Law, Poverty
Law, Sociological Theories of Law, Political
Philosophy and Jurisprudence, Urban Planning
COLLEGE: Yale University
New Haven, Ct. 06520
Degree: B.A., 1975
Major: Political Science; Study of the City minor
Activities: Yale Varsity Debate Association
Yale Political Union --- National Press Secretary
B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation at Yale
Yale Hunger Action Project
Yale Daily News --- guest editorialist

POLITICAL EXPERIENCE -

Americans for Democratic Action National Convention ---
Delegate to Economic and Social Policy Commission (1976)
New Haven Democratic Ward Committeeman --- registered voters
of Yale University (1972-1975)
Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein (Dem. - N.Y.) --- U.S. Senate
Campaign Voter Researcher (1973)

JOURNALISTIC EXPERIENCE -

Yale Daily News Magazine
Sh'ma Magazine - A Journal of American Judaism
American University Law School Newsletter

PREVIOUS EMPLOYMENT -

Summer, 1976: Day Camp Counselor
Camp Shalom; Staten Island, N. Y.
Summer, 1975: Truck Loader
Lender's Bagel Bakery; West Haven, Ct.
Summer, 1974: Medicare-Medicaid Research Project
St. Vincent's Hospital; New York City, N.Y.
Summer, 1973: Assistant Bookkeeper
Capehart Corporation; New York City, N.Y.

REFERENCES - will forward upon request

YOM KIPPUR SERMON

I would like to begin this talk with you on a note of peace and goodwill. Let us hope that all of us, our loved ones and friends, are blessed by God with a year of happiness, health, and success in all those endeavors which we deem to be truly important.

Today is the Day of Atonement, the most fateful and awesome day of the year. No other day evokes in our minds such repentance of the past, nor in our hearts such apprehension of the future. The evocative quality of the holy day is present now as many of us sit here attempting to comprehend its meaning, just as it was present years ago, when we thought about an old, bearded man recording his judgments of us in a rather large and mysterious book.

Why should this be so? Why should one day, according to our senses physically indistinguishable from any other, be so evocative, so portentous ... so frightening?

I believe that the answer can be discerned in the very title of this holiday. Today is the Day of Atonement --- the Day of At-one-ment. Today, more than on any other day of the year, we are stripped totally naked of all our defenses, external and internal, and forced to examine the stark reality that we are not at one with God, with our fellow man, or with ourselves. We do this, among other ways, by reciting various confessions throughout the Yom Kippur service.

For example, as far as our relation with God goes, we recite that "we have gone astray" from Him.

As far as our fellow man is concerned, we are told that "we have led him astray".

All this, we read, "has availed us nought".

Yet, in reciting these and the other confessions, I think that there is a very natural tendency for each of us to dismiss most of them as representing figurative, not literal, sins; they may all apply to someone, but they certainly do not all apply to us.

I doubt that very many of us, deep down in our hearts, really believe that the sins we are confessing truly represent the type of person we believe ourselves to be.

Have we all really lost sight of God? Have we all really turned our backs on our fellow man? Are we all really so dishonest that we have lied to ourselves?

At Yale, I think, these questions are particularly poignant. The rationalization we give to our friends notwithstanding, most Yale students attend Yale to learn a discipline or skill which can ultimately be used to further themselves, or their fellow man. One does not sweat for four or more years in an institution without justifying that labor to oneself or to others. It does a disservice to the very real aspirations of pre-medical or pre-law students to denigrate them as "grim pre-professionals", just as it is unfair to those who thirst for knowledge to label them "weenies" or "grinds".

If we are trying to improve ourselves, and if we hold open

the possibility of using our education to help others, have we really strayed so far from God, our fellow man, or our own selves that we must atone?

This is the question to which I would like to address myself.

To attempt an answer, I would like to turn to Pirke Avot, the Wisdom of the Fathers. This is an important book of the Talmud which contains many of the teachings of Jewish scholars on the just conduct of human life and thought. In it, we read the following: "By three things is the world sustained: by justice, by truth, and by peace."

How is this to be interpreted?

It must first be noted that these are not passive, but active categories. A community does not attain justice passively: it must strive to attain it. A community does not sit back and wait for the truth to emerge: it must search for it. And a community cannot wait for peace to arrive: it must actively promote it.

For the Yale community to answer the question of whether we have strayed from God or our fellow man, we must first answer the question of whether or not we are actively pursuing justice, truth, and peace.

It is all too apparent, unfortunately, that the education we have fashioned for ourselves at Yale has come to represent a one-sided search for truth without active commitment to justice or peace. Whereas our older brothers and sisters responded to a period of war and social unrest with a mass strike on the New Haven Green, we have responded to turmoil in government, economic crisis,

and social inequality with a mass streak on the Old Campus. I believe that there is a world of difference.

Three years ago, during my freshman year, when the U.S. blockaded the port of Haiphong, a spontaneous demonstration of protest developed. As one protestor urged some students in Wright Hall to join him in the street, arguing that it's their war too, he was hit on the head and knocked unconscious by a water balloon hurled from the fourth floor of Wright Hall by a member of my class.

A few days ago, while I was urging people in Saybrook to sign a petition calling for a world-wide organization to alleviate famine, a student told me that he wouldn't sign because he couldn't care less if poor people died, since there were too many of them anyway.

I do not mean to suggest that we all desire to hurt those who protest, nor do I mean to suggest that we are a callous community that is cruelly oblivious to the problems of others.

I do mean to suggest, however, that education without an active corresponding search for justice, truth, and peace is not enough. The type of education at Yale that we are satisfied with, which is frequent comment with infrequent commitment, creates an atmosphere in which unconcern for God and man flourishes.

Thus, we today atone for the sins which we have committed, individually and as a community. As members of the Yale Jewish community, we atone for our sins of omission, as well as our sins

of commission.

It is only when we remember that we are not presently at one with God, our fellow man, or our own, Jewish, heritage; and it is only when we remember that we must actively work outside the classroom as well as within it in order to achieve at-one-ment, that this fast day of Yom Kippur begins to attain the meaning and significance to which it is entitled.

Let us, therefore, begin anew the commitment to justice, truth, and peace, both individually and as a community; and let us begin this commitment today, right now, on this holiest day of the year.

Erev Yom Kippur, 5735
September 25, 1974
Yale University
Law School Auditorium

FROM: Paul Bardack
TO: THE MATRIX
Newsletter of the
American University
Law School
FOR: Orientation of New
Students Issue, 1976
DATE: July 8, 1976

OF WITS AND TEMPLARS

Make no mistake about it: Washington attorneys and politicians are the real culprits of our country! At least, this is the mandate that the commentators say the American have delivered to the Democrats and Republicans this year. Throw the rascals out and all will be virtuous in our fair land once again.

Actually, nobody in the entire history of the world has ever liked either attorneys or politicians. Since they are increasingly the same group of people anyway, it is probably just as convenient to call the whole flock of them "lawyers" and leave the implied derision at that.

That is not to say that lawyers have not taken full cognizance of this state of affairs. Recent articles in the American Bar Association Journal, the Student Lawyer, and even the Op-Ed page of The New York Times have detailed efforts undertaken by lawyers, individually and collectively, to have themselves called something else ... anything else, as a matter of fact. Included among the suggested alternatives to "Mr. John Smith, lawyer" are "Dr. Smith", "Attorney Smith", "Esquire Smith", and even "John Smith, Specialist in Taxation Law". Conspicuous by its absence, of course, is "Lawyer Smith", inasmuch as Smith presumably went to law school to become a lawyer and not doctor school to become a doctor. How curiously strange it is that the title of the legal profession has also become its most descriptive euphemism!

As if that weren't disheartening enough, there is also little doubt that law students have fared almost as badly as their more degreed counterparts. However inaccurate a portrayal of law student life The Paper Chase might have been, its effect upon the morale of college and law students has been devastating. Life imitates art:

by the time this article is read most first year students will be thinking of joining a study group to thwart the Kingsleys of the faculty, if they have not joined one already.

So overwhelming has been the recent success of *The Paper Chase* in giving law students a bad name that they have lost sight of an even greater historical truth: law students have never had a good name. Even the poet Alexander Pope felt obliged to write of them in his 1735 "Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot":

...
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame or to commend,
A timorous foe, and a suspicious friend;
Dreading even fools; by flatterers besieged,
And so obliging that he ne'er obliged;
Like Cato, give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While wits and Templars (law students - PB) every
sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise ---
Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?
Who would not weep, if Atticus were he?
...

The words are bitter indeed, but are they warranted? Specifically, is American University Law School a home for "wits and Templars", a living recreation of the cinematic portrayal of an academic pressure-cooker?

The answer is no, but it is a very conditional no. To be sure, there is pressure. There is pressure from professors, from some more than from others, as well as the felt presence of potential employees. There is the everpresent pressure of Law Review --- not from the students who serve on it but rather from the institution against which academic success or failure, depending upon membership or lack of membership, is unfortunately all too often measured.

There is the crushing pressure of finals and the concomitant pressure of the final grade which is determined on the basis of one highly subjective examination: if there was ever an academic environment in which grades are meaningless, law school is that place. Be extremely patient with any professor, administrator, student, or employer who, knowing how law school grades are established, still believes them to be accurate indices of a student's ability to

understand a given subject area, specifically, or the law, generally. Such a person is a fool, and should be treated with the patience all fools deserve.

There is the pressure from within each of us to excel in legal study, and that is good because the lawyering profession needs some dedicated people who are not ashamed to be called what they are: lawyers. But there is also a sick type of pressure manifested from without to excel in legal study so that there is no better student than oneself, and that is bad because it is pervasive here.

Obviously, law school is a cerebral place. The volume of work is not great, but the depth and required clarity of thought and expression is great. It's a heady experience.

But the American University Law School --- its deans, professors, and students --- all too often forget that the head is connected to the heart. When passion and compassion in the classroom analysis of a case are dismissed as non-professional, it should come as no surprise that they will also be lacking in the classroom itself: almost a dozen people dropped out of last year's first year class, an unusually high number. We students who were more concerned with pouncing upon a fellow student's incorrect answer than inquiring why an adjacent seat was empty were responsible for the divorce of mind and heart in the classroom. How silly it is to realize that our representatives in the Student Bar Association have seriously debated whether our school really needs to be improved.

Not that the faculty and administration have not in their ambivalence about where we are going as a law school set the pattern for such student attitudes. The face we like to present to others is of a relatively pressure-free, small, intimate law school in which all groups cooperate and work together. The face students more often see is that of deans and professors whose response to criticism is righteous indignation, ready denial, or patronizing apathy. Last semester, when an upperclassman wrote a lengthy piece in THE MATRIX gratuitously criticizing every professor, the legitimate criticisms presented in the piece were overlooked in a follow-up defense of the law school's faculty and administration which was laughable in its fumbling attempt to show that any given

teacher was more perfect than the last one whose ample virtues were extolled. (If memory serves correctly, one student defender of a certain professor felt compelled to point out that said professor even dressed better than his juvenile detractors.)

The net result of all this is a school whose noble goals and purposeful instincts have become entangled in a web of petty egoisms and unfeeling scholarship. It need not be this way, nor is the backward slide to an uncaring academia irreversible.

Hopefully, a three-way dialogue between the deans, professors, and students will develop this semester: both informally in spontaneous discussions and formally in the classroom and in the pages of THE MATRIX. This newsletter can be an especially good medium for the discussion of controversies from all perspectives --- relevant and irrelevant.

But dialogue without mutual respect and compassion is meaningless: at least as much energy should be expended by all participants in recognizing what the others are as well as what they are not.

The legal profession sorely needs people who are unafraid to place human concerns above economic concerns, unafraid to work for social betterment, unafraid to risk something big for something good. The only way it will get them is if the law schools are unafraid to rid themselves of their "wits and Templars" through the inculcation of respect, passion, and compassion for the humanity of the subjects of law, as well as its students and teachers.

James Grambart
1400 Oak Avenue
Linwood, N.J. 08221
July 29, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Governor Carter,

One of the principles of politics is to know when and how to trade a little to retain a lot. It is in this sense that my third "open letter" (enclosed) was written. During the Great Depression FDR, many commentators agree, saved our form of government, and our market economy by alleviating the huge unemployment problem of the day. Funding needed public works through private enterprise, he bent the rules of free enterprise slightly, and by doing so, saved our system essentially intact. As you know, his most vociferous detractors were those at the top of the socio-economic pyramid, the very people who would have lost the most had our form of government collapsed.

With regard to inequitable taxation, there is an interesting parallel in the story of the French Revolution which may help you in managing tax reformation. I shall recount the pertinent history as shortly as possible.

In the French society of the 17-18th centuries there arose an increasingly powerful, well-to-do, and educated middle class, * the bourgeoisie. Part of the Third Estate, it was a major economic force, paying most of the taxes while lacking any real political power. The peasantry, also of the Third Estate, similarly lacked all political input while it reluctantly contributed another larger portion of the country's income. The First Estate, nobility and clergy, the tiny top of the political pyramid, owned 70% of the land and were exempt from taxation. Together, nobility and clergy totaled only some 400,000 of France's 24 million population. Between them, they controlled, through the throne, all real power. Short-sightedly, they resisted all social and economic change, and change is the only true dynamic of history.

It is no wonder that Louis XV, sensing the inevitable, exclaimed, "Apré moi, la deluge"; in 1792 the flood he foresaw was to cost his son his head and drown France in blood. The purblind few at the top, giving nothing, lost all.

I know, of course, that meaningful, evolutionary tax reformation

* The Watergate hearings, through television, finally educated the American electorate.

is high on your list of priorities. As you proceed with equalizing the tax burden you will, of course, be vilified by the very people who would suffer most if denied evolutionary change were to be succeeded by subsequent revolutionary disaster.

It is in this sense, Governor Carter, that I see your political role as that of a latter day FDR. While I see no Great Depression in the offing, changing economic standards indicate that those who live on earned income (in the IRS sense) are going to demand a larger slice of the pie. That desire, that drive toward change is a force you will have to channel in a constructive, evolutionary manner. You may, almost certainly you will, meet resistance from conservatives on the Hill. But take heart from Descartes' succinct comment: "Committees can't conceive".

In any case the Rule of Senility in both Houses is already ending. The surging cry for reform in politics should sweep in many fresh, young minds with you in November. If necessity dictates you can appeal directly to the people as FDR did. And he lacked the power of television, which can almost physically put you in everyman's living room.

Great problems, to the man of vision, are great opportunities.

God be with you,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James Bramant". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed text "God be with you,".

601 SAN PEDRO N.E.
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87108
TELEPHONE: (505) 265-7941

28 July 1976

I-OP

The Honorable Jimmy Carter
Democratic Candidate for President
Plains, Georgia

Dear Governor Carter:

The enclosed research paper had been sent last fall to
President Ford. Since it deals with a different approach
to "busing" it may be of interest to you and your staff.
I am also sending a copy of the paper to Senator Mondale.

Very respectfully,

FALCON RESEARCH AND
DEVELOPMENT COMPANY

Margherita M. Henning

Margherita M. Henning, Ph.D.
Senior Research Psychologist
Head, Behavioral & Social Sciences Division

MMH:klt

Encl

Robert Kemp
Inventor.

Box 96 Lansingburgh, N.Y.,
Troy, New York 12182

July 23, 1976.

Dear Governor Carter,

May the inventors of the World ask a favor of you and your hard working family, when you become the next resident at the White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C.?

Kindly retain in office, as Asst. Secretary of Commerce, Dr. Betsy Anker Johnson PhD, In Charge of Technology, Science, Patents and Trade Marks, herself a Mother and an able inventor.

Also retain in office as long as he can be kept there, C. Marshall Dann, the present Commissioner of U.S. Patents, Trade Marks and because he is probably without exception the most able and active Commissioner of Patents we have yet had during this Twentieth Century.

This is also a request coming from Isaac Fleishman, Esq, in charge of Public Relations at the U.S. Office of Trade Marks and Patents.

Isaac Fleishmann has been an official in the Patents and Trade Mark Office longer than any other official in this, one of the oldest and without exception, one of the most important of all the U.S. Government Departments.

Thomas Jefferson was the founder of the oldest political party in the world, the Democratic Party of these Great United States of America.

Next to George Washington, Thomas Jefferson was the second greatest of the Founding Fathers.

If it had been left to Benjamin Franklin there would never have been any U.S. Office of Patents and Trade Marks, or U.S. Copyright Office. Franklin thought that if an inventor had great new ideas he should give them freely to the public. If Franklin's concepts had prevailed we would never have had any of our greatest inventions.

It needed Thomas Jefferson to place in the U.S. Constitution the short paragraph that launched the Patents and Trade marks

Office and the U.S. Copyright Office that is under the Library of Congress.

It was Thomas Jefferson who saw clearly that the people of this great country should ultimately become the owners and the users of all of our inventor's original ideas, but in the meantime the inventor should be given the opportunity of making his new original ideas into peices of property that he could make, use, lease or sell in order to have financial means to continue has important inventive effort.

This in itself a U.S. Constitution having such a paragraph was, as we all look back, a remarkable invention. It is the single invention that has made these great United States of America the most creative, progressive, industrious and the wealthiest of all the world states now inhabiting this planet.

From our remarkable trips out across space, it is now clear that there is no other planet in our solar system that has any human beings in any way similar to ourselves.

It is for all these reasons that the person who is the President of the United States of America is the most powerful of all the rulers in this world today. As a National Democrat he truly represents all the people, the inventors included who are now conceded to be the topmost workers among all the people everywhere.

In the 1920's Lewis Terman, was said to be the leading psychologist of the world. His headquarters were in Stanford University, in the State of California.

In his three volume work "Genetic Studies of Genius" on page 69 of volume one he included the so-called Barr Table of human occupations, which, after listing over one hundred types of workers, came to the conclusion that the Inventor (Edison Type) was the leading (or topmost) worker in the human family.

There may be some who resent this broad conclusion, but there is no denying the inventor has created (invented) more wealth and given more people new jobs, than any of the other workers now inhabiting this Earth we all live on. The inventor has kept

more other human beings usefully busy and out of crime, violence and mischief than any other type of worker among us. The work of scientific inventors have stopped all large scale wars. The human family now do not dare to use the deadliest of weapons (nuclear weapons) the inventors of this country have placed in military hands. Do to our inventors large scale wars are now out of date.

Now the inventors are working to wipe out all human warfare all together. This will be accomplished by giving, and not selling, to our prospective opponents means and methods of producing fuelless power and the portable noncarbon fuels that can be made by exploiting and expanding fuelless power to the utmost.

It was the Chinese, thousands of years ago, that found that the quickest and best means of overwhelming any enemy, was to treat him as a friend, and give him of the best of everything that you had or could. You and your able family and the Democratic Party under your highly intelligent and unifying direction will unify the peoples of this earth, just as you have unified the U.S. Democratic Party, by putting this ancient Chinese idea to work, on a scale so gigantic and perfect it will be bound to succeed.

The family of the honorable James E. Carter will institute in the public schools of this country educational programs teaching all our young people to be inventors. If our youth can excell in highly intricate sports they can also practice to become inventors. Your family efforts in this direction will set an example to the people of Africa and all the other continents, so that before you leave the White House, you will have the inventors of this planet producing permanent world peace for all time to come. The inventors you produce here in North America will be setting the creative example for the rest of the world.

Then you will have them learn not only how to invent, but how to patent their own new inventive ideas.

The obtaining of patents and trade marks is not difficult and can be easily mastered by our budding new inventors.

Mr. Isaac Fleishman has had charge of Public Relations at the U.S. Patent Office for over thirty years. He has been in U.S. Government service for over 40 years. He knows of Dr. Lewis Terman's conclusion and the Barr Table rating the inventor (Edison Type) as the leading workman among us.

Isaac Fleishman probably knows more inventors intimately than any other person anywhere.

Robert Kemp, the writer, was licensed to practice as a U.S. Patent Agent in 1928. In 1938 he was listed in the professional U.S. Patent Office Roster, as a U.S. Registered Patent Attorney.

Since January 1915, Robert Kemp has been filing U.S. Patent Applications. He has been a friend of Isaac Fleishman for over 25 years. So Mr. Fleishman has long been thoroughly familiar with Robert Kemp's work as a patent attorney and as an active inventor. Isaac Fleishman also knew Dr. Leo H. Baekland, the inventor of Velox photographic printing paper, of the first thermosetting resin "Bakelite" and of either layers of paper or layers of cloth laminated under heat and pressure and known as "Composite Cardboard".

Dr. Baekland's Bakelite patents (covering condensation products of Phenol and Formaldehyde) were issued from the U.S. Patent Office in 1907. In 1912 Dr. Baekland's "Composite Cardboard" patent launched fibrous reinforced thermosetting plastics that would not dissolve nor would not melt. This basic patent started what is now known as the great Composite Plastics Industry. Composite Plastics are made and used all across the world and in many other industries.

Unlike sheet metal Composite Cardboard can be bent repeatedly without becoming fatigued and cracking or breaking. It is light in weight, weighing less than magnesium, extremely tough and strong in all directions as a sheet, non-corrosive and easily worked with sheet metal working tools. Realizing all these advantages making composite ideal for producing aircraft, Robert Kemp filed his "Structural Elements" patent application in the U.S. Patent Office, May 26, 1916. It covered a complete airplane made

of "Composite" including wings, body, tail, interconnecting members, landing gear and propellor. It contained over 40 original inventive disclosures, formed the basis of nine U.S. patents, two patents in Great Britain and one in France. Within two years after the filing of the first two patent applications (U.S.) the world rights to the entire patent program was acquired by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company of East Pittsburgh, Pa. Eighteen of these forty disclosures started huge industries in a number of countries giving new jobs to countless thousands of people. All of these industries are still active.

The eighteen industries include...

Bakelite bonded waterproof plywood. This covers flat and moulded parts made of waterproof plywood.

Composite airplane, marine and helicopter propellers.

All kinds and sizes of molded heat hardened plastic fan blades.

Corrigated plastic sheets either with or without internal fibrous reinforcement.

Plain flat sheets, transparent, translucent or opaque, made of composite having a substantial percentage of internal fibres.

Land vehicle bodies of all kinds for autos, trucks, taxies, rail cars, motor bikes and snowmobiles and hovercraft.

Composite bodies of boats, flying boats, helicopters and airplanes. Over 90 percent of the domestic pleasure boats are today made under the Kemp Structural Elements U.S. patents. This also includes work boats of 100 feet or over.

Various airplane parts, leading edge, trailing edge (for airplane wings) control surfaces, vertical and horizontal rudders and aerolons and wing flaps, streamline composite tubing for covering exposed round tubular members, tail wheels and rear tail skids, (under vertical rudders.)

Seats found in thousands of buses and boats made of fibreglas reinforced heat hardened resins.

Delta wing airplanes, now the largest and fastest

vehicles carrying passengers and freight.

Transparent or translucent roofs in large freight carrying trailer bodies.

Composite molded tractor cabs, also mobil homes.

Floors and side wall of trucks and trailers.

Composite plastic pulleys, aircraft and marine. Today these are the only type pulleys used by these two great industries.

Instrument panels for all types of vehicles.

The tails of practically all aircraft in the air today, regardless of where they are made or the materials used in their construction, providing they conform with the following Kemp patent claim... "vertical and horizontal stabilizers made as a part of the fuselage and braced internally". When the Kemp Structural Elements patents were issued in 1922, hollow monocoque bodies for aircraft at that time had not yet become customary (as they are today).

Composite "I" beams in direct competition with magnesium and aluminum "I" beams. They are lighter and stronger size for size.

Since the filing of the Robert Kemp Structural Elements patent applications were only four years after the issuance of Dr. Baekland's basic "Composite Cardboard" U.S. patent, it is obvious how early Mr. Kemp's inventions were in helping to launch what is now the great worldwide Composite Plastic Industry. It is now believed at the U.S. Office of Patents and Trade Marks that this one group of Robert Kemp patents and the many inventions they contain are now giving more work to more thousands of workers than the inventions of any other living inventor. Of course, accurate figures on this are impossible to obtain but abundant proofs now clearly establish the general correctness of this particular statement.

During Inventor's Day celebration this year in the U.S. Patent Office Mr. Kemp was assigned a table on which he spread the details of the inventions of his clients as well as those of his own in his U.S. patents.

The table was reserved by Oscar Mastin who is Isaac Fleishman's assistant in the Patent Office Public Relations Department.

In the two attached pictures the two highest U.S. Patent and Trade Mark officials are shown congratulating Robert Kemp because of his outstanding inventive achievements.

The first picture shows Dr. Betsy Anker Johnson (PhD) Asst Secretary of Commerce, shaking hands with Mr. Kemp. It is believed that her little girl stands at her left beside her.

The second picture illustrates the honorable C. Marshall Dann, Commissioner of Patents and Trade Marks, congratulating Mr. Kemp on his inventive accomplishments.

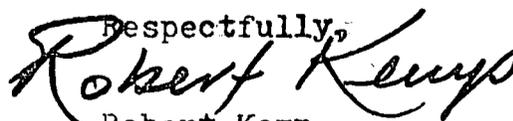
In this second picture, Isaac Fleishman, in charge of U.S. Patent Office Public Relations, appears standing at Commissioner Dann's left.

It was Isaac Fleishman, convinced that Robert Kemp had produced more jobs for more thousands of workers across the world than any other living inventor, who brought these two top patent officials to congratulate Robert Kemp.

Mr. Fleishman in this second picture appears as a colored person. This is because the light is not directly shining upon him. However, he is not colored, he is as white as the other two patent and trade mark officials. It is best that this be properly noted.

Mr. Fleishman agreed that after working under nine different U.S. Patent Commissioners, that the Hon. C. Marshall Dann was, without exception, the best and most active U.S. Patent and Trade Marks Commissioner who has ever occupied this most important U.S. Government position.

It is for these reasons that the inventors will be grateful if these two officials can be kept at their posts.

Respectfully,

Robert Kemp,

U.S. Registered Patent Attorney 12646 - 1928.

Honorable James E. Carter,
Plains, Georgia, 31780.

ROBERT KEMP

U.S. REGISTERED PATENT ATTORNEY

12.646 - 1928

BOX 96. LANSINGBURGH STATION
TROY. NEW YORK 12182

1. Airplane Propellers
2. Helicopter Propellers.
3. Marine Propellers.
4. Fan Blades (All Sizes)
5. Boats

6. Auto Bodies
7. Truck Bodies
8. Taxi Bodies
9. Railroad Cars
10. Snowmobiles

11. Airplane Bodies
12. Helicopter Bodies
13. Flying Boat Bodies
14. "I" Beams
15. Flat Sheets

- Corrigated Sheets
16. Corrigated Sheets
17. Corrigated Sheets
Molded with loose fibres
18. Airplane Tail Members
19. Delta Wing Airplanes
20. Streamline Tubing

21. Airplane Wings
22. Airplane Wing Ribs
23. Airplane Wing Beams
24. Airplane Cable Streamlining
25. Streamlining For Steel Tubes

26. Aircraft Pulleys
27. Marine Pulleys
28. Seats and Seating
29. Airplane Leading Edge
30. Trailing Edge For Aircraft

31. Instrument Panels For Aircraft
32. Instrument Panels For Boats
33. Instrument Panels For Land Vehicles
34. Flooring, Stationary
35. Flooring, Vehicular

36. Control Surfaces For Aircraft, Aerolons
37. Control Surfaces For Aircraft, Rudders
38. Sidewalls, Outer For Boats.
39. Sidewalls, Inner For Boats
40. Sidewalls, Vehicular

When made of "Composite".....

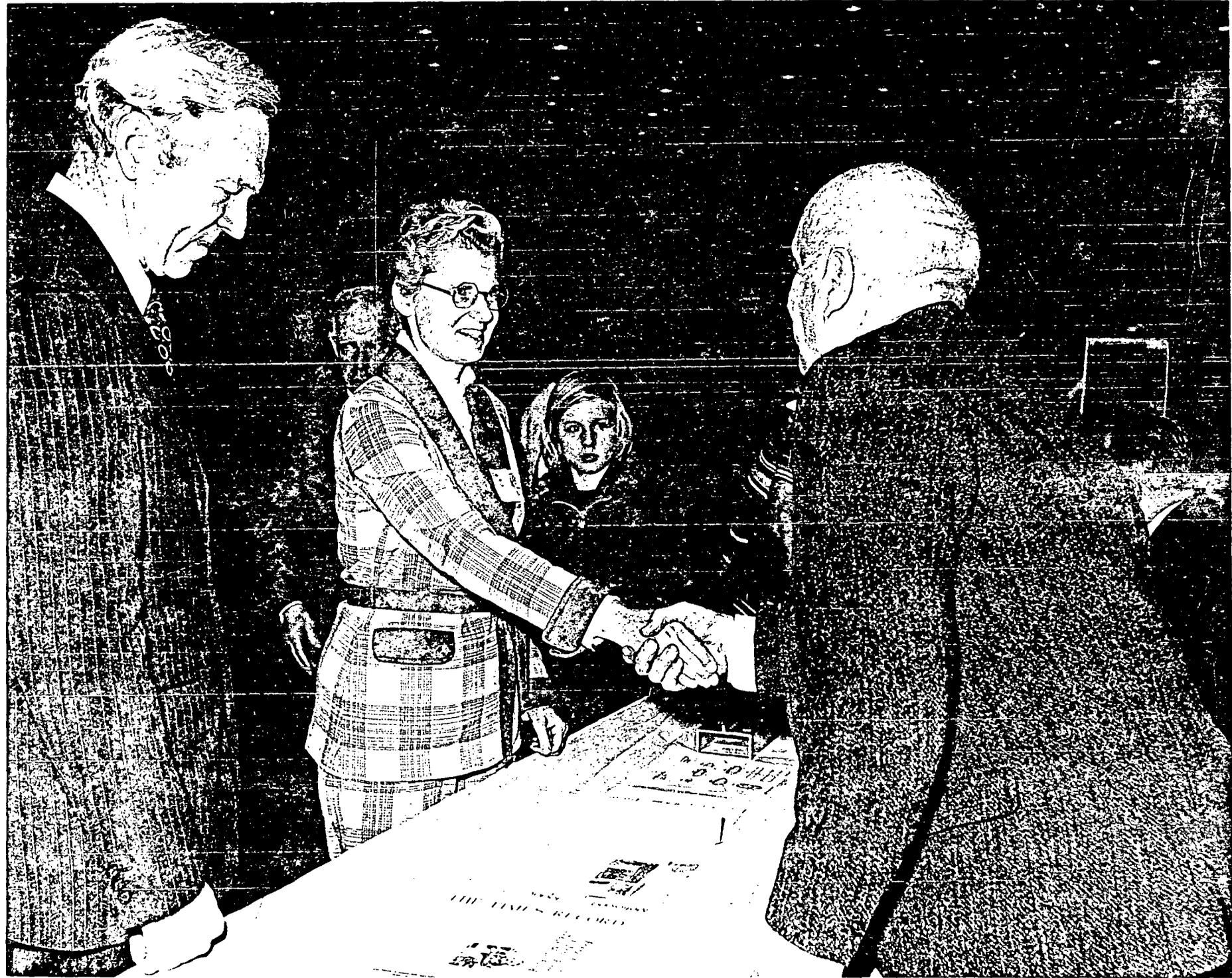
All items listed are the inventions of Robert Kemp, and most of them appear in U.S. Patent number 1,435,244 issued Nov 14, 1922 and filed May 26, 1916.

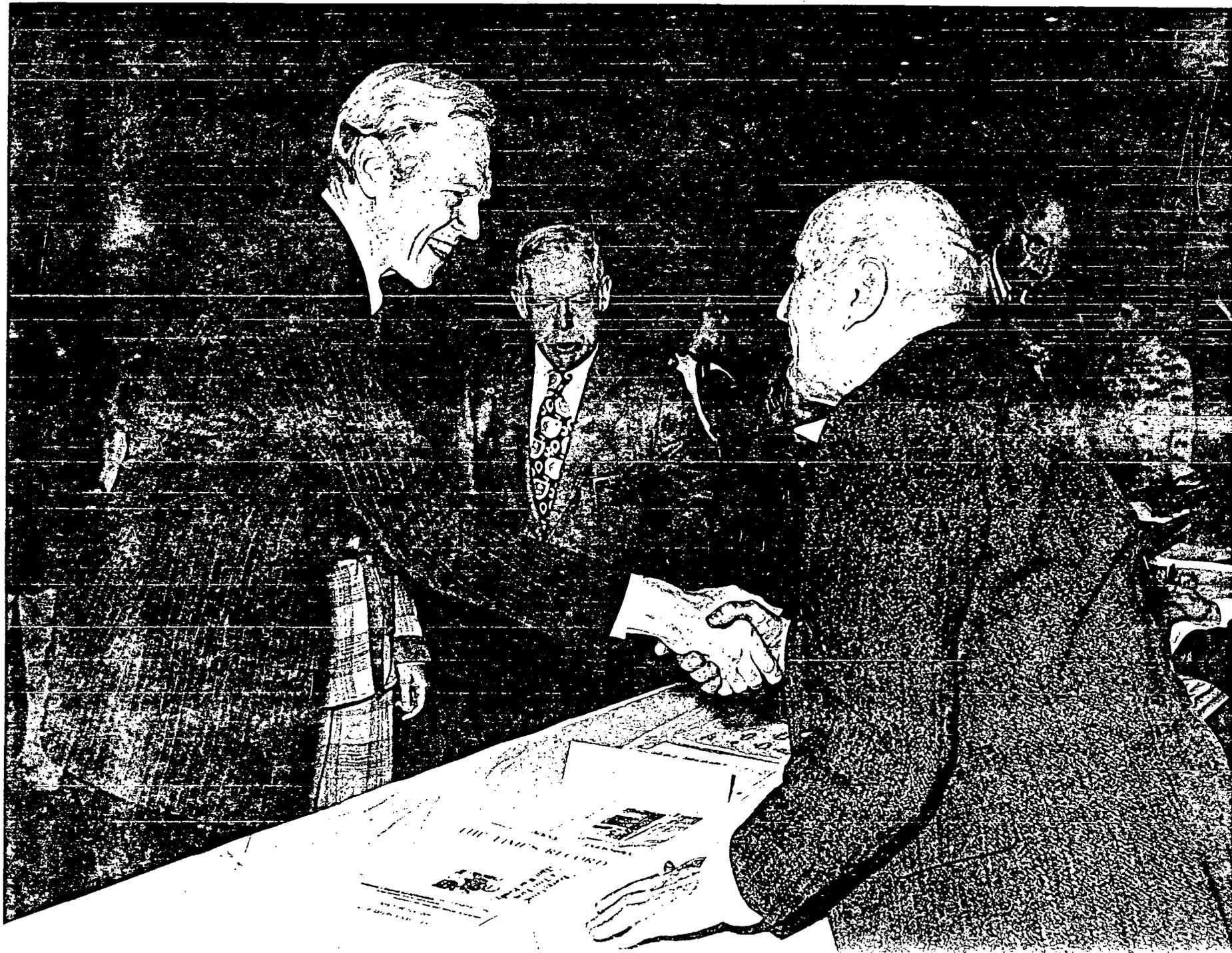
They helped to lay the basis for the present huge Composite Plastic Industry.

With the exception of a single group of thermoplastic corrigated sheets all the other items in this list are made of so-called composite material, namely, a fibrous reinforced heat hardened (thermosetting) plastic.

It is believed that these Robert Kemp inventions are now giving more work to more thousands of workers than the inventions of any other inventor now alive. ✓

November 20, 1975.





United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 7, 1976

Honorable Jimmy Carter
P. O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Jimmy:

Your Washington staff recently asked for background on a bill I have offered concerning American nuclear weapons policy (S. 2678). We sent the information to your office here earlier this week; I am anxious, however, that you yourself have an opportunity to examine my proposal.

You may know that I have been very concerned about the inability of the nuclear powers to control the atomic arms race. My feeling is that the nuclear arms spiral not only threatens to destroy civilization, should deterrence fail, but that our own nuclear policy and the degree of secrecy on which it is based is in fact already undermining the moral and political foundation of our democracy.

It seems to me that in our approach to the problem, we may make a fundamental error in relying so completely on negotiated agreements. The fact is we don't trust the people we're to make these agreements with; and seen in this light, it is not surprising that real agreement, and real arms control, is not forthcoming.

I feel there is a great deal the United States could do unilaterally. I start from the belief that nuclear weapons are useless except as a deterrent; and that deterrence is achieved when we can assure the delivery of a relatively small number of weapons. So I think we could achieve a great deal by cutting our own unnecessary "overkill" capability, while at the same time we would be no less secure.

The provisions of my bill do not go this far -- they are only a first step in this direction. The bill would:

- 1) stop the production of new weapons-grade plutonium;
- 2) make public the size of our nuclear arsenal; and
- 3) enable the Congress, if it so desired, to disapprove increases in the total arsenal.

By stopping the production of plutonium for weapons, we would put a ceiling (though still an absurdly high ceiling) on the number of weapons we could deploy.

Honorable Jimmy Carter
Page Two
July 7, 1976

By making public a) the number of weapons we deploy, b) their megatonnage, c) the number of weapons we stockpile, and d) the amount of weapons-grade fissionable material we now possess, I think Americans could be convinced that we already have, in terms of numbers, enough. A weapons technology race may still go on, but the number of weapons and the amount of fissionable material for weapons is already more than adequate.

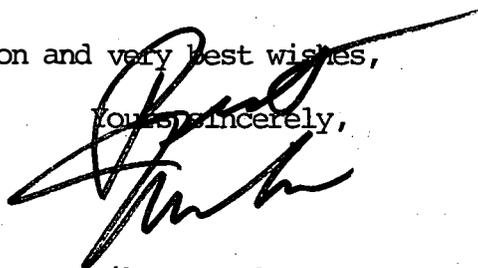
Finally, I think it would be beneficial for the Congress as a whole to have greater power over nuclear weapons policy. I think the provision of my bill is closer to the intent of the Constitution than the present arrangement. A structure is established within which increases in the total number of weapons could be disapproved by the Congress -- but the initiative remains with the President, and the Executive Branch is free to carry on as at present within the current total number of weapons (strategic plus tactical).

The bill is called "Nuclear Weapons Sufficiency Act" in order to call attention to the proposition that we already have a larger number of atomic weapons than we need. I agree that we should have as many of these weapons as are needed for deterrence -- but that when we deploy so many more than a deterrent number, we simply increase the danger to the world (and, no less, to ourselves) unnecessarily.

I have enclosed a copy of S. 2678 as well as the statement I made when I offered the bill last month as an amendment to the ERDA authorization act.

With thanks for your attention and very best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Mike Gravel", written over the typed name below.

Mike Gravel

Enclosures

94TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 2678

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 17, 1975

Mr. GRAVEL (for himself, Mr. ABOUREZK, Mr. HARTKE, and Mr. MCGOVERN)
introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the
Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

A BILL

To prohibit the production of fissionable nuclear materials for use
in weapons; to make public the number and potential ex-
plosive yield of nuclear weapons currently possessed by the
United States; to make public the amount of weapons-grade
fissionable nuclear material now possessed by the United
States; and to provide for congressional review of any in-
crease in such number, potential explosive yield or amount.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 *That this Act may be cited as the "Nuclear Weapons Suf-*
4 *iciency Act".*

5 SEC. 2. (a) The Congress finds that—

6 (1) the United States has deployed nuclear weapons

MR. PRESIDENT, THE PURPOSE OF THIS AMENDMENT IS TO PROVIDE A FIRST STEP IN RESTORING REASON TO THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR DEFENSE POLICY.

THE AMENDMENT INVOLVES THREE MEASURES WHICH THE UNITED STATES CAN TAKE UNILATERALLY, WITHOUT AT ALL WEAKENING THE DEFENSE OF THE COUNTRY, TO BEGIN REMOVING THE FUSE FROM THE ATOMIC ARMS RACE.

THE IDEA BEHIND THESE MEASURES IS SIMPLE AND LOGICAL: YOU CANNOT KILL AN ENEMY MORE THAN ONCE; YOU CANNOT INTIMIDATE ANYONE BY THREATENING TO BLOW HIM UP A 39TH TIME OR A 40TH TIME; AND THE FRANTIC ACQUISITION BY OUR MILITARY OF EVER MORE ATOMIC BOMBS AND EVER MORE OVERKILL CAPABILITY IS WASTEFUL AND DEMORALIZING.

THE INCREASING NUMBER OF AMERICAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS NOT GIVING US SECURITY, NOR IS IT PROTECTING OUR FREEDOM, NOR UPHOLDING THE VALUES OF OUR CIVILIZATION. TO THE CONTRARY, IT IS MAKING THIS COUNTRY, AND THE REST OF THE WORLD WITH US, EACH DAY LESS SECURE, LESS FREE, LESS HUMANE.

IT HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED SINCE THE HIROSHIMA BLAST 30 YEARS AGO THAT NUCLEAR WEAPONS WOULD CHANGE THE NATURE OF WAR. MANY PEOPLE SUGGESTED THAT MAN HIMSELF MIGHT HAVE TO CHANGE TO ACCOMODATE TO THE NEW REALITIES OF NUCLEAR FISSION AND FUSION.

BUT IN THOSE 30 YEARS WE HAVE NOT CHANGED. EVEN THE MOST OBVIOUS FACT ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONRY SEEMS TO BE IGNORED: THAT A POINT IS REACHED -- IS SOON REACHED -- WHEN ADDITIONAL NUMBERS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS THREATEN NOT THE ENEMY WHO MAY SEEK TO OVERWHELM US, BUT RATHER THREATEN THE WHOLE OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION AND THE BIO-PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT FROM WHICH THAT CIVILIZATION HAS SPRUNG.

BEFORE THE ATOMIC BOMB, MORE WEAPONS MAY HAVE MEANT MORE SECURITY. TODAY, MORE WEAPONS CAN MEAN SUICIDE.

MY AMENDMENT ADDRESSES THE THREE GREAT PROBLEMS WHICH ATOMIC WEAPONS HAVE BROUGHT TO THE UNITED STATES: THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR ARMS; EXCESSIVE MILITARY SECRECY; AND NUCLEAR POLLUTION.

THE AMENDMENT IS MEANT TO BE A FIRST STEP IN BRINGING THESE PROBLEMS UNDER CONTROL. IT WOULD DO THREE THINGS:

- DIRECT ERDA TO DISCONTINUE THE PRODUCTION OF NEW PLUTONIUM FOR WEAPONS;
- REQUIRE PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF THE SIZE OF OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL; AND
- PROVIDE FOR MEANINGFUL CONGRESSIONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONS ABOUT THE SIZE OF THE NUCLEAR ARSENAL.

I WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS EACH OF THESE PROVISIONS:

FIRST, PLUTONIUM PRODUCTION. THE BILL UNDER CONSIDERATION, S.3105, AUTHORIZES THE CONTINUED PRODUCTION OF WEAPONS-GRADE PLUTONIUM.

I BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE UNITED STATES ALREADY POSSESSES MORE THAN ENOUGH PLUTONIUM TO MAINTAIN A COMPLETELY ADEQUATE DETERRENT FORCE. THE PRODUCTION OF NEW PLUTONIUM, WHICH IS ITSELF A HAZARDOUS ACTIVITY CREATING HUGE QUANTITIES OF RADIOACTIVE WASTES, SHOULD BE STOPPED.

THE UNITED STATES' STOCK OF FISSIONABLE MATERIALS FOR WEAPONS WAS ALREADY SO LARGE MORE THAN TEN YEARS AGO THAT THE GOVERNMENT OFFERED TO CUT OFF PRODUCTION ON A BILATERAL BASIS. IN THE DECADE SINCE THEN, EVEN MORE OF THESE MATERIALS HAVE BEEN ACCUMULATED. THESE FISSIONABLE MATERIALS DO NOT LOSE THEIR POTENCY, AND THEY CAN BE RE-USED IN NEW WEAPONS WHEN OLDER WARHEADS BECOME OBSOLETE. WE HAVE SOME 30,000 WEAPONS DEPLOYED NOW, IN ADDITION TO A HUGE STOCKPILE OF NON-DEPLOYED WEAPONS AND FISSIONABLE MATERIALS.

THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT IN THESE WEAPONS AND IN THE STOCKPILE THERE ALREADY EXISTS ENOUGH PLUTONIUM AND HIGHLY ENRICHED URANIUM TO ASSURE A COMPLETELY CREDIBLE NUCLEAR DETERRENT. IN OTHER WORDS, A FULLY MODERNIZED NUCLEAR FORCE CAN BE MAINTAINED WITHOUT PRODUCING NEW WEAPONS-GRADE PLUTONIUM. SINCE ALL THE PLUTONIUM WE NEED EXISTS ALREADY IN DEPLOYED WEAPONS AND IN THE STOCKPILE, IT CAN SIMPLY BE TRANSFERRED FROM THESE SOURCES TO NEW WEAPONS, AS THE NEED FOR MODERNIZATION MAY REQUIRE.

IN THIS WAY, TOO, THE ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS INVOLVED IN PLUTONIUM PRODUCTION WOULD BE AVERTED. ALREADY, MORE THAN 200-MILLION GALLONS OF HIGH-LEVEL RADIOACTIVE WASTES HAVE BEEN GENERATED IN OUR PRODUCTION OF WEAPONS MATERIALS -- AND ERDA PROJECTS 32-MILLION MORE GALLONS OVER THE NEXT TEN YEARS. THE ULTIMATE STORAGE OF THESE WASTES, LIKE THE WASTES OF COMMERCIAL NUCLEAR POWER PLANTS, IS STILL AN UNRESOLVED PROBLEM.

THE SECOND AREA IS SECRECY. MY AMENDMENT WOULD MAKE PUBLIC THE BASIC INFORMATION NEEDED FOR CITIZEN COMPREHENSION OF OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL: HOW MANY WEAPONS WE HAVE DEPLOYED; THE TOTAL EXPLOSIVE POTENTIAL (THAT IS, THE MEGATONNAGE) OF THESE WEAPONS; HOW MANY WEAPONS WE HAVE STORED; AND THE TOTAL AMOUNT OF WEAPONS-GRADE PLUTONIUM AND URANIUM IN U.S. POSSESSION.

SENSITIVE INFORMATION LIKE THE ACCURACY OF OUR MISSILES IS NOT INVOLVED HERE. ONLY THE BASIC OUTLINE AND DIMENSIONS OF OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL WOULD BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE, AS THEY MUST IF CITIZENS AND THE CONGRESS ARE EVER TO EXERCISE ANY CONTROL OVER THE EXCESSIVE NUCLEAR AMBITIONS OF OUR MILITARY.

INFORMATION LIKE THIS WOULD NOT AID ANY ENEMY. AS ROBERT OPPENHEIMER SAID:

"THERE IS GRAVE DANGER FOR US IN THAT THESE DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN ON THE BASIS OF FACTS HELD SECRET. THIS IS ... BECAUSE WISDOM ITSELF CANNOT FLOURISH, NOR EVEN TRUTH BE DETERMINED, WITHOUT THE GIVE AND TAKE OF DEBATE OR CRITICISM. THE RELEVANT FACTS COULD BE OF LITTLE HELP TO AN ENEMY; YET THEY ARE INDISPENSABLE FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF QUESTIONS OF POLICY. IF WE ARE WHOLLY GUIDED BY FEAR, WE SHALL FAIL IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS."

FINALLY, CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL. MY AMENDMENT WOULD REQUIRE THE PRESIDENT TO ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY AND TO JUSTIFY ANY PROPOSED INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF DEPLOYED WEAPONS OVER THE NUMBER CURRENTLY DEPLOYED, OR ANY INCREASE IN TOTAL DEPLOYED MEGATONNAGE. THE CONGRESS COULD THEN DEBATE AND, IF IT CHOSE TO DO SO, COULD DISALLOW SUCH AN INCREASE. THIS MEANS THAT THE CONGRESS WOULD BE IN A POSITION, IF IT SO DECIDED, TO IMPOSE A CEILING ON THE NUMBER OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEPLOYED BY THIS COUNTRY. AND IT MEANS THAT BOTH CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC WOULD HAVE THE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO MAKE SUCH A DECISION.

THIS PROVISION WOULD NOT TIE THE HANDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. ALREADY, ACCORDING TO PUBLICLY AVAILABLE ESTIMATES, WE DEPLOY SOME 9,000 STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WARHEADS AND SOME 22,000 TACTICAL WEAPONS. THE TOTAL EXPLOSIVE POWER OF OUR ARSENAL IS REPORTED TO BE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF 8,000 MEGATONS, THE EQUIVALENT OF 8 BILLION TONS OF TNT, OR TWO-TO-THREE TONS FOR EVERY PERSON ON EARTH -- OR, PUT ANOTHER WAY, SOME 615,000 HIROSHIMA EQUIVALENTS -- OR 4,000 WORLD WAR II'S.

WITHIN THESE VERY HIGH LIMITS, THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE MILITARY COULD, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AMENDMENT, DO AS THEY SAW FIT. MOST NOTABLY, THE IMPROVEMENT OF MISSILES, THE EXPANSION OF THE STRATEGIC FORCE (ESPECIALLY THE SUBMARINE FORCE), THE IMPROVEMENT OF WARHEADS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES DEEMED NECESSARY WOULD BE COMPLETELY UNAFFECTED BY THIS MEASURE.

WHAT CONGRESS WOULD BE SAYING IN PASSING THIS AMENDMENT IS
SIMPLY:

"IF 30,000 ATOMIC BOMBS, OR 4,000 WORLD WAR II'S ARE NOT ENOUGH
TO DEFEND US, THEN WHAT WILL BE ENOUGH? IF YOU BELIEVE WE NEED MORE,
YOU MUST EXPLAIN WHY."

I WANT TO EMPHASIZE, MR. PRESIDENT, SOME OF THE THINGS MY
AMENDMENT IS NOT.

IT IS NOT UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT, BECAUSE IT IS NOT DISARMAMENT
AT ALL.

IT DOES NOT LEAVE THIS COUNTRY WITHOUT ADEQUATE DEFENSE, BECAUSE
OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL ALREADY PROVIDES AS MUCH DEFENSE, IN TERMS OF
NUMBERS OF WEAPONS, AS IT POSSIBLY CAN. ADDING EVER-GREATER OVERKILL
CAPABILITY -- THE SECOND AND THE THIRD TNT EQUIVALENT TON FOR EVERY
HUMAN BEING ON THE PLANET, OR THE 40TH TIME WE CAN EVAPORATE EVERY
LARGE SOVIET CITY -- IS NOT DEFENSE; IT IS PARANOIA.

THIS AMENDMENT IS NOT A CONSTRICTION ON THE INITIATIVE OF THE
PRESIDENT, BECAUSE UNDER ITS PROVISIONS, HE IS LEFT FREE (WITHIN THE
ALREADY ENORMOUS BOUNDS OF OUR CURRENT ARSENAL) TO ACT ENTIRELY AS
HE UNDERSTANDS THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY TO REQUIRE. AND EVEN IF
HE BELIEVES OUR NUCLEAR FORCE SHOULD DOUBLE OR TRIPLE IN SIZE, HE IS
FREE TO DO THAT, PROVIDED ONLY THAT HE CAN PERSUADE THE CONGRESS HE IS
DOING THE RIGHT THING. HE WOULD NOT EVEN NEED THE CONGRESS' EXPLICIT
PERMISSION, BUT WOULD ONLY BE SUBJECT TO ITS DISALLOWING ANY INCREASE
WHICH IT FOUND TO BE CONTRARY TO THE NATIONAL INTEREST.

I MAKE NO SECRET OF THE FACT THAT I MYSELF WOULD SEEK TO CONTAIN OUR NUCLEAR FORCE AT OR BELOW ITS PRESENT LEVEL. I BELIEVE THAT OUR CURRENT ARSENAL, AND THE OVERKILL CONTAINED THERE, IS BESTIAL; THAT IT REPRESENTS A HORRIBLE VICTORY OF AMORAL TECHNOLOGICAL CAPABILITY OVER THE QUALITIES OF RESTRAINT AND COMPASSION WHICH ARE THE REAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF HUMAN CULTURE; AND THAT, IN FACT, THESE TERRIBLE WEAPONS AND OUR READINESS TO EMPLOY THEM PROVE THAT WE AS A NATION HAVE ONLY A TENUOUS HOLD ON THESE QUALITIES, THE VERY ONES WHICH WE SOMETIMES SAY THE WEAPONS ARE DEFENDING.

THIS BRINGS ME TO WHAT MY AMENDMENT DOES ACHIEVE.

IT BEGINS TO RESTORE TO THE CONGRESS AND TO THE PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO EXERCISE REASONABLE CONTROL OVER THE WAR-MAKING POWERS OF THE NATION -- AND IT OPENS TO THE PUBLIC VIEW THE BASIC FACTUAL INFORMATION WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCH CONTROL.

SPECIFICALLY, IT ASKS THE VOTER, RATHER THAN THE RAND CORPORATION, THE QUESTION: "HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH?".

WHY HAVE WE NOT PREVIOUSLY INSISTED ON A CLEARER VIEW OF OUR NUCLEAR ARSENAL? IS IT BECAUSE PEOPLE FEEL REPELLED AND OVERWHELMED BY THIS SUBJECT?

A TERRIBLE ANALOGY PRESENTS ITSELF:

WE WERE QUICK TO CONDEMN THE SELF-ENFORCED IGNORANCE OF GERMAN CITIZENS IN WORLD WAR II WITH REGARD TO THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS. BUT I SAY BLUNTLY THAT WE ARE LAYING OUT A FEAST OF DEATH AND GENOCIDE BESIDE WHICH THE STENCH OF AUSCHWITZ AND DACHAU WOULD HARDLY BE NOTICEABLE. WHAT IS 6 MILLION NEXT TO 60 MILLION OR EVEN

600 MILLION?

MORE PRECISELY, WE AS CITIZENS ARE ALLOWING THIS CATASTROPHE TO PROCEED. AND WHILE WE SURROUND OURSELVES WITH COMFORTS AND LUXURIES UNPRECEDENTED IN HISTORY, WE ARE IGNORING THIS CENTRAL ENTERPRISE OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

I KNOW WE ARE TRYING TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THIS THREAT. AND I KNOW WE ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS FOLLY.

BUT THE FACT IS THAT OUR SALT NEGOTIATIONS ARE BECOMING PROGRAMS FOR SCHEDULING AND EVEN FOR ACCELERATING THE PRODUCTION OF MORE WEAPONS BY BOTH SIDES. MEANWHILE, WE IGNORE OUR OBLIGATION UNDER THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY -- NOT TO MENTION THE COMPULSION OF COMMON SENSE -- TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF ATOMIC WEAPONS.

ON THE SUBJECT OF NUCLEAR DEFENSE, I BELIEVE AMERICAN CITIZENS FEEL HELPLESSNESS AND FRUSTRATION. ON THE ONE SIDE, THEY SEE THE NEED FOR REALISTIC MILITARY PREPAREDNESS. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, I BELIEVE THEY UNDERSTAND THAT DEFENSE AND SUICIDE ARE BECOMING ONE.

MILITARY SECRECY IS BEING USED TO CUT OFF UNDERSTANDING AND REAL DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT. THE MILITARY WILL OPPOSE THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD MAKE PUBLIC THE SIZE OF OUR NUCLEAR FORCE. I DO NOT DOUBT THAT THE PENTAGON WOULD ARGUE THAT THIS INFORMATION COULD AID AN ENEMY.

BUT IT IS NOT THE SOVIETS OR THE CHINESE WHO WILL LEARN ANYTHING FROM PUBLICATION OF THESE BASIC, NON-SENSITIVE FACTS. WE HAVE ALREADY THOROUGHLY IMPRESSED THE COMMUNIST WORLD WITH THE POWER OF OUR WEAPONS AND THE SIZE OF OUR ARSENAL.

RATHER, IT IS THE AMERICAN VOTER WHOSE EYES WILL BE OPENED, AND IT IS THIS VOTER AND HIS COMMONSENSE WHICH FRIGHTEN OUR MILITARY PLANNERS.

THIS AMENDMENT OFFERS A FIRST STEP TOWARD A NUCLEAR DEFENSE POSTURE WHICH IS STRONG, DEMOCRATIC AND MORAL.

WE ARE ALREADY AS SAFE AS GREAT NUMBERS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAN MAKE US. MORE WEAPONS WILL NOT MAKE US SAFER.

IT IS TIME FOR THE CONGRESS ONCE AGAIN TO EXERCISE MEANINGFUL CONTROL OVER ALL THE WAR-MAKING POWERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

IT IS TIME FOR AMERICANS TO RECOGNIZE THE INSANITY OF OUR CURRENT NUCLEAR POSTURE.

IT IS TIME TO STOP ACTING ON THE BASIS OF FEAR, AND TO BRING OUR OWN NUCLEAR ARSENAL (AND FROM THERE, HOPEFULLY, THE ENTIRE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE) UNDER THE CONTROL OF REASON.

Wednesday, 14 July

Honorable Jimmy Carter
Democrat Nominee For President
Plains, Georgia 31780

Dear Mr. Carter:

In accordance with the suggestion of your son Jack, I am enclosing a paper which I have prepared proposing a plan for the solution of the "Energy Crisis."

In the event that you find the plan meritorious, my services are available for assisting your staff in progressing it to completion.

Respectfully,



Ellis F. Powell
1720 Diana Boulevard
Merritt Island, Florida 32952

305/452-1225

Copy: Mr. Jack Carter
Route 5
Calhoun, Georgia 30701

OUTLINE OF PLANS SUPPORTING A
"BOLD AND COMPREHENSIVE" PROGRAM FOR THE ATTAINMENT
OF ENERGY SELF SUFFICIENCY BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY

Fifty-two years ago when I arrived in Kansas City, Missouri from a hard scrabble farm in the northeast part of the state, after a year of teaching in a one-room rural school, the two things that impressed me most were the Detroit Electric Phaeton occupied by the social elite of the city, fine ladies beautifully dressed enroute to or from social engagements, shopping expeditions, or the other pursuits which occupied the time of ladies of the early 1920's -- These vehicles were truly a beautiful sight -- polished to a black satin finish -- pearl grey plush upholstery, a small bud vase on the doorpost -- gliding silently along Grand Avenue -- no noise -- no fumes -- steered by a horizontal lever across the lap of the operator. At the other end of the transportation spectrum were heavy duty trucks -- I believe of the capacity of 10 tons being operated by the City Ice Company and the Kansas City Power & Light Company. I believe these were built by "Autocar Company", propelled by an electric traction-type motor powered by storage batteries.

Unfortunately, neither of these adaptations of electrical energy to the movement of goods and people was developed beyond these limited areas. Already the influence of the automobile manufacturers -- in collusion with the petroleum interests, had relegated the electrically powered passenger vehicle and cargo carrier to the industrial limbo. The internal combustion engine fueled by petroleum derivatives-mainly gasoline-took its place. If the mind of man has ever conceived a more wasteful or obnoxious device for the movement of goods and people -- it has escaped my notice.

It was to be more than 20 years later when, as Director of Land

Transportation in MacArthur's GHQ "Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers" (Administering the Japanese Civilian Economy) in Tokyo, I discovered that the exigencies of wartime shortages of petroleum and an abundant supply of hydro-electric power had forced the Japanese to return, on a limited scale, to electrically powered vehicles. A small four passenger car, electrically powered intra-city buses, and with my encouragement they began installing trolley buses over several heavily travelled routes to and from the Ginza shopping and amusement area of Tokyo.

The first job I had after leaving the farm, was as office boy in the office of Auditor of Revenues of the Kansas City Southern Railway General Office in Kansas City. Over the next 10 years, through diligent effort, outside study and the acceptance by management of an innovative idea proposed by me, I had advanced to one of the top clerical jobs in an office of over one hundred. I had earned promotion placing me considerably above my standing on the seniority roster. As a result of the general depression of the 30's, plus the short-sighted policies of the railway industry with respect to the efficiencies of the motor truck, a general reduction in force was ordered. Demotions were to be based solely on the seniority roster. This action convinced me that the railroad industry held no future for me.

Just at this time, Congress passed the Motor Carrier Act of 1935 placing all forms of motor transportation for hire under Federal regulation. This demanded the filing with the Interstate Commerce Commission of tariffs naming all their services and the rates and charge for the same -- within one year-- a stupendous undertaking. Since this was the area of transportation in which I had specialized, I resigned my position and accepted employment with the Mid-Western Motor Freight Tariff Bureau (an association of motor carriers) as a tariff compiler. Within 3 months I was promoted to Department Chief and Alternate Publishing Agent.

My activities in this field had given me a broad exposure to the regulatory problems confronting the industry, a field in which there were few attorney's qualified to represent the trucking industry before the I.C.C. I therefore did some outside preparation and took the examination for admission to the bar of the I.C.C. and was admitted. For about 2 years I engaged in private practice before this body. The industry was struggling for its existence and although there was much demand for my services, the emolument was unrewarding.

I therefore accepted the position of General Traffic Manager of Watson Bros. Transportation Company, one of the major trucking companies, headquartered in Omaha, Nebraska.

After about 2 years I conceived the idea of a coordinated coast to coast motor truck service which culminated in the formation of Transco System, Inc., an association of seven major motor carriers forming a coordinated network of motor carrier routes between the East and West Coasts. During this period, I introduced and supervised the first trailer on flat car (piggyback) service between Chicago and Missouri River points.

While serving as Secretary and General Manager of Transco System headquartered in Denver, Colorado (May 1942) my principals were requested by the War Department to release me to become a supervisor-instructor in the School of Transportation which the Ordnance Department of the U.S. Army was establishing at Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois for the training of civilians to act as Traffic Managers and Expeditors of Ordnance Department Materiel, destined to our armed forces throughout the world. In January, 1943 the school was discontinued and I accepted a direct commission as Captain in the Army of the United States and was assigned Transportation Officer of Rock Island Arsenal, the master depot for storage and shipping of replacement parts for automotive and tracked vehicles of our armed forces and those of

our allies throughout the world. In June, 1945 I was selected for training in the Army's School of Military Government at the University of Virginia.

Upon the ending of the war, I was shipped directly to MacArthur's GHQ where I served as Director of land transportation until December, 1949. In September, 1946 having decided against a military career, I was permitted to resign my commission with the stipulation that I would remain in the HQ for at least 3 years. The position I occupied was rated GS14 and the remuneration was about 4 times that of my salary as a Captain.

At this time (December 1949) I was selected as a member of a seven man task force to establish a viable military government for Okinawa and the Ryukyu Archipelago. My position was Director of Public Services, GS15, in which capacity I made recommendations to the Military Governor with respect to Plans, Policies and Programs in the fields of: Communications, power generation and transmission, water supply and sanitation services, port and harbor rehabilitation, operation and maintenance, road planning construction and maintenance, land and water transportation and postal services.

The outbreak of the Korean War and urgent family responsibilities necessitated my resigning this position in August 1950 and returning home.

In early September 1950 I was informed by a former associate that the E.C.A. (Economic Corporation Administration) was in need of a man of my qualifications to take the post of Industry Officer in the Mission to China (Taipei, Formosa). I filed application for the position and after clearance by the Chinese Authorities (some of whom I had personally dealt with on war reparations while in GHQ Tokyo), I accepted the position of Economic Attache, Foreign Service Officer Grade 1. The responsibilities consisted of programming, budgeting and surveillance of all aspects of the U.S. Aid Program as it pertained to Industrial rehabilitation and development. One of the major objectives of which was laying the groundwork for the advent of USMAG

(United States Military Assistance Group).

Early in 1952 I developed a digestive condition which I found rendered it impossible for me to discharge my duties in a manner which I considered satisfactory. I therefore tendered my resignation effective February 29, 1952. After several weeks of observation and treatment at the Bethesda National Naval Medical Center, my condition was diagnosed as "chronic gastritis" and the best therapy would be to "take it easy" for a while.

Having previously made some modest investments in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, we decided to follow the doctor's advice. I engaged in real estate and securities investment -- interspersed with substitute teaching in the junior and senior high schools.

In 1959 Univis, Inc., a major manufacturer of ophthalmic products, of Dayton, Ohio transferred their operations to Ft. Lauderdale and my services were engaged as Traffic Manager. I developed a shipping system which rendered better service to the trade at much lower cost than was the case from Dayton.

In addition thereto I conceived, designed and installed a revolutionary system for receiving, storing, selecting and shipping products which reduced labor costs more than 50% and warehouse space requirements by about the same -- savings determined by the Vice President Distribution to be in the neighborhood of \$100,000 per year. Shortly thereafter, my services were terminated, on direct orders of the president of the company.

At about this time, I was visited by a former associate from GHQ Tokyo who was Traffic Vice President of the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad. He stated that his company was becoming extensively engaged in "Piggyback" operations, that he had some reservations regarding the profitability of this traffic and that he had been unable to get a satisfactory cost and profit analysis from internal sources. He asked me to initiate a survey

and submit a report of my findings. After several weeks of deliberation, I accepted the assignment and initiated the program during the first week of February 1964. The study was completed and the report of my findings and recommendations was submitted to David O. Matthews, President of C. & E.I. on April 24, 1964.

My recommendations were implemented and resulted in substantial reduction of unprofitable traffic and also effected considerable savings in charges paid contractors for the performance of terminal services. Furthermore, an internal reorganization of the management structure which I recommended was implemented resulting in a much better "handle" on this class of traffic.

At about this time, I was informed by my only daughter, the mother of our six grandchildren and the wife of an Army Officer, that they were being posted to Garmisch, Germany where he was assigned as Commander of the Army Institute for Soviet and East European Affairs. In the meantime, the urbanization and deterioration of life quality in Ft. Lauderdale, largely due to air pollution by the exhaust emissions of many thousands of automobiles had convinced us that it was time to find a more congenial environment in which to reside. We had previously become familiar with living conditions in Garmisch and decided to take residence there for the duration of our son-in-law's tour of duty of 4 years including Col. Patterson's one-year tour in Viet Nam. Returning to the states in the fall of 1970 we resided in Washington, D.C. while deciding where to locate permanently. We decided on Merritt Island, Florida, in a middle-income neighborhood near the Kennedy Space Center.

My wife Margaret and I have resided here since December 1971, where I engage in gardening about the property and keeping abreast of the times through frequent visits to the Merritt Island Public Library, which is a 10 minute walk from our home.

I have been keenly interested in the problems confronting our society due to the energy crisis and deeply concerned at the irresponsibility of our leadership for its failure to formulate a policy and programs for eliminating our dependence on imported petroleum. I am more concerned by the fact that every day we are consuming more petroleum than the day before. This is not alone unnecessary but to my mind exemplifies the total indifference of our national leadership -- both the executive and legislative branches of our government.

Due to this failure to act as you have succinctly stated results in the almost unbelievable condition we find ourselves in after almost three years of being subject to the whims of a small group of Middle Eastern Potentates who hold within their fanatical and unpredictable temperaments what ineffect amounts to a totally unacceptable threat to our continued existence.

"The Nation now has no understandable national purpose. No clearly defined goals and no organizational machine to develop or achieve such goals."
(Why Not The Best?)

Based on more than fifty years of broadly based experience in rail and motor transportation from the operational to the top levels of both industry and government administration I commend to you the following "bold and comprehensive" (ibid) program which I FIRMLY believe to be completely practical and which if implemented over the next 25 years will result in our energy self sufficiency. "We must even face the prospect of changing our basic ways of living." (ibid)

PROGRAMS

1. Enactment into law of a uniform National Highway Traffic Code embodying but not confined to the following:
 - a. Universal practice of turning right through red lights when traffic flow permits. This practice has been in effect in Jacksonville, Florida for

- more than 10 years and throughout the state of Florida for several years; I believe this practice has now been adopted by other states. It tends to keep the flow of traffic moving rather than tying up the outside lane awaiting the light change. Inquiry elicits the information that no adverse effects have been experienced from this practice.
- b. Credible studies indicate that approximately 90% of the automobile mileage driven occurs within 30 miles of the domicile of the vehicle. In other words, in areas of high traffic density where the flow of traffic is controlled by light changes activated by pre-set timing. In many, if not most cases, the control of this traffic is required only for limited periods of time at varying times of day -- however observations over a widespread area show these lights operating when the flow of traffic does not require control beyond "Stop and/or yield" signs or flashing red or amber lights indicating caution; the long established custom of yielding the right of way to the driver's right should be observed.
 - c. In cases where these lights are justified only as stated above they should be monitored by specially trained personnel recruited from the ranks of the unemployed or welfare recipients. Many lights have been erected for the sole benefit of a single business or a small group -- such lights should be discontinued and if traffic control is necessary it should be supplied manually at the cost of the beneficiary.
 - d. The minimum age for licensing of drivers of gasoline powered vehicles should be raised to 18 years. Operators of electrically powered vehicles should be licensed at 16 years.
 - e. Use of motorcycles should be restricted to bonafide commercial pursuits only.
 - f. This subject has many ramifications which I will not go into in this paper -- consider the following: idling motors, and stops and starts

contribute substantially more to emission pollution than vehicles moving at a steady rate of speed -- unnecessary waiting for lights to change aggravates drivers -- surges of bunched cars tends to cause accidents and reduces the capacity of the roadway; whenever possible, vehicles should be allowed to move steadily at a reasonable rate of speed -- this speed should be set at not more than 35 miles per hour in built up commercial, shopping or industrial areas.

2. Bikeways for use of the General Public -- a nationwide system of bikeways could be completed as rapidly as possible -- this need not necessarily call for special construction. In many, if not most instances a bikeway could be created by restricting parking to one side of the street with a stripe on the pavement indicating the otherside to be a bikeway. They should be provided to neighborhood shopping areas, churches, schools, parks, recreation areas and other locations frequented by residents of the neighborhood. Bike stands should be provided at all the above locations in closest proximity to points of activity. Every effort to encourage the use of bikes rather than cars should be made.
3. Transportation of students except primary and county ordered busing
 - a. Parking lots at all schools should be closed to students.
 - b. No student domiciled within two miles of school should be provided transportation.
 - c. No student should be transported to a point nearer than 2 miles of school.
 - d. Utilizing the unemployed, bikeways should be designated or constructed when necessary, within the two mile area, as well as designated feeder routes beyond the 2 mile radius.
 - e. Faculty and administrative personnel should be urged to set a good example by using the bikeways.
4. Conversion of existing cars to electric operation. Changeover electrical

operated units should be rapidly developed to replace aged gas engines which are especially pollutant of the atmosphere and subject to high repair and maintenance costs. Design and specification plans should be developed and disseminated as widely as possible. It should be made possible and simple for these changeovers to be made by backyard or home garage mechanics.

5. Development and production of electrically powered passenger and light delivery vehicles.

- a. As stated above, this is not a new idea but rather one that flourished 50 years ago. Nor has the idea lain dormant during the passage of time. Fifteen years ago I observed an experimental model which an individual in Ft. Lauderdale was developing in conjunction with a New Jersey Power Company. (I don't remember the name.) It is realistic to believe that possibly several hundred models have been developed in the past several years. Frequent news items report another such event. A nationwide competition should be sponsored with awards made to the most efficient designs. The economy of the vehicle, cost of production and energy consumed should be emphasized. It would seem logical that the power generating industry should sponsor this activity.
- b. Some two or three years ago, news items reported that the Postal Service had contracted with American Motors Corporation for the development of such a vehicle for its use. Certainly their operations are weighted heavily on the side of engine idling rather than moving and are ideally adaptable to electric. When an electric is not in motion the motor is not idling. I wonder what results have been achieved by AMC in this endeavor? This should be fully investigated.
- c. Some months ago a news item reported Otis Elevator of Sweden was marketing an electric powered light delivery van in Sweden. Why not

introduce this innovation to the U.S.? Why have not one of the big 3 manufacturers come forth with at least an experimental model? I think the answer lies in the fact that compared to the gas hogs of Detroit, an efficient 4 passenger electric, drawing power from household current with a cruising range of 40 to 50 miles on a single charge can be marketed at a fraction of the cost of the gas hog, with a life much longer and with minimal repair and maintenance, and the only petroleum product consumed is axle grease. It is understood that energy required is a fraction of gas powered vehicles. This situation is sorely in need of a thorough investigation.

d. It must not be assumed that electric propulsion of larger automobiles is not feasible. In 1947, I was "honored" by being driven about Nagoya City in a modified 1938 La Salle sedan which was the official car of the Governor of Shizuoka prefecture. It was an amazing and most pleasant experience. Smooth acceleration, no vibration, no exhaust noises or fumes -- only a low toned whirring.

If the Japanese could accomplish such results 29 years ago under extremely austere wartime shortages, it cannot present unsurmountable obstacles to the most highly industrially developed society in the world. Motivation would appear to be the only deterrent.

6. Urban and Suburban Mass Transit

The immediate reintroduction of the trolley bus to accomodate the urban and suburban mass passenger movement.

a. Here we find another paradox. In the post war years of the 40's and 50's this vehicle was rapidly replacing the electric tram car for intra-city transportation. The vehicle gave a beautiful ride -- substantially noiseless, vibrationless, fumeless, and with a rapid rate of acceleration. Suddenly and unexplainably, these beautiful quiet non-polluting vehicles

began disappearing, to be replaced with the eardrum-shattering, pollution-spitting monsters. It is not known whether any are still operating in the United States. I wonder why? In the light of recent disclosures of activities of the petroleum consortium, ethically questionable inducements may have been used. This area requires an urgent and investigatory inquiry in depth including comparative cost effectiveness, environment impact and customer acceptance.

b. Washington, D.C. has recently opened a small segment of its projected extensive subway system at a cost of several times the overall estimate and several years longer under construction than originally considered realistic. (Cost in the billions). I'm firmly convinced that every bus line serving the Washington, Maryland, Virginia metropolitan area could be electrified with trolley buses at a fraction of the cost and time required for subway construction. Most of these routes now provide a traffic lane reserved for commuter buses. With this provision made for the trolley bus, commuting in this and most other metropolitan areas could soon become a pleasurable, quiet, fumeless and much more rapid ride.

c. The same operating conditions would prevail in most other metropolitan areas. This entire urban-suburban problem merits a comprehensive investigation to determine if the same forces which caused abandonment of the Pacific Electric inter-urban system of the Los Angeles-Southern California area, also engineered the demise of the trolley bus. These forces have been reported as being the oil and rubber tire interests.

7. Rebuilding the existing Railway System

a. As an efficient freight carrying medium designed and operated to not only move standard types of railway cars, but to provide efficient facilities and equipment for moving a greatly expanded volume of truck-

trailer traffic on specially designed railway flat cars.

- b. Perhaps as much as 50% of long-haul truck traffic (over 300 miles) is susceptible to movement by rail at great economies in fuel, wear and tear on motor vehicles and substantially reducing the pollution impact now experienced.

8. Building a nation-wide high-speed passenger railway system. The operation of a high-speed passenger system on the same tracks as the heavily travelled efficient freight system envisioned above is unrealistic to accommodate the high speed required by the passenger trains for the vast distances of the U.S. such tracks will require a much wider gauge track than than U.S. standard 56 1/2 inches-- perhaps as much as 6 feet.

The exact gauge would have to be determined by wind tunnel testing of equipment at speeds of 200 m.p.h. This top speed will be required in order to attain an average terminal to terminal speed of 100 to 150 m.p.h. allowing schedules from New York to Miami of 12 hours; Washington to Orlando, 8 to 9 hours; Washington to Atlanta, 6 hours; New York to Chicago, 8 hours.

Trackage of this system should be laid in the right of way of the Interstate Highway System in order to enjoy the economies of the existing gradients and curvatures thereof which will sustain the high speeds mentioned.

9. Air transport is an area which requires extensive and in-depth study. Can the economy and the ecology continue supporting this vast fleet of planes in the atmosphere where nearly half the seats of every plane in the air is unoccupied? Is it realistic to perpetuate the fiction of "competition" between carriers when they all fly substantially the same equipment, offer the same in-flight service and charge the same fares, while continuing to spend large amounts of their income trying to convince the travelling public that one is better than the other? I doubt it.

10. Alternative Source of Energy

(a) Much jaw boning is going on regarding alternative sources of energy -- Geothermal, Solar, Wind Operated Generators, Harnessing the Ocean Currents, Coal Gassification, and others -- all laudable and possibly practical at some future time.

(b) One never failing source and one which can replenish itself every 25 years through the process of photosynthesis -- trees -- is not getting much, if any, attention. There are millions of acres of idle land in this country which could be producing the equivalent of millions of barrels of petroleum. It is doubtful that there is a petro-chemical derivative which cannot be produced from wood pulp.

(c) A nationwide forest development program should be initiated as soon as a practical modus operandi is developed. Something on the order of CCC camps, with a dual purpose of rescuing our youth from the ranks of the unemployed, as well as supplying this vital energy source, should be possible.

(d) Recycling of Waste.

Here again is a case of "heap big smoke -- no fire."

I suggest that a plan be worked out which will be controlled at the local level by civic and service organizations, again utilizing the ranks of the unemployed and welfare recipients (now being compensated for doing nothing), and possibly after hours, the facilities of existing sanitation or refuse organizations. The net proceeds of the sale of paper, glass, tin and aluminum containers (and I'm sure there would be some) should be used by the civic groups for civic betterment programs.

CONCLUSION

Obviously this paper covers only skeletal outlines of programs the implementation of which could determine the very existence of our society.

I'm sure that the various agencies of the Federal Government have many of the data necessary to "flesh out" these outlines. However, based on knowledge, experience and observation, there would appear to be no obstacles to the initiation of programs 1 and 2 upon enactment of appropriate legislation, wherever required. Full implementation of these programs would unquestionably reduce the consumption of energy derived from petroleum by a good many millions of barrels per year. Certainly the implementation of these programs would impose no hardship upon the citizenry -- in fact the results should generally improve the "quality of life". I do hope that you will find these thoughts helpful as you confront the formidable task of rescuing this country from the brink of self destruction.

Respectfully submitted,



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A Division of GRUNTAL & CO.

Members: Principal Stock Exchanges

July 12, 1976

Dear Governor Carter:

If, as seems almost certain, you become the nominee of the Democratic Party for the Presidency of the United States, you will have no one to blame but yourself.

Unlike your rivals who were caught up in the hurly burly of daily political and governmental activity, you have had the opportunity to sense, and the marvelous ability to maintain your sense of, the discontents that have eroded our people's confidence in their own and in the government's ability to deal effectively with the problems of our times. It is your grasp of this basic malaise and the contradiction between it and the pragmatically optimistic spirit that built this country, (if we cannot do it one way, we will do it another) that is winning this victory for you. At the same time, because your campaign has been so much a matter of spirit, you have been criticized by many for a lack of specificity. Some of these critics have, I believe, missed your basic point. Others have been trying to trap you in a misplaced concreteness for obvious partisan purposes. One hesitates, therefore, before drawing up lists of things for you to do during the election campaign.

Nevertheless, I do not think it brash to outline some ideas about the nature of the choice before the American people as seen through the eyes of a practicing Wall Street economist, with the hope that you will address yourself to these issues in the Presidential campaign.

Without doubt, the most important economic problem that each person has is that of obtaining his living. Our mores, whether Biblical or ethical, have taught most of us that we should work for it. Meanwhile, we bristle at any threat against our means of earning it or at anything that promises to erode it, if, as, and when we have earned it.

These simple ideas translate, in the first instance, into the problem of employment and unemployment and, in the second, into the problem of economic security and inflation. These have been the dominant economic issues of our time and indeed of just about anytime.

Most people would not, off hand, think there was much to argue about with respect to employment and unemployment. They would expect their government to be for employment and against unemployment. The same set of attitudes would hold for economic security and inflation. Most people would expect the government to favor the former and oppose the latter.

The past decade has, however, given economists, if not people, much to argue about with respect to these apparently simple ideas. Some have seen a sinister relationship between employment and inflation. In their view, if unemployment comes down, then prices must go up, and similarly if unemployment increases, prices must come down.

It is not clear that the Nixon-Ford Administration or the Eisenhower Administration before it, ever consciously adopted the Philips Curve (as the unemployment-price linkage is known) as a guide to economic policy, but there can be little doubt that those who influenced or created policy since 1969 have been willing to incur mass unemployment in the interest of preventing price inflation and its insidious threat to economic security. The mechanism their political philosophy has led them to use has been the country's monetary policy. Money has been kept tight relative to the level of business activity and interest rates have been kept high, reaching in 1974 the highest level in modern financial history. The results have been horrendous. First came the recession of 1969-70, then the frenzied reflation for the election of 1972 and recently the worst depression since the 1930's.

The callousness of this policy might have been forgiven by some, if it had worked. Unfortunately it has not. We find ourselves today, thirty-two months after the start of the latest downturn and fifteen months allegedly off its bottom, with seven and a half percent of our people unemployed; another three percent or so on part-time work; and uncounted millions too discouraged to look for work. We still have a Federal Budget deficit almost as high as it has ever been save for war periods. The Administration is still committed to interest rates almost as high as they have ever been in our history. Nevertheless, we still have an inflation rate sickeningly close to the highest it has ever been save for war-time periods, while the Administration is still smug enough to call an international economic summit conference in order to preach a "go slow" policy for economic recovery.

The Administration's policy has not worked because it could not work so long as it was based almost entirely on monetary means, given the kind of dynamic private economy we have in this country and given the high degree of economic interdependence that exists in the world.

The major instruments used by the government to contain inflationary tendencies have been its controls over the money supply and the level of interest rates. To pinch off inflation, it was and seems still to be thought all one has to do is restrict the credit supply and raise its price and then business will slow down and prices will ease. Unfortunately, the economy just does not work that way.

Money is the most ubiquitous of the factors of production. Raise its price and costs go up everywhere. Large segments of the economy, meanwhile, have administered prices which means that costs are passed through to the price level. The utilities industries would only be the most obvious example of this. If prices rise ahead of wages, and markets do not get cleared, production starts down, so unemployment goes up. Higher unemployment notwithstanding, much of our labor force is tightly organized and can exact higher wages when prices rise, thus shifting the interest rate induced inflation burden to the unorganized or the unemployed.

Moreover, as is inevitable when rationing is governed by price, credit needs of small business are sacrificed to those of large enterprises, adventurers rather than prudent investors take disproportionate shares of what is available. The housing industry, in particular is sapped.

Further, the unemployed, themselves, become part of the inflationary problem. Because our social legislation sees to it that they still have some income, albeit reduced, they continue to exert economic demands. They do not, however, produce so that the net effect is additional upward pressure on prices.

The short-term effects are only one part of the problem of the dogmatic obsession with a tight monetary policy. High interest rates have an adverse impact on the accumulation of real capital and hence on the expansion of the supply side of the supply/demand operations that ultimately govern pricing in a private economy. Firstly, by raising the cost of capital they weaken the incentive to invest and secondly, because capital costs more, profit margins must be higher, so prices must be higher.

It turns out, therefore, that high interest rates do not cure inflation, but rather exacerbate it; that at best they can arrest it temporarily by way of producing an inventory recession and high unemployment; and, at worst, they can provoke an acceleration of secular inflationary trends.

The chart below shows how all this has worked out since shortly after the end of World War II. Two of the curves measure the relationship between money (M-1) and the rate of business activity in the country (GNP). The curve M-1/GNP shows that the supply of money has declined relative to business activity more or less steadily which is, of course, the biggest single reason for the rise in interest rates. The curve GNP/M-1 is the reciprocal of M-1/GNP and is plotted to facilitate the comparison with the curve of AAA Bond Rates. The curves of unemployment and the rate of price inflation (based on the year-to-year change in the GNP price deflator, the broadest measure we have) are self-explanatory. You may note that, save for 1963, each upward tilt in the unemployment rate was preceded by an upturn in interest rates.

I have dwelt on the subject of money and interest rates because I regard them as critically important to the level of private economic activity in the country and that, in turn, is critically important to whatever social goals our country aspires to.

(In fairness, I must admit that many people think my description of the failure of policy is wrong or a gross over-simplification. That is possible. But if you chose to develop the monetary issue I am quite sure you will find an extraordinary phenomenon, namely that the monetary authorities (the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, most particularly) do not like to talk about it. They are willing to talk in great generalities but when it comes to specifying the level of employment or unemployment or the change in the price level that a given rate of monetary expansion or level of interest rates is supposed to produce, the authorities are silent. In fact, Chairman Burns was able to defeat Representative Reuss's attempt to require such public disclosure during this session of Congress.)

If one does finally abandon the indirect mumbo-jumbo of making money tight to cure our economic ills, then I would hope we can get down to the direct efforts to work on our problems. Fiscal policy has a great deal more to offer than has been used or fully accepted by the Administration in recent years. The Democrats forced a tax cut on the Administration last year and started the country out of the monetarily induced recession. As and when the recovery is more complete, we should look to match revenues to expenditures. Our welfare and unemployment programs are insane in their inability to match idle hands to the enormous needs for honorable if mundane work. (You touched on this in your speech before the Conference of Mayors that described urban problems.)

The list is long, but I do not mean to go on and on. My point is that the Administration is wrong in being willing to abandon full employment in order to stop inflation, if for no other reason than that such an approach does not work. We need full employment to provide us the ability to get on with the other problems of our times.

It is said that economics is the dismal science. It is also said that it is arcane and difficult to understand. I really do not think these propositions are so. Rather, I think that it is the intuitive grasp of so many people in the country that much of our direction in the past eight years has been against their interest that has given you your opportunity for leadership.

I hope you can do the job. I will do my best to help.

Sincerely,

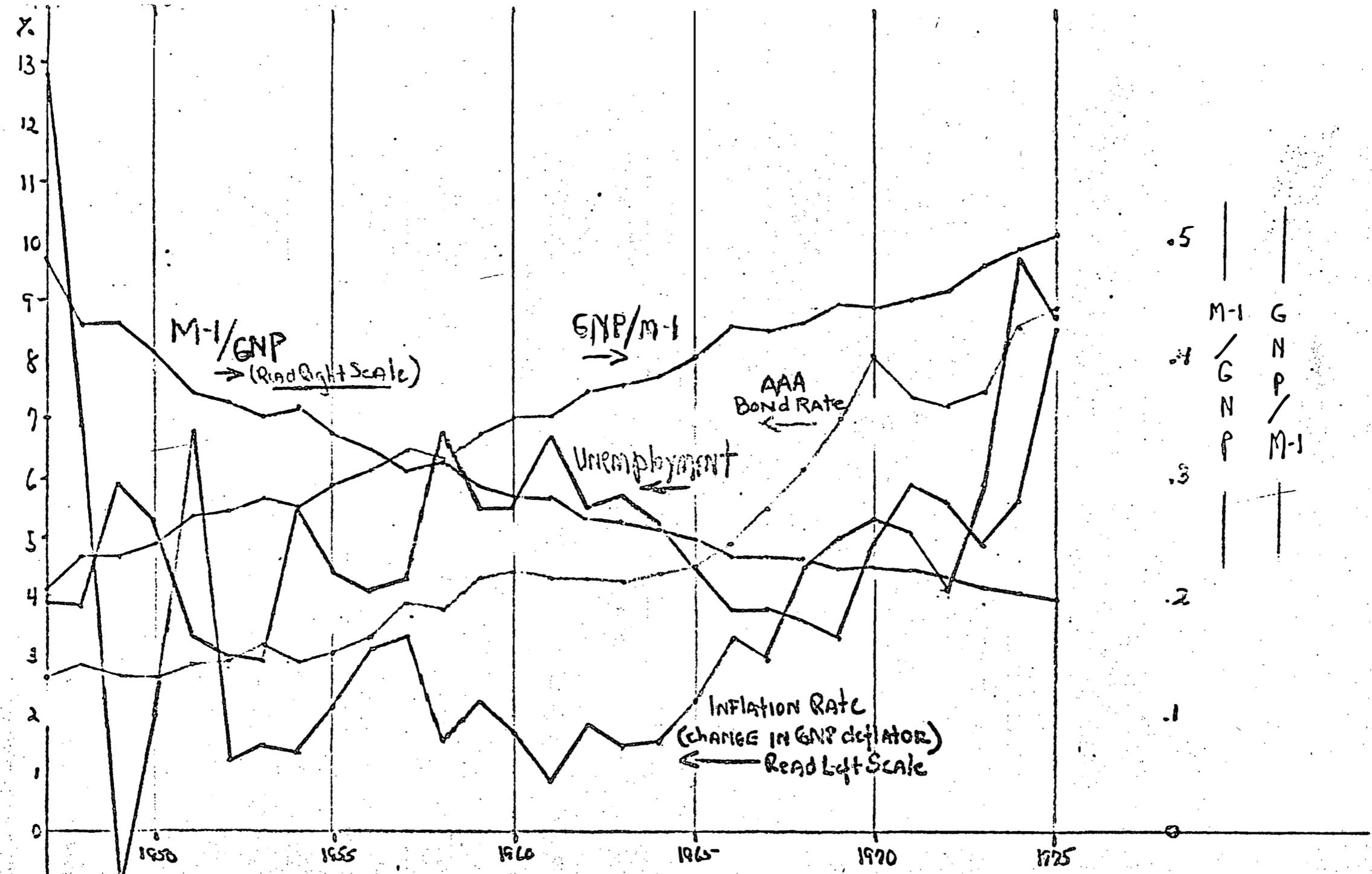


Elliot Schneider

Enc.
ES/je

P.S. I have herein criticized far better known men than myself. Credentials mean little, so may I offer the enclosed letter to President Ford as my best evidence of my knowledge of the economy.

Note: This letter represents the personal views of the writer and not necessarily the views of Gruntal & Co. and/or its partners.



Source: Economic Report of the President - 1976.

Honorable James Carter
Page Two
July 9, 1976

*Input
P.O.*

Emphasis on first-class mail should be the primary thrust of the postal system, instead it is the reverse.

The postal deficit of over a billion dollars annually, is caused and created by the give away charges extended to non-preferential mail, second, third and fourth-class. First-class mail, however, has always shown a profit since its inception.

My plan briefly amounts to this: separate the two areas of delivery.

1. Return first-class, airmail and special delivery items to a U.S. Postal System with a Postmaster General and Congress overseeing a system that only delivers this type of preferential mail.
2. Set up a U.S. Shipping Corporation as a separate unit of Government to handle second, third and fourth-class matters. Let them generate their own monies and provide services accordingly, even if it means only two or three deliveries a week and have any subsidies, if necessary be directed to this unit of government.

In this manner two things will be accomplished. First, a delivery system of mail that will be the finest in the world, and at reduced cost to the business and personal mail user.

It will also eliminate the business and everyday mail user from subsidizing industry in the movement of all parcels, magazines, catalogs and advertising gimmicks.

As I told you personally, it would be controversial, it would be a difficult transition, but not impossible, and definitely would result in a postal system that America would be proud of. Mail would be delivered with promptness and speed at less cost to the mail user.

Briefly, that is my plan in minute detail. The enclosed recommendations made a few years ago, provide a somewhat more detailed analysis.

Honorable James Carter
Page Three
July 9, 1976

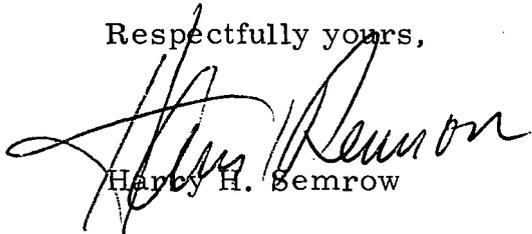
Sorry to have gone on so long, Mr. President, but it is a complex subject.

I'll be happy to discuss it with you someday in the future; if you feel the plan so merits.

In the meantime, it was indeed a pleasure to meet and talk with you as brief as it was. Please accept my good wishes for your personal success and I'm positive your leadership will regain for America what it has lost in the past number of years.

It was a pleasure to support you at the Convention and may victory be yours in November. We'll be working hard to help you achieve it.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Harry H. Semrow".

Harry H. Semrow

Enclosure

STATEMENT BY COMMISSIONER

HARRY H. SEMROW

FORMER POSTMASTER OF CHICAGO

ON JUNE 15TH, OF THIS YEAR, IN A PUBLIC CONFERENCE SUCH AS THIS, I INTRODUCED FOR CONSIDERATION A PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH A POSTAL SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES THAT WOULD RESULT IN EXPEDITIOUS, CERTAIN AND ON-TIME DELIVERY OF PREFERENTIAL MAILS - THOSE MAILS ARE: FIRST-CLASS, AIR MAIL, SPECIAL DELIVERY, REGISTERED MAIL, AND TELEGRAM AND CABLE DELIVERY - A SYSTEM THAT WOULD ONCE AND FOR ALL, PUT THE U.S. MAIL SERVICE IN THE CATEGORY IT BELONGS, THE FINEST, SAFEST AND FASTEST IN THE WORLD.

THE ORIGINAL POSTAL CONCEPT WAS DESIGNED FOR THE PURPOSE OF DELIVERING WHAT IS KNOWN AS FIRST-CLASS MAIL....LETTERS, BUSINESS CORRESPONDENCE, AND SO FORTH. BUT OVER THE YEARS, THE SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH CLASS AREAS HAVE GROWN TO SUCH VOLUMES AND EXTREMES THAT THEY HAVE STIFLED OFF THE ORIGINAL INTENT OF GOOD PREFERENTIAL MAIL SERVICE.

FIRST-CLASS MAIL HAS SHOWN A PROFIT SINCE 1926 WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONLY ONE YEAR.

I'LL JUST MAKE A FEW COMPARISONS TO POINT OUT WHAT IS HAPPENING TO MAIL COSTS:

IN 1926 - 1st CLASS MAIL GAINED \$ 73,768,786
2nd CLASS LOST \$ 83,498,229
3rd CLASS LOST \$ 1,763,768
4th CLASS LOST \$ 2,959,733

IN 1946 - 1st CLASS MAIL GAINED \$ 143,353,028
2nd CLASS MAIL LOST \$ 148,128,993
3rd CLASS MAIL LOST \$ 52,070,453
4th CLASS MAIL LOST \$ 41,512,248

IN 1967 - 1st CLASS MAIL GAINED \$ 35,023,133
2nd CLASS MAIL LOST \$421,859,903
3rd CLASS MAIL LOST \$411,570,984
4th CLASS MAIL LOST \$190,487,499

THIS PROPOSAL CALLS FOR THE SEPARATION OF THE PRESENT U.S. MAIL SYSTEM INTO TWO DIVISIONS, ONE TO BE DIRECTED BY A POSTMASTER GENERAL HANDLING ONLY PREFERENTIAL TYPE MAILS, THE OTHER TO BE IN THE FORM OF A U.S. SHIPPING CORPORATION, THAT WOULD HANDLE THE MAZE OF ADVERTISING GIMMICKS, MAGAZINES, CIRCULARS, AND PARCEL POST — ALL SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH CLASS CATEGORIES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF DAILY NEWSPAPERS.

THE MAJOR COMPONENTS OF NEGOTIATIONS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

RETENTION OF EXISTING POSTAL SERVICE FOR MAIL ENTITLED TO PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

ELIMINATION OF THE UNECONOMIC AND COSTLY MAIL SERVICES OF CERTIFIED MAIL AND COLLECT ON DELIVERY

ESTABLISHMENT OF PROMPT AND EXPEDITIOUS MAIL SERVICE FOR FIRST-CLASS MAIL, NEWSPAPERS, AND AIR MAIL BY THE POSTMASTER GENERAL

ESTABLISHMENT BY POSTMASTER GENERAL AND POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT OF SPECIAL TELEGRAM AND CABLEGRAM DELIVERY SERVICE

TRANSFER OF POSTAL SERVICE FUNCTIONS RELATING TO SECOND, THIRD, AND FOURTH-CLASS MAIL, AND OTHER MAIL SERVICES, TO THE UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE ESTABLISHED BY REVISED TITLE 39, UNITED STATES CODE.

IF AMERICA IS EVER TO ACHIEVE THE TYPE OF POSTAL SYSTEM IT SO VITALLY NEEDS, AND THE TYPE OF POSTAL SYSTEM THAT WAS ORIGINALLY INTENDED BY OUR FOUNDING FATHERS, IT MUST ONCE AND FOR ALL, SEPARATE FIRST-CLASS PREFERENTIAL MAIL FROM THE COUNTLESS ADVERTISING GIMMICKS, TONS OF MAGAZINES, MILLIONS OF CIRCULARS AND CAR LOADS OF PARCEL POST. IN THIS MANNER ONLY, CAN WE HAVE FOOLPROOF MAIL SERVICE.

THE FIRST-CLASS PREFERENTIAL MAIL USER OF TODAY IS BEING PIRATED, SMOTHERED, INUNDATED AND VIRTUALLY GOBBLED UP BY THE WEIGHT AND VOLUME OF MAGAZINES, CIRCULARS, ADVERTISING GLIMMICKS AND JUST PLAIN JUNK THAT IS DELIVERED TO MOST CITIZENS' DOORSTEPS EVERY DAY: AND, THE OFF THING ABOUT THIS IS THAT THE CITIZENS DON'T WANT - IN FACT, RESIST AND REJECT MUCH OF WHAT THEY RECEIVE - BUT DON'T REALIZE THAT IT IS THEY WHO ARE PAYING FOR IT, REGARDLESS. UNDER THIS PROPOSAL, A MAIL CARRIER WOULD ONCE AGAIN BE RESTORED TO DIGNITY AND RESPECT, CARRYING ONLY FIRST-CLASS MAIL, AIR MAIL, SPECIAL DELIVERY, REGISTERED MAIL AND WESTERN UNION TELEGRAMS. HE WOULD PRESENT TO THE TAX PAYING PATRON ONLY BUSINESS MAIL, PERSONAL MAIL AND MEANINGFUL COMMUNICATIONS OF EVERYDAY LIFE - AND WHAT A RELIEF THAT WOULD BE.

GONE FOREVER WOULD BE THE MAIL CARRIER OF TODAY - A VIRTUAL WALKING GENERAL STORE CARRYING MAGAZINES, CIRCULARS, CATALOGS, FLIERS, ADVERTISING SOAP, CEREALS, TOOTHPASTE, RAZOR BLADES AND GOD KNOWS WHAT ELSE.

THIS BILL WOULD ALSO ELIMINATE TWO COSTLY AND TIME CONSUMING SERVICES OF THE POSTAL SYSTEM - THE ELIMINATION OF C.O.D. AND CERTIFIED MAIL. EACH OF THESE NOT ONLY CONSUME MUCH OF THE PRESENT MAIL CARRIERS TIME, BUT CONTRIBUTE NOTHING AT ALL TO THE EFFICIENT MOVEMENT OF THE MAIL. C.O.D. PLACES THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT IN THE COLLECTION BUSINESS, WHERE IT HAS REALLY NO PLACE OR GOOD REASON FOR BEING. CERTIFIED MAIL CAUSES UNDUE CONFUSION AND EXPENSE AND SHOULD BE PLACED INSTEAD UNDER THE REGISTRY SYSTEM. RE-EVALUATION OF BOTH WOULD SAVE COUNTLESS OF DOLLARS, HOURS OF TIME AND FREE THE MAIL CARRIER FOR THE MORE IMPORTANT JOB OF DELIVERING THE MAIL.

LET ME CONGRATULATE PRESIDENT NIXON ON HIS VITAL INTEREST IN IMPROVING THE MAIL SERVICE AND I AGREE THAT IF SOMETHING ISN'T DONE SOON THE WHOLE SYSTEM WILL COLLAPSE. AS INDUSTRY EXPANDS ITS USE OF SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH-CLASS MAIL, THE CRUSH OF THIS

VOLUME ALONE WILL ULTIMATELY COMPLETE THE COLLAPSE.

THERE IS NO OTHER ANSWER - THE PRESENT SYSTEM REGARDLESS OF WHO RUNS IT - A POSTMASTER GENERAL OR A BOARD OF DIRECTORS - HAS OUTLIVED ITS USEFULNESS, AND UNLESS PREFERENTIAL MAIL IS SEPARATED FROM BOXES AND CARTONS, THE INEVITABLE END MUST AND WILL BE A COMPLETE COLLAPSE.

SEPARATION OF THE TWO SYSTEMS IS THE ONLY ANSWER - IN NO OTHER WAY CAN WE BE ASSURED OF AN EFFECTIVE MAIL SYSTEM - MERELY CHANGING THE OPERATING HEAD WON'T DO IT - BUT A COMPLETE CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM WILL.

I'M PLEASED TO SAY THAT JAMES RADEMACHER, PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, HAS COMMUNICATED TO ME THAT HE IS ENTHUSED ABOUT THIS PROPOSAL. HE SAYS IT HAS GREAT POSSIBILITIES AND THAT IT IS FAR SUPERIOR TO THE LEGISLATION NOW PENDING THAT WOULD TURN THE WHOLE POST OFFICE OVER TO A BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

MR. HENRY ZYCH, WHO IS INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT OF THE CHICAGO BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF LETTER CARRIERS, SAYS HE TOO FEELS THAT THIS LEGISLATION IS THE BEST PROPOSAL POSSIBLE TO GIVE AMERICA "THE FINEST POSTAL SERVICE IN THE WORLD" AND HE HEARTILY ENDORSES IT. THESE ARE MEN WHO KNOW BECAUSE THEY CARRIED MAIL FOR YEARS.

UNDER MY PROPOSAL, THE SYSTEM WILL CHANGE - FOR THE BETTER - FOR THE ULTIMATE IN MAIL IMPROVEMENT SERVICE.

July 23, 1976

Jimmy Carter
c/o PO Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Governor Carter:

AMEX-Canada is an eight-year-old magazine published by American deserters and draft resisters exiled in Canada. I write on behalf of our Editorial Board, on the instructions of Stuart Eizenstat. The following outlines our position on amnesty for war resisters and other of the war's victims, the position we hope you will come to embrace as well, and will implement upon assuming the presidency.

NEEDING AMNESTY

War-era veterans with less-than-honorable discharges:

790,000

Draft non-registrants (Selective Service figures):

500,000 - 1.7 million

Indicted or indictable draft resisters (Justice Department figures):

4,400

Deserters-at-large:

8,000 - 40,000

Civilian resisters with "criminal records" or still imprisoned:

unknown tens of thousands

Former Americans newly naturalized to other citizenship (e.g. Canadian) now excluded or excludable from the U.S.:

unknown thousands

VETERANS WITH BAD DISCHARGES

790,000 war-era veterans with-less-than-honorable discharges suffer lifetime hardships for their acts of resistance to the war within the military, desertion from the military, or their victimization by arbitrary military "justice." Less-than-honorable discharges are literally life sentences to under- or unemployment and the loss of such basic civil rights as union membership, loans, insurance, VA benefits including treatment for war injuries, and sometimes even voting. In addition to opposing the U.S. role in Southeast Asia, these vets frequently rebelled against the racism endemic to the military, particularly a military fighting against a Third World "enemy." Less-than-honorably discharged veterans are far disproportionately from black and other minority communities. In 1972, the only year

for which such records are available, black GIs made up approximately 12% of the services, yet received 33% of that year's Dishonorable Discharges, 21% of its Bad Conduct Discharges, 17% of its Undesirable Discharges, 20% of the General Discharges, and only 9% of the Honorable Discharges.

Over 90% of these less-than-honorable discharges were issued "administratively," with no semblance of due process, on the word or whim of a commanding officer, frequently without the GI even knowing the real reason for the discharge. These life-destroying discharges were issued for a variety of unchallengeable "reasons" such as "apathy," "unsuitability," or "insubordination," frequently masking antiwar organizing and resistance. No GI was ever charged with being "antiwar." Less than 10% of these discharges relate to what can be called actual crimes. Over 90% are for "offenses" that have no parallels in civilian law, but are rather infractions of purely military procedures or discipline. For those relatively few who actually committed serious crimes, a bad discharge is an additional, lifelong punishment piled on top of prison sentences already served, after they have already "paid their debt to society." Nobody "deserves" a bad discharge.

The discharge system itself is an unjust extension of military authority into our civilian lives. The military should not be permitted to brand Americans as "undesirable" for civilian employment and unworthy of basic civil rights. A true amnesty would leave no veteran permanently stigmatized with a less-than-honorable discharge, whatever the individual circumstances of the case. All such discharges should be upgraded to the only discharge that is not a lifetime punishment: Honorable Discharges. The current discharge system should be replaced with one that employs a single type of non-stigmatizing discharge.

DRAFT NON-REGISTRANTS

According to the Selective Service System, the number of people who refused to register for the draft at the age of eighteen or thereafter is between 500,000 and 1.7 million. If discovered, these people face the same punishment as any draft resister: five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. They live essentially underground lives in the nations rural areas and urban ghettos, without real names or security, and will continue to do so until they are granted amnesty.

INDICTED OR INDICTABLE DRAFT RESISTERS

In early 1975 the Justice Department released its "final list" of indicted and indictable draft resisters, numbering 4,400. Draft resisters are those whose acts of resistance to participation in the military occurred before induction: they resisted being drafted. They are perhaps the best known of those in need of amnesty, but represent, as a group, not only the smallest constituency needing amnesty, but also the only group that is mainly white, middle class, and highly educated.

Whether one's act of resistance occurred before or after induction is largely a function of class and race. More privileged people were exposed to the antiwar movement in universities while their service was being deferred, had ample access to draft counseling and legal assistance, and faced the decision in their mid-twenties prepared to refuse induction. These are the draft resisters. Poorer, disproportionately black and other

minority people, faced the draft at eighteen, without exposure to the antiwar movement, and without draft counseling or access to deferments. These are the deserters and vets with bad discharges. They went in, learned about the war firsthand, and very frequently decided to resist on the inside or desert. The peak war years saw over 100,000 desertions per year. 800,000 war-era vets have less-than-honorable discharges. These are the working class and minority forms of resistance. Draft resistance is a middle class form. "Blanket" treatment of draft resisters with case-by-case consideration of deserters and no one else eligible for your amnesty/"pardon" is inherently discriminatory on the basis of race and class.

DESERTERS

According to the Pentagon, there were over 423,000 acts of desertion during the war. ~~Most of these deserters have since either been caught or have returned home and are~~ now among the 790,000 war-era vets with less-than-honorable discharges, permanently stigmatized and permanently unemployable. Honorable Discharges are the only real "pardon" for deserters, and both those deserters still "at large" and those who have already been caught and now have less-than-honorable discharges, often in addition to prison sentences, must get Honorable Discharges if your amnesty/"pardon" is to be more than rhetoric. Stuart Eizenstat told me "... whether (Carter's "pardon") means you then retroactively give (deserters) Honorable Discharges I sort of doubt, frankly." (AMEX interview, June 18, 1976) Yet that is exactly what your pardon of deserters, both those still "at large" and those already caught, punished, and double-punished with bad discharges must be if we are truly to relieve these people of lifelong stigma, loss of rights and unemployability.

It is difficult to estimate the number of "deserters-at-large." The Pentagon now admits to 4,400 (only a few months ago DoD figures indicated 7,200. In late 1974, President Ford spoke of 30,000. The statistics of the Ford "Clemency Program" do not explain these differences). During the Ford program it became clear that the files of many, perhaps most returning deserters were not filed as "deserters," but were in active duty files. Extrapolating from the percentage of deserters' files still officially "active duty," we estimate between between 8,000 and 30,000 "deserters-at-large." Around one-third are exiled, mostly in Canada and Sweden. Two-thirds of these deserters are underground in the U.S.

The following is excerpted from the AMEX interview with Stuart Eizenstat of June 18, which presumably represents your current thinking on a program to deal with this issue:

Eizenstat (speaking about the projected criteria for the eligibility of deserters in your amnesty program): "First would be whether in fact their desertion was due to their opposition to the war as opposed to other things. That's the sine qua non, without which nothing can be done. And secondly would be the circumstances surrounding the desertion, whether it was under fire or not under fire, the precise circumstances."

Let us separate these two "reasons" for case-by-case review of deserters. First, to require deserters to demonstrate or "prove" their antiwar motivation when those far better equipped by their educational backgrounds to articulate such motivations -- the middle class draft resisters -- are not required to do so is clearly discriminatory on the basis of race and class. How are deserters to "prove" their motivations for acts that took place up to a decade ago, at a time when GIs who voiced or recorded antiwar views

were inviting a trip to Vietnam or the stockade? For the great majority of deserters, such "proof" does not and cannot exist. Thus, despite many studies conclusively linking each escalation of the war with meteoric leaps in desertion rates, the military will be able to use this projected case-by-case review to "prove" its own traditional contention that people leave the Army essentially for "personal reasons." If "proof" of specific antiwar motivation for desertion is indeed to be the "sine qua non, without which nothing can be done (for deserters)" than it can safely be assumed that little or nothing will be done for these people.

Once again, whether one absented oneself from the military before or after induction (draft resistance vs. desertion) is largely a function of class and race. To assume the antiwar motivation of largely campus-bound draft resisters, but require demonstrations of such motivation from those who had direct experience with combat veterans or the war itself is to draw an illogical and artificial distinction, and one objectively discriminatory on the basis of race and class. Furthermore, to do so is to assume that academic study of secondhand information is a sturdier basis from which to draw conclusions than is direct experience with reality. To demand antiwar articulation from those least prepared by their educational backgrounds to do so successfully (non-white and/or working class CO applicants were almost invariably denied CO status by local boards), while assuming the antiwar motivations of those best equipped to articulate them is neither logical nor just.

As for the second aspect of Stuart Eizenstat's formulation, that case-by-case judgment is necessary to separate out those who deserted under battlefield conditions and jeopardized the lives of their compatriots: according to the Pentagon itself, the percentage of Vietnam-era desertions which took place under battlefield conditions was under 1%. According to the final report of the Presidential Clemency Board that recently processed thousands of war-era deserters, the percentage of battlefield desertions was under .1%. Are the lives of hundreds of thousands of war-era deserters, most already captured and now suffering under less-than-honorable discharges, along with tens of thousands of "deserters-at-large" to be tied up in legal procedures for years while a "hearing officer" seeks to probe the largely unrecorded psychological motivations for acts that occurred years ago, and seeks to sift out the .1% of deserters who left under battlefield conditions? Surely not. All deserters, and all those veterans who resisted the war in other ways (e.g. refused orders to Vietnam, distributed antiwar literature, etc.) and now bear the permanent punishment of less-than-honorable discharges for such acts must receive the only discharges which are not punishing: Honorable Discharges.

CIVILIAN RESISTERS

Unknown tens of thousands of Americans have municipal, state or Federal criminal records, and many have Federal conviction records, for putting their bodies in the path of the U.S. war machine. Some raided draft boards; others obstructed the movement of munitions or troops. Most were simply antiwar demonstrators. A convicted Federal felon faces severe employment hardship, is barred from public office and forbidden to vote. Your amnesty should release antiwar civilian resisters still imprisoned, and expunge the criminal records of these and other civilian resisters so that they, too, can have a chance to compete for employment, to vote and hold office, etc.

"UNDESIRABLE ALIENS" EXCLUDED FROM U.S.

Section 212 a (22) of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act allows the Immigration bureaucracy to make the "non judicial determination" (i.e., without hearing, trial, or due process) that war resisters with new (e.g., Canadian) citizenship be permanently barred from entering the U.S., even when there are no civilian or military charges against them, on the grounds that they have become "undesirable aliens."

According to Canadian government sources, more than 7,500 American males, of whom several thousand are undoubtedly war resisters, have acquired Canadian citizenship since 1970. Thousands more have not yet taken out Canadian citizenship but are eligible to do so.

Most of those excluded or excludable under this section have never been charged with any crime. Others have had charges dropped or have won their cases in court. ~~With access to their native country if they take out new citizenship. If your amnesty/"pardon" does not specifically address this problem, you will "pardon" exiled draft resisters and deserters, yet thousands will remain exiles, barred from their home country by this vindictive application of immigration law.~~ ~~the individual's legal status, these former Americans can be and are being denied access~~

On a different subject, many war resisters have taken out new (e.g., Canadian) citizenship in order to secure employment, to be psychologically "rooted," to bear moral witness to their opposition to the war, and for other reasons. Some of these people want to reclaim their American citizenship, their birthright, and their capacity to live and work in the U.S. Some vehicle must be provided by your amnesty/"pardon" that will make it possible for these people to become again legally what they were and have remained in their hearts, through long years of seemingly interminable unjust war -- Americans.

That's it, for now. I hope this position paper is clear, concise, and persuasive. I further hope, along with those with whom I work, that you will enact the amnesty that justice demands, along the lines of the above analysis.

cc: Stuart Eizenstat
Peter Bourne
Walter Mondale
George McGovern
Andrew Young
Vernon Jordan
Jody Powell
Hamilton Jordan

For Universal, Unconditional Amnesty,



Steve Grossman, for the Editorial Board
AMEX-Canada magazine

TRANQUILITY BASE
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TO:
ISSUES
DEPT

July 24, 1976

To: Jimmy Carter

From: Zbigniew Brzezinski 

Subject: Foreign Policy Briefing of July 29

1. In reference to our recent conversation, and following a talk with Stu, it is proposed that the briefing be structured as follows:

- 1 hr. East-West Relations
- 1 hr. International Ramifications of the Middle East Problem
- 1 hr. African issues

followed by wider discussion, time permitting.

2. As per your request, I enclose some background readings on each of the above 3 topics:

- East-West: 1) a brief memo for your review of the proposed approach for your speech on East-West relations;
- 2) a section on detente from a book on foreign policy that I have been working on (pp.26ff deal with US policy);
- 3) testimony by Doak Barnett on US-China relations (pp.7 ff bear on US policy).

Middle East: The Brookings Study Group Report (with a useful summary at front).

- Africa: 1) a good background piece on the lessons of Angola (pp.420 ff deal with US policy);
- 2) a longer-range look at the South African problem.

July 15, 1976

Zbig Brzezinski

BASIC PURPOSE AND FOCUS OF SPEECH ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS

A Check-list for Speech Drafting

I Audiences to Consider:

1. The U.S. public: to make it more aware of the complexities and nuances of the relationship; why both accommodation and competition unavoidable; what are the longer-range requirements of such accommodation and competition; the dangers of Republican "oversell".
2. Allies and friends: to assure them that the U.S. has staying-power; that it will not deal over their heads; and that it has certain reciprocal expectations.
3. The Soviet Union: to confirm that the U.S. is prepared to deal seriously with joint problems; that it is ready to compete as long as necessary; that detente imposes mutual obligations and limits on conduct.
4. East Europe and China: that the U.S. will not subordinate their interests to a spheres of influence arrangement; that it values and desires their independence and closer relations with them.

II Specific Issues to be Mentioned:

1. SALT and MBFR: high priority for both sides. However, excessive Soviet military secrecy stimulates understandable U.S. concerns. Such secrecy perhaps justified in the past by relative Soviet weakness; now mutually counter-productive.
2. Recent Soviet conduct in Angola and on international terrorism incompatible with genuine detente.
3. Human rights: a political fact of life insofar as U.S. public is concerned and a legitimate moral issue.
4. Helsinki agreements must be honored in their entirety.
5. Trade more likely to expand in a more peaceful framework.
6. Poor and self-serving Soviet record in international aid and regarding global problems.
7. Allied consultations must precede - not follow - U.S.-Soviet agreements.

cont. p. 2

III Principal Themes to Stress:

1. U.S.-Soviet rivalry the product of deep historical causes, and hence an enduring reality. Accordingly, atmospheric changes should not be hailed as laying the basis for "a generation of peace", with resulting public disillusionment.
2. Realism also dictates the necessity of accommodation; hence a relationship of competition/cooperation likely to endure. U.S. both confident morally and powerful materially in such competition - and Soviet theory of the "general crisis of capitalism" self-deceptive.
3. U.S. will seek a comprehensive detente, that affects a wide spectrum of issues as well as both societies; not a compartmentalized detente, based on spheres of influence and limited primarily to trade or science (which the Soviets clearly prefer and which Kissinger seems to have accepted).
4. Detente must involve full reciprocity and absence from unilateral efforts to exploit it or from measures incompatible with its spirit (e.g. U.S. Embassy in Moscow, exit visas for spouses of U.S. citizens, emigration, etc.).
5. A pluralistic West (incl. perhaps even in some cases C.P.'s. in govts. as coalition members) should be matched by a more pluralistic East, and the promotion of such pluralism a legitimate U.S. objective. Hence U.S. has strong interest in the independence of Yugoslavia and Rumania, greater freedom for other East European states, and especially in good relations with China. None of the foregoing meant to threaten the USSR, but rather to create a more cooperative international framework.
6. In meantime, both sides should seek to scale down nuclear weaponry (and such scaling down will be a major Carter objective in SALT) and cooperate in inhibiting nuclear proliferation as well as the spread of conventional weaponry. Such cooperation will require greater mutual trust - and here the problem of Soviet secrecy (cf. II,1 above) quite germane as an obstacle to be removed.
7. Soviet regional restraint (e.g. in the Middle East) and greater Soviet involvement in dealing with global problems a test of Soviet willingness to play a constructive international role.
8. The U.S. remains confident that a political system based on freedom and an economic system based on private initiative has nothing to fear in a peaceful competition; however, the U.S. approach to international affairs is not based on a deterministic theory of conflict -- and the U.S. remains always ready to cooperate in shaping a more just and pluralistic world order.

July 24, 1976

To: Jimmy Carter

From: Zbig Brzezinski

Subject: THE SOVIET DETENTE POLICY AND U.S. RESPONSE

Note: What follows is a section from a chapter on Soviet-American relations in a book which I am completing on the U.S. role in the changed and changing world context.

This is a working draft, so please overlook the messy typing and the hand-editing.

~~with the policy of detente becoming a very relevant aspect of this problem.~~

The policy of detente - in its Nixon/Brezhnev reincarnation - began largely as a defensive accommodation by the two powers to an international context in which their unchecked rivalry was becoming dangerous to their own respective interests. By 1975, however, the same detente policy was acquiring on the Soviet side an increasingly offensive character, stimulated largely by the Soviet perception of the wider political consequences of "the aggravated crisis of capitalism" as well as of the post-Vietnam trauma in America - with the strategic goal of that policy being the deterrence of the United States from ^{responding effectively to the changing} ~~mounting an effective response to a process of~~ shifting political balance. Thus from a policy of mutual accommodation, detente increasingly became a Soviet policy of Western decomposition.

That shift to a more offensive posture was also facilitated by the Soviet attainment of the initially defensive objectives of its detente policy. These objectives can be inferred from Soviet statements and actions. After a period of uncertainty following Khrushchev's removal, an uncertainty intensified by ^{unrest} events in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet leadership by the early 70s gradually crystallized a new policy, the purpose of which was essentially:

- 1) To forestall the renewed encirclement of the Soviet Union, this time by the United States and China;
- 2) To obtain the status of global political equality with the United States;
- 3) To improve the Soviet strategic posture, at least initially to the level of parity, without precipitating countervailing U.S. moves;

4) To obtain the de jure recognition by the West of the division of Europe and of Germany, and of Soviet predominance in Eastern Europe;

5) To gain additional influence initially in areas broadly contiguous to the Soviet sphere, notably the Middle East and South Asia, perhaps even Western Europe;

6) To relieve Soviet economic bottlenecks through the importation of Western technology, preferably on a credit basis.

This new Brezhnev design involved essentially a continental policy, unlike Khrushchev's premature globalism which had precipitated a dangerous clash with the United States; it was to be pursued and achieved with less fanfare, without giving rise to Western anxieties and reactions. It took for granted a period of international quiescence. The Soviet leaders even forsook publicly the older goal of economic autarky, proclaiming instead the need for closer economic ties with the industrially advanced countries of the West. All of this was to be sought without the ideological dilution which earlier periods of detente had generated. The occupation of Czechoslovakia, stricter doctrinal controls, and the deliberate limitation of detente to external issues were to forestall any repetition of the earlier contagion. The new detente was to be compartmentalized and conservative; it was not to be accompanied by any domestic evolution.

By 1975, the Soviet leaders could conclude, with some justification, that at least a major part of their objectives had been obtained. Their fear of U.S.-Chinese collusion gradually waned. By 1974 or possibly even

1973 the Soviet leaders had succeeded in overshadowing the Washington-Peking relationship, while American acceptance of Soviet formulations concerning the U.S.-Soviet relationship (including the symbolically important use of the Soviet concept of peaceful coexistence to define the relationship and the use of phrases signifying the special global co-responsibility of the two powers) also had the effect of helping to attain the second Soviet objective. With respect to the third goal, the Soviet side has been able also to improved very substantially its position in the strategic equation, without precipitating major U.S. reactions.

The Soviet leadership, moreover, would be justified in concluding that it has also succeeded in reinforcing its control over Eastern Europe, ^{Under Kissinger's guidance} its fourth goal. ^{ed} The United States appears increasingly disinterested in the region, while Soviet efforts to consolidate political and economic ties have greatly reduced the autonomy of the East European countries and have also created the preconditions for potentially dangerous pressures against Yugoslavia and Rumania. At the same time, the Soviet Union has increased substantially its role in South Asia and has retained its presence in the Mediterranean, though with some retraction of its political influence in Egypt. Moreover, events in Portugal and ^{for a while} in Angola, created the possibility of a Soviet "leap-frog" to the Atlantic, ^{while in} (On Angola the Soviet Union effectively accomplished what it had failed to do - because of U.S. superiority - in the Congo some fifteen years earlier).

The only ^{Soviet} failure pertains to the final goal, and this has been largely due to Congressional opposition. Despite Administration efforts, Congress, supported by U.S. public opinion, succeeded in blocking the extension of credits to the Soviet Union. However, the possibility of expansion of American-Soviet trade relations did give the Soviet Union additional leverage vis-a-vis Western Europe and Japan, particularly in regard to credits, thereby offsetting the setback with regard to bilateral U.S.-Soviet trade.

The attainment of Soviet defensive objectives, as well as the surfacing of more turbulent global conditions, prompted by 1974-75 to a subtle redefinition of the Soviet policy of detente into more offensive directions. Soviet spokesmen began to repeat more and more frequently that "the policy of peaceful coexistence has nothing in common with the 'freezing' of the social status quo, with any artificial mothballing of the revolutionary process" (e.g. N.N. Inozemtsev in Kommunist, Number 18, December 1975).
On the contrary, detente and military parity ^{were now said to make} possible a policy designed to facilitate significant political change in Western Europe and perhaps elsewhere - a policy of active detente similar in many ways to the policy which the United States had pursued towards the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in

the early sixties. Detente was thus both to preserve peace and to decompose the rival.

The Soviet ~~detente~~ policy of decomposition was flexible in that it left Soviet strategic choices open: a) It could at some point precipitate a turn towards a more revolutionary policy, with the "objective" situation having become "historically ripe"; b) It could create favorable preconditions for a politically decisive test of will, based on a gradually acquired and increasingly acknowledged military edge; c) It could remain the basis for a policy designed to promote a prolonged process of change, effecting by stealth a basic change in the political complexion of the world. It was thus a policy which subtly combined elements of cooperation and competition not to preserve the status quo but to change it.

Yet the dangers to the West implicit in such a Soviet thrust to global preeminence, though grave, tend to be of a different kind than the argument till now might have implied. The resulting danger is not a pax Sovietica - but international chaos. The Soviet Union ^{might} could hope to displace America from its role as the pivot of the international system - but it cannot become the pivot itself. This is why there is ultimately a self-defeating element in the Soviet policy; it can exploit global anarchy but it is unlikely that it can then transform it to its own enduring advantage. This is also why the proper American response should not be a deliberate return to Cold War tensions but a carefully calibrated policy of competition/cooperation of its own, designed to promote a more comprehensive, more balanced, and a more reciprocal detente, increasingly engaging the Soviet Union also in a more constructive

response to the new global problems.

The proposition that the Soviet Union is strong enough to be America's rival but not strong enough to be America's successor calls for a few words of elaboration. American global peace preeminence - and that phase in international affairs that has been labelled as pax Americana - rested only in part on American military power. It was derived also from the U.S. financial preeminence, from the U.S. lead in fashioning new monetary arrangements, from the U.S. role in world trade, and from the overwhelming U.S. scientific and intellectual dynamism. Last but not least, America's commitment to liberty and social flexibility provided major reinforcement for America's world role. All of these assets - save the military - the Soviet Union lacks, and is likely to lack for some time to come.

The Soviet system, moreover, is handicapped by a number of major internal weaknesses. Three stand out as quite critical:

1) An unbalanced economy,, with a favored military complex, a weak consumer sector, and a primitive and underproductive agriculture, as well as a society beset by a number of glaring problems, with Academician Andrei Sakharov (in his My Country and the World, New York, 1975, pages 18-25) listing the following as among the most acute: 1) Extraordinarily poor working conditions for the vast majority of the Soviet peoples; 2) low wages for most; 3) primitive and inadequate social amenities; 4) atrocious and congested housing; 5) low quality medical care; 6) poor general education; 7) massive alcoholism; 8) restrictions on movement within as well as without the Soviet Union; 9) a hierarchic system of political and social privilege.

2) A serious contradiction between the imperative of technological-scientific innovation and the imperative of political centralization, with the latter inhibiting creativity through excessive bureaucratic control. To cite Sakharov's candid assessment (op. cit., page 30) which, in a more muted form, has been echoed also by other Soviet scholars:

"It is no accident that for many years new and promising scientific trends in biology and cybernetics could not develop normally, while on the surface out-and-out demagogy, ignorance, and charlatanism bloom like gorgeous flowers. It is no accident that all the great scientific and technological discoveries in recent times - quantum mechanics, new elementary particles, uranium fission, antibiotics and most of the new, highly effective drugs, transistors, electronic computers, the development of highly productive strains in agriculture, the discovery of other components of the "Green Revolution", and the creation of new technology in agriculture, industry, and construction - all of them happened outside our country."

3) A potentially serious national problem, with the demographic balance within the Soviet Union changing gradually in favor of the non-Russians, and with the mounting sense of national awareness among the non-Russian Soviet nations creating demands for more self-determination. These demands, at this stage, do not generally embrace full independence, but rather more autonomy. Nonetheless, they already do create a serious dilemma. Suppression is likely to stimulate more nationalism; concession means decentralization -

which both the party officialdom and the Great Russians tend to fear. The national problem thus inhibits the adoption of decentralizing reforms which could make the Soviet Union a more dynamic and creative society.

The internal weaknesses of the Soviet Union thus stand in sharp contrast to the external military power of the Soviet state. The Soviet Union wields a powerful sword from a surprisingly weak social base. A conjunction of domestic and external impulses could transform that weakness into a major internal crisis: a leadership struggle at the top could reinforce generational and national pressures from below, especially if the latter were to surface at a time of major economic crisis and/or international tension (as, for example, generated by the Sino-Soviet conflict).

Moreover, internal strains in the Soviet Union would be likely to precipitate ^{major political} additional unrest in Eastern Europe. ^{Indeed,} the Soviet Union at some stage in the foreseeable future is likely to experience the "third phase" of the crisis of the industrial society as ^{the Soviet Union begins to} ~~portions of it~~ move beyond the industrial phase into the technetronic post-industrial era. The United States was the first to suffer such a crisis of transition in the sixties; Western Europe has been experiencing it in the seventies; and the Soviet Union and the more industrially advanced communist states might well experience it in the latter phase of this decade and during the next.

These are major weaknesses, and they represent major impediments to any effective exercise of global leadership by the Soviet Union.*

*/ In an international poll taken in 1959, 39% of those polled expected the Soviet Union to lead the military power, and only 24% opted for the United States; similarly, 42% expected the Soviet Union to lead in science, with only 23% pointing to the United States. Yet 10 years later the figures were diametrically reversed: with respect to military power, 22% pointed at the Soviet Union and 36% expected the United States to continue to lead; with regards to scientific leadership, only 10% pointed at the Soviet Union and 54% pointed at the United States (New York Times, January 22, 1970). Present uncertainty about the American capacity to lead could within a few years be similarly reversed, and the Soviet Union could again be the target of a major skepticism. In fact, such a change is quite likely.

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Moreover, it is likely that in the global fragmentation that any far-reaching change in the balance of power would generate the Soviet Union would find itself also the target of escalating demands for redistribution of wealth, including eventually even that of territory. There is no reason to believe that global populism would not focus its demands on the Soviet Union, with the Chinese and others probably abetting it in that direction. The increasingly conservative Soviet bureaucracy would not find such a world congenial, notwithstanding the political and national satisfaction to be derived from attaining global preeminence. Global chaos would have a feedback effect, stimulating divisions and tensions within the Soviet orbit as well. Internal Soviet problems could precipitate major unrest, especially if the Soviet Union confronted at the same time major divisions within its top leadership. The national problem could surface with particular rapidity, imposing severe strains on the system as a whole.

These considerations provide the basis for outlining four basic alternatives for the Soviet Union's likely future position in the world, and thus also for U.S.-Soviet relations. The table below summarizes these alternatives in the light of the discussion until now. The policy implications of our analysis will then follow. (See Table on Soviet Global Prospects). The policy thrust implications of our analysis flow

to encourage from the most desirable of these four alternatives, namely the one that entails peaceful change within the framework of gradual American-Soviet accommodation. (This plan is designed to encourage from the most desirable of these four alternatives, namely the one that entails peaceful change within the framework of gradual American-Soviet accommodation.)

The basic contradiction between compelling ideological-national ambitions, which motivate the Soviet Union in its race with America, and the more conservative bureaucratic instincts of its elite, ^{derived from that elite's} ~~which make~~ ^{desire to preserve its privileges and a keen awareness of underlying Soviet weakness,} ~~that elite fearful for its privileges,~~ justifies an American policy designed to engage the Soviet Union in an increasingly constructive involvement in world affairs while balancing Soviet power with an offsetting American effort. The former, in a sense, should be meant to dilute the Soviet revolutionary-ideological motivation by involving the Soviet Union in a common response to the problems of the world as it is; the latter would be meant to cancel out the militarist option and to create a stake in the avoidance of crises and confrontations.

But this would require a more comprehensive, balanced and reciprocal detente than that which was sought by the United States between 1970-1975. The Nixon/Ford/Kissinger approach was a highly conservative one, focused largely on the strategic and economic fields, with these relationships designed to perpetuate the status quo. As a consequence, it was the kind of detente which did not encourage the best and which in some respects reinforced the worst tendencies in the Soviet system. It made it easier for the Soviet system to maintain a highly centralized economic system on the basis of a highly centralized political system. It impeded the kind of pressures from within for economic and eventually for political reforms. Indeed, it even permitted a certain measure of domestic repression since its external costs were perceived as not being very high.

Moreover, the Administration occasionally argued that the only alternative to detente was war, and this in itself was a way of declaring oneself unequal to the game that the other side was playing. To suggest that the only alternative to detente was war was to reduce one's own freedom of maneuver and one's own capacity to shape the substantive content of detente.

Finally, by linking summit meetings to agreements, the U.S. found itself under considerable political pressure to produce agreements, however inadequately they may have been prepared, thereby permitting the Soviet side to exercise leverage through the American political process.

A realistic and effective policy of detente should start with the premise that there are enduring aspects to the American-Soviet relationship that will not be changed by the "bonhomie" of summit meetings, nor by premature proclamations of "a generation of peace". The historical, social, ideological and psychological conditioning of these two great nations - as well as the confusion and uncertainty inherent in global change - is such that they will respond differently to ^{changing} circumstances and interpret their interests in different terms. This inherently makes for a rivalry, but a rivalry that can be gradually more and more codified, contained, and diluted by cooperation. It also means, however, that the U.S.-Soviet relationship cannot at this stage be the principal axis of world cooperation.

The above calls for a U.S. policy that strives to keep in balance - though not necessarily links in direct negotiations - the following seven elements.

1) Military balance: this will require continued efforts to promote arms control, pointing towards an eventual scaling down of the present levels of both strategic and tactical arms. At some future point, some arrangements will have to be made for closer scrutiny over weapons development

as well. It is a mistake, however, to press for agreements essentially for the sake of agreement - as appears in part to have been the case ^{in the early seventies.} with SALT I. This creates loopholes and ambiguities which are destructive to the process of building mutual confidence and of enlarging the area of agreement.*

In maintaining a military balance, the United States will have no choice but to match the Soviet effort - though with the deliberate precaution that its own efforts do not spark a countervailing Soviet program. In this connection, much more stress than heretofore should be put on the pernicious effects of Soviet military secrecy. Surreptitious military planning, development and deployment by the Kremlin stimulates anxiety in Washington and justifies the suspicion that detente may be seen by at least some Soviet leaders primarily as a breathing spell, designed to lull the U.S. into a false sense of security. Moreover, Soviet strategic secrecy can prompt American overestimates of Soviet deployment, thereby precipitating American moves which in their turn have an escalatory impact on Soviet behavior. The termination of Soviet secrecy, complementing American openness about its strategic intentions, must be an essential ingredient of strategic accommodations.

* (A particularly glaring example is provided by the unilateral American statement, issued at the time of SALT I, defining the American meaning of the agreement and indicating that the United States would take a very serious view of Soviet actions to the contrary. ~~This statement presumably was issued to assuage the American public.~~ When subsequently the Soviet Union did take the actions which the foregoing was designed to forestall, Secretary Kissinger blandly stated the following: "I think it is at least open to question whether the United States can hold the Soviet Union responsible for its own statements when the Soviet Union has asserted that it does not accept that interpretation." (Press Conference, of December 9, 1975). The foregoing raises some serious questions concerning the actual purpose of the unilateral American statement; was it designed to create the impression that American interests had been fully safeguarded?).

Lifting Soviet secrecy on longer-range Soviet strategic development and deployment programs would contribute greatly to stabilizing the American-Soviet strategic relationship. A further contribution to it would be greater clarity concerning the Soviet objectives in the development of a comprehensive urban evacuation plan. Soviet civil defense measures do indicate the Soviet desire to acquire a "war-fighting" capability and this could have ominous implications for strategic stability. Clarification of Soviet civil defense intentions, and the incorporation of some understanding concerning the Soviet civil defense programs in the next series of SALT agreements, appears desirable, lest a potentially highly asymmetrical situation in regards to respective U.S. and Soviet social vulnerability be allowed to develop.

In the setting of apparent strategic equivalence, the acquisition by the Soviet side of a long-range conventional capability is likely to generate both pressures and temptations to use that capability for political ends. Angola might have been a test-run, with the Cuban proxy providing a safety-valve in the event of strong U.S. reaction. Next time, and somewhere else, Soviet marines might be involved, with a premium on quick preemption, since the side that acts second will confront the more difficult decisions whether to pit its forces against the other super-power. ~~Overlapping imperial power thus makes preemption more preferable.~~

For the American side, the foregoing will dictate the need, first, to become more discriminating in deciding which areas are in fact of high political importance to the United States, and which can be more effectively protected by regional coalitions or friendly regional hegemony, with indirect U.S. backing in order to make the cost of the Soviet intervention eventually quite prohibitive. But, secondly, the new Soviet capability will heighten the need for the United States to upgrade its own conventional preemptive forces - perhaps by creating a combined airborne-marine strike force - capable both of beach-assaults

and in-depth territorial penetration - to ensure effective preemption. when high political stakes dictate such response.

Finally, since the military balance is in part psychological, it will be essential for the United States not to accept or to proclaim Soviet challenges unless it is prepared to respond effectively. One of the most damaging aspects of U.S. behavior during the Angola crisis of 1975-76 was the Administration's assertion that Soviet behavior constituted a Soviet challenge that the United States must meet - without having any prior assurance of Congressional support for an effective U.S. response.

2. Political negotiation: With the Soviet Union acquiring a longer-range^d capability for political-military intervention, the quest for regional accommodation becomes more important. This suggests explicit efforts to mark out certain parts of the world as zones of American and Soviet non-interference and abstention, as well as the pursuit of closer understandings with regard to regions in which both sides are already present. The American-Soviet negotiations with regard to Central Europe may serve as a test of the capacity of the two powers to reach regional accommodations.

American-Soviet accommodation may also prove necessary in regard to the Middle East. The Soviet presence in the Mediterranean establishes the Soviet capability, at the very least, for undermining any peace settlement that the United States contrives to the exclusion of the Soviet Union. This reality dictates the ^{desirability} importance of somehow engaging the Soviet Union - ^{though} preferably at the later stages of the negotiating process - in ^{upholding} assuring the peace settlement. Complete exclusion of the Soviet Union would simply encourage the Soviet Union to undermine whatever regional accommodations will have been contrived by providing encouragement and backing to the most extreme Arab parties.

An effort should also be made to develop, as a matter of standard procedure, joint consultations with regard to suddenly emerging troublespots, particularly ~~An effort should be made to establish the practice of such negotiations~~ prior to any unilateral action by one of the other power. (That was part of the Nixon-Brezhnev agreement in the spring of 1973, but subsequent events in Angola have cast a shadow over the implementation of the pledge to consult in case of international danger). Moreover, top level meetings should be decoupled from the process of negotiation of agreements, thereby reducing the opportunities for the Soviet side to exploit the internal political processes of the United States to obtain American concessions for the sake of spectacular diplomatic "successes".

3. Trade and Political Change: A critically important policy question is the extent to which the American-Soviet relationship should be deliberately manipulated by the American side in order to effect changes in the nature of the Soviet political system itself. The pros and cons of this dilemma have been argued most explicitly in connection with the trade question, but the issue pertains more generally to the totality of the American-Soviet relationship. It should also be noted that any U.S. argument in favor of promoting change in the Soviet Union prompts intense Soviet indignation, and thus affects and feeds back into the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

The issue is clearly important in the sense that the nature of the Soviet system - its closed character - and the nature of the Soviet ideology - its militancy - do bear directly on the American-Soviet relationship and they also influence more generally the shape of international affairs. The direction of change in the Soviet political system is thus a relevant issue to raise. However, it is an issue to which definitive answers of a policy type cannot be given.

On the one hand, direct American leverage is in any case too small to effect truly significant changes within the Soviet political system, while proclamations of American intent to do so simply reinforce Soviet resistance to such change. American-Soviet trade constitutes a very insignificant proportion of the respective national products of the two countries (in the Soviet case, total foreign trade contributes about 2% of the Soviet national product), and thus the chances of significantly altering the character of the Soviet system even by doubling or quadrupling American-Soviet trade are in fact rather small. The American side, even at a time of considerable American superiority, never consistently tried to mobilize all of its potential leverage to affect some clearly defined changes within the Soviet system; such leverage is clearly smaller today than it was some decades ago, and the American capacity to mobilize effectively all of such leverage, given internal American pluralism, is in any case questionable.

On the other hand, expansion of American -Soviet relations does create an international and political context which cannot but somewhat affect Soviet behavior and perceptions, even if only very slowly, and it would be idle to pretend that this is not so or that this is of no interest to the American side. Indeed, the Soviets themselves have conceded that the international context can influence internal Soviet behavior; their explanation for Stalinist paranoia has been in part based on the argument that "capitalist encirclement" conditioned accordingly Soviet perceptions and behavior. Presumably, the converse of that would also be true. There is thus an inseparable longer-term relationship between external and internal change, but it is also wise not to forget that it ^{is} a longer-term process.

In the more immediate perspective, the somewhat limited American leverage that is derived from such facets as technology transfer, grain sales, or trade more generally can be more constructively applied in order to obtain a moderation of, or a change in the Soviet definition of some specific regional interest, or some adjustment in a specific policy posture. Soviet dependence on American grain and Soviet desire for American technology do create the opportunities for subtle pressure, but the exercise of that subtle pressure may be more effective if related in a nuanced fashion to political negotiations, and not to calls for systemic reforms. Thus, trade, though marginal, can play a subtle role in influencing the process of strategic bargaining or the search for regional accommodations. In other words, the elimination of regional frictions, for example in the Middle East, or greater accommodation in SALT, can lead to a widening in other relationships, including the economic. The cumulative consequence of the foregoing can entail, over time, also some change in internal Soviet attitudes and behavior, but this will have been obtained through indirection rather than through direct and openly applied leverage.

Finally, it should be remembered that U.S.-Soviet trade arrangements are politically weighted on the Soviet side because its economy is controlled by the state. America's relatively free market system makes it difficult to infuse a sense of national purpose into business transactions. Thus Congress should explore the idea of creating a formal instrument, perhaps a joint executive-legislative coordinating organ, to monitor U.S.-Soviet trade and to insure that American interests are not slighted. It does not always follow that what is good business is automatically good for the United States.

5 4. Reciprocity: It is important that in the tangible aspects of the American-Soviet relations the principle of reciprocity be scrupulously observed. U.S. diplomats, businessmen, and tourists are subjected to incomparably greater restraints in the Soviet Union than are their counterparts in the United States. American newsmen and scholars have been harassed and excluded from the Soviet Union, whereas Soviet citizens are free to lobby and to promote joint U.S.-Soviet lobbies in the United States. American access to the Soviet elite is still severely restricted. A more comprehensive detente ^{should} involve a much more unrestricted American access to the Soviet policy-makers and to the Soviet political elite at large. Soviet lobbying in Congress should be matched by American access to the Soviet Central Committee, even though it is quite obvious that the consequences of such access would not be, at least for quite a while, symmetrical.

4 5. Human-social issues: The human-social dimension raises problems pertaining to ideological hostility and to the question of human rights. In spite of detente, Soviet means of mass communication, by and large, continue to present the United States in a hostile fashion, and Soviet propaganda in the rest of the world maintains a strongly anti-American thrust. This is incompatible with detente, and this factor ought to be explicitly emphasized.

With respect to human rights, it is a political fact that many Americans are deeply concerned about the fate of those Soviet citizens who wish to leave the Soviet Union, and that by itself makes that question not only a Soviet domestic issue. It affects adversely and directly Soviet-American relations much in the same manner that any U.S. limitation on the right

of American wishing to leave for the Soviet Union would affect American-Soviet relations. In fact, the Soviet Union does not entirely abstain from commenting on the internal affairs of other nations, and it has done so most recently in regards to Chile. Accordingly, American concern for internal Soviet practices is a consideration the Soviet leaders cannot entirely ignore, since it conditions American attitudes towards some of the more directly bilateral issues. On the American side, mechanisms for monitoring the execution of the Helsinki agreement ought to be established, since social and human issues are an intrinsic aspect of political change which detente in the longer-run is meant to further.

6. Polycentrism: ^{Since the} ~~In a more polycentric communist world,~~ ^{has become polycentric,} the United States ^{has} ought itself to pursue a more polycentric policy, and cannot deal primarily or exclusively with the Soviet Union. The predisposition of those in charge of American foreign policy in the years 1970-1975 to stress primarily big-power relationships has permitted the Soviet Union to neutralize ~~the~~ American interest in Eastern Europe, and, as indicated earlier, to downgrade the American-Chinese relationship in comparison to American-Soviet relationship.

A ^{50th} more active American policy towards China and towards Eastern Europe respectively is desirable, and it can help to consolidate detente. ~~In a broad sense, it contributes to a more polycentric and less monolithic communist world. This as of itself is desirable.~~ Moreover, the United States ^{in any case,} ought to have at least as much interest in Eastern Europe as the Soviet Union has in Latin America, ^{and probably more, because of West Europe's sensitivity to} The preservation of Yugoslav independence, the prevention of the reintegration of Rumania into the Soviet bloc,

And happens in Eastern Europe.

the safeguarding of the much narrower margins of autonomy for Poland are objectives worthy of close American attention, and the United States also ought to strive to maintain direct contact with the populations concerned. ^{Among other things} ~~In the first instance,~~ ^{continued} this means an active role for such instruments as Radio Free Europe, which create East-West bonds not subject to political censorship.

~~Sino~~ American relations with China pose a particularly important question.. These relations are a central factor of global stability, ^{they} and thus deserve cultivation for that reason alone. However, they do bear ^{also} directly on U.S.-Soviet relations. On the one hand, a closer American-Chinese relationship can be viewed by the Soviet Union as a hostile maneuver. On the other hand, it is likely that immediately after Mao's death the Soviet Union will make an offer to pull back Soviet troops from the Chinese frontier or it will even undertake the unilateral pullback of such troops. The Soviet Union may also offer substantial increase in trade and aid to China and an ideological "non-aggression pact", designed to end polemics. Such initiatives could ~~have a~~ ^{some} significant effect in prompting a normalization in Sino-Soviet relations, with major consequences for the United States. A Sino-Soviet rapprochement could encourage Soviet militancy, and in any case it would reduce American bargaining leverage with the Soviet Union. Moreover, it would have a dramatic impact on the global perception of American-Soviet relations. The cumulative effect would be to worsen the American position vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

Accordingly, a more active American policy towards China, pointing towards the "Japanese solution" in regard to diplomatic representation, seems much in order. (This would entail the reversal of the existing diplomatic arrangements with Peking and Taipei respectively, but it would have to be accompanied by a Chinese pledge to abstain from the use of force to incorporate Taiwan as the quid pro quo for the lapsing of the ^{formal} existing U.S. security commitment to Taiwan). Moreover, the expansion of trade relations, including technology transfer, could have the effect of widening the scope of American-Chinese ties, while upgrading the totality of the American-Chinese relationship. ^PAll of this, while not in itself hostile towards the Soviet Union, would have the effect of increasing the Soviet stake in a more accommodating American-Soviet relationship. However, it must be reaffirmed that American-Chinese ties should not be seen merely as a factor in the American-Soviet relationship. Because of its intrinsic importance, China must be drawn more and more into a positive global involvement, with an increasing Chinese role in joint international efforts to cope with such problems as food, population, or health. Its own experience in these matters - rather than its revolutionary rhetoric - make its potential contribution most desirable and China's ^{engagement} involvement would also enhance China's global stature.

7. Global issues: Given Soviet power and Soviet ambitions, it is desirable for the United States both to promote and to facilitate increasing Soviet engagement in constructive responses to the new and increasingly acute global problems confronting humanity. The Soviet record on this score has not been encouraging. Soviet foreign aid amounts to only one-tenth of 1% of the Soviet GNP. The Soviet Union has taken on the whole a self-serving or expedient position in regards to such matters as the future of the oceans or the need for a major global food reserve or the desirability of a global demographic policy. The Soviet response to India's entry into the nuclear club also showed a disturbing indifference to the dangers of nuclear proliferation.

Nonetheless, with time and with increasing sophistication, the Soviet appreciation of the need for wider global cooperation is bound to expand. Progress in that direction has already been made in some fields and continued American efforts are therefore imperative. The ultimate purpose of detente, after all, ought to be to effect a fundamental change in the Soviet perception of its world role: instead of trying to change the world ^{in its own image,} the Soviet Union should increasingly come to see itself as an integral part of a larger and

more cooperative effort in coping with the world as it actually is. Proliferation, food, technology transfer are all areas where Soviet perception of the Soviet interest may before too long change, precipitating a more substantial Soviet involvement in developing cooperative global processes and institutions.

Throughout these considerations, it is essential to bear in mind that in the American-Soviet relationship the U.S. continues to enjoy enormous advantages. The U.S. is superior to the Soviet Union in both its domestic and external conditions. Its social system is healthier, more wealthy, and more creative. Its economy is more dynamic and innovative. Its international position is superior to the Soviet in that the Soviet Union has no real allies, and the Soviet Union is primarily associated with burden-states and not with upward-mobile states. The U.S. - provided it acts creatively to frustrate the Soviet policy of decomposition and offsets Soviet military power (the only area where the Soviets are truly competitive with the U.S., and where the trends - as argued earlier - could become ominous) - can thus afford to pursue a policy designed to structure a more cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union from a position of confidence and thus also with patience. In the foreseeable future, it is the Soviet Union that stands to lose more if the American-Soviet relationship deteriorates.

A final comment: the American-Soviet relationship dominated world affairs in the first 25 years after World War II. It is likely that in the remaining quarter of this century that relationship will itself be dominated to a larger extent by the shape of world affairs. The changing global context will impinge on these relations both positively and negatively: positively in

the sense that global issues will themselves become increasingly important and the need to respond to them may exercise pressures on behalf of wider American-Soviet cooperation; negatively in the sense that global turmoil will itself feed back into the American-Soviet relationship, precipitating conflicts or even clashes. In either case, however, the American-Soviet relationship will thus become more a function of global dynamics and less the a central dimension of international politics. Accordingly, the crucial priority must go to efforts to shape a framework of more stable global cooperation, into which the American-Soviet relationship can be increasingly integrated.

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general



THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE HOUSE • BOSTON 02133

MICHAEL S. DUKAKIS
GOVERNOR

July 28, 1976

Governor Jimmy Carter
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign
P.O. Box 1976
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear Governor Carter:

I want to extend my heartiest congratulations on your nomination and offer my best wishes--and my support--in the forthcoming campaign.

It was a great convention, and I think that its spirit of cooperation bodes well for the future of our party not only during the campaign but in the new administration ahead.

I was pleased with the platform and proud to have had a part in its formulation. It is a good document and I believe that for once, there is a continuing public interest in its provisions because people believe you, when you say that you support it, and intend to see that it is implemented.

I am particularly happy about the provisions on jobs, health care and welfare reform. I have been telling my Cabinet and public audiences here in Massachusetts how important these three reforms will be for the Commonwealth and the response has been very favorable.

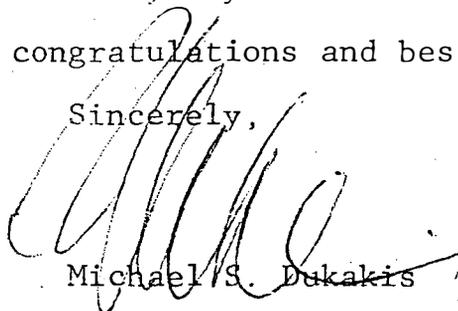
Some questions, however, have been raised about the language of the welfare plank which appears to suggest that local expenditures for welfare will be relieved first, while state costs will be phased out over time. This would, of course, penalize those states, like our own, which have already moved to assume the local share of welfare. I have said that the platform clearly reflects our intention to provide immediate fiscal relief to state and local governments and that it was not our intention to differentiate between the cities and the states in the provision of such aid. I trust that this is your understanding as well.

Governor Jimmy Carter
July 28, 1976
Page two

Finally, I want to offer my assistance in the necessary planning efforts that must precede the implementation of the platform. We will be happy to cooperate with you or your staff in the coming months in any way that is useful.

Again, my heartiest congratulations and best wishes.

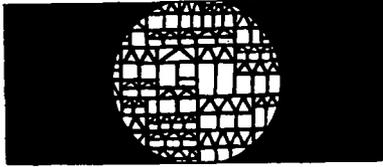
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Mike", written over the typed name "Michael S. Dukakis".

Michael S. Dukakis

cc: Stewart Eizenstat ✓
Wendell Anderson

Commonweal



232 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK NY 10016

Editorial Offices

July 28, 1976

Hon. James Carter
Plains, GA

Dear Mr. Carter:

We wish to call your attention to the editorial entitled "The Democratic Ticket" which is appearing in our July 30 issue.

With every good wish,

Cordially yours,

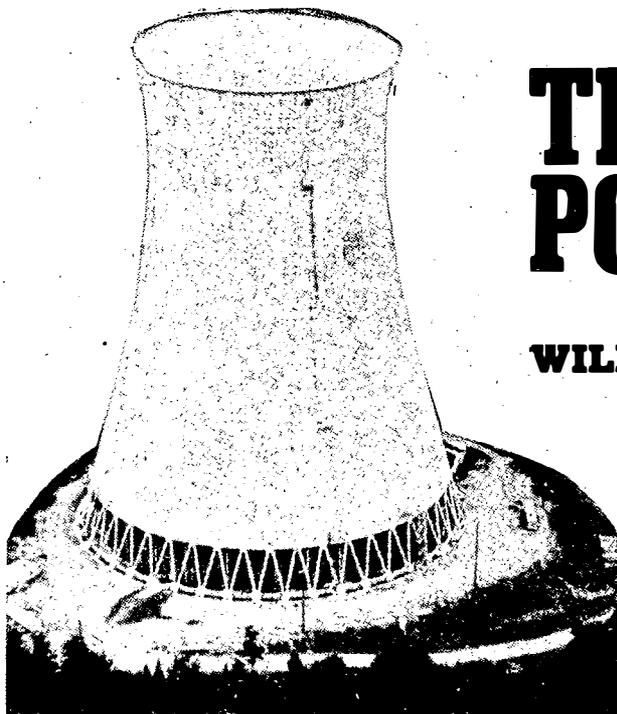
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for the Editors

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July 30, 1976

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