

[Inaugural Speech Drafts—Notes and Suggestions] [2]

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: 1976 Campaign Transition File;
Folder: [Inaugural Speech Drafts—Notes and Suggestions] [2]; Container 2

To See Complete Finding Aid:

http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff_Secretary.pdf

November 15, 1976

Dear Governor:

You will have many suggestions about your inaugural address. I feel that Brandt Ayers, a newspaper man in Anniston, Alabama, in three paragraphs catches much of what you have had to say. The only expression which is totally new to me is "the politics of self respect". I would hope the attached might be passed along to your speech writers for their consideration.

Regards,

Phillip

*God - This was his place - Should
have received you earlier - Enjoyed
seeing you in Plain yesterday -*

Congratulations again

Phillip

11/19/76

OUT HERE

(Xeroxed Courier 12)

For release Sunday, Nov. 14,
or thereafter

MEMO TO: PRESIDENT JIMMY

FROM: A SMALLTOWN EDITOR

By Brandt Ayers

Dear Jimmy:

Because I took you at your word when you said you wanted to touch the roots of America and to tap the strengths of its people, I am bold to suggest the following language for your inaugural address:

"Our chief domestic purpose is to wage the politics of self-respect. Government cannot stamp self-respect in the heart of our people as if they were so many passports or stuff it into the envelopes with welfare checks. But we can remove those barriers erected by government itself against those who seek through their own efforts to earn the good opinion of their neighbors and a belief in their own worth.

"We expect our government to be both competent and courteous. To that end, we must recast not only the shape of the government but its attitude. Our government is strong. Out of that strength it must develop the self-confidence to replace bureaucratic hubris with humility. Whether we are poor, rural, black, or live in the forgotten neighborhoods between quaking ghetto and comfortable suburb, government must recognize that every American has a right to believe it is HIS government, too.

"America is many nations in one. We speak in different accents, draw pride from our origin in different cultures, worship God in different ways. Yet, we are united by our rightful expectation that there will be work for us to do, and that the reward for our labor will be a degree of material comfort and a sense of self-respect."

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR

(more)

What I am suggesting is more than a slogan for your administration, a Southern-fried "New Deal" or "New Frontier." The politics of self-respect is an attempt to describe a structure of thought and action that amounts to a political philosophy.

It is all there in your position papers: the jobs program, family and neighborhood policy, welfare reform, governmental reorganization, and restoring American prestige abroad.

Your staff produced enough memoranda on the issues to paper the White House inside and out. What was missing was language which pulled it all together, which stated the purpose of it all in words that the press and public could understand.

That is what the quarrel between you and the press about failing to discuss the issues was all about. It was easier for me to see because I wasn't locked up with you and the press corps in that airborne iron lung, "Peanut One."

I had the luxury of taking Franklin Roosevelt's advice to his aide, Rexford Tugwell, "Go and see what's happening. See the end product of what we are doing. Talk to people; get the wind in your nose."

My view of the campaign came from people and places like: Frank Giordano in his pharmacy on the eastern tip of Brooklyn; Phyllis Kinnerk in the Lithuanian-Catholic neighborhood of Marquette Park on Chicago's southwest side; Paul Johnson, retired editor of "Prairie Farmer," in the Middle Western small town of Northfield, Minn., and Jimmy Turner's Courthouse Barber Shop at home in Anniston, Ala.

Each one of these different Americans in their separate worlds can find recognition and a sense of worthy national purpose in a politics of self-respect. "It is an ecumenical issue," said one of your toughest

critics, Michael Novak, the theologian, columnist and ethnic spokesman, "that is part of the Protestant tradition to which urban Catholics and Jews also respond."

That or similar language may capture the imagination of the American people, and arm you for the struggles ahead. As you know better than I, you can't get governmental reorganization through Congress unless the people are pushing the legislators to go along.

If you wanted to combine Labor and Commerce departments into a Department of Economic Development, you would be murdered by a combination of the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers and all their allies in Congress--if the people weren't with you.

You are not unlike Woodrow Wilson who came to office with a mandate much smaller than your own but, like you, believed that the president is at liberty to be as big a man as he can.

Like you, Wilson thought the strength of the governor came from the governed. He put it in these words:

"Let him once win the admiration of the country, and no other single force can withstand him, no combination of forces will easily overpower him... If he rightly interpret the national thought and boldly insist upon it, he is irresistible; and the country never feels the zest of action so much as when its President is of such insight and calibre."

When you address the nation for the first time as President of the United States, you will face a people who are still unclear about your intentions, the national purpose and our role in it. But we want you to succeed and we'd like to feel that zest of action in America again.

#####

Columbia University
in the City of New York

RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON INTERNATIONAL CHANGE
420 WEST 118TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

December 14, 1976

Mr. Patrick Anderson
Carter-Mondale Transition
P.O. Box 2600
Washington, D.C. 20013

Dear Pat,

On further reflection, it seems to me futile, and probably counterproductive, to give you actual rhetoric. I can probably perform a better service by giving you certain themes which in my judgment, both for international and for political reasons, ought to be included. Behind each of these themes, I will follow with some suggested language, designed more to convey the substance of the thought rather than the actual rhetoric. If any of the wording proves helpful, needless to say, so much the better.

In addition to the themes, let me simply mention that it is important that there be some brief affirmative mention of such specifics as:

1. European unity;
2. the need for U.S.-Soviet accommodation on a broader base than heretofore but above all in regards to strategic weaponry;
3. recognition of China's special role as a country and a civilization of global importance;
4. our special hemispheric bonds with Canada and Mexico.

The foregoing points will be covered in the six major themes suggested below, and appropriate language will be included in the brief notes amplifying each of these major themes. These themes together make for a coherent statement, much in keeping with the general thrust of the speech, as discussed on the telephone. They are:

1. The international dimension of the New Spirit
2. The global agenda
3. Human rights
4. Priority for friends
5. Reciprocal accommodation with adversaries
6. The constancy of American power

1. The New Spirit/the international dimension:
America's birth was a watershed in man's quest for freedom. America was the first society consciously to define itself both in spiritual and in libertarian terms. It was that uniqueness that endowed America with a transcendental appeal - but it has also imposed on us a special moral obligation.

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

To be true to ourselves, we must be true to others. We must recognize that we live in a world dominated by a new spirit, a world of peoples both more numerous and more politically awake than ever before, of nations craving for their place in the sun.

We must help to shape a world that is truly humane. There can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America 200 years after its birth - and to that architectural effort I pledge to dedicate this country's foreign policy.

2. Global agenda

For the first time in the totality of mankind's history, it is possible to speak of common tasks and common needs. Our social development has reached a stage foreseen earlier only by universal religions: one in which mankind recognizes that there are certain minimum rights and minimum needs which must be universally respected.

*Why are
news
concerned*

As a consequence, America, the richest nation in this world, must do its full share in enhancing global development, in seeking to eradicate malnutrition, poverty, disease, and illiteracy. To do less violates our moral norms; and it is to promote a world in which violence and conflicts will become dominant.

To speak of a global agenda is not only to recognize a burden; it is also to welcome a new and higher stage in man's self-definition. It means that for the first time we are approaching the reality of a mankind that is beginning to be governed by common norms.

3. Human rights

Man is unique because of his spiritual dimension. We as Americans recognize that our freedoms are derived from our fundamental recognition of man as a spiritual unit. It is this belief that has made us put such heavy emphasis on the Bill of Rights, on the primacy of the individual, on the sacredness and inviolability of his individuality.

On a global scale, we are now at a stage in which mankind seeks not only the betterment of the human condition but fundamental respect for human rights. Freedom is not on the wane but on the rise. The best testimony is the increased awareness world-wide of the illegitimacy of governmental violence, directed at individual human rights.

As Americans, we can do no less than both welcome and promote this new awareness. Our foreign policy must not be rigidly moralistic but it must be derived from our fundamental sense of morality. This imposes not only restrictions on the means that we use but it also dictates a clearcut preference for those societies and governments which share with us an abiding respect for individual rights and freedoms. Though in a world of states we have to take both reality and our aspirations for our point of departure, and we cannot thus decree for the rest of the world how it ought to behave in its own internal affairs, the rest of the world must also know that Americans, because they are free men, cannot be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere.

4. Priority for allies and friends

Our relations with our friends are the centerpiece of our relationship with the world. We share with our democratic friends not only a uniquely privileged position but above all a common dedication to democratic processes. We are friends because we are free men.

And it is as free men that we must work together in trying to shape a more cooperative world order, one in which mankind as a whole more fully participates. We can do this better if our European friends are increasingly successful in reaching their goal of European unity, if they and our Japanese friends and other advanced democracies consult with us more closely, thereby making possible more collaborative undertakings. We cannot also fail to note that our two closest neighbors, Canada and Mexico, share with us a similar dedication to freedom and thus an intimate collaboration with them, respectful of their distinctive identities, is the necessary point of departure for America's involvement in the world.

5. Reciprocal accommodation with adversaries

In shaping our foreign policy, we must beware of illusions. They can be as dangerously misleading as ideological or moralistic rigidity. We must recognize the fact that for a long time to come our relationship with principal adversaries will remain both competitive and cooperative. That reality will continue to endure but it should be no bar to efforts to reach an ever-broadening accommodation with the Soviet Union on such matters as the strategic arms race or regional tensions. It is both in the American and in the Soviet interest to halt the strategic arms race and to begin the process of lowering strategic levels.

We must also bear in mind that China, a country and a civilization destined by history to play a key world role, deserves full respect as one of the leading nations of the world, and that closer American-Chinese relations are in the interest of all.

6. U.S. power

In the years ahead it will become increasingly clear that the two choices confronting us are those of growing international cooperation or intensifying global turbulence. In that setting, American power must remain a constant and credible factor of stability. Our friends, our allies, and our adversaries must know that American power - to defend our interests, to preserve our ideals, to safeguard our friends - will be maintained and used if circumstances so dictate. We seek not to dictate from strength but our desire to negotiate is not a sign of weakness. We seek not to intimidate, but a world in which others can dominate with impunity would be a world inhospitable to decency and contrary to mankind's wellbeing.

I hope the above is helpful, and I would be glad to react to any wording that you develop.

Regards,

207.

I MM
PRECEDENCE

Un clas
CLASSIFICATION

FOR COMMCENTER USE ONLY

DEX _____

DAC 078

LDX _____

TTY _____

GPS _____

PAGES 5

CITE _____

FROM: David AARON / 11 TOU 89 //

TO: Mr. James Martin For
President-Elect Carter

INFO:

DTG: 311657Z

RELEASED BY: WZ

TOR: 311709Z Dec 76

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: To Plains

1976 DEC 31 16 57

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

TO GOV 89

December 31, 1976

MEMO FOR: THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

FROM: DAVID AARON

Per your request.

CARTER - MONDALE
TRANSITION PLANNING GROUP

*P.O. Box 2600
Washington, D.C. 20013*

December 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President-elect
FROM: Cyrus Vance *cv*
SUBJECT: Suggested points for Inaugural
Address

As you requested, attached is a draft section of your Inaugural Address. It was written with your major campaign themes in mind. It avoids explicit references to specific countries and regions; once you name some, others will feel slighted.

Attachment:

Draft section of
Inaugural Address.

Draft for Inaugural Address

Many of my predecessors have stood on this platform and talked primarily of America's role in the world. They were concerned, as I am, with keeping America strong, with keeping America secure and free, with helping the cause of freedom elsewhere in the world. All of us share those concerns. But we have learned in recent years that our nation can be strong abroad only if we are strong at home--strong in leadership, strong in our domestic economy, strong in our commitment to the basic values of our nation.

The first thing that we can do for the world economy is to build a healthy economy at home. A foreign policy that promotes world trade first requires a domestic policy that promotes jobs for our workers. A policy of compassion and concern for hungry people around the world must be matched with concern for the disadvantaged people in our own land. And our greatest strength overseas, in the long run, is the ideas that are the bedrock of this nation. We cannot be true to ourselves if we are not true to these principles in our international relations.

A strong nation also requires a strong defense. We must have a lean, tough, effective, military force. We will never withhold a single dollar that is needed for our safety and security. But we must never waste a taxpayer's dollar and call it national security.

Efficient defense policy, no less than effective diplomacy, will require the cooperation of many different sectors of our society. I am pledged to seek this cooperation from all of you. I expect to hear many different points of view; I welcome it. Only through open discussion can we formulate a policy which has the understanding and support of our people.

As I will seek your support, I will also seek to strengthen cooperation with our allies and friends abroad, as we pursue an active diplomacy of peace. We will defend our interests, but seek no dominance over others.

We will not behave in another country in a way which would violate our own rules and standards here at home. If we can help settle differences or reduce conflict or suffering overseas, we must be prepared to do so; but we must not meddle in the affairs of other nations, unasked and unwanted.

Today no American soldiers are engaged in foreign battles. But peace must be more than the period between wars. It must be more than the mere absence of war. Real peace cannot be maintained through delicate balances of power and constant diplomatic maneuver.

There cannot be a lasting peace for nations when their people are at war with poverty and disease.

We intend to seek lasting agreements in those areas of the world where the present balance is fragile and peace seems

a temporary state. But the world should know that we also seek a new spirit of cooperative diplomacy, a pattern of international agreements and effort to attack those problems which threaten people everywhere: the spread of arms, both nuclear and conventional; the denial of human rights, wherever it may occur; global problems in energy, food, population and the environment.

For past Presidents, foreign policy has often meant an agenda of crisis and challenge. We can expect the same in the coming years. But I also hope to follow in the steps of those predecessors who found it an agenda of opportunity--opportunity to work together with our friends to solve the common problems of the world; opportunity to work with our adversaries to reduce the tensions that threaten our survival.

I cannot promise success. But I can--and do--promise to listen to you, to share my own thinking, to work with all of you, in the public and in the Congress. The successes we find will be more than a common benefit to our nation. They will be our common achievement.

TO: Gov. Carter

January 3, 1977

Draft of a "national security" section of the Inaugural Address

Our strength as a nation, and thus our national security, by no means lies solely in our military forces. It depends on our economic strength -- our business, our industry, our agriculture. It depends on our technological skills, our educational system, and above all on our cohesion as a people. But geography long ago ceased to insulate the United States from the risks of events beyond our borders. In an era of interdependence, we are linked economically, culturally, spiritually, and militarily, with the rest of the world.

In the era of thermonuclear weapons no nation, not even the superpowers, is free of the threat of nuclear annihilation. This administration will spare no effort in the attempt to reduce that danger, through equitable agreements on arms control and reduction. At the same time, I intend to provide military forces visibly sufficient to deter nuclear attack or political intimidation by threat of such attack.

I intend also to assure land, sea, and air forces in balance with our foreign policy commitments and our vital national interests.

Just as for the rest of the government, I intend to see that these military capabilities are procured, operated, and managed as efficiently, effectively, and economically as possible. We are the strongest nation in the world, and

We must ^{not} withhold ^{money} that is ^{necessary} for defense, nor must we spend money that is unnecessary.

we are blessed with the greatest resources. We can afford what we need, and we do not intend to be less powerful than potential adversaries. But we cannot afford unnecessary expenditures. A strong, lean, muscular military establishment is the best example to ourselves and the most effective message to others.

January 3, 1977

President-elect Jimmy Carter
Post Office Box Z
Plains, Georgia 31780

Dear Jimmy:

I forgot to mention in my letter of December 31 that I have some thoughts for your Inaugural Address and would be happy to share them with those at work on it.

One example is the enclosed statement which there was no opportunity to use during the campaign. I believe this affirmation that you intend to be a future-oriented President, one who understands his obligation to future generations, would strike a responsive cord not only in the United States but around the entire world.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,



Richard N. Gardner

RNG/pm
Enclosure

Richard N. Gardner
October 25, 1976

Suggested Statement for Governor Jimmy Carter

An American President holds the future of the country in trust. Children do not vote and unborn generations have no political franchise. But as trustee for the future, a President has an obligation to them as well as to today's voters. This obligation can only be discharged by intelligent planning that looks beyond the four year election cycle.

Many of our current problems were caused by political leaders who sought to stay in office by pushing these problems under the rug until after the next election. But there is no room left under the rug. We are paying the price today for the errors and omissions of yesterday. And our children will pay the price tomorrow for the lack of vision we show today.

This is true whether the problem is energy, the environment, racial discrimination, the decay of our cities, the neglect of our health and education needs, the nuclear arms race, or the spread of nuclear weapons.

The year 2000 is only 24 years away. If present trends continue, that year could be a frightening time for the majority of the American people now alive who will still be living then. If we are to correct these trends, we will have to do so in the next four to eight years. For the lead times between action and result are long -- and getting longer.

I intend to be a President who shows a decent respect for the future as well as for the present. And I will ask this same larger vision of the Congress and the American people.

Anderson -
you may get a
few thoughts from this
Kirbo

Houston, Texas
Jan. 3, 1977

Mr. Charles Kirbo
Trust Co. of Georgia Bldg.
25 Park Place N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Enclosed is a copy of a speech I wrote for President -lect Carter's
inaugural address. I mailed the original to him, but have no way of knowing
if he has seen it.

Will you please read it, and if you think any of it has merit, will you
please show it to him?

with sincere appreciation,

Wm M Touchstone

Wm. M. Touchstone
7900 Creekbend # 303
Houston, Texas
77071

Fellow Citizens of the United States of America, and honored guests. Today we begin a new administration and a new protocol. We do not lack respect for those present who hold high office, rather we seek to show a renewed respect for those who placed them in office.

We wish to emphasize that, for the next four years, there shall be no title or calling higher than that of a citizen of this nation. No person or group is due greater homage than the individual American citizen.

We affirm that our government, by right, was first formed to serve and protect these citizens. Yet, as I have traversed this broad country for over a score of months, in every city, town, and village, I have heard its people say that we no longer have this kind of government, but that the government rules and the people serve.

There is division and there is discouragement because the conduct of the government has not reflected the will of the people.

I have heard the voices of the people - your voices - the varied voices of the unsung hosts of this beloved land. I have heard the plaintive pleas for peace, for hope, for equality, and even for bread.

I have heard the voices of those who sing for joy and those who sing for sorrow; and there are those who sing not at all.

In these two long years, even the despair of the silent voice has reached the inner recesses of my heart.

To all of you, I say, I have heard your longings. I long to serve you, and work with you.

The protracted and sometimes bitter struggle to win the election has made it clear, almost too clear, that no man is all that he might want to be. No man, in this age and time, and in this crucial year, can be all things to all men.

All things and to all men I cannot now, or ever, be. With heart and soul, I wish I could. But you know all too well, I am no more than mortal man. I claim no more. And this being true, I shall err. I pray, and trust, that you shall pray with me, that these errors be small and far between.

I stand here as no stranger to the longings of the little people. I am one of those little people. I came from a modest background and I have worked for whatever I have. I know that hard work and dedicated effort can still produce successful results.

Now I need you to work with me. And as we face the future, I ask that we face it with maturity. One of the evidences of maturity is the willingness to make present sacrifice for future gain. This is evidence of maturity that I now ask of you, as we face an array of complex problems.

The effects of these problems have not been wrought in a day, nor will they lend themselves to quick and easy solution.

The need of highest priority is the one of which I have spoken most often. We must make our government workable and responsive to the will of the people.

Those who place their own pride and political power above the best interests of the people have had their day. You have spoken. You have said "enough" to those who selfishly barricade the road to progress and plenty.

You will not be deceived by clever words, nor deluded by the smooth promises of those consumed by a greed without conscience and an unslakable thirst for power.

From the shambles of this vast bureaucracy, we must construct an executive department that is streamlined and efficient. The present unwieldy systems have made shipwreck of programs conceived in compassion and devoted to the best interests of our people.

This task is of awesome magnitude, a task that others have attempted without success. If you leave it entirely up to me, then I, too, shall surely fail.

I cannot succeed in this great essential labor unless I have your support and trust.

Again I assure you, as I have so many times, that I shall give all that I have, and all that I can muster, to this effort. The future of every one of us depends on our success in this endeavor.

Even so, it is possible for the congress to deny these necessary reforms to the president. It is not possible for the congress to deny them to the people.

With your help, this first great undertaking can be consummated and we can proceed to other vital phases of our program to rebuild and restore and surpass the best of all that we have known.

However long and difficult the way, I shall not waver. I will do my best, and I ask the same of you.

When my time of service in this office has ended, I hope no one will say, "Look what Jimmy Carter did for us." Rather, I hope that all of you will say, "Look what we accomplished when we worked together."

This honored office is not, and must not be, the personal fief of one man. No emperor or king shall reside in the White House, nor be crowned as a tyrant to rule over this people. Rather, the power must be yours and the crown must be yours. And that crown must be encrusted with the precious jewels of hope, justice, equality, courage, strength, and compassion

For those who are in need and those who have no jobs, we must nurture a

Something on this will might be considered

compassion that is tender and constant. It is not our intention to address such problems with mere words, but with actions of substance and with a deliberate urgency.

Our purpose shall be to provide not relief, but a remedy.

Justice shall have no price; nor shall it be a commodity to be bought and sold.

No person shall stand above the law, but the law shall stand as a shield to be shared equally by all.

It is long past time for the ugly spectre of racial bias to be forever banished from our land.

As the press begins to depict the living history of this administration, we hope that it will paint with a brush broad enough to give a full picture and not permit any detail to be so embellished that it will obscure the whole and prevent a clear portrayal of what we are doing and attempting to do.

We have indicated that we will be open and candid with the press, not for the sake of the press, but for the sake of the people. It is not the true task of the press to serve the president, nor is the president the servant of the press.

Both serve the people and both have a responsibility to properly inform the people concerning their government and how it deals with our problems.

If only our problems were more simple, then I might now tell you the solutions to them and any other problems for the next four years.

then rest

But the problems are many and diffuse and difficult to solve. I cannot now tell you precisely how I shall deal with each issue.

But this I can say, that, in every circumstance, I shall consider how I feel, more importantly, how you feel, and most of all, what would be right in the eyes of a true and living God.

In my inmost heart, I am confident that most of you still cherish an abiding faith in an eternal and loving God.

It is now to God that I look. I look for sustenance, for inspiration, and for a very present help in time of trouble.

I proceed not with fear, but with faith.

I am not ashamed of my faith, nor uncertain of its object. I give thanks for all that He has given me.

I am thankful to have been chosen for this place of service. I am thankful

for the man who today is beside me on this platform, who has been with me through the long months of this arduous campaign, and on whom I shall rely for support and counsel.

Vice-President Mondale is a noble and compassionate American, a true champion of the people.

And I am deeply thankful for another person on this platform, for Roslynn, the wife of my youth, and my middle years - and my always. She is all the wife I ever want or need, a constant blessing and joy to me. She has stood with me through the years, and this victory is hers as much as mine - and yours as much as ours. As always, whether in joy or sorrow, victory or defeat, she is with me to share whatever is in store.

I could not be here today without her; and this memorable event is one that we shall jointly cherish, for us a dream fulfilled.

But the bold and brilliant dream which engrossed the founders of this republic still awaits its consummation. I have no new dream to relate, but urge a new faith in the old dream which has lighted our way to greatness for these two centuries past. //

It is still the sweetest dream, the best and brightest hope of humankind.

We have behind us the years of triumph and the years of trouble. We have often been divided and often we have fallen. Too often, we have drifted far from the self-evident truths of our foundation. At times, our sense of purpose has been lost in divisiveness.

Yet how fondly we recall those other times, when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united. In those times of union, no object has proved irresistible and no prize beyond our grasp. //

But even as we review the lessons of our experience, we know we cannot relive yesterday, nor dwell upon remembered glory. //

The life of our nation is not in the past, but in the present and in the future. //

Whatever we have done, we can now surpass. Whatever we have been, we can now transcend. Let our nation look forward with a full confidence that the days of our most glorious splendor lie before us. |

I plead that there be no further disruption of our unity and that, from these sundered and disillusioned masses of our people, we might together forge a new and more perfect union.

I plead that we might press on with a growing resolve to claim and to savour the sweet fruits of our heritage, which have been too long deferred.

Let us together summon a great merging of our spirit, the spirit of Third Century America.

For with a spirit of union and purpose, America shall shine forth with an increasing radiance as the most resplendent star in all the firmament of nations.

Beside me on this platform there is a banner to which we have rallied for two hundred years. Let us rally now to the promise of which it is the symbol.

For so long as this flag shall wave, it shall be known everywhere that freedom lives. Everywhere, in direst want, in darkest tyranny, in foulest dungeon, the people of all nations shall know that, while this flag waves, there is yet hope in the earth.

And while I hold this honored office, I pledge that this hope shall not lessen and that the grandeur of our dream shall not fade, nor shall its lustre be dimmed.

The moving finger of our destiny now writes upon a fresh new page.

We look toward a new dawning, toward a new century, and, today, we begin together the long upward march toward the culmination of our collective dream.

God bless you. I love you - every one of you.

January 4, 1977

MEMORANDUM

To: THE PRESIDENT-ELECT AND JACK WATSON

From: JOE CALIFANO

Re: THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Here are some themes that might be sounded in the inaugural address.

1. We pledge a return to government "of the people" and "for the people." Governmental programs in health, education and welfare touch the lives of all our citizens.

*The citizen as taxpayer has a right to expect that those programs are administered as effectively and efficiently as possible.

*But the citizen who receives governmental services has the right to expect that social programs are delivered with humanity and breadth of spirit.

We must take what is best from the past, reject that which has not worked, and blend compassion and efficiency in truly delivering services to our citizens.

2. The people must be able to understand their programs. We must streamline and simplify so that a citizen does not have to be a systems analyst to understand what kinds of benefits he or she is entitled to receive.

Indeed, unless we stop the onslaught of red-tape we may have an ironic twist on Orwell's vision of 1984 -- one in which not only the governed, but the governors, are prisoners of overly complex and elaborate rules and regulations.

3. We must renew our commitment to strengthen the American family and shape federal programs to support American family life.

4. The mission in our national social programs must be two-fold:

*For the vast majority of Americans, the government provides services so that citizens can be independent of, not dependent on, the government, leading lives in which liberty and privacy are maximized.

*We must also recognize, however, that there are certain groups in our society — the aged, the disabled, the blind, the ill, the victims of catastrophic events — who require special governmental support so that they too may lead lives of dignity and self-respect.

5. High on our national agenda are welfare reform and national health insurance. Out of the diverse programs and conflicting governmental authorities we must forge a system of public assistance that makes sense to the American people and provides dignity to those in need. We must also ensure that a most basic element of life — access to decent health care — is not beyond the means of our citizens.

6. Our economic and social programs must provide vital support to this nation's women and this nation's minority citizens as they quest after the quality which has been denied them for so long and towards which they shall significantly advance in the next four years.



January 4, 1977

TO: Jimmy Carter
FROM: Jerry Rafshoon
SUBJECT: Inaugural Address

Here are some thoughts along with some rhetoric for the speech. I would like to take another day and send some more down to you on Wednesday. The enclosed represent efforts from Susan Frazier, Jack Kaplan, and me.

First of all, let me say that the speech, while rich in rhetoric and memorable turn of phrase, should be more than anything -- distinctively Jimmy Carter.

It should reflect the newness of your candidacy, your election, your personality. It should give re-assurance to those who voted for you for change, but at the same time it should give assurance to those who voted against you for safety. I believe that many of your actions in the last two months have done more of the latter than the former, which is good -- that needed to be done more than the other.

Your actions indicate that philosophically you are an economic conservative who will take chances and a social liberal who won't do something radical. This is as it should be.

When FDR was inaugurated, there was a material crisis -- the worst in our history. Therefore, it was appropriate to have a NEW DEAL. When JFK came along, we had stopped experimenting and testing in the world (he should have left it alone), so he called for a NEW FRONTIER. Unfortunately, that frontier extended from the moon to Vietnam.

In simplistic terms, you could say that right now we suffer from a spiritual malaise...a crisis of the spirit. Our people lack commitment... at least the government has not given them anything to commit to. As much as news critics scoff at "A government as good as its people", the people are ready to respond to that call for commitment. Heaven help us if they don't. It may be our last chance.

January 4, 1977

You have already approved the theme of the inauguration itself, which we are using in the parade, on the book, in the concert. It comes from your speech in Plains on the morning after winning the election:

A NEW SPIRIT... A NEW COMMITMENT... A NEW AMERICA

I think your theme line should be:

A NEW SPIRIT... A NEW COMMITMENT.

We need a New Spirit in everything. For example, we need a new spirit in our neighborhoods to keep the family together, to renew our commitments at home. We need a new spirit on the county, and city, and state level. But most of all, we need a new spirit on the individual level. Each of us must renew his or her spirit and commitment in order to start moving America ahead.

We need a new spirit in government management... combining the idealistic idea of helping the less fortunate with a commitment to do it right. (Government reorganization).

We need a new spirit abroad... combining the need for a moral foreign policy with a determined commitment to being strong and safe in our defense posture.

We need a new spirit in energy... combining sacrifices by our people with a commitment by our government to find new solutions.

We need a new spirit in arms control... a spirit of cooperation with foreign powers with a commitment to safety, etc.

It might work to use the phrase A New Spirit as it relates to the people and a new commitment as it relates to the government.

"A new spirit by our people helped by a new commitment by their government."

I am trying to get this off to you in Plains right away. I will send some more tomorrow and then be done with it.

To: Gov. Carter

1/4/77

SUGGESTED TEXT
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
FROM DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The provision of jobs for the unemployed is one of the most important tasks our country faces. The intolerably high levels of unemployment among minorities, the disadvantaged, and youths must be reduced. Only by strengthening our economy and creating adequate employment opportunities can we begin to solve our many domestic problems and meet our international commitments.

The skills and productivity of the nation's workforce must also be strengthened to improve the real incomes of workers and to help fight inflation.

Discrimination in economic opportunity and employment must be eradicated.

We must make greater strides in protecting the wages, working conditions, safety, and health of American workers.

The nation's goal of full employment and equal economic opportunity is not a government responsibility alone, but is a task requiring the involvement of all Americans.

POINTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S
PERSPECTIVE WHICH SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE
INAUGURAL ADDRESS

- Reducing the nation's high unemployment is a central goal.
- Special attention must be given to and progress made in the high levels of unemployment among minorities, the disadvantaged, and youths.
- Adequate employment opportunities can provide the resources to help solve many of the nation's other economic and social problems and meet our international commitments.
- The elimination of employment discrimination must be pursued and equal economic opportunity achieved.
- The skills of the workforce need to be strengthened and productivity improved in order to help fight inflation, improve U.S. international economic competitiveness, and raise the quality of life for all Americans.
- Added efforts are needed to enhance and protect wages, working conditions, safety, and health of American workers.

- A truly national effort is required, not just by the Federal government, but by all levels of government cooperating with the private sector.

January 5, 1977

TO: President-elect Carter

State of the Union Insert on Agriculture

The doors of the Department of Agriculture will be open once again.

Open to the farmers and ranchers who can provide abundant food and fibre to consumers at home and customers abroad.

Open to consumers who will recognize that the interest of the American family farmer and their interests are one and the same.

Open to our world customers as greater understanding is given to the importance of agriculture in the development of global economic strategy.

And open, with compassion, to those who, through no fault of their own, are unable to provide themselves with an adequate diet.

As our agricultural policies are developed, individual farmers and consumers will have a part, along with their cooperatives, associations and elected representatives. It will be a balanced policy to assure a stable sustained supply of food and fibre.

(from Bob Bergland)

COVER MEMO + 8 PAGES

C
/

TO: GOVERNOR CARTER
FROM: PATRICK ANDERSON

JANUARY 5

BILL KEEL WROTE THIS DRAFT OF AN INAUGURAL ADDRESS
AND ASKED ME TO ~~1~~ SEND IT TO YOU.

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

INAUGURAL DRAFT/BILL KEEL.

Today we come together in this traditional ceremony of unity and hope to complete the orderly transition of power -- a process that in itself reflects the greatness of the American people and the enduring strength of our system of government.

Today at this moment we stand united.

Political passions have subsided.

Partisanship has been put aside.

The American people are looking to new leadership for new hope and new initiatives to solve old and new problems at home and abroad.

This is a humbling and moving experience -- but with your help I accept this responsibility and, with your help, we will lead our beloved nation to new dimensions of greatness.

We look to the future with confidence and to the past with pride, because no matter what the challenge or the obstacle, our nation for the past 200 years has proved its greatness and its courage.

There has been disillusionment -- but there has always been confidence that our system could surmount the obstacles and overcome the problems, large or small.

America has walked through the Valley of the Shadows many times -- and has emerged in the bright sunlight, its strength renewed and its spirit revived.

America has yet to achieve its true greatness, as great

as it is today.

The hope of an even greater nation lives before us and within us.

With God's help and with your help, we will work and strive together to find the path to a new greatness, with the Nation united, strong, responsible and compassionate.

The promise of America beckons us as it has every generation.

Thomas Wolfe said:

"The true discovery of America is before us.

"The true fulfillment of our spirit, of our people, of our mighty and immortal land, is yet to come.....This glorious assurance is not only our living hope but our dream to be accomplished."

To realize this dream we must put aside remnants of old rancours and shreds of old acrimonies that persist and linger and inflame the body politic.

Together we must close old wounds and heal our country.

James Madison said:

"Discord does not belong in our system...The American people have encountered great dangers and sustained severe trials with success. They constitute one great family of common interest!"

Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural Address said -- we are all Republicans, we are all Democrats, we are all Americans.

Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle.

Our differences are rather a matter of degree rather than of substance, President Ford, and often more imagined than real.

Our differences often reflect an unreasoning allegiance to shopworn attitudes and threadbare ideas no longer relevant and meaningful in this Bicentennial Season.

America is fortunate today.

We can now have a united government.

We can end the divided government and close the gap between both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue -- the gap between the Congress and the White House -- but even more important, the gap between what is needed and what is possible to achieve.

We can set an example for the nation of cooperation and unity.

As President Lyndon Johnson loved to say, "Come, let us reason together".

For my part, I pledge to meet Congress more than half way.

I pledge continual consultation and I pledge to Congress a continued spirit of cooperation.

Together we can and will unite our great nation.

We can and will tap the great reservoir of creative resources in the American people -- the intelligence, the courage, the compassion, the patriotism, the common sense -- and we will bring those resources to bear on the problems that demand our attention and call for action.

I know that I shall make mistakes but I will do what

I believe to be right and just with -- as President Lincoln said -- "firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right".

No President can know everything.

No President can do everything.

No President can accomplish anything without the support and the resources of the American people and the Congress.

We must level the walls that divide our nation and we must level with the American people on the problems that lie ahead.

We must level the walls between our people and our government and within our government.

We will not have a liberal government.

We will not have a conservative government.

But we will have a competent government capable of meeting the challenges that confront us at this point in history.

President Harry Truman said:

"Each period of our national history has had its special challenges".

And one of the major challenges facing the American people in the next four years is to have a government that is well-managed, open, honest, efficient, effective and compassionate.

Government often seems removed from reality, set apart in some far-off, papier mache dream world -- and the people often seem isolated from their government, bewildered by the lack of responsiveness.

We must -- and we will -- restore reality to government and government to the people.

If we want the American people to have faith in their government, then we must have faith in the judgment of the American people.

We must talk, honestly, frankly and openly, about our problems and today I am setting a pattern and a precedent in this Administration, by laying it on the line.

While I have confidence in the future, I also have confidence in the desire of the American people to know the facts without sugar-coating or political veneer.

Here are some of the tough questions we will face in this Administration -- questions that demand tough decisions and go to the very heart of our system and the very soul of our nation--

Can government be adapted to the needs of the American people and regain their trust and confidence?

Can our foreign policy be both effective and moral when power in many nations is held by the few rather than the many?

Can nuclear proliferation be halted now that the Pandora's box is open?

Can we halt the deterioration of our American society and American family life in the face of increasing unemployment, divorce, runaway children, disillusionment and despair?

Can we develop an effective response to the problems of crime when jurisdictions for most crimes are fragmented and our courts are jammed and our prisons packed?

Can we reduce unemployment, control inflation, meet the needs of our people and balance the budget in four years?

Can we truly protect the consumer from deceptive practices in the marketplace?

Can we restore the privilege of privacy to the American people and shield them from government intrusion?

Can our free enterprise system join with government and the people and work together to solve basic problems?

Can we have equal justice when court systems are jammed and prisons packed -- and when the poor consistently receive harsher sentences than those who have the income to afford competent attorneys?

Can we reconcile the need for essential public services with the preservation of the quality of our life and our environment?

Can we assure all Americans of quality health care at reasonable cost when medical and health care costs have skyrocketed?

Can we assist our older people in meeting increased costs of living and at the same time assure the soundness of the Social Security System?

Can our welfare and tax systems be reformed in a just and equitable manner?

Is it within our capability as a Nation to join together to strive together to solve these problems?

Can we make a real beginning -- a new beginning -- in an attack on these problems -- can we achieve real results?

We all realize these problems cannot be solved overnight -- or even completely in this Administration.

But the answer to the question must, for the sake of

the American people be: Yes, together we can do it and we are going to do it.

We are going to work together with mutual understanding and a spirit of cooperation.

We can take the easy road and deceive ourselves with false solutions and deferred responsibilities.

Or we can take the hard road -- face reality -- and work for permanent solutions and accept immediate responsibility in our time.

The key to success is a united America -- and the nation has a stake in every American because the key to collective greatness is individual fulfillment -- the making of the complete, responsible, compassionate individual.

Every American must feel that this is his country and every American must understand that every other American has a right to his or her birthright of dignity and self-respect and equality.

We all eat at the same table and we must share the abundance of our great nation and not begrudge our brother his portion.

Labor must accept the fact that business is entitled to a profit.

Business must accept the fact that labor is entitled to a living wage.

And there must be restraint and a willingness to understand the positions and the problems of our neighbors.

We are all fellow passengers on this spaceship whirling through the universe.

We must work together, live together, love together.

Franklin Roosevelt said: "We are bound together by a single unity, the unity of freedom and equality".

America is for all of us -- not for the wealthy, nor for the privileged -- but for all of us.

And our government is for all of us -- and we are all a part of our government.

Together we can strive to solve our problems without rancor and excessive partisanship.

We must have a partnership of government and the people for the sake of unity.

We can debate without invective and disagree without vituperation.

We can be tolerant and yet firm in our beliefs.

And we will have a government that will serve rather than oppress the people.

Abraham Lincoln in his eulogy to Henry Clay said:

"He knew no North, no South, no East and no West but only the Union which held them all in its sacred circle".

We must know no North, no South, no East and no West.

We must know only America -- and ourselves -- and strive to achieve our own fulfillment and the destiny of our great nation -- by working together in a spirit of compromise and goodwill.

We can succeed -- we will succeed, together.

This is our nation, with liberty and justice for all -- and our task is to achieve this golden mean.

JANUARY 5, 1977

GOVERNOR,

THESE ARE SOME OF THE IDEAS YOU REQUESTED FOR THE INAUGURAL SPEECH. I HAVE TRIED TO THINK THROUGH IN THE LIMITED TIME I HAVE HAD THE REAL DEFINITION OF AN OVERRIDING THEME. SINCE I HAVE DICTATED MOST OF THIS FROM NOTES, IT RUNS ON A BIT AND IS DISJOINTED. HOWEVER, IT THINK THAT THE CENTRAL IDEAS I'M TRYING TO SUGGEST WILL BE ONES THAT YOU RECOGNIZE. IF THERE IS A NEED FOR CLARIFICATION AND EXPLANATION, I WOULD BE MOST ANXIOUS TO TALK ABOUT IT. MY OWN THOUGHTS HAVE IN PART DEVELOPED AS I WORKED ON THESE NOTES. I MAY WELL COME UP WITH SOME CLEARER DEFINITIONS AND NEW WRINKLES.

PAT (CADDELL)

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

MEMORANDUM

TO: GOVERNOR CARTER
FROM: PAT CADDELL
DATE: JANUARY 5, 1977
RE: THOUGHTS FOR INAUGURAL SPEECH

A. MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

THERE ISN'T MUCH REASON TO GO INTO GREAT DETAIL ON THE MOOD OF THE COUNTRY -- I'VE DISCUSSED THAT AT GREAT LENGTH. AS I SAID LAST WEEK, WE ARE AT A TIME OF LOW EXPECTATION AND HIGH HOPE. THE COUNTRY IS CAUTIOUS, DESIROUS OF CHANGE AND SEARCHING FOR ANSWERS TO THE PROLIFERY OF NEW PROBLEMS THAT HAVE RISEN. THE MOST DISTURBING POINT IS THAT PEOPLE ARE ON THE VERGE OF GIVING UP ON THE GOVERNMENT AS A VEHICLE FOR SOLVING THESE PROBLEMS. THERE IS A DESIRE IN THE COUNTRY FOR BASIC RECONCILIATION. AS ALWAYS, THE TWO INSTINCTS ARE A DESIRE FOR CHANGE AND A DESIRE TO RETURN TO BASIC VALUES. IN SUM, THE COUNTRY SEEKS A RESTORATION RATHER THAN AN UPHEAVAL.

B. SPEECH TEXT

AS I HAVE THOUGHT ABOUT IT, I HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT THE BEST SPEECH WOULD BE A VERY SHORT SPEECH AND, IF POSSIBLE, WITH SHORT STATEMENTS. THE SPEECH SHOULD BE PURELY THEMATIC -- IT SHOULD NOT BE A DISCUSSION OF ISSUES. ISSUES CAN BE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN THE STATE OF THE UNION AND IN OTHER MESSAGES.

IN THINKING ABOUT GREAT INAUGURAL SPEECHES, IT SEEMS TO ME THAT THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN THE MOST SUCCESSFUL HAVE BEEN THE SPEECHES THAT SHARED SEVERAL COMMON CHARACTERISTICS: FIRST, A SINGLE OVERRIDING THEME THAT DOMINATES THE ENTIRE ADDRESS RATHER THAN A COLLECTION OF THEMES; SECONDLY, THE SUCCESSFUL ADDRESSES HAVE HAD THEMES THAT SPOKE TO DEEP DOUBTS AND CONCERNS OF THE PEOPLE; THIRD, IF YOU THINK OF LINCOLN'S, ROOSEVELT'S AND KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL SPEECHES, THEY ALL HAD A CENTRAL PHRASE THAT BOTH SUMMARIZED THE THEME AND BECAME A SYMBOL ITSELF.

C. SEARCH FOR A THEME

THE HARDEST PART OF THE PROCESS IS TRYING TO FOCUS DOWN TO ONE MESSAGE OF OVERRIDING PURPOSE. I TOYED WITH THE THEMES THAT WE HAVE COVERED SO MANY TIMES -- REORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT, UNITY, EFFICIENCY, ETC. WHILE ALL OF THOSE AND OTHERS ARE CRUCIAL, THEY DON'T SEEM IN THEMSELVES TO SUM UP THE POINTS AND EMOTIONS THAT ARE ORDINARILY HARNESSED IN THE CENTRAL THRUST OF A GOOD INAUGURAL SPEECH. THE PROBLEM IS FINDING A SIMPLE MAJOR THRUST THAT REALLY SERVES AS AN UMBRELLA FOR ALL THE BASIC PUBLIC ANXIETIES. HAVING THOUGHT ABOUT IT, I HAVE COME UP WITH WHAT I THINK MAY BE A LARGER DEFINITION OF A NEW THEME.

D. THE RENEWING OF AMERICA

THE PROBLEM IS RESTORATION, NOT UPHEAVAL. THE COUNTRY FACES THE PROBLEM OF UNDERSTANDING THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS AND BEING ABLE TO BUILD OFF THEM. AT THE MOMENT WE HAVE A PSYCHOLOGICALLY DAMAGED PEOPLE -- THEIR SENSE OF PROGRESS AND PURPOSE HAS BEEN CRIPPLED. YET THERE REMAINS A TRADITIONAL DESIRE TO GO FORWARD. IN GIVING SOME DEEP THOUGHT TO THE HISTORY OF THIS COUNTRY, ONE CAN FIND TWO PARALLEL STRANDS THAT CONTINUALLY ALTERNATE IN PROMINENCE. IN A SENSE, THERE ARE REALLY TWO CYCLES, WITH ONE CONSTANTLY DISPLACING THE OTHER:

1. BURST OF IDEALISM

THIS CYCLE TAKES PLACE WHEN WE STRIVE TO FULFILL IDEALS AND REACH CHANGING GOALS. TIME AND TIME AGAIN THIS IDEALISM ATTACHED TO THOSE CHANGING GOALS HAS BEEN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PEOPLE AND HAS SERVED TO MOVE THE WHOLE COUNTRY ALONG IN FAIRLY SHARP MOVEMENTS. ONE CAN THINK OF PERIODS SUCH AS THE CIVIL WAR, THE PROGRESSIVE WILSON ERA, THE NEW DEAL IN WORLD WAR II, AND THE 1960'S. IN EACH INSTANCE, FACED WITH NEW PROBLEMS, THE COUNTRY SOUGHT TO REACH IDEALISTIC GOALS THAT WERE CONSISTENT WITH SOME SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE.

2. PERIODS OF RETRENCHMENT

AFTER EACH CYCLE OF IDEALISTIC MOVEMENT HAS COME A PERIOD OF RETRENCHMENT AND FRUSTRATION AND THE

CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH QUICK AND SUDDEN MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE. WHEN THE TOLL OF THE CHANGE AND UPHEAVAL HAS SET IN, WE FIND THAT THE COUNTRY HAS HISTORICALLY TURNED INWARD, THAT WE REACHED A POINT OF PERSONAL GREED AND NATIONAL RECRIMINATION, AND THAT THOSE ERAS WERE MARKED BY DISUNITY AND STRUGGLES AGAINST ONE ANOTHER. THESE RECRIMINATION PERIODS CAN BE SEEN IN THE 1870'S, THE 1920'S FOLLOWING WILSON AND WORLD WAR I, THE 1950'S AND, FINALLY, OUR OWN DECADE. IN THE 1970'S, NOT ONLY HAVE WE HAD A TRADITIONAL PERIOD OF RETRENCHMENT, BUT THAT IS ACCENTUATED BY THE UNDERMINING AND OVERTURNING OF MANY OF THE BASIC PRECEPTS ABOUT AMERICA ITSELF.

TIME AND TIME AGAIN IN AMERICAN HISTORY THE PUBLIC HAS FACED A CROSSROAD. ON ONE HAND, THERE EXISTS THE PROSPECT OF CONTINUING THE PERIOD OF FRUSTRATION AND RETRENCHMENT WHICH MIGHT HAVE LED TO A MORE PERMANENT EROSION OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT OF PROGRESS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE WAS THE POSSIBILITY OF RESUMING THE MARCH OF IDEALISM AND THE SEARCH TO ATTAIN THE EVER-CHANGING IDEA OF AMERICA. IT HAS BEEN THE EFFORT TO ATTAIN THAT IDEA THAT HAS SERVED TO BIND TOGETHER A DIVERSE, MULTI-CULTURED PEOPLE. EACH PERIOD OF IDEALISTIC MOVEMENT AND PROGRESS HAS EVENTUALLY LED TO A PERIOD OF FRUSTRATION AND RECRIMINATION. THEY ARE THE PRICE THAT IS PAID FOR THE GROWING PAINS OF MATURITY. INDEED, IT

CAN BE SUMMARIZED AS THE PAINFUL PROCESS OF FREEDOM ITSELF. PART OF THE PROBLEM, OF COURSE, IS THAT FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY ARE NOT STAGNANT CONCEPTS. THEY ARE EVER-CHANGING AND EVER-EXPANDING. THE PACE NEEDED TO ACCOMPLISH THESE GOALS IS SO QUICK THAT EVENTUALLY RESPITES ARE NATURAL CONSEQUENCES.

AMERICA NOW FACES SUCH A CROSSROAD. WE SEE A STAGNATION, A TURNING INWARD, DIVISION AND DISTRUST. IF THIS STAGNATION CONTINUES, IT MIGHT MEAN THE STEADY EROSION OF INSTITUTIONS OF MUTUAL TRUST AND OF THE COUNTRY ITSELF. EVERY OTHER GENERATION AT THIS JUNCTURE HAS MOVED TO ASSUME THAT "PAINFUL BURDEN OF FREEDOM" AND TO PURSUE ITS CHANGING IDEALS AND GOALS AND DREAMS. HENCE, SOME EFFORT AT DESIGNING AND ACHIEVING A VISION RECOGNIZES THE REALITY OF THE PAST LEARNING EXPERIENCES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

OVER THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS PEOPLE HAVE LEARNED A GREAT DEAL ABOUT AMERICA AND ITS LIMITATIONS. WE HAVE HAD THE NATURAL PROBLEMS OF MATURITY AND GROWTH THAT TAKE PLACE IN ANY SOCIETY -- MANY SOMEWHAT NAIVE ASSUMPTIONS BEING OVERTURNED. WE CAN CONTINUE TO EITHER RETREAT FROM THAT EXPERIENCE OR WE CAN LEARN THE LESSONS AND MOVE FORWARD, BUILDING A NEW FUTURE ON WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED.

THEREFORE, GIVEN THIS BRIEF AND SKETCHY OUTLINE OF CYCLES, IT APPEARS TO ME THAT PERHAPS THE CENTRAL THEME OUGHT TO BE A DISCUSSION OF THE RENEWAL OF AMERICAN VALUES. WE NEED TO ENTER A PERIOD OF BOTH CONTINUITY AND RESTORATION. WE NEED TO BE GIVEN SOME NEW VISIONS AND GOALS, ONCE AGAIN CALLING ON THE IDEALISM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO MEET THE NEW REALITIES. THE ONLY POSSIBLE WAY OUT OF THIS NATIONAL TRAUMA IS A PERIOD OF NATIONAL PROGRESS THAT INVOLVES A REASSUMPTION OF TRADITIONAL IDEALISM. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE BLATANT OPTIMISM AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE EARLY 1960'S SHOULD NOT BE REPEATED, SINCE RECENT EXPERIENCES HAVE SOBERED THE PUBLIC TREMENDOUSLY. THE APPROACH SHOULD BE PURPOSEFUL, SOMBER AND INVOLVE A REKINDLING OF HOPE. THE THEME SHOULD BE AS OTHER GENERATIONS HAVE IN THE PAST, THIS GENERATION MUST RENEW ITS COMMITMENT TO THE IDEALS AND VALUES THAT SPARKED THE INCEPTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THAT WE HAVE NO OTHER POSSIBLE COURSE BUT TO TRY TO MOVE IN A NEW DIRECTION OF PROGRESS, TRYING TO FULFILL THE CHANGING ASPIRATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. YOUR OWN ELECTION AS A SOUTHERNER IS A SYMBOL OF THIS DESIRE TO MOVE DOWN THE NEW ROAD OF PROGRESS. FACED WITH THE ALTERNATIVES OF STAGNATION AND AN ATTEMPT TO MOVE FORWARD AGAIN, THERE REALLY IS NO ALTERNATIVE AT ALL.

CONCERNING THE STRUCTURE OF THE SPEECH, THE SUB-
THEMES AND INGREDIENTS, I WOULD LIST THEM AS FOLLOWS:

- I. DEFINITION OF PREMISE
- II. SOUTHERN SYMBOLISM
- III. CANDID DISCUSSION OF RECENT EVENTS
- IV. DESIRE FOR NEW PARTNERSHIPS AND A NEW TOLERANCE
OF DIVERSITY
- V. THE NEW REALISM -- A RECOGNITION OF CHANGE AND
OF NEW APPROACHES

I WILL TRY TO GIVE A SHORT DISCUSSION OF EACH POINT.

I. A TIME TO RENEW AMERICA: "THE CIVIL WAR IS OVER BUT
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION CONTINUES"

THIS WOULD INVOLVE AN EXPLANATION OF THE TWO CYCLES
DISCUSSED PREVIOUSLY. IT WOULD ALSO INVOLVE A DISCUSSION
OF RENEWING PURPOSE AND COMMITMENT. WE NOW FACE THE CROSS-
ROAD THAT HAS FACED OTHER GENERATIONS. IT IS NOW TIME TO
BE GUIDED BY OUR TRADITIONAL IDEALISM AND OUR OWN HOPES FOR
THE FUTURE WITH AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE ARE LIMITS TO
WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED. THE COUNTRY CAN AND HAS MADE
PROGRESS. YOUR OWN ELECTION IS TESTIMONY TO THE PROGRESS
OF THE SOUTH. THE ABILITY OF AN UNKNOWN FROM THAT REGION
FROM A SMALL COMMUNITY TO RISE IN ONE YEAR TO THE PRESIDENCY
OF THE UNITED STATES ITSELF IS A SYMBOL OF THE RESILIENCE
AND STRENGTH OF THE COUNTRY. THE FACT THAT A WHITE SOUTH-
ERNER CAN BE ELECTED BY ALL OF AMERICA AND BY BLACK VOTERS

IS A SYMBOL OF THE RENEWAL OF THE AMERICAN SPIRIT. NOW THE COUNTRY MUST MOVE, CANDIDLY RECOGNIZING RECENT TRAUMAS, REALIZING THAT THINGS ARE DIFFICULT BUT THAT THE VALUES NEED TO BE RESTORED. IT IS TIME TO END DIVISION AND HOSTILITY AND DISUNITY AND A TIME TO COME TOGETHER TO MOVE FORWARD TO SOME COMMON GOALS, GUIDED BY THE ENDURING PRINCIPLES THAT HAVE EXISTED SINCE THE REVOLUTION ITSELF.

SOME ADDITIONAL POINTS IN THIS DISCUSSION WOULD BE AS FOLLOWS:

1. "THE AMERICAN DREAM IS CHANGING; BUT OUR DREAMS ARE NOT DATED"

2. THE RECENT TRAUMA, OR HOW WE GOT HERE, WAS THAT OUR LEADERS LOST SIGHT OF OUR PURPOSES AND THAT CHANGE ITSELF BROUGHT GREAT FRUSTRATION. WE SUFFERED SOME BETRAYALS, BUT ALSO WE SUFFERED SOME NATURAL GROWING PAINS.

3. "AMERICA IS NOT A PLACE BUT AN IDEA"

THE THINGS THAT UNITE AMERICANS ARE NOT COMMON CULTURES, WHICH ARE OFTEN DIVERSE, THE COMMON GEOGRAPHY, THE COMMON RELIGION, ETC., BUT RATHER THE COUNTRY IS UNITED BY ITS COMMITMENT TO ABSTRACT IDEALS SUCH AS FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. WE WILL BE MEASURED BY FUTURE GENERATIONS BY THE EXTENT THAT WE SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE AND FURTHER THOSE IDEALS.

4. "THE PEOPLE ARE STRONG"

THERE IS NOTHING WRONG WITH THE COUNTRY ITSELF.

YOU SAW THAT IN A THOUSAND DAYS AND NIGHTS OF CAMPAIGNING, GOING AROUND THE COUNTRY AND SEEING THE TESTIMONY TO THIS STRENGTH AND TO THE BASIC VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT IS THIS STRENGTH THAT PROPERLY HARNESSSED AND LED WILL LEAD TO PROGRESS. GOVERNMENT ALONE CANNOT LEAD THE COUNTRY FORWARD. SO MUCH OF THIS COMES FROM THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

5. "WE HAVE LOST SIGHT OF THE GOAL OF EXCELLENCE"

ONE CAN LIST A VARIETY OF POINTS BUT WE ARE IN DANGER ON AN INDIVIDUAL LEVEL AND ON A SOCIETAL LEVEL OF ACCEPTING MEDIOCRITY, THE NOTION OF GETTING BY. THERE IS A DANGER THAT INDIVIDUALS, THE GOVERNMENT AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS ARE LOSING THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE IDEA OF EXCELLENCE, AND ONE VALUE THAT MUST BE BROUGHT TO THE FOREFRONT IS THE VALUE OF EXCELLENCE. "WHY NOT THE BEST?" IS NOT AN IDLE QUESTION, BUT IN THE COURSE OF THE SPEECH COULD BE APPLIED TO A NUMBER OF PROPOSITIONS AND PROBLEMS. IN FACT, IT MIGHT MAKE A GOOD REFRAIN. THE COUNTRY IS PROBABLY GOING TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO AN ARGUMENT FOR EXCELLENCE AND HIGHER STANDARDS ONCE AGAIN AT AN INDIVIDUAL AND GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL.

6. "MORAL AND JUST GOVERNMENT"

MORAL AND JUST GOVERNMENT IS NOT JUST THE PRODUCT OF HAVING MORAL AND JUST PEOPLE IN OFFICE. IT IS ALSO MORE IMPORTANTLY THE EVOLUTION AND COMMITMENT OF MORAL AND JUST POLICIES. THESE MUST BE ROOTED IN THE BASIC SET OF IDEALS AND VALUES HELD BY THE PEOPLE.

7. "THE FUTURE CAN BE GOOD"

THE OLD CARTER IDEA "THE BEST DAYS ARE NOT BEHIND US BUT POTENTIALLY AHEAD OF US", THAT THERE IS AN URGENCY TO DEAL REALISTICALLY, COMPREHENSIVELY WITH NEW PROBLEMS, THAT IF WE LEARN THE LESSONS FROM OUR RECENT PAST AND DRAW FROM OUR TRADITIONAL STRENGTH, THEN AS EVERY OTHER GENERATION HAS, WE TOO CAN MOVE THE COUNTRY FORWARD.

II. NEW PARTNERSHIP, NEW TOLERANCE OF DIVERSITY, RECONCILIATION

IN RECENT YEARS ONE OF THE BY-PRODUCTS OF OUR COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION TECHNOLOGY HAS BEEN THE ABILITY OF AMERICANS TO LEARN ABOUT EACH OTHER. PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT RACE, SEXES, AND REGIONS HAVE INTERMINGLED, COME TO KNOW ONE ANOTHER BETTER. WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP A NEW TOLERANCE OF DIVERSITY IN OUR SOCIETY, WHETHER IT BE IN THE ROLE OF WOMEN, THE INVOLVEMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE, OR THE ASPIRATIONS OF PEOPLE IN DIFFERENCE REGIONS.

ON A PERSONAL LEVEL THIS MEANS AS WE LEARN FROM ONE ANOTHER AND WORK TOGETHER, WE ONCE AGAIN HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESTORE TRUST AMONG INDIVIDUALS. THERE IS BOTH A REAL CONCERN THAT PEOPLE DON'T CARE FOR ONE ANOTHER AND A TREMENDOUS DESIRE TO BUILD A SENSE OF NATIONAL UNITY. WE CAN SPEAK TO THE NOTION THAT EVERY

PERSON HAS A RESPONSIBILITY NOT ONLY TO THE COUNTRY BUT TO ONE ANOTHER. RATHER THAN DIVIDING AND FIGHTING AMONG OURSELVES, IT IS NOT^W TIME TO WORK TOGETHER TO COMPROMISE AND TO ACCOMODATE OTHER VIEWPOINTS. AT AN INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, SUCH A COMMITMENT CAN ONCE AGAIN LEAD TO THE UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.

IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE, THERE IS A NEED FOR RECONCILIATION AND NEW PARTNERSHIP. THE GOVERNMENT OUGHT NOT TO BE VIEWED AS THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE. RATHER, IF THE COUNTRY IS TO SUCCEED, IT MUST BE ONCE AGAIN SEEN AS THE INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL WILL. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SEVERAL RESPONSIBILITIES:

1. IT MUST BEGIN TELLING THE PEOPLE THE TRUTH
2. IT MUST TRUST THE PEOPLE
3. IT MUST CARE ABOUT THE PEOPLE.

IF THE GOVERNMENT IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL, THEN THERE MUST BE A COOPERATIVE VENTURE, BETWEEN GROUPS, INDIVIDUALS AND THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF. IN A LARGER SENSE, THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE RETURNED TO THE PEOPLE.

"AN AMERICAN PEOPLE WHICH HATES ITS OWN GOVERNMENT
HAS NO FUTURE." ✓

"AN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS LOST FAITH IN THE
PEOPLE HAS NO LEGITIMACY." ✓

I THINK SOME DISCUSSION OF THIS PARTNERSHIP/TOLERANCE IDEA WILL HAVE A STRONG REACTION FROM THE PUBLIC.

III. NEW REALISM/RECOGNITION OF LIMITS

IT IS IMPORTANT TO RAISE THE NOTION THAT WE HAVE LEARNED FROM RECENT EXPERIENCES. WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN SIMPLY RECAPTURING A PAST THAT HAS GONE. THERE NEEDS TO BE A CANDID ADMISSION THAT THERE ARE LIMITS TO WHAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN DO AND THAT THERE ARE LIMITS TO MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH. WE MUST CANDIDLY ADMIT THAT OLD WAYS WILL NOT WORK, THAT SIMPLY SAYING, PROMISING OR ASKING FOR SUCCESS WON'T MAKE IT SO. WE MUST SAY TO THE PEOPLE THAT THERE MUST BE BOTH NEW APPROACHES, NEW ASSUMPTIONS IN SOLVING PROBLEMS. SOME SPECIFIC POINTS:

1. WE MUST ADMIT THE COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEMS.

THE PUBLIC UNDERSTANDS THE PROBLEMS ARE MORE COMPLICATED THAN EVER BEFORE. PAST POLITICAL WISDOM HAS BEEN TO PROMISE THE PEOPLE SIMPLE ANSWERS, SIMPLE SOLUTIONS. WE NEED TO REJECT THAT NOTION AND OPENLY RECOGNIZE THAT UNLESS COMPLEX PROBLEMS ARE ADDRESSED IN A COMPLEX FASHION, THERE CAN BE NO HOPE IN SOLVING THEM.

2. WE MUST DECIDE WHAT WE WANT TO DO AND WHY.

WE CAN NO LONGER JUST ACCEPT OLD ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT PROGRAMS AND GOVERNMENT EFFORTS. WE MUST BE WILLING TO RAISE QUESTIONS OF PURPOSE IN EVERY AREA,

WHETHER IT IS BUDGET, EDUCATION, SOCIAL SERVICES, FOREIGN POLICY, ETC. THE COUNTRY HAS DRIFTED BECAUSE IT HAS FEW ARTICULATED GOALS. WE ARE NOW AT A TIME WHEN WE MUST ARTICULATE THE CHIEF CONCENSUS OVER WHAT WE SEEK TO ACCOMPLISH AS A NATION.

3. THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS
PREMISE.

THIS SIMPLE PREMISE NEEDS TO BE ARTICULATED. POLITICIANS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO GOVERN BY EASY ANSWERS AND SLOGANS BETRAY THE TRUST OF THE PEOPLE. OLD SLOGANS WILL NOT SOLVE NEW PROBLEMS. OLD SIMPLISTIC IDEOLOGY WILL NOT PROVIDE A FRAMEWORK FOR PROGRESS.

4. NEW APPROACHES.

THERE MUST BE A WILLINGNESS TO TRY NEW AND UNIQUE APPROACHES TO PROBLEMS. OFTEN THE APPROACH MUST INVOLVE LESS GOVERNMENT EFFORTS AND MORE RESPONSIBILTIY FOR INDIVIDUALS. WE SHOULD NOT BE RIGID IN CONTINUING TO MAKE FAILED POLICIES WORK. WITH CAREFUL THOUGHT WE MUST TRY NEW APPROACHES AND IF THEY DON'T SUCCEED, WE MUST BE WILLING TO ADMIT THE ERROR AND TRY IT AGAIN. PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED BUT THEY WILL NOT BE SOLVED BY DOING BUSINESS IN OLD WAYS.

5. QUALITY OF LIFE VERSUS QUANTITY.

WE HAVE REACHED A HIGH LEVEL OF ACQUISITION OF MATERIAL GOODS. WE MUST LEARN THAT MORE DOES NOT MEAN BETTER. LET'S REALIZE THAT THE RESPONSIBILITY

OF THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SOCIETY IS NOT JUST TO PROCURE MORE THINGS BUT TO PRODUCE A BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE. WE MUST BE CANDID IN REALIZING THAT QUALITY REQUIRES TRADE-OFFS. WE NEED A CONSENSUS ON THE QUALITY OF OUR EXISTENCE, AND THAT INVOLVES OFTEN THE TRIUMPH OF INTANGIBLES.

6. ISSUES.

I'VE LISTED A FEW ISSUES THAT FIT THIS DISCUSSION, A NEW REALISM/RECOGNITION OF LIMITS:

- A. THE ENVIRONMENT -- THE WHOLE QUESTION OF GROWTH VERSUS QUALITY OF LIFE
- B. SOCIAL JUSTICE
- C. THE ECONOMY -- OLD ANSWERS ARE NOT REAL SOLUTIONS TO NEW ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
- D. CRIME -- FREEDOM FROM FEAR
- E. WASTE -- EFFICIENCY IS NOT A SLOGAN BUT A NECESSITY IF GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE PEOPLE
- F. FOREIGN POLICY -- THAT AMERICA ONCE AGAIN BE AN IDEAL TO THE WORLD; THAT OUR STRENGTH COMES FROM OUR IDEALISM, NOT FROM OUR POWER; THAT AMERICA SHOULD BE THE BREADBASKET OF THE WORLD, NOT THE ARMS MERCHANT OF THE WORLD.

IV. SUMMING UP

YOU NEED TO REALLY GIVE AN UPLIFTING SUMMARY TO THE INAUGURAL SPEECH, MUCH ALONG THE LINES OF THE LAST

INAUGURAL SPEECH MEMO
PAGE FIFTEEN

CHAPTER OF YOUR BOOK. YOU'RE REALLY THE ONLY PERSON WHO
CAN EXPRESS THE FEELINGS YOU HAVE IN A CREDIBLE FASHION.
THEREFORE, THE SUMMARY MUST BE YOURS.

via Fran Vorde

MEMORANDUM

TO: Governor Carter
FROM: Patrick Caddell
RE: Some More Ideas on the Renewal of America Theme
DATE: 6 January 1977

I've spent the last day thinking further about the "renewal of America" theme; the more I consider it, the more attractive it seems to me as a central message of your address. Broadly considered I think it has to be approached from five different directions.

The first two of these involve the renewal or restoration of the social compact; the people have to restore their trust in the government; the government has to renew its commitment to the people. The other directions involve commitments of both the people and the government to certain goals: restoring values in our society, renewing our commitment to the world as a whole.

While it is difficult to separate the first two points, since, to some extent, the government gets exactly the trust from the people that it shows itself to deserve, I think a restoration of public trust has to be the first goal. Obviously the government has to have the support of the people to go anywhere. Unfortunately, at the moment the government lacks the credibility to demand sacrifice from the people; citizens pick and choose the commitments they will make.

In order for the government to win back the trust of the people - to renew its own standing, it has to make a commitment to some basic points that I think you will have to say over and over again, until both the people and the government believe in you. Among these I'd list:

- (a) The Government has to tell the truth; when things are bad they have to be presented as such. The Ford administration's economic statements too often read as if taken from Candide; they did not fool anyone.

- (b) As a corollary, we must admit mistakes. The average American will not be surprised to find out that the government (including the President) makes mistakes; he will be surprised to hear either say it.
- (c) The government must listen and be seen listening.
- (d) After it listens, it must be responsive. It is vital to recognize that being responsive does not necessarily mean doing what the people say they want; it may just mean going back to point "a" and honestly telling them why you can't do it.
- (e) Resisting the urge to oversimplify. People recognize that complex problems require complex solutions. Violating point "a", the strategy of the past has often been to identify simple solutions that can't work so as to look busy.
- (f) In the end, the efficient and effective accomplishment of the goals you lay down will convince the people to trust the government.

Turning to the other three points, I think you have to make a direct call for the restoration of basic values and goals in this society. Without some clear vision of where the country is going, sacrifice will not make sense to people. You cannot expect people to join in building a society without being willing to let them see the plans. The country needs to be reminded about basic freedoms and about the human values of tolerance and fair play.

Secondly, the country must renew its commitment to further progress in national development. Included in that are commitments to equal treatment for all, better health and education, a continued up-grading of the standard of living, the complementary development and protection of natural resources, and a unified effort to meet and overcome real problems, whether they be pollution, food production, energy, rebuilding of cities, or transportation. In general, there should be a willingness to pursue large goals and an assertion that many problems can be solved.

Finally, America must renew its commitment to the world. First, this means that the United States above all things wants peace, and a "moral" role in the world. The U.S. recognizes the diversity in the world and supports self-determination for every nation. At the same time we must say that we will not sacrifice or ignore individual freedoms for short-term political gain. The American people must make a commitment to help those other nations build stronger economies and overcome hunger, ignorance, and disease. Americans must find a sense of partnership in the world community and within that partnership must fight for our ideals.

FROM JAMES SCHLESINGER - JANUARY 6, 1977

This nation - indeed the civilization which we share with our friends around the world - has developed on the basis of cheap and abundant energy. Yet, the era of abundance has now come to a close. We already face, and others will soon face, an era of restricted availability of oil and gas. More important, as a great power, we face an immediate crisis, since we must not allow this nation to become vulnerable in its vital interests to the possibility of supply interruption. Yet, because there is no overt shortage, the crisis is not visible to many citizens.

The problem of our energy future demands solution. In the near term, it requires a nation-wide effort at conservation and fuel substitution. In the longer term it requires the development of new alternatives to maintain our civilization, as cheaply available fuels run out. The future cannot be left to chance and to luck. We intend to develop a comprehensive national energy plan to insure our immediate security and our grandchildren's future prosperity.

TO: President-elect Carter

FROM: Ted Sorensen

January 6, 1976

Following, as requested, are three suggestions for the Inaugural Address within my area of responsibility:

1) We shall be watchful on the ramparts of our nation's freedom without wasting our precious resources or weakening our even more precious liberties.

2) If at any time the leaders of any nation are intent upon our destruction, they shall find us ever vigilant and never vulnerable; and if they choose instead the path of peace, they shall find us willing to walk that path an extra mile and beyond.

3) The maintenance of peace on this planet can never wholly rely on mutual trust or affection between two superpowers with competing systems and interests. But a series of concrete, reciprocal, enforceable commitments can build, brick by brick, a solid foundation for a new world order. I call upon all the nations of the world to join us as "architects of peace".

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

MEMORANDUM

TO: Governor Carter
Jody Powell

FROM: Harrison Wellford
Si Lazarus

DATE: January 6, 1977

RE: Government Reorganization/Reform Themes
for the Inaugural Address

Here are some thoughts about the uses of government reform and reorganization as a basis for inaugural themes.

This topic may be worth particular emphasis in the inaugural, since the tight economic and financial situation reduces the prospect for new initiatives in social policy as major achievements, at least in the first phase of the Administration. Hence, the inaugural should signal to the public that much of the excitement and achievement they should expect to emanate from Jimmy Carter's Washington will relate to government reform and reorganization.

Implementing this commitment will likely produce long, drawn-out struggles with the Congress, the bureaucracy, and special interest groups--involving complex and often dull issues--and producing small, undramatic victories as well, perhaps, as some visible losses. The inaugural ought to help inject drama into that prospect. This can be done by emphasizing:

- (1) the rebound-from-Watergate theme and
(2) the once-in-a-nation's-lifetime-opportunity theme. (If we cannot now remake our government--if we cannot now stop the spread of this infection of apathy and cynicism--then we will probably never turn this tide, and the quality--perhaps the survival--of our democratic experiment will be endangered.
- the enterprise of reform will not always be smooth or easy or without controversy--but this Administration will not retreat from its commitments just to avoid challenges.
- there is a self-fulfilling element to public pessimism and apathy--everyone knows that the huge government is pockmarked with waste and programs which aid only special interests--but these can be removed only with strong popular support--apathy will assure that the decay of self-government will continue and worsen.
- sacrifice will be needed to fulfill the promise of democratic reorganization and reform--someone profits from virtually every instance of waste, corruption, or disorganization--often no one in particular suffers much--the people have to stand up and support measures to end waste and restore trust--otherwise the special interests will always prevail.

- patience, rather than an ephemeral thirst for quick and sensational victories, is needed to sustain this commitment (rhetoric which evokes Kennedy's references to the "twilight struggle" of the Cold War in his 1961 inaugural might be effective to convey this point).

Another point involves the President's attitude toward government employees (who will hamper his hopes for reform and reorganization, if they feel that he is unsympathetic, hostile, or threatening to them). The inaugural could aid in avoiding this prospect by:

- emphasizing that the public servant is the most unfortunate victim of the politicization of the government by Nixon (et. al.), and of disorganization and waste--the public servant dedicated his life to public service, but he or she is instead worn down by the system. We want to restore the chance to serve the public interest in fact as well as in name. We seek a government that all citizens will be proud to support, and would be proud to serve.
- emphasizing that a tragedy related to the decline of confidence in government is the growth of hostility between the public and the public servant--"bureaucrat" has become a term of scorn--reorganization and reform will effect a reconciliation between the people and their government.

cc: Stu Eizenstat
Bert Lance
Jack Watson

CARTER - MONDALE
TRANSITION PLANNING GROUP

P.O. Box 2600
Washington, D.C. 20013

January 11, 1977

MEMORANDUM TO: President-Elect Jimmy Carter
FROM: Peter Bourne P.B.
SUBJECT: Inaugural Address

As you requested, here are my thoughts on the inaugural address.

Your inaugural address in 1971 was the most important event of your political career until you announced that you were running for President. What made it important was that you said something that was clearly a historic statement - the end of one era and the beginning of another. Your presidential inaugural should attempt to do the same.

What does your election mean to the country in terms of the broad view of history?

(1) The election of a Southerner signifies symbolically the end of the civil war, and a re-integration of the South, on an equal footing, into the mainstream of American political life.

(2) It also will eliminate not only the long-standing prejudice against the South, but also the artificial sense of inferiority which many Southerner's had felt.

(3) It should signify the close of the Viet Nam era which you will symbolically bring to an end by announcing the pardon.

(4) It demonstrates the viability of the American system at a time when people had lost faith. The manner in which you became President dramatized what America means and why it is unique in the world.

I hope your inaugural address would touch on some of these themes. The major thrust of your speech, however, should deal not merely with the future of

(2)

Memo To: President-elect Jimmy Carter
From: Peter Bourne
Subject: Inaugural Address
Date: January 11, 1977

America, but the future of the world. I believe you should talk about the problems of all the people of the world, of how we are one race worldwide, of how virtually every significant problem is now global not national, and that the role of America should be to provide the leadership to solve the human problems which the whole world shares. You should mention health, food, and environmental problems. Something like the following statement would be appropriate:

"The nations of the world must acknowledge their interdependence and join together to dedicate their minds, their hearts, and their talents to the solution of those problems which threaten the survival of us all."

"We must free ourselves from the limitations of national prejudice and recognize that the forces which unite mankind are incomparably greater than those which separate it. We must establish a world order of peace, justice, and compassion in which we acknowledge that we are one body of people dependent on one body of resources."

"America must help all mankind to achieve the basic needs that transcend ideology, freedom from hunger, physical suffering and disease, war, pests, pollution of the environment, and servitude to others, the desire to see one's children grow up to be happy and have a better chance in the world than you did, the ability to enhance one's position in society by virtue of one's own merits and hard work, the opportunity to travel freely, to be educated, to have the benefits of technology and material things, and the time to enjoy them. All people regardless of where they live and/or what political system they live under, share these aspirations, and we should help them be fulfilled."

Some other random thoughts.

"Let us not look back in anger, or forward in fear but look around us with awareness."

(3)

Memo To: President-elect Jimmy Carter
From: Peter Bourne
Subject: Inaugural Address
Date: January 11, 1977

"The way to move forward is to go back to our founding principles and adapt them to todays realities."

"The founding fathers taught us that unless we worked together, and cared for one another, and shared nature's bounties, we could never be assured of a happy and productive future."

DeLaporte

MEMORANDUM

TO: President-elect Jimmy Carter
FROM: Mary King *King*
SUBJECT: Inaugural Address
DATE: January 12, 1977

In response to your request I have set down some ideas. Your election came close to being a second American Revolution. A revolution to restore and reinstate our basic fundamental values. People were willing to shape their futures by rejecting the politicians of the past. Voting for you meant voting for the goodness and strength and resources of the American people. In your presence I think that people believe in themselves more, because you reaffirm the essential elements on which our whole way of life is built.

Your acceptance speech in New York was dazzling by its absence of rhetoric and its direct statement of basic principles. Similarly now you must go back to the beginning to reach the future, to Democracy, equality and justice.

Only the setting has changed. What you say and do has immediate worldwide reverberation and impact. International interdependency and the absence of positive leadership elsewhere in the world means that yours is a global presidency. You should accept this frankly.

Your election represents the healing of a century-old wound from the civil war. The South, having been largely scorned and rejected in political life, has finally been accepted. I do not think it would be considered Messianic for you to allude to Psalm 118 and the stone which the builders rejected as a regional reference.

Here are some specific suggestions:

Our vital national interest is Democracy. In the first years of our third century we need a rebirth and rekindling of the American spirit.

We must show the world by the way we live that Democracy can be the way abroad.

We must let the world know that we understand the limits to our earth's finite resources, and that we will be responsible to all the peoples of the world in the way we manage our resources and the way we respond to the precious resources of the globe.

We will treat with respect the human needs of the world, for they are the same all over. We will seek to share, and to manage our skills and resources to meet those needs.

* * * *

I pledge to you the following:

I will not allow this office to place me above the people.

I dedicate this administration to equality and justice before the law. For women there must be equal rights. For blacks, the Spanish-speaking, the poor and native Americans there must be equal justice. For all Americans there will be an equal opportunity to participate in the rebirth of America.

I pledge for all Americans the reaffirmation of those unalienable rights -- life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness -- so that wherever a citizen of this land shall go in the world, all will know that America stands for justice, Democracy and respect for other peoples.

* * * *

I came from a farm in South Georgia to this, your office. You and your children will always be able to say: He is one of us and this government is ours.

The time for all discrimination to end has come. If we are to lead as a Democracy in the world, beckoning an end to dictatorship and warfare, it must be on the foundation of equal rights and simple justice for all. Neither race nor gender nor ethnic origin shall determine a person's worth.

* * * *

With this new beginning must come equality for women and minorities. Accomplishment of the promise of justice before the law will brighten with time and be one of our greatest gifts to the future.

* * * *

The revitalization and strengthening of our nation must begin with the foundation of our society--the family. Families shape our value systems and determine our priorities.

* * * *

National policy - Ag - Energy - Sport - Ed - Health - Welfare - To
" forests & parks -

Ag - Production & orderly marketing
Judicial reform

Balanced budget

R#3

Vital to our present/future is survival of recent crises
Troubles but innate strength survives

>

Nation's existence justifies any sacrifice

Best defence against alien philosophies = make system work

✓ R#3

"Cannot tolerate - undeserved poverty or self-serving wealth"

To

"World faces future in great hopes/fears" - US is leader

Peaceful change

Compassion & competence

✓

Do everything possible to stay close to you

Sure & swift justice

New to D.C. = farmer from a small Southern town

vs

"I owe the people everything"

vs

To adjust to changing times yet hold to unchanging principles

Strong moral leadership

Needs of humanity first

Hunger, war, pollution, involuntary servitude,
injustice

World order - fairness -

Not what America is - what it can/should be

Be bold - transcend other Presidents

No murder, subversion, etc by CIA

System of federalism - Unity

Pres/Cong cooperation - Unity

Openness, Candor, trust

✓ Tax - simplicity/legitimacy

Energy - world cooperation

Welfare Cabinet knows poverty

> Reorg W#1 "humanize every process of our common life"

Health "Burr is a work of restoration"

Jobs "firm basis of govt is justice"

Registration W#2 "armaments limited to necessities of domestic safety"

Environment - sees W#1 "merciless waste"

✓ Defense "strength need not prove itself in combat"

Nuclear weapons - proliferation

Community of nations - Peaceful competition

Weapons - reduce need for

Hemispheric friendship

Terrorism

Electronic surveillance - invasion of privacy

Merit selection - judges/diplomats

Crime control

Corporate bribery

Equal opportunity

Human rights vs econ aid

End 2nd Century - start 3rd

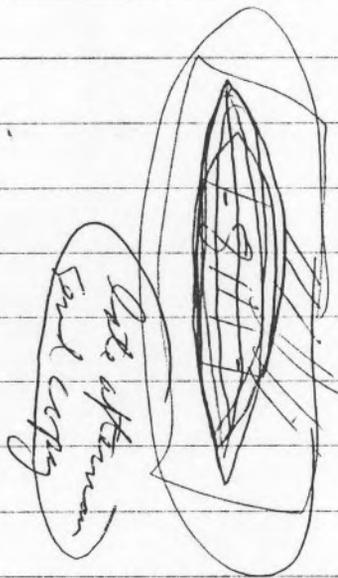
✓ Family

J#2 moral duties = own interests

" Trust of our nation integral to its strength

J#1 "sacred preservation of the public faith"

Greatness lies in moral purpose



Governor:

My reaction to your draft included these thoughts.

I like the opening reference to the Bible, but I question whether that particular Biblical quotation is appropriate. It could be interpreted as your suggesting that the American people humble themselves and turn from their wicked ways and their sins, but you've been arguing all along that the government was bad but the people were good.

In general, many of the points needed to be reorganized, so there was more ~~x~~ of a domestic section and a foreign section.

I added some, but by no means all, of the points on your list. One question is whether the domestic section is getting to be too much of a laundry list.

It seems to me that one of the most basic themes in all your speeches going back to 1971 is the obligation of the fortunate to the unfortunate, the relationship between those who make decisions and those who live with those decisions. It seemed to me appropriate to make that point in this speech so, although you cut it from your draft, I raise the idea again.

I think you need to decide what points you absolutely want to mention.

One ~~xxxx~~ question is whether we should do more with the New spirit~~x~~ theme or some other theme -- we need to read this and consider whether it has the thematic unity we want.

~~xxxxx~~ ~~pat~~ ~~xxxxx~~

I also thought the speech needed to be more personal, so I added the "I'll stay close to you" line and the Julia Coleman quote near the end.

MEMO TO: Jimmy Carter

FROM: Russell Long

RE DISTRIBUTION OF NET WORTH IN AMERICA

The latest seems to be a Federal Reserve Study by Dorothy S. Projector & Gertrude S. Weiss (published in 1966).

In terms of family units:

5%	had	54%
10%	"	66%
15%	"	73%
25%	"	83%
50%	"	96%
Bottom 50%	"	4%

*1/2 our families
share 1/25 of
our wealth and
1/6 have less
than nothing.*

16% were rated 0 or less. Since few people if any had exactly 0 it is fair to say that 15% had less than 0.

One could conclude that 80% would have less than the average amount of wealth and that 50% had less than 5%, with 15% having less than 0.

John Brittain of Brookings is knowledgeable on this subject, PH 202+797-6146.

John Brittain

Possible language

The war on poverty has languished since Lyndon Johnson left office. In some ways the nation has lost ground and lost direction. Today I reaffirm it as an American goal to fight the war on poverty on all fronts, so long as it exists in America.

But there is a further task that goes beyond fighting poverty. It is as old as the Jamestown colony and the Pilgrim's Covenant. It is the task of bringing about a just and fair distribution of the nation's wealth among its people.

As much as we concern ourselves that our distribution of income leaves 8% of our people in poverty, a study of the distribution of the net worth of the American people will reflect a far more bleak picture.

It will show that 75% of adult Americans have less than 17% of our net worth. 50% have an average net worth of less than \$3,000, and 15% have a net worth less than zero.

I do not seek to redistribute the wealth of America. Those who have earned or inherited wealth should be permitted to keep what they have and add to it subject only to a fair gift and estate tax.

The nation and its people have enough productive power to double the net worth of the American people during the remainder of this century. If we simply insist on a more even distribution of the new wealth that we will create in the future we can bring about the over-all distribution that we believe to be proper over a period of years.

I will propose laws pointing us in that direction.

Like my predecessors who have fought for a more just distribution of income, I do not expect to see my goal achieved during four years, but I expect to see America headed firmly in the right direction, and I expect to see us make enough progress so that everyone can see that our dream can become a reality.

For this much I know: if any American President will adopt as his goal a fair distribution of future wealth, that worthy objective will appeal to future Presidents and future Congresses until it becomes a reality.

Today I declare it. A fair distribution of America's wealth is our goal. It will remain so as long as I am your President.

For Inaugural Address :

Basic economic problems -- unemployment, inflation, low productivity and idle plant capacity -- can be solved only with an efficient functioning of the private sector.

To help this sector work effectively, we must make government more cooperative.

We must eliminate unnecessary paperwork, red tape and excessive government regulation -- the regulatory "overkill" that now restricts our business community, retarding growth and expansion.

When there is a choice between public and private economic endeavor, the private sector should assume responsibility.

We will utilize Federal programs to provide jobs and economic stimulus when necessary -- but only as temporary measures and only as last resorts.

We urge the private sector to join with their government in a commitment to put America back to work.

Juanita M. Kreps
Commerce Department

CARTER - MONDALE *Attn. Gael Doan*
TRANSITION PLANNING GROUP

*P.O. Box 2600
Washington, D.C. 20013*

Memorandum

To: Governor Carter
From: Governor Andrus
Subject: Proposed Language Requested

On Natural Resources/Environment

"My Administration will mark the beginning of a new commitment to the quality of life. Natural resources will be protected and managed for the benefit of all Americans and for future generations. When short-term pressures conflict with the quality of the environment, I will act to protect the environment.

We will control the needless destruction of our rivers and wetlands, clean up our polluted air and water, and revitalize and expand our system of Parks and Wildlife Refuges. Some difficult decisions are ahead. But we welcome the task.

On Human Rights

The speech should include somewhere: "The rights of Native Americans will be protected by the Carter Administration."

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

WE HAVE NO FEAR OF PEACEFUL COMPETITION.

THE WORLD STILL LOOKS TO US FOR LEADERSHIP.

ONCE AGAIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM HAS GIVEN US ITS SINGULAR COMBINATION OF CONTINUITY AND CHANGE.

AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY IT IS WELL TO CONSIDER WHAT WE HAVE BEEN AND WHAT WE OUGHT TO BE.

WE ARE BEING FORCED TO SEARCH FOR MORE OPENNESS AND CANDOR; WE MUST STRIP AWAY SECRECY, AND MOVE THROUGH UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE TO MAKE OUR PEOPLE AND OUR GOVERNMENT ONE AND THE SAME.

WE MUST END DISCRIMINATION, PROTECT THE WEAK, REDUCE WASTE, CONTROL CRIME, PUT OUR PEOPLE TO WORK, STRENGTHEN OUR FAMILIES, INSURE FAIR TAXATION, PROTECT PERSONAL PRIVACY, AND SET AND ACHIEVE WORTHY GOALS IN AGRICULTURE, HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION, AND IN THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY.

P BECAUSE WE ARE FREE WE CAN NEVER BE INDIFFERENT TO THE FATE OF FREEDOM ELSEWHERE. NY

IN THAT SETTING, AMERICAN POWER WILL REMAIN A CONSTANT AND CREDIBLE FACTOR OF STABILITY.

IN A NEW SPIRIT OF FREEDOM AND COMMITMENT, IT IS TIME TO REMEMBER THE ANCIENT PROPHET, AND TO RENEW OUR SEARCH FOR HUMILITY, MERCY, AND JUSTICE.

WE WILL HELP OTHER NATIONS SEEK LASTING AGREEMENTS WHERE THE PRESENT BALANCE OF POWER IS FRAGILE OR WHERE GOODWILL SEEMS A TEMPORARY STATE, AND WE URGE ALL OTHER PEOPLE TO JOIN US AS ARCHITECTS OF PEACE.

FOREIGN TRADE AND JOBS FOR OUR WORKERS, THE WORLD ECONOMY AND DOMESTIC PROSPERITY ARE ALL MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE; AND AS WE ARE CONCERNED FOR HUNGRY PEOPLE IN OTHER NATIONS WE MUST MEET THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED IN OUR OWN LAND.

WE CAN HELP TO REDUCE SUFFERING, INJUSTICE, POLLUTION, THE THREAT OF WAR AND THE OPPRESSION OF SERVITUDE.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
 ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
 ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
Publisher

JOHN B. OAKES, *Editorial Page Editor*
 FRED HECHINGER, *Assistant Editorial Page Editor*

A. M. ROSENTHAL, *Managing Editor*
 SEYMOUR TOPPING, *Deputy Managing Editor*
 ARTHUR GELB, *Assistant Managing Editor*
 PETER MILLONES, *Assistant Managing Editor*
 JACK ROSENTHAL, *Associate Editor*

CHARLOTTE CURTIS, *Associate Editor*
 CLIFTON DANIEL, *Associate Editor*
 MAX FRANKEL, *Associate Editor*
 TOM WICKER, *Associate Editor*

A New Beginning, A New Year

Each day this week we have published on this page editorials under the general heading: *A New Beginning*. This is the tenth and last of a series designed to examine some of the major domestic issues facing the Carter Administration and the American people during the coming year.

The election to the Presidency last month of an almost totally unknown newcomer to the national scene gives to the Administration that takes office on Jan. 20 an unprecedented opportunity both to unite the country and, in John F. Kennedy's still-applicable phrase, to get it moving again. Free of binding obligations to any special-interest sector of American society, President-elect Carter, with the support of a friendly if quizzical Congress, can if he chooses provide the kind of high-minded progressive—and pragmatic—leadership whose promise won him the election. The American people yearn, we believe, for a President of moral—but not moralistic—conviction and courageous—but not doctrinaire—liberalism to set the tone of the nation's domestic as well as foreign policy for the next four or more years.

This is what Governor Carter has still to demonstrate and this is what, in these first few weeks of the Cabinet selection process, he has not yet succeeded in doing. Although individually the members of the new Cabinet, and those other top advisers who have already been named, are men and women of ability and accomplishment, many with notable records of service to the nation, the Cabinet taken as a whole, while strong enough, is unexciting—reflecting the innately cautious rather than the innovative or dynamic side of Mr. Carter's character.

His choice of Attorney General—and the charade that preceded that selection—is particularly disappointing because Judge Bell does not meet Mr. Carter's own previously stated stringent qualifications for appointment to this vitally important post, so abused by Presidents Nixon, Truman and other Presidents of the past.

It is also disconcerting that, again taken as a whole, the President-elect's major foreign policy advisers, while men of great distinction, have a generally hard-line background—especially in respect to early American participation in the Vietnam War. Mr. Carter evidently was not looking primarily for innovative but, rather, for managers—and he has found some exceedingly competent ones.

A Time for Decision

But the needs of the American people as they enter their third century under a new Administration go far beyond mere competence in government, though obviously that is something greatly to be desired. This country is beset by some very fundamental problems that have in no sense been dissipated by the end of the Vietnam nightmare, the exorcism of Watergate, the slowdown of inflation and the apparent beginnings of economic recovery.

If this new year and new Administration are indeed going to prove to be a new beginning in anything more than the most superficial sense, the new President, backed by the new Cabinet and the new Congress, will

business, big labor or big individuals in illegal activities at home or abroad; against racial and sexual discrimination in both public and private sectors; against infringement of rights, denial of justice or suppression of the unpopular, the unorthodox and the uncouth. In virtually every other country of the world, these evils exist in greater depth and scope than in the United States; but that they exist to the degree they do, despite our constitutional system, is unacceptable.

And so is the continuance, at anything like its present level, of what we described in a previous editorial as the "social crisis." This refers especially to the depressed status of America's minorities, whose employment, health, housing and other conditions of life are substandard in vastly disproportionate relationship to the rest of the population.

Closely allied to the social—or, to put it more bluntly, racial—crisis is the plight of the cities, which from one end of the country to the other have been most directly affected by the black and Hispanic migration with all of its social, economic—and political—consequences. No problem is more urgent for the new Administration to tackle with a fresh eye and fresh mind than the urban crisis, for wrapped up in it are all the correlative questions of how best to handle unemployment, welfare, health, crime, housing, transportation, education and environment in the context of the American city and suburbs, where the overwhelming majority of Americans now work and live.

The National Economy

The President-elect himself seems to feel that the national economy, with its twin plagues of continued inflation and continued unemployment, requires the most immediate attention of his new Administration. He can hardly be faulted on this judgment; for on a further steady slowdown of the rate of inflation and a sharp reduction in the unemployment rolls the efficacy of virtually all other social action programs will depend.

It is at the beginning of his new Administration that Mr. Carter will be in the most favorable position, vis-à-vis both Congress and the public, to pursue an activist policy in the economic as in other areas; and the country has a right to expect that in matters of fiscal reform no less than in governmental reorganization, the new President will push forward firmly and aggressively in accordance with his campaign declaration and his party platform.

The same may be said of one of the most all-encompassing issues of the present era: the environmental issue, the outcome of which in the next four years will determine the shape and quality of American civilization for, literally, centuries to come. Here, in attempting to preserve the physical quality of the American environment from further deterioration, particularly in air and water pollution, and indeed to raise it from the unsatisfactory level it has already reached, the long-term public interest will often come into brusque collision with the short-term special interest—of industry, commerce, or labor.

Nowhere is this problem likely to become more acute than in the development of energy resources; but there is no legitimate reason why the nation cannot absorb the additional costs required by the simultaneous

On t

To the E
 From
 papers,
 fathom
 across-th
 plicable
 amnesty
 course, b
 to dispos
 difficulty
 motives v
 failures t
 so diver
 or even
 omnibus
 the man
 he was t
 cause he
 financial
 to be tre
 man wh
 of consci
 honestly
 these two
 other reas
 some bad.
 Are they
 omnibus
 everyone:

And ho
 affect th
 made wic
 less and
 children—
 death in
 required
 created
 what of
 had to se
 veterans'
 tions, the
 their live
 or both,
 in action

Are ou
 to above,
 could be
 obligation
 when it w

A Black

To the Ed
 Others n
 until the i
 hope, ballo
 been early
 ment and
 Georgia.

After
 creation
 we have
 how he ex
 less rate f
 Director-de
 be very d
 ment to
 Charles
 designate,
 the Hump
 that mea
 occur wit
 ing inflati
 policy of
 unemploy
 won't no
 blacks' an
 tinue to s
 the out-of
 today you
 for us.

Blacks tu
 and voted
 lems, main
 fair-paying
 shuffled to
 am finally
 50 percent

character.

His choice of Attorney General—and the charade that preceded that selection—is particularly disappointing because Judge Bell does not meet Mr. Carter's own previously stated stringent qualifications for appointment to this vitally important post, so abused by Presidents Nixon, Truman and other Presidents of the past.

It is also disconcerting that, again taken as a whole, the President-elect's major foreign policy advisers, while men of great distinction, have a generally hard-line background—especially in respect to early American participation in the Vietnam War. Mr. Carter evidently was not looking primarily for innovative but, rather, for managers—and he has found some exceedingly competent ones.

A Time for Decision

But the needs of the American people as they enter their third century under a new Administration go far beyond mere competence in government, though obviously that is something greatly to be desired. This country is beset by some very fundamental problems that have in no sense been dissipated by the end of the Vietnam nightmare, the exorcism of Watergate, the slowdown of inflation and the apparent beginnings of economic recovery.

If this new year and new Administration are indeed going to prove to be a new beginning in anything more than the most superficial sense, the new President, backed by the new Cabinet and the new Congress, will have to do something that few new Presidents have done in modern American history—though many have pretended to do so. Mr. Carter, in Adlai Stevenson's memorable words, will have to "talk sense to the American people." He will have to break away from the double-talk of the campaign that has already returned to plague him. Strong supporters of Mr. Carter's election, we were nevertheless concerned about the ambiguities and fuzziness in his presentation of some issues; but if there ever was a proper time for that—which we doubt—that time is long since past.

The fundamentally new condition in which the American system now must operate—new in the past two decades but still unperceived by most Americans and still unacknowledged by most politicians—is that the United States is no longer politically, economically or militarily omnipotent, nor morally the exemplar to the world, if it ever was. While in most respects relatively better off than virtually all other countries, the United States today has no reason for complacency and every reason to insist upon that economic, social, political and moral strengthening, of which the new leadership held out so clear a promise.

It is that moral strengthening of our national life in both domestic and foreign policy, and in both public and private sectors, that deserves the priority. What this means is not the offensive kind of moralistic piety that has been occasionally expressed in recent years both by Presidents and Presidential candidates, but rather a reaffirmation in thought and action of the moral and ethical values embodied in those two basic documents—Declaration and Constitution—on which rests the entire framework of American polity.

Rededication to Freedom

What this means, further, is that we—President, legislatures, courts and people—need to rededicate ourselves to the principles of human freedom and individual liberty, to equality of all persons before the law, to protection of weak from strong, to the continued development among ourselves of a social conscience, and to a broad toleration of the differences among us not only of race, creed and color, but also of personal mores and political beliefs. To this end, it is necessary to rebuild that spirit of mutual trust and confidence of Americans in each other and in themselves that has been so severely shaken during these past two decades of McCarthyism, of Vietnam, of Watergate and of the public and private law-breaking, cynicism, suspicion and corruption that have pervaded too much of American society.

How to rebuild? One way is by vigorously restoring and reinforcing the policy against government spying on its own citizens; against government connivance with big

national economy, with its twin plagues of continued inflation and continued unemployment, requires the most immediate attention of his new Administration. He can hardly be faulted on this judgment; for on a further steady slowdown of the rate of inflation and a sharp reduction in the unemployment rolls the efficacy of virtually all other social action programs will depend.

It is at the beginning of his new Administration that Mr. Carter will be in the most favorable position, vis-à-vis both Congress and the public, to pursue an activist policy in the economic as in other areas; and the country has a right to expect that in matters of fiscal reform no less than in governmental reorganization, the new President will push forward firmly and aggressively in accordance with his campaign declaration and his party platform.

The same may be said of one of the most all-encompassing issues of the present era: the environmental issue, the outcome of which in the next four years will determine the shape and quality of American civilization for, literally, centuries to come. Here, in attempting to preserve the physical quality of the American environment from further deterioration, particularly in air and water pollution, and indeed to raise it from the unsatisfactory level it has already reached, the long-term public interest will often come into brusque collision with the short-term special interest—of industry, commerce, or labor.

Nowhere is this problem likely to become more acute than in the development of energy resources; but there is no legitimate reason why the nation cannot absorb the additional costs required by the simultaneous satisfaction of its energy needs and protection of the natural environment.

Foreign Policy

In the cram course on foreign affairs to which he subjected himself the past two or three years, former Governor Carter learned that the foundation of this country's international relationships lies in the firmness of association with our traditional allies of Western Europe, together with Canada and, now, Japan. This in no sense means that there should be any weakening of efforts to achieve a realistic détente with the Soviet Union as symbolized by successful completion of the strategic arms limitation talks. This, in turn, could readily induce a practicable reduction in the swollen military budget that is already surfeited with several billion dollars' worth of fat.

In the Middle East, a continuation of Secretary Kissinger's valiant and partially successful attempt to achieve a stability that could yet lead to peace is strongly indicated. But also the new Administration will have to pay closer attention from the outset to Africa, Latin America, the developing world and, yes, the United Nations, than did its predecessor. A more sympathetic understanding of the demands of the poorer nations for a sharing of the world's limited resources, together with a new emphasis on population control, is to become increasingly necessary, if—quite apart from unselfish reasons—a global conflagration is ultimately to be avoided.

At least one dramatic change in present American policy is indicated: a thoroughgoing revision downward of the unconscionable sale of arms to virtually any non-Communist nation in the world willing to pay for them. And the non-Communist label, as the United States should have long since learned from bitter experience, is itself no guarantee of purity, democracy or decency. Even the machinations of a few unscrupulous American companies abroad—which, when exposed, have resulted in political convulsions from Japan to Italy—have done less damage to the long-range interests of the United States than has the continuing, indiscriminate, shameful traffic in sophisticated weapons.

This can indeed be a happier New Year for the country and the national Administration if the President-elect has the courage and vision to face up to the profoundly difficult issues affecting the nation and the world, and is as honest and direct as he has promised to be in discussing them with the American people. Much will depend, too, on the willingness of this people to support the hard decisions and the sacrifices that may be necessary in coming years to give new reality and new life to the ideals that for two centuries have been the guiding stars of our great democracy.

Others until the hope, ball been early ment and Georgia.

After creation i we have? how he ex less rate fi Director-de be very d ment to Charles designate, the Hump that mea occur wit ing inflati policy of unemploy won't no blacks' and tinue to s the out-of today you for us.

Blacks tu and voted' lems, main fair-paying shuffled to am finally 50 percent

Who W

To the Ec The br punishme bullet tha Gary Giln the State the heroic to festerin

Presuma unidentifie members (bullet-ridd to return peacefully, sickening : comfort fo man being

Who will I, says th fired the E and juror: law. Not . criminal: W And of cour demanding a justice and d

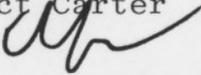
Let this n squeamish i executed cr shooting, h boweling, stake, brea apart by ho blowing ou certainly n the question



Corr

The N

Affil

To: President-elect Carter
Fm: Fritz Mondale 

Attached you will find my suggestions,
organized in speech fashion for the
Inaugural Address.

ELECTROSTATIC REPRODUCTION MADE FOR
PRESERVATION PURPOSES

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Introduction -- A New Beginning

Today we mark the beginning of a new Administration. More importantly, this year, in 1977, we as a people begin our third century as an independent nation.

On this occasion, we are especially conscious of the bonds that unite us as Americans, our common values and our common hopes for the future.

The values we seek to preserve and the goals we hope to achieve are in many ways the same today as those that Americans have shared since the earliest days of our Republic: to protect individual freedom, to assure equal justice and to promote full opportunity for all.

At its best government is the instrument through which we, the people, work together to achieve these goals. But recent history has shown, just as our Founding Fathers understood so long ago, that government can also frustrate the needs and the hopes of the people.

True progress, measured over the past two centuries of American experience, has been achieved only through a careful combination of caution and confidence: caution to jealously guard our traditions of freedom . . . and confidence to press ahead in building new opportunities for our people.

The last decade has taught us that government with too much confidence, with too little concern for democratic restraint, can breed arrogance with tragic consequences for our own society and for our reputation in the world.

We have also seen that excess caution, government indecision or unwillingness to change, can breed stagnation with needless loss of America's creative potential.

As we begin this next Administration, and as we begin America's third century, let us re-create a proper balance combining government restraint to protect individual rights and liberties with the commitment and confidence needed to extend human freedom and opportunity in the years to come.

A New Restraint

Our first goal must be to restore the Constitutional principle that government agencies and officials no less than private corporations and citizens are bound to obey the law. Equal justice demands that any violation or attempt to circumvent the law by federal employees be grounds for prompt dismissal.

No longer will we tolerate the misguided believe^f that government officials for whatever reason have the right to lie or distort the truth. It will sometimes be necessary for national security or other reasons to withhold classified information. But there will be no place in the federal Administration for any official who deliberately misrepresents the facts to the press or to the public.

Too often in the past the truth has been abused because government leaders have felt the need to make promises and commitments that cannot be kept. Let us be realistic in our goals and candid in admitting our limitations and our mistakes when they occur.

And restraint must be applied not only in the rhetoric of government officials, but more importantly in our planning . . . ^{and actions} knowing that our resources are limited . . . knowing that there are critical needs to be met . . . and knowing that there is no excuse for wasting tax dollars.

A New Agenda

With a foundation of restraint that is once again firmly rooted in respect for the law, for the truth and for the public, we can approach with confidence the major tasks ahead.

First among our goals is the restoration of a strong and stable economy. America cannot afford the cost, measured in wasted lives and massive budget deficits of idle factories and idle workers. Nor can we permit the continued erosion of hard-earned dollars through inflation. Federal resources must be applied to stimulate the economy with careful management to restrain the cost of living. Among the first acts of the new Administration will therefore be a program to revitalize the economy with proposals to upgrade the inflation-fighting ability of the federal government.

Second, we must reorganize the present maze of Federal departments and agencies, so that our national government can deal efficiently and responsively with state and local authorities and with individual citizens. Our goal is to reduce the waste, the duplication and the frustration affecting every citizen, but none more deeply than the thousands of dedicated civil servants who are trying to do their job. | |

Third, streamlining and simplification of the federal bureaucracy can not only help to eliminate waste, it can also help us to deal more effectively with the major issues that must be resolved: reform of our welfare, health care and tax systems, improvement in the quality of education available to our children, protection of the environment and adoption of long-overdue national energy and food policies. Action toward these important goals need not necessarily and in most cases will not await final action on the details of reorganization. Instead progress will be sought as quickly as our knowledge and our resources permit.

Fourth, in the realm of foreign policy, we re-affirm our desire for peaceful relations with all nations, based upon mutual restraint and cooperation. The United States remains firm in ^{its} ~~our~~ confidence that our democratic values and competitive economic system offer the most enduring source of strength and hope of world progress.

We call upon our adversaries to join with us in seeking enforceable reductions in nuclear armaments. We invite all nations to work with us in stopping the spiraling conventional arms trade and limiting the threat of nuclear proliferation. Let us work together, East and West, rich and poor, to address the global challenges of energy and food production, environmental protection and the creation of a more stable and prosperous world economy.

A New Leadership

Few of these goals can be achieved quickly or easily. We believe that we can succeed in time trusting not in our own infallibility but in the help and the support and the understanding of the American people.

We pledge a government that is open, because full public debate is the surest way to pinpoint mistakes and identify policies that should be changed.

We pledge a government of cooperation because our nation cannot solve its problems unless all of us, in the White House, in the Congress, and in State and local governments are willing to work in harmony.

We pledge a government of efficiency because a nation that prides itself on management should expect no less from public officials.

We pledge a government of compassion because we will in the end be judged not by how well we care for ourselves, but by how deeply we care for others.

And we pledge a government where Executive Officials from the President and the Cabinet on down remain close to the people, not special interest groups, through face-to-face meetings in your communities as well as in Washington.

But there is one special group upon whom all of our hopes and all of our plans depend -- America's next generation of leadership. As we build the new administration, we will especially be seeking the help of young men and women who are willing to sacrifice a year or more of their lives in voluntary service to America. Let us use the skills of young farmers and teachers, scientists and engineers, those with the energy and purpose to represent our best values in the Peace Corps and voluntary agencies in the United States. The benefits will be measured not only in immediate results, but equally as important in the training of America's future public servants.

Conclusion: A Good Beginning

As we look ahead, we can today foresee many but not all of the challenges before us. Our plans are not perfect and we will make mistakes.

But at the end of four years, let the record of this Administration be written in its devotion to the rule of law and to the Constitution, in its candor, and in its commitment

to make government better serve the American people. |

We stand today, on the eve of America's third century, confident not that we can solve every problem, but that we can make a good beginning.

Jan. 3

Governor ---

Jack says this is the only Inaugural suggestions he has received to date. He has today called everyone asking their immediate attention to the request.

fran

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "fran", written in black ink.

Today, for the first time, I come before you as President. It is an office regarded with great awe throughout our country and the world. And by me.

But it is important to separate the office from the person who holds it. The oath I have just sworn has not transformed me magically into some manner of superior being. Just as you, I am a concerned American.

There are those of you who are parents, whose hopes for your children are tempered with dark and undefined fears. I know that feeling, for I am one of you. (or: for I am a parent.)

There are those of you who know the frustration of defeat ... for whom the way at times seems hopeless. I know that feeling, for I am one of you.

There are those of you who work in a system which sometimes appears blind to reason and deaf to compassion. I know that feeling, (for I am one of you.)

There are those of you who know the growing anguish of risking everything on your own judgment. I know that feeling, (for I am one of you.)

There are those of you who have known embarrassment and even humiliation as the object of prejudice -- because of the way you look or think or talk. I know that feeling, (for I am one of you.)

Your fears are my fears.

Your hopes are my hopes.

Your dreams are my dreams.

As the person, my promise to you is to use all the powers of my office to calm those fears, to nourish those hopes, to fulfill those dreams.

There are those who call politics the art of compromise. Perhaps. But only with this one vital qualification: the goals must always begin with the ideal ... not merely the expeditious. We must constantly seek not which way will work, but which way will work best.

One of the under-pinning philosophies of our government is that we are a nation of individuals. We have certain rights and certain responsibilities. But if we do not seek and grant those rights if we do not seriously take up those responsibilities, then we fail.

To know how to act intelligently for ourselves and our country, we must realize and face certain truths.

Part of the truth is that there is a great chasm between our national ideals and our nation as it actually exists. We call ourselves a land of plenty, yet millions of us go hungry. We call ourselves a nation of opportunity but many of us are stymied before we reach our potential. We call ourselves a nation of justice yet many of us are still not equal before the law. We call ourselves a nation of sharing, yet there is a growing reluctance to reach out and help each other.

The malignancy in our national style of life is not that this gap exists -- though that is (tragedy) enough- but that we are not giving our best efforts toward narrowing it. It will not be accomplished in four years, or 40 years or maybe even 400 years. But the importance is in the striving for excellence and that must begin today.

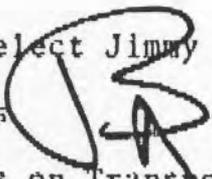
.....

A new age is at hand. 201 years ago, this country was started fresh by a brave and dynamic group of people. They build on past traditions to make a country that embodied the best of governments, so as to have a country that would best serve future generations.

Those people could not, in their wildest imaginations, imagine the future that we face today. In effect we are starting over, just as they did, building on the traditions that they have handed down to us. Now it's up to US to band together and build a nation that will live and grow and prosper and serve people as the best example of government that history has ever known.

December 31, 1976

MEMORANDUM

TO: President-elect Jimmy Carter
FROM: Brock Adams 
RE: Suggestions on Transportation for Inaugural Address

The United States has today one of the finest transportation systems in the world; it can be made better. Transportation affects the lives of every citizen. Twenty-four hours a day, the steady movement of goods and people binds our country together and moves the raw materials and finished goods of our industry throughout the largest domestic market in the world. As the economies of the world become ever more interwoven, our transportation system affects every nation. Effective communication between the President and the Departments of Transportation, State, and Commerce will produce a coherent international economic policy for the United States.

The best use of the various modes of transportation is of vital importance to energy conservation, and proper use of our land and environment. The Federal investment in transportation should encourage the various modes of transportation to operate most effectively to move goods and people at the lowest cost in dollars and fuel. Our

transportation system will perform at its best if it remains in the private sector with only that degree of regulation which is needed to insure adequate service at a fair price open to all.

This Administration is committed to revitalizing American cities. Improved transportation will pull together our sprawling metropolitan areas, using innovative programs to link the automobile and public transportation in an effective partnership.

Internal reorganization of the Department of Transportation is necessary to achieve these goals. An effective department must be intermodal, and the present overlap and duplication must be replaced with clear lines of authority and responsibility.