

8/28/79

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HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Res
J

DANIEL BELL

William James Hall 370
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
617-495-3843

August 28, 1979

Dear Mr. Caddell:

I am prompted to write by the report of Elizabeth Drew in the current New Yorker of the debates that have taken place within the Carter administration in the past several months. Since some of my views are cited as playing a role in these discussions, Miss Drew's account allows me to clarify a few issues.

I am, of course, aware of your emphases on the social-cultural factors that underlie the disorientations that individuals feel about the society. Mr. Mondale is cited as "rejecting the diagnosis," and arguing that "the anxiety which he found real and understandable, was based on inflation and the energy problem; people were finding that their savings were turning to water...."

It is regrettable that your views and those of Mr. Mondale were counterposed in this fashion because both of you are right. There is no contradiction between these assessments; the relevant questions are one of time-frame and focus.

I don't think any one can seriously question the "real anxieties" people feel. They arise especially after a period when people felt that they had gained a plateau of stability, or of a rising standard of living, and are finding these being eroded. And the erosion is real. So, in any immediate sense, the economic questions understandably are in the forefront of peoples' ~~EXPERIENCES~~ consciousness. And an effort to deny that reality, or to say that something else is "more" important, is bound to be self-defeating because people do think that what is on their minds is "real." To the extent that Mr. Carter is perceived as denying those ~~immediacies~~ immediacies, or that you are perceived as insisting that these are side issues, you are bound to be faulted.

At the same time, there are deeper-running currents of a social and cultural form which affect motivations, which reinforce a self-centeredness, and these historically-based changes are reinforced by the demographic fact that a huge cohort is entering onto that stage in the life-cycle where the "natural" urge towards a self-centeredness (~~fixity~~ i.e. establishing the household). So the present time is a coincidence of both cultural and demographic convergences suddenly crossed by an economic riptide.

is the most immediate reality

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NOV 6 1979

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

DANIEL BELL

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While I would agree with your reading of these social and cultural changes, I would differ on a central premise, namely that it is possible to deal with these questions in political terms frontally, and in programmatic terms directly. Changes in a society and culture go hand-in-hand with building of new institutions, and these cannot be done so easily in political terms alone. And it is even more difficult to assume that programmatic approaches can turn the tide. (Look at all the difficulties with welfare and welfare reform alone in the last 15 years.)

It is for this general reason that I thought Mr. Carter's main speech after Camp David a mistake. I do not think one can yoke a theme that is primarily moral and cultural to a "cause" or "crusade" that is so complex as energy. And for that reason, I think that many persons, while appreciating the seriousness of the President's effort, in the end found themselves confused as to what was being asked.

If one thinks of the great speeches "of the spirit" in recent American politics--Roosevelt's "you have nothing to fear" speech, or Kennedy inaugural address (which, because of its too pat rhetoric became shopworn very quickly), or better ~~than~~ Kennedy's May 1962 White House Economic Conference speech, they had a clarity because of a thematic singularity.

I wish there were some way in which the emphasis that Mondale has made, and the larger picture that you have drawn, could be brought into a coherence which would allow the Administration to show that it understands both of these themes. I have no conviction that this is a magical key in any way, or that this is the most politically effective way of coming forth to the people. But given my rationalist bias, I do believe that some intellectual ~~coherence~~ coherence is necessary before one seeks to determine what follows. And what Miss Drew's essay has done is to emphasize a picture of incoherence.

sincerely


Daniel Bell

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

*William James Hall
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138*

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P.S. I would add a point that is somewhat outside this context: namely, I ~~wat~~ would not underestimate Jerry Brown and Tom Hayden. The American people are conservative, by and large. But there has always been a deep streak, derived from its populism, which ~~z~~ looks on the world in conspiratorial terms: Wall Street, Madison Ave, the C.I.A., etc. One has today the ingredients--in the nuclear power issue, and in the image of the Corporate web--an explosive mixture. The nuclear power issue feeds apocalyptic fantasies; the corporations are the villains. Proposition 13, at bottom, was not only conservative, but populist. Big government and ~~exp~~ spending is tied to the other issues, and any one who can link these has ~~an explosive~~ a powerful imagery going for him.

Mr. Carter's belated populism will not help because it can only be perceived as rhetoric when contrasted with ~~xx~~ the appoints of Volcker, Miller, Lloyd Cutler and other business and establishment figures to the central policy posts in the Administration.

Since I do prefer Mr. Carter either to Jerry Brown, or to Edward Kennedy, I am sorry ~~that~~ to see this new tack. I think the wiser course would be to seek to pre-empt the Center, rather than try to play both ends at the same time.

-Daniel Bell

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/10/79

The First Lady

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox. It is
forwarded to you for your
information.

Rick Hutcheson



SEP 13 1979

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PAUL C. BROUN
165 PULASKI STREET
ATHENS, GEORGIA 30601

The State Senate
Atlanta

APPROPRIATIONS, CHAIRMAN
BANKING, FINANCE & INSURANCE
HIGHER EDUCATION

August 28, 1979

Ms. Susan Clough
Office of the President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20050

Dear Susan:

Attached are two or three things that I thought the President might be interested in knowing about - that he is getting some Georgia support to try and help with getting both Herman and Sam to vote for the SALT II treaty.

Sincerely,

Paul
Paul C. Broun

PCB:pg

Enc.

*To Paul & Joe
Thanks!
J*

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/6/79



Paul Broun
Joseph Reid

the Senate

Atlanta

September 8, 1979

APPROPRIATIONS, CHAIRMAN
BANKING, FINANCE & INSURANCE
HIGHER EDUCATION

President Carter asked me to send you the enclosed copy of Paul's letter which also includes his comments on the lower right corner -- with his best regards!

-- Susan Clough

DR. JOSEPH A. REID
1749 CLIFTON ROAD, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30329

Attached are two or three things that I thought the President might be interested in knowing about - that he is getting some Georgia support to try and help with getting both Herman and Sam to vote for the SALT II treaty.

Sincerely,

Paul
Paul C. Broun

PCB:pg

Enc.

60 - HANDWRITTEN NOTE
ON INCOMING

*To Paul & Joe
Thanks!
J*

790907 1835

Georgians for SALT II

Executive Committee

Senator Paul Broun
Dr. Joseph A. Reid

Co-Chairmen

Mr. John Cox
Rev. William J. Hinson
Mrs. Nan Pendergrast

1749 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
Telephone (404) 636-0801

NEWS RELEASE

NEWS RELEASE

For additional information call:

Dr. Joseph A. Reid (404) 329-6584
Col. J. A. Donovan (404) 394-0800

August 13, 1979
For Immediate Release

WAR WITHOUT WINNERS FORUM

Atlanta, Ga. The recently organized group of Georgians for SALT II will sponsor a showing of the widely acclaimed film, War Without Winners, which deals with nuclear war and the nuclear arms race.

On Thursday, August 23 at 8 P.M. in the Emory Law School Auditorium at North Decatur and Clifton Road, Atlanta, the film will be introduced by Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocque, USN (Ret.), Director of the Washington based Center for Defense Information, which produced the film. The public is invited at no charge.

Following the film there will be an open discussion of nuclear war, the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) and defense spending. There will be a panel of spokesmen dealing with these related topics.

Georgians for SALT II Executive Committee is headed by Senator Paul Broun and Dr. Joseph A. Reid and includes other representatives of academic, church, civic and military interests.

Georgians for SALT II

Executive Committee

Senator Paul Broun
Dr. Joseph A. Reid

Co-Chairmen

Mr. John Cox
Rev. William J. Hinson
Mrs. Nan Pendergrast

1749 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
Telephone (404) 636-0801

Professor at Emory

15 August 1979

Dear Friend,

A heartening number of citizens have joined with you in becoming charter members of Georgians for SALT II. Our state has a particular responsibility for the ratification or rejection of the treaty, as our Senator Sam Nunn, who has thus far remained undecided on the issue, is considered by some to be an authority on arms matters, a senator whose vote will influence those of other senators as well. We have before us the task of guiding Senators Nunn and Talmadge to vote for ratification by writing to them or by contacting them in person. I enclose some usefull information for that purpose.

I am also pleased to invite you to a forum on nuclear weapons and the SALT II treaty to be held in the auditorium of the Emory University Law School (at the corner of Clifton and North Decatur Roads) on August 23 at 8 pm. We are very fortunate to have as our main speaker Rear Admiral Gene LaRoque USN(Ret.) who is the director of the Center for Defense Information in Washington, DC. Admiral LaRoque is extremely well versed on our strategic nuclear doctrine and our nuclear arsenal. Our Georgia senators have been invited. I can assure you of an important and informative evening.

This is a critical effort. Every citizen who is active in and committed to nuclear arms reduction is acting in the highest national interest - survival.

Sincerely,

Joseph A. Reid
Dr. Joseph A. Reid, Co-Chairman
Georgians for SALT II

Georgians for SALT II

Executive Committee

Senator Paul Broun
Dr. Joseph A. Reid

Co-Chairmen

Mr. John Cox
Rev. William J. Hinson
Mrs. Nan Pendergrast

1749 Clifton Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30329
Telephone (404) 636-0801

June 22, 1979

Dear Friend

We invite you to become a charter member of Georgians for SALT II.

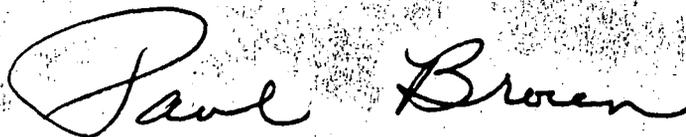
The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, SALT II, is the result of careful bipartisan negotiations extending over three presidential administrations. The rejection of this treaty would be viewed by a large part of the world's population as a repudiation of the whole process of mutual negotiated restraint in strategic weapons.

You, of course, know this, but a majority of the citizens of the United States were not even aware, according to a recent poll, which two nations were involved in the negotiations! A massive educational job must be undertaken in order that the Senate be guided in its advice and consent by an informed electorate.

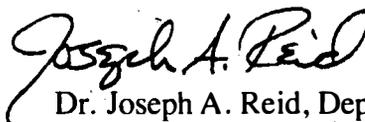
To this end, we ask that you become a charter member of Georgians for SALT II. In a nuclear confrontation between the United States and the USSR, there would be no victors, only survivors, and the survivors would envy the dead because our way of life, as we know it today, would no longer exist.

Please indicate your willingness to join us.

Very truly yours,



Senator Paul Broun



Dr. Joseph A. Reid, Dept. of Physics, Emory University
Co-chairmen, Georgians for SALT II.

Yes, count me in as a charter member of Georgians for SALT II.

Name _____ Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____

Your financial contribution is welcome and needed.

FILM August 23 8 p.m.

WAR

WITHOUT

WINNERS

"Either we have to learn to live with the Russians or we and the Russians will die together at the same time. And I am all for living!"

— Dr. George Kistiakowsky,
Former Scientific Advisor to
Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson

"For many years we have been responding to fear. It is now time to respond to reason."

— Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque

EMORY
UNIVERSITY
LAW SCHOOL

"Most nuclear war films are an appeal to fear. War Without Winners is a fresh and delightful appeal to reason. It makes you want to stop building bigger and better weapons, and start dancing and living."
John Dowling, Physicist, in Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

Corner of Clifton / N. Decatur Rd.

SPEAKER: **Gene La Rocque**
REAR ADMIRAL, USN (RET)

FORUM ON: NUCLEAR WAR-SALT II-DEFENSE SPENDING

Georgians for SALT II

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 28, 1979

*Bob, Stu
Why duplicate
what OMB has
already written?
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB LIPSHUTZ
STU EIZENSTAT *Bob Stu*

RE: CAB Decision: Air Canada
Docket 36424

The CAB proposes to suspend certain discount fares proposed by Air Canada for U.S.-Canadian routes of 1,000 miles or more. Air Canada wants to offer excursion fares at 46 to 66 percent below normal economy rates for a two month period this fall.

The Board proposes to suspend the fares because the Canadian government has repeatedly refused to approve low fare proposals offered by U.S. carriers. (Over the past few months five of six U.S. low fare proposals have been disapproved by Canadian authorities.) In particular, the Canadian government has taken the position that the only low fares which it will approve are those which are identical to Air Canada's discount fares.

The CAB believes that consumers will benefit over the long run from a more open and competitive air travel market between the U.S. and Canada. Until such time as the Canadian government is prepared to permit competitive discount fares proposed by American carriers, the Board recommends suspending such fares as those now proposed by Air Canada.

State has been negotiating with the Canadian government for a number of months but to date has reached no resolution of this problem. These discussions will continue.

The interested agencies have no objection to the Board's proposed Order, which will become effective unless you disapprove it by August 31. Although we are reluctant to suspend discount fares, we agree with the Board that long term competition is promoted by this action. We therefore recommend approval of the Board's order.

_____ Approve

_____ Disapprove

Handwritten initials/signature



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

August 28, 1979

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Civil Aeronautics Board Decision: U.S.-Canada
"Seat Sale" fares proposed by Air Canada

Docket 36424

The Civil Aeronautics Board proposes to suspend certain air fares proposed by Air Canada.

For U.S.-Canada routes of 1,000 miles or more, Air Canada wants to offer "Seat Sale" excursion fares at 46% to 66% below the normal economy fare level for a limited period during the fall (roundtrips originating from October 5 to November 23 and returning on or before December 14, 1979). Various other conditions also apply (advance purchase, minimum stay, cancellation penalties, no stopovers, and capacity restrictions).

The Board proposes to suspend these fares because the Canadian Government has repeatedly refused to approve low-fare proposals offered by U.S. carriers. Over the last few months 5 of 6 U.S. carrier low-fare proposals have been disapproved by the Canadian authorities. The Board acknowledges that the proposed order would suspend a low fare, an action which, on its face, seems to harm consumers. Nevertheless, in the long run the Board believes consumers and the public interest would be helped more by an open and competitive air travel market between the U.S. and Canada. In the present environment, U.S. carriers are forced to structure their low fare proposals according to the dictates and needs of Air Canada. As the Board points out, the marketing needs of U.S. carriers and the best corresponding fare structures do not necessarily match those of Air Canada. The passenger demand for services often varies by season, by route and, even on the same routes, by carriers. To accommodate the various needs of the traveling public, more than one set of low fares is needed. Until such time as the Canadian government agrees to allow competitive-and not just identically matching-fares by U.S. carriers, the Board recommends suspending the Air Canada fare.

You should be aware that the State Department has been negotiating with the Canadian Government on this subject for months. As recently as August 24, the two governments were exchanging views. The Canadian Government, however, has not yet agreed to approve competitive low fares filed by U.S. carriers, even on an experimental basis. The State Department will be continuing these discussions and if an agreement is reached the suspension order can be lifted.

The Departments of State, Defense, Justice and Transportation and the National Security Council have no objection to the Board's proposed order.

The Office of Management and Budget also recommends that you take no action and allow the Board's order to go into effect.

The Board's decision becomes final unless you disapprove the order on or before August 31, 1979.


John P. White
Deputy Director

Attachments:

CAB letter of transmittal
CAB order

Options and Implementation Actions:

- 1) Approve the Board's order by taking no action.
(DOS, DOD, DOJ, DOT, NSC, OMB.)
- 2) Disapprove.
--Appropriate implementation materials to be prepared.
- 3) See me.

Reluctantly
J

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