

12/8/79

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7 December 1979

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TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RICK HUTCHESON *R.H.*
SUBJECT: Memos Not Submitted

1. ROUTINE CAB CASES, approved by Cutler, OMB and all agencies:

Docket 32294: permits Southeast Airlines to provide service between Florida and the Bahamas.

Docket 35284: permits Chilcotin-Cariboo Aviation to provide air charter service between the US and Canada.

Docket 37114: suspends an 11% fare increase requested by TWA for flights from cities other than New York to Europe.

Docket 37157: suspends a 20% fare increase requested by Air France and Scandinavian Airlines for flights from Europe to US interior points.

Docket 35524: adds a stop in California to routes permitted for Pan Am.

Dockets 32393, 32394, 32395, 32550, 32551: permit Conner Air Lines and Jet Fleet Corporation engage in foreign air charter operations.

2. HENRY OWEN MEMOS:

Endorsing the advice Clark Clifford gave President Truman in 1948 to take bold economic steps tailored to the voter, not Congress. "I hope that you will keep pressing for 'long passes' in anti-inflationary policy... Departures from the caution that naturally and properly shapes governmental decisions won't happen without your continuing intervention..."

"...If you say in December 1979 that events in the last three years have underlined the need for a healthy nuclear industry, I suspect most people will be glad to see you taking account of changing circumstances... The global energy situation has changed greatly since 1976."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON6932 25INFORMATION

December 3, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: HENRY OWEN *HO*
SUBJECT: Nuclear Energy

One other point occurred to me in connection with the Friday afternoon discussion of nuclear energy that you attended: The global energy situation has changed greatly since 1976; you foresaw energy trends better than most, but no one will blame you for not having foreseen in 1976 the degree to which developments in Iran and elsewhere in the oil-producing world would make nuclear energy even more important.

If you say in December 1979 that events in the last three years have underlined the need for a healthy nuclear industry, I suspect most people will be glad to see you taking account of changing circumstances -- the more so since, to judge from public opinion polls, Americans are more interested in developing an effective energy policy than anything else except beating inflation. The tone of your statement will be important in influencing investors, without whose support the industry will die, regardless of what the government decides.

THE WHITE HOUSE

6752

WASHINGTON

INFORMATION

November 27, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: HENRY OWEN *HO*

SUBJECT: Economic Policy

In reading a book about White House staff, I came across this excerpt from a memo that Clark Clifford wrote to President Truman in preparing for the 1948 campaign:

"The High Cost of Living will be the most controversial issue of the 1948 campaign -- indeed the only domestic issue. Whichever party is adjudged guilty of causing it will lose the election The administration's recommendations -- in the State of the Union message and elsewhere -- must be tailored to the voter, not the Congressman; they must display a label which reads 'No Compromises.'"

Clifford explained his view later:

"We were on our own twenty-yard line. We had to be bold. If we kept plugging away in moderate terms, the best we could have done would have been to reach midfield when the gun went off. So we had to throw long passes"

I hope that you will keep pressing for long passes in anti-inflationary policy, as you did when you were reviewing domestic economic prospects in the Cabinet Room a few weeks ago. Departures from the caution that naturally and properly shapes governmental decisions won't happen without your continuing intervention -- not merely asking for memos but meeting frequently with your advisers, probing for disagreements and dissenting views, and pressing for further ideas until a program emerges that meets your needs. I realize that you have many other burdens. But this is where the future of the country -- and of this Administration -- will be decided.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/8/79

Jack Watson
Arnie Miller

The attached was returned in the
President's outbox today and is
forwarded to you for appropriate
handling.

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 7, 1979

C

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK WATSON
ARNIE MILLER

SUBJECT:

Presidential Appointments

Secretary Vance has made the following recommendations for Ambassadorial assignments:

Marvin Weissman	Bolivia
Robert E. White	El Salvador
Robert C. F. Gordon	Mauritius

All of the candidates are Foreign Service Officers.

Mr. Weissman is fifty-two years old and presently the Ambassador to Costa Rica.

Mr. White is fifty-three years old and currently the Ambassador to Paraguay.

Mr. Gordon is fifty-nine years old and currently the Coordinator for the Handicapped, Office of the Director General.

Zbig Brzezinski concurs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you nominate Marvin Weissman for Bolivia; Robert White for El Salvador; and Robert Gordon for Mauritius.

approve

disapprove

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MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 4, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR: ARNIE MILLER
FROM: ROBERT GATES *RG.*
SUBJECT: Ambassadorial Appointments

The NSC has no objection to the appointment of the following career officers as Ambassadors for the below listed countries, as recommended by Secretary Vance:

Bolivia	Marvin Weissman
El Salvador	Robert E. White
Mauritius	Robert C. F. Gordon

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR ROBERT GATES

FROM:

ARNIE MILLER *AWA*

SUBJECT:

Ambassadorial Appointments

Attached are the background papers for the following-named individuals to be Ambassadors for the below listed countries.

Would you please let us know NSC's comments on these recommendations?

Thank you.

Bolivia

Marvin Weissman

El Salvador

Robert E. White

Mauritius

Robert C.F. Gordon

If you have any questions, feel free to call Patty Pettit, of my staff, at 2995.

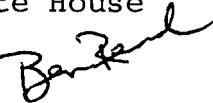
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

November 21, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE HAMILTON JORDAN
The White House

FROM: Ben H. Read



Secretary Vance has decided to recommend that the following career officers be nominated for the posts indicated:

Bolivia

Marvin Weissman

El Salvador

Robert E. White

Mauritius

Robert C.F. Gordon

Biographic information is attached. We will begin the various clearance procedures upon receiving the President's approval.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

CANDIDATE FOR EL SALVADOR

NAME: Robert E. WHITE

AGE: 53

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Latin America, East Asia, North America

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Paraguay, Ecuador, Honduras,
Nicaragua, Colombia

RANK: Foreign Service Officer, Class 1

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Spanish, French

EDUCATION: BA, St. Michael's College 1952
MA, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy,
Tufts University, 1954

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977-present Ambassador to Paraguay

1975 to 1977 Deputy U.S. Representative to the Organi-
zation of American States

1972 to 1975 Deputy Chief of Mission, Bogota

1970 to 1972 Deputy Chief of Mission, Managua

1968 to 1970 Director, Latin American Regional Office,
Peace Corps

1965 to 1968 Chief of Political Section, Tegucigalpa

1963 to 1965 Deputy Principal Officer, Guayaquil

1961 to 1963 Foreign Affairs Officer, Bureau of Inter-
national Organization Affairs

1959 to 1961 Commercial Officer, Ottawa

1958 to 1959 Consular Officer, Hong Kong

1955 to 1958 Public Information Officer, Bureau of
International Organization Affairs

Ambassador to Paraguay since 1977, White is a veteran Latin American hand who has served earlier in Ecuador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Columbia. He also served, during his early career years, in Canada and Hong Kong. Prior to his appointment to Paraguay, White was an able and tough Deputy Representative to the OAS. Other Washington assignments included a two-year stint as Latin America Regional Director for the Peace Corps and two tours in the Bureau of International Organization Affairs. A strong human rights advocate in the difficult Paraguayan situation, White has not hesitated to use all channels available to him to make clear to President Stroessner the U.S. commitment to the human rights cause in Paraguay and elsewhere. White's strong personality and operational effectiveness combined with his Central American experience, make him well-qualified to head the Embassy in El Salvador during the turbulent period ahead. He speaks Spanish fluently.

CANDIDATE FOR MAURITIUS

NAME: Robert C.F. GORDON

AGE: 59

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Africa, Europe, Middle East

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Italy, Tanzania, Sudan, Iraq

RANK: Foreign Service Officer, Class 1

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Italian, French

EDUCATION: AB, University of California, Berkeley 1941
MA, University of California, Berkeley 1949

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1978-present Coordinator for the Handicapped, Office of
the Director General

1972 to 1978 Principal Officer, Florence

1970 to 1972 Special Assistant for Welfare and Grievances
of the Department

1965 to 1970 Counselor for Political-Military Affairs, Rome

1964 to 1965 Deputy Chief of Mission, Dar-es-Salaam

1963 to 1964 Detailed to National War College

1961 to 1963 Personnel Officer, Office of Personnel

1959 to 1961 Political Officer, Khartoum

1956 to 1959 Political Officer, Baghdad

1950 to 1956 Foreign Affairs Analyst, Department of State

Bob Gordon is a 30-year veteran of the Department and the Foreign Service, with assignments in Baghdad, Khartoum Dar-es-Salaam, Rome and Florence (where he was Principal Officer for six years). He has also served in the Department as Special Assistant for Welfare and Grievances and, currently, as Coordinator for the Handicapped. Mr. Gordon has been described by his supervisors as an outstanding leader and a talented program manager, dependable, enthusiastic, and with great strength in personal relations.

It should be noted that Mr. Gordon has had a degenerative eye problem for at least the past decade which severely limits his reading ability. Nonetheless, he has been able to perform most creditably despite this handicap.

11/13/79

CANDIDATE FOR BOLIVIA

NAME: Marvin WEISSMAN

AGE: 52

AREAS OF EXPERIENCE: Latin America

COUNTRIES OF EXPERIENCE: Costa Rica, Brazil, Colombia,
Guatemala, Venezuela, Ecuador, Chile

RANK: FA-NC

FOREIGN LANGUAGES: Spanish, Portuguese

EDUCATION: PhB, University of Chicago 1948
MPA, Maxwell Graduate School, Syracuse
University, 1954

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

1977-present Ambassador to Costa Rica

1975 to 1977 Director, Office of Central American Affairs,
Department of State

1973 to 1975 Director, USAID Mission, Brazil

1967 to 1973 Director, USAID Mission, Colombia

1963 to 1967 Director, USAID Mission, Guatemala

1961 to 1963 Director, Office of Institutional Develop-
ment, Agency for International Cooperation

1958 to 1961 Public Administration Adviser, AID Mission,
Ecuador

1954 to 1958 Management Consultant Firm, Caracas, Venezuela
and Santiago, Chile

1950 to 1954 Methods and Estimates Examiner, Bureau of
the Budget.

Chief of Mission in San Jose since June 1977, Weissman has demonstrated the same qualities as a diplomat as he did throughout a successful AID career in which he received AID's highest honor for his leadership of the AID missions in Guatemala (1963-67), Colombia (1967-73), and Brazil (1974-75). Intelligent, articulate, personable, Weissman has enjoyed direct access to and productive working relations with Costa Rican officials of all levels, from the President down. He also has done a particularly fine job in hosting numerous high-level visits (e.g. Mrs. Carter, Ambassador Young, Senator McGovern, Senator Bentsen, Congressman Reuss).

Weissman's 25 years of experience in Latin America have provided him with a broad range of personal contacts in many countries and at all levels. They also have provided him with an excellent grasp of the issues in U.S.-Latin American relations. These attributes, joined with his demonstrated effectiveness as COM, make him well qualified for the appointment to La Paz. It bears mention also that Weissman's AID experience would be of special relevance to the La Paz assignment since Bolivia is the recipient of major amounts of U.S. bilateral assistance. Ambassador Weissman is fluent in Spanish.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/8/79

Jody Powell/Ray Jenkins
Rick Hertzberg

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Al McDonald

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

MEMORANDUM

cc Ray
Rick
J

TO: President and Mrs. Carter and Jody Powell

DATE: Nov. 8, 1979

FROM: Brandt Ayers

Anniston, Alabama

SUBJ: A Speech to Rally America and Clarify Your Goals

The Presidency is much more than an institution. It is a focus of feelings... The Presidency is the focus for the most intense and persistent emotions in the American polity. The President is a symbolic leader, the one figure who draws together the people's hopes and fears for the political future. On top of all his routine duties, he has to carry that off--or fail.

--James David Barber
PRESIDENTIAL CHARACTER

My conclusion is that public opinions must be organized FOR the press if they are to be sound, not BY the press as is the case today.

--Walter Lippmann
PUBLIC OPINION

I'm still waiting for President Carter to tell me what his goals are, what his ideas and programs mean to me and the country.

--Jimmy Turner, proprietor
Courthouse Barber Shop
Anniston, Alabama

I ANALYSIS OF MRS. CARTER'S BIRMINGHAM SPEECH

Before your speech, Mrs. Carter, you told Josie and me, "I don't know what it is, but something's wrong." Your good instincts were confirmed by the rather forced reaction to the address. There was no spontaneous outpouring of patriotic emotions, the kinds of FEELINGS about which Jim Barber speaks. The reason is that you were talking about "the routine duties" of the President as prime minister and not about the meaning and purpose of the Carter presidency, "the President (as) a symbolic leader."

When we elect a President, we expect him to function as two men, in a dual role. Out of necessity, we choose a prime minister but, out of the deepest national craving, we also choose a symbol of ourselves writ large--the American equivalent of a King. The prime minister is expected to "face the tough issues" but those issues are beyond our comprehension and beyond our ability to affect. Our emotions are engaged affirmatively only when the President speaks to us as the other man, the elected American sovereign: a symbol of our national virtues, the personification of the best in our national character, as the indispensable author of the national vision and the only man who can describe the nation's purpose and summon the national will to face the hardships and ultimately prevail over them.

A working-class friend of mine, a man who spent the bulk of his working life as a moulder and machine-operator in a local foundry, put it in this simple sentence: "We need somebody to remind us what we stand for, what Americans have always stood for."

II A PHRASE TO SUMMON THE NEW PATRIOTISM

Since the very beginning of your administration, Mr. President, you have dedicated yourself to ideals which are not clearly understood only because they haven't been explicitly stated. These ideals have a value to Americans that transcend the material; they are beyond price. In dozens of conversations with ordinary citizens for nearly two years now I have explained to them that your energy policies aren't about price but patriotism, that your fight is not to secure a cheaper gallon of gas but to secure the freedom of America and the industrialized world.

You will get the same answer I do, Mr. President, if you tell us, "There is a simple but strong declaration about American character that we can make to the world--an encouraging message to those nations which look to us for leadership and a sobering statement to those who hope and expect we will fail. It is this: there are many things more important to Americans than the price of a gallon of gas; one of them is our independence and another is our national self-respect."

Scotty Reston confirmed what ordinary citizens have told me when I posed to him those two sentences as a possible statement of the purpose of your energy policies. He said, "If they can get that across, old friend, then they've got it (a second term)."

III CONTEXT FOR STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

For maximum impact the statement should be first introduced as the rallying, closing line of an all-network address to the people. The context of the speech is more important than the memorable, clarifying phrase for reasons that you know well, Mr. President, but that I know in a flesh-and-blood sense because I live most of my life in the work-a-day world of a relatively small town, distant from the world of knowledge and power.

In my world, people have not yet come to understand that the energy shortage threatens our national security--and that of most of the industrialized world. They haven't spent hours with Sheikh Yamani, as I did recently, or heard your off-the-record analysis of the precarious nature of the situation for the consuming countries as I did at Camp David. People in the barber shops and cafes perceive the energy question from their own narrow universe in the way that affects them most directly. That is, price. They feel the price going up, hear on television about oil company profits and conclude that there is a conspiracy. They expect politicians may be implicated and they don't exempt even you, Mr. President.

Further, as you know, there is a distressing lack of self-confidence among the people out here, a feeling that the power of our arms and ideals has been frustrated. You defined this decline of morale in your "crisis of confidence" speech July 15. In that speech you began to bridge the gulf of perception that lies between your world and mine. You must go further in this speech. And, you must continue to state the basic theme so that we learn it and repeat it to ourselves out here like the lyrics of a popular tune, words we remember because they strike a chord in our soul and in our blood; words that define us as a people--words that, as my friend said, "remind us what we stand for, what Americans have always stood for."

If I may speak plainly, Mr. President, your "moral equivalent of war" speech did not fail entirely because of the media treatment of it. It did not succeed because out here people saw it as a war without a perceived threat, without sacrifice, without a meaning or purpose that we could understand in the most primal way, in our blood. Therefore, what you asked us to DO had little importance to us.

In this speech you must convince us there is a threat (a fact known to our allies and enemies but not yet understood by the American people). You must give us confidence by reminding us of the past challenges we have met and the even more severe tests our allies have met and mastered ("We're just as good as they are" is the challenge the comparison should bring to mind). Finally, you must tell us what to DO and invest our action with meaning--each time we DO what you tell us to do, Mr. President, we should feel we are striking a blow for our independence in the Second American War of Independence.

It is this last feeling that is so strong out here and, therefore, so dangerous: the desire to punch somebody in the nose. These passionate feelings of pent-up patriotism are driven by the steam-power of boiling blood. They must be released but they must be channeled in a constructive, affirmative way. I fear how some would-be leaders might uncage this power. I trust that power in your hands. The phrase that comes to mind for you to describe the best and highest expression of American might is... "the steady self-confidence of awesome power under control." It is a good re-statement of Teddy Roosevelt's dictum, originally stated when we were just beginning to think about a two-ocean navy and our power wasn't awesome. "Awesome power under control" implies that you and the American people represent the twin virtues of strength and peace.

IV. TIMING AND PERSUADING THE NETWORKS

The networks cannot refuse to grant you time if the speech is before your announcement and is described honestly as the inseparable second half of the post-Camp David speech which outlines, in a way that has not so far been clearly spelled out, the national security aspects of the energy crisis.

The immediate peg for the speech could be one or all of the following:

1. Preparing the nation for what will come out of the December OPEC meeting.
2. A plain-talking assessment of the real reasons that Khomeini felt bold enough to violate our sovereignty by unleashing his mobs on our embassy.
3. Putting in perspective finance committee action on a major part of your energy package.
4. Announcement of the actions you want the American people to take which I understand are being or have recently been prepared.

Thanksgiving week, ideally Thanksgiving Day, is the appropriately reflective time for this kind of message to the American family.

V. SUGGESTED DRAFT OF SPEECH: "SECOND AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE"

(NOTE: The substance of this suggested speech has been discussed with Ambassador West. Governor West said, "Tell them it has my enthusiastic backing. It will not offend the Saudis, particularly if we let them see an advance text, because Yamani has been saying many of the same things.")

On Sunday, Nov. 4, 1979, without warning the sovereign territory of the United States was invaded, American marines were overwhelmed and representatives of the United States government were imprisoned in our embassy in Teheran. It was a day this nation will not forget, an insult we will not forgive as long as those who were responsible hold power in Iran.

This sneak attack by vastly superior numbers was not directed by any government. It was planned and executed by a religious leader whose motives and culture are strange to us. But there is no mystery about why the Ayatollah Khomeini felt secure in attacking American people and property and pride. There is a one-word answer: Oil!

His deliberate insult sent America a message, but there have been other political messages. And there are further messages yet to come.

In the spring of 1973, the oil producing countries reduced their supplies just enough to send a wave of irritation and dislocation from one end of the nation to the other. Next month, the oil producing countries will meet and take actions that will mean everything Americans buy will cost more next year.

How can these small nations take action that damages the interests of this mighty, continental nation--and most of the industrial world? Again, the answer is one word, Oil! Half the oil it takes to run this nation comes from those countries. Half the gasoline in the tank of your automobile, half the fuel that heats your home, half of everything it takes to plant and harvest our food, power our airplanes and trains, run our factories, light and heat our cities is in the hands of foreigners. But we are more fortunate than most of the industrialized world: Japan and France and Italy are almost 100 per cent dependent on foreigners for the life-sustaining liquid that keeps those societies going--Oil!

It is long past time, my fellow citizens, that we stop talking as if our energy problems are the result of a conspiracy by big oil companies against the security of the very nation that sustains and protects them. There is no conspiracy of American business against America.

It is long past time that we faced up to the fact that--as long as half the oil we consume every day comes from foreigners--then America is not truly in control of its own destiny. I can assure you tonight that there is no direct and immediate threat to the security of this country. We have strong and loyal friends among the oil-producing nations. We ourselves represent the mightiest military machine ever assembled on earth. But as long as we are dependent, as long as we are vulnerable to a sudden political change, an accident or a civil war in a distant land whose culture and politics are strange to us, then our economic and political future is not entirely in our own hands.

These are hard facts, known to our enemies and our allies alike, and it is long past time that they were faced by the Congress and the people of the United States. We have not faced these facts with sufficient commitment during the past three years and our enemies look upon our half-hearted response to our energy problems as a sign of weakness. But, lest any of our enemies miscalculate and attempt to use our energy dependence in an attempt at political blackmail, I have an answer for them. It is the same answer that American leaders gave in the first decades of our national life--when American arms and American opinion mattered little to the world powers of that time. My answer is this:

"Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute!"

What will your answer be, and that of the Congress? It is long past time to ask simply for your help. It is time that America accepted the challenge to do its patriotic duty. It is time to tell our enemies and our allies alike that America will sacrifice to regain control of its independence and its national self-esteem. It is time to declare that--starting tonight and lasting for as long as it takes--this nation is committed to waging and winning the Second War of American Independence.

The Second War of Independence will be harder to fight than the original one was. It is not a shooting war where American courage and resolve is tested in the face of an enemy we can see massed before us. It is a war of wills in which the threat is always present but may never be seen in flesh and blood. But it is a war we must win if we are to regain our independence and pay the price that gives us that good feeling of renewed national self-respect. To support the war effort I am tonight calling on every American to undertake the following steps:

One (List of old and new conservation efforts)

Every time you organize or join a van-pool, each time you (other action), you should do so with the knowledge that your individual, small sacrifice is being multiplied by millions who are doing the same and that, together, America is shortening the time until we are truly independent. Each action is a blow struck at our enemies and for our freedom from dependence. I don't expect any of you will be happy to give up some of the things I have asked you to forego now so that we can win this fight. There will be some grumbling but one of our inalienable rights as Americans is the right to complain. That is the way we are. We gripe and grouse but, when we have to, we go ahead and do our duty.

There is only one thing that helps Americans get the job done that is more important than the right to gripe and that is the knowledge that most of our friends and all of our enemies don't believe we can win this fight.

This is what they say: "You really haven't gotten over the humiliation of Vietnam, have you? You seem to swing between being afraid of your power and being too willing to use it, as if you had something to prove." I think they are wrong. America has been down on itself but I think Americans are willing to learn from the painful experiences of Vietnam, to put that episode behind us and get on with building a secure future. Americans don't need to push anyone around to prove we are tough. We KNOW we're strong; we don't have anything to prove. The American way is to go about our business with the steady self-confidence of awesome power under control.

A working man from Anniston, Alabama, sent this advice to me through a friend. He said, "We need somebody to remind us what we stand for, what Americans have always stood for." The strength of the American character and of the American system are not to be measured by focusing on the episodes in our history that we call Vietnam and Watergate but by reading the large print that records American deeds over the last four decades.

The militaristic faction which seized political control in Japan during the 1930's misjudged American character. They thought we were weak, so devoted to the pursuit of private material pleasures that we would not defend ourselves. They learned American character in the fight they started. At the end of World War II Americans were not too self-centered, too self-indulgent to undertake the reconstruction of both our wartime friends and enemies. A strong, unified commitment to the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine prevented the spread of Communism in Europe.

Those who saw a momentary slump in our morale and think that America will forever hang its head in shame because of Vietnam, those who counsel a great, self-confident nation to swagger and shout like a school-yard bully because we once suffered a defeat should remember our own history, and that of other nations of the Free World.

Take France, for instance. The armies of France were humiliated in 1940. The French suffered their Vietnam long before we did--at Dien Bien Phu. French arms were again frustrated in the Algerian War and three times that nation was on the verge of civil war at home. Yet, lacking even the petroleum and coal with which America is blessed, France is a proud, self-confident and fiercely independent nation today. Why? Because there is something in the blood of the French people that reminds them: We have faced hardships before, accepted military defeat and occupation by foreigners, but there is one thing we will never admit and that is the final defeat, the destruction of the French spirit.

I believe there is something just as strong in the blood of Americans. We have recently suffered blows to our confidence, our morale has been low, but we are a resilient people who have faced hardships before. We are too realistic to believe that our problems will be solved by the excitement of a political rally--no matter how thrilling the rhetoric may be at the moment. We know that it takes hard, dogged, bull-headed persistence to finish the really tough jobs, and only when the job is finished do we feel we have earned the good feelings of satisfaction and self-respect. We know that because that is the way we are--although it's been a few years since we have shown that side of our character to the world.

It is time to do that now. There is a simple but strong declaration about American character that we can make to the world--an encouraging message to those nations which look to us for leadership and a sobering statement to those who hope and expect we will fail. It is this: there are many things more important to Americans than the price of a gallon of gas; one of them is our independence and another is our national self-respect.

You can make a mighty declaration of support to our allies and send a fearful message to our enemies, but you will make your point not so much by what you SAY about America but what you DO for America.

VI A FINAL WORD ABOUT POLITICS, MR. PRESIDENT

What I have proposed is a Presidential address designed to clarify what your policies mean to the nation and to us as individuals and, thereby, strengthen American resolve and raise American morale.

However, it can also be used as an outline for a basic campaign speech. I hope you can use it that way because I do not see the hard issues being faced by your opposition. Senator Kennedy seems to want to give us the feeling without the substance. We know in our soul that self-respect does not fall like manna from the podium of a political rally. We know it takes sweat and sacrifice to EARN the feeling that we have

done the job well. The Republicans offer us America as the Big Bad Wolf, "I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow America's cares away." You must tell us the TRUTH; give us the HARD facts.

If you do I believe you can seize, control and raise the level of debate in the campaign. This basic speech can form the Litany of a political campaign: "What will we tell the world about American character? Will we say that gasoline is more important than our independence?" "NO!" "Is a dollar a gallon or two dollars or even tendollars too much to pay for our self-respect?" "NO!" Are we going to win this war and regain control of our own lives?" "YES!"

My confidence that this approach will succeed does not come from the print-outs of a national pool but a more authentic marketing technique: two years of thinking, synthesizing and testing those same words on the mind and heart of ordinary Americans in long face-to-face conversations in their homes, in barbershops, cafes, grocery stores and street corners.

I am confident that a speech similar to the one I have outlined will be the speech that we have wanted to hear, the one that will allow us to see you not only as a hard-working prime minister but the head of the American family "reminding us what we stand for, what Americans have always stood for."

####

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12/8/79

bill/patti --

you may want to send
cc of "approved" draft
for sunday night to
press in the event they
want to release something.

thanks-sc

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 7, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Al McDonald *AM*
Rick Hertzberg
Bob Rackleff *BR*

Subject: Presidential Speech:
Tip O'Neill Dinner

Attached is the above Presidential
speech for your approval.

Clearance:

F. Moore
M. Chanin (for Wexler)
R. Granum (for Powell)

Remarks at Tip O'Neill Dinner 12/10/79

Mister Speaker, Millie O'Neill, the sons and daughters who have blessed their marriage of 38 years, and friends of Tip O'Neill:

Thank you, Father Monan, for the kind introduction.

It is a pleasure to be with 900 of Tip's closest friends -- to honor Boston College's most distinguished graduate and the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives.

It is a pleasure to honor this man -- a man devoted to his family, his Church, his country, his Party -- and to the Red Sox. I think that is the right order.

Tip is a man of greatness -- and great caution.

He roomed with Eddie Boland here for 23 years before he decided his seat was safe enough to move Millie down to Washington.

He should not worry. The voters of the 8th District know the value of re-electing the incumbent -- and those are my kind of voters.

He told me that the key to success in politics -- and I have made the same point recently -- is to wait your turn.

[Note: Kennedy is on the same program and speaks before Father Monan.]

We have a serious purpose tonight. It is to honor a man who for 27 years has served his country with distinction and greatness.

We are also here to honor and support Boston College, whose contributions to our nation become more evident each year.

I understand that this dinner has raised a million dollars. I hope that this is only the beginning of your generous support for Boston College.

By naming an endowed chair for him, the college is honoring a rare man. I could take up the entire evening to list his qualities and accomplishments.

Let me just say that in three years, he has become a great personal friend. I turn to him constantly for advice, for his knowledge, for his instincts, and his support.

When I took office and this country faced 8 percent unemployment, Tip made sure that Congress passed the most ambitious jobs program since the New Deal.

He has often said that "work and wages" are what the Democratic Party is all about. Today, there are eight million more Americans on the job, with work and wages, earning

their own way, living in dignity because of that belief.

He has long believed in giving our young people the best education this country can offer. In three years, Federal aid to education has increased by 60 percent. We have a Department of Education. And Tip O'Neill deserves much of the credit.

When it became imperative to act -- with our national security at stake -- he led the House to enact the most far-reaching energy program our country has ever seen.

He has never been afraid to stand up for what he believes, to work for what he knows is right, and to be outspoken about it. At a time when people have hungered for leaders who tell the truth, he has spoken the truth -- unafraid of the consequences.

Most of all, however, I admire Tip O'Neill's undiluted

patriotism. It is a patriotism that seeks to build on the greatness of America, the enduring values that founded America, the commitment to peace, the freedom and opportunity of our land, the compassion and generosity of our people -- that seeks to harness change and build a future for our children and succeeding generations.

That is the patriotism of Tip O'Neill. That is the strength of America.

The events in Iran remind us that our basic values mean as much today as at any time in our history. Those qualities are severely tested again today -- not just by a mob in Iran, but by the changing nature of the world.

I have no doubt that we will prevail. We are right. We are strong. We are united. Our form of government has endured for two centuries.

And long after the mobs have gone home, long after many changes of governments and constitutions and ideologies elsewhere in the world, American democracy and the ideal of America will stand as they do today -- the brightest and the best hope of mankind -- the beacon of fundamental human values.

Tonight, America stands as the greatest nation on earth. Tip O'Neill has enhanced that greatness, and we are all grateful to him.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me introduce the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.

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