

**12/27/77 [1]**

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THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE

Tuesday - December 27, 1977

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8:15 Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.

8:30 Mr. Tim Kraft and Mr. Phil Wise - The Oval Office.

9:30 Mr. Fred Gregg, III - The Oval Office.

12/27/77

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

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Projecting an Image

One of our problems this year has been that your take-charge, decisive executive manner has not come through to the public or to opinion molders here in Washington.

You should have as a primary goal during this broadcast the projection of that aspect of your personality. Your natural style is conversational and thoughtful, and I would not want to tamper with it in any serious way, but we can productively emphasize the forceful, in-charge aspect of your personality, too.

One way to do this is to decide ahead of time on a direct, simple, perhaps even somewhat pungent phrase or phrases to deal with questions that will certainly arise. In the body of this memo, I will suggest a few.

More important than a few phrases, however, is your personal mind-set and attitude. If you are determined to control the interview and project a positive, self-confident image, you will do so.

As a final introductory note, I will be suggesting later in this memo that you be ready to admit that we have

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learned some things this year. At first glance this may seem inconsistent with the overall approach, but you can handle a description of "lessons learned" in a way that conveys a willingness to learn and modify borne of strength and confidence rather than uncertainty.

### Basic Theme

This program is an excellent opportunity to present forcefully our basic theme for your Presidency -- the willingness to take on the tough problems, to make the difficult decisions. That theme works well for the experience of 1977 and for the preview of 1978.

To set the stage for this theme, I have worked up a brief, semi-historical analysis that seems to sell. It is as follows:

Our political system tends to deal with the large nagging problems of our society in a cyclical fashion -- periods of intense activity and some relative progress -- followed by periods of consolidation, assessment and relative inactivity in which the society and the political system catches its breath and assembles the political and psychological will to move forward once again.

In 1977 we find this cycle somewhat out of kilter. The past eight years have indeed been years of relative inaction on our major domestic problems -- the economy, energy, welfare, taxes, etc. -- but it was not a period of breath-catching and a storing-up of political will. It was instead a period that drained us as a society in an almost unprecedented fashion -- a period of intense debate, turmoil, even confrontation over the War, Watergate, etc.

Now we find ourselves in 1977 faced with these same nagging problems, grown worse over the past eight years because of neglect; but with a country that perhaps yearns for peace and quiet, an end to controversy, a chance to catch its breath -- even in some cases, a wish to be left alone.

The fact is, however, that we must move ahead once again; we cannot allow these problems to drift for another four or eight years. Our recent history perhaps makes the task of summoning the will and building the necessary political support more difficult, but we simply cannot afford to be deterred or discouraged because of the difficulty.

To stimulate your thinking on the "facing up to the tough decision" theme, I have attached the short speech draft which we gave to the Cabinet. ("A")

It is important that your answers on all questions support or at least not contradict this theme. Accordingly, here are some suggestions on short summary responses to a few topics that will probably be raised.

1. On trying to do too much

Perhaps we did in some cases, but I had always rather be charged with setting standards too high, taking on too much than the reverse.

There is an all too common attitude in government that your public goals should always be low enough to make sure that you always reach them. That approach guarantees mediocrity. Our country cannot afford that approach, and this Administration is going to make every effort to avoid it.

Where would we be on energy, for example, if we had accepted the advice of some to send up only a scaled-down plan and delay its submission by a month or two. We would be even farther away from final action on a less than adequate plan.

2. On going too far in scaling down the frills and pomp of the Presidency:

Some of the Presidents I admire most have been those least concerned with the pomp and ceremony of office -- Jefferson,

Jackson, Lincoln and Truman. I think it is inaccurate and somewhat dangerous to assume that the chief executive in a democracy must partake of the trappings of monarchy to be effective.

In any case, I am uncomfortable with such pomp and ceremony -- almost as uncomfortable with it as is the average citizen.

3. On relationships with Congress:

We have learned, I think, that the deliberative process in Congress takes longer than we had anticipated, and that the ability of highly organized, well-funded interests to delay and obstruct is greater than I had imagined. This means that we and those in Congress who see the need to deal with our national problems fairly and effectively must do a more effective job of reaching the large majority of unorganized and unselfish and sometimes as a result uninterested citizens who will support a fair proposal in the common interest if it is properly explained to them.

But I think we need to be realistic about this relationship. It has not been and will not be all sweetness and light, all peace and harmony. The problems we are and will be facing are difficult and complex. In some cases all of the realistic alternatives are unpleasant and not politically

popular. There is no way to address such issues without provoking controversy and no way to come up with solutions that make everyone happy. Sometimes there is no fair, workable solution that makes anyone happy.

4. On what Jimmy Carter stands for:

We have rejected the narrow ideological approaches of the past. Recent history has shown them to be inadequate. The American people recognize them as inadequate. We have tried to put forward pragmatic, fair proposals that draw freely on some ideas that may be labeled as liberal and others that may be considered conservative. As a result, the old labels do not fit, and that makes it hard to analyze our proposals in a superficial, short-hand fashion.

In addition, by not accepting in toto the ideas of either ideological extreme, we have, in a sense, given up the automatic, across-the-board support of some highly organized, extremely vocal groups. In almost every proposal from energy to welfare reform to tax reform next year there are elements which the right and the left find objectionable. In such a situation, it is our job to marshal the support of the great majority of Americans who do not have time to be involved in politics on a day-to-day basis and who are much more interested in solutions that work than in labels.

On defense for example, there was strong support from the left for the decision not to build the B-1. Now from some of the same sources there is growing opposition to the decision to build the cruise missile. Well, as a nation, we cannot have it both ways. If we don't build the B-1, we need the cruise; we don't need them both. From those who would like to see us build neither and from those who would like to see us build both there is some vocal disappointment. I happen to think the decision to select the cruise alternative is practical and correct and that most Americans agree with it.

5. On too many Georgians in the White House:

I believe any objective analysis will show that this Administration has relied less on longtime political associates and allies than most others. I also happen to believe that a person should be judged on performance -- not on superficial characteristics such as race, religion or region of birth.

6. On the press:

My experience has been that like any other large group of people -- a few are very good -- a few are quite inadequate -- most range somewhere in between.

This has been a difficult year for the press because of the large number of complex issues that have been addressed. There is on occasion a tendency to focus more on the politics of an issue than on its merits. A tendency to emphasize style over substance you might say. (Say it with a smile.)

On the whole, I would say that after a year we have a much better understanding of how the press here in Washington operates and what we need to do to accommodate ourselves to the strengths and weaknesses of that large and extremely powerful institution.

If I had one suggestion to make, it would be that those who cover the news do more in the nature of public self-analysis and criticism. For a public official like myself to be critical of the press even with the best of motives is always subject to misinterpretation.

Over the past few years, the news media as an institution has experienced the same serious loss of public confidence and trust as other major institutions in our society. I cannot prove it, but I have a feeling that a more relaxed attitude toward admitting that mistakes are

made and a more positive attitude toward constructive self-examination would help to restore that public confidence and trust.

Overall, I have the impression that the people who cover the news, like those who make the news, are human beings who for the most part try imperfectly but sincerely to do the best job they can in a difficult situation.

7. On dealing with the Russians, SALT, etc.:

Here our biggest problem is no longer the idea that the Cold War may start up again, but the concern that we are likely to give away too much. You don't need to give a laundry list of possible agreements and treaties. You do not need to repeat the theme of your Charleston speech (copy attached) ("B") that we will seek areas of cooperation wherever possible, but we will compete and compete effectively when faced with that alternative.

You need to give some indication that your desire to "be friends" does not mean you do not understand the hard facts of major power diplomacy and competition. You can say that our decision to stake out a public position on SALT early has helped us in the long term despite the initial rumblings.

You may wish to state flatly that "I will never sign an agreement that cannot be adequately verified or that would endanger our ability to protect our legitimate interests at home or abroad."

Such a statement doesn't really say much, but it does put the right spin on the process as we head into next year.

8. On spending too much of your time "immersed in details":

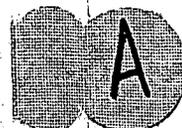
No President could possibly become immersed in details. The very idea is ludicrous. However, I have spent time digging into the workings of government, how decisions are made, where the information comes from, what has gone wrong with well-intentioned ideas in the past, etc. I think that focus is important for any President but particularly for one who comes to the job without years of Washington experience. I think it has been worth the extra effort on my part and the only way to make sure that this is not just a "business as usual" Administration.

9. On American role in Mideast -- Are we out of the picture, etc.:

I'm more interested in peace than in who gets the credit for it. As for our contributions, I am content to

allow the public and private statements of Prime Minister Begin, President Sadat and others speak for themselves. They have been, so far as I know, uniformly complimentary and appreciative of our efforts.

(I expect that your first few questions will be on the Mideast -- Begin-Sadat talks -- Carter-Hussein meeting, etc. They will be trying to get a little hard news at the top. I am relying on Zbig to give you guidance on the best approach to this area.)



It's always risky to play the role of amateur historian while events are still fresh. But the important fact about the Carter Administration's first year is probably not going to be style or tone, town halls or cardigans. It's probably not going to be the day-to-day give-and-take of getting major legislation through Congress. It's most likely to be, in the judgment of those who judge such things, the special personal qualities and attitude Jimmy Carter himself has brought to his job.

In ancient Greece, where the ideas that lie at the core of our type of government were taking shape 2500 years ago, there was a maxim that "the measure of a man is what he does with power." Our own country's experience confirms that absolutely. And Jimmy Carter's record in the past eleven months indicates he expects to be measured with the best.

Put simply, Jimmy Carter has been willing to tackle the tough issues first. Instead of pursuing a set of minor goals that could produce some quick and easy public-relations "victories," he has directed his attention and his intelligence and his powers of moral leadership to fundamental problems that his predecessors had largely ignored. He was not deterred by the fact that they demand difficult and

comprehensive solutions and offered few immediate political rewards. In everyday language, these tough issues are what the rest of us would call thankless jobs. He took them on because he understands that where the welfare of America is concerned, thanks are less important than the satisfaction of knowing that you've not flinched from doing the right thing, no matter how hard it is. The challenge is to be President, not to be popular. The measure of a man is what he does with power.

What should a President do when he takes office and finds the Social Security system -- the cornerstone of the future for so many Americans -- verging toward bankruptcy; finds the nation totally unprepared to cope with an inevitable crisis in energy; finds a ramshackle welfare apparatus that's neither sensible nor fair; finds our country's borders overwhelmed by illegal immigration; finds the seeds of war still flourishing in the Middle East? What is a President's duty in that kind of situation? Should he scan the horizon for some popular answers -- never mind that they don't solve the problems, maybe even will make the problems worse before long -- and palm them off with inspired rhetoric as a "solution?" He could pass the buck to his successors, but if he did he wouldn't be doing his job as President. Or should

he perhaps refuse to act at all until he saw a consensus, letting the problems worsen until then? He could let events lead him instead of leading the country, but if he did, he wouldn't be doing his job as President.

Jimmy Carter didn't seek the Presidency in order to sit in a comfortable chair and stare into the Rose Garden while waiting for a national consensus to develop, and he doesn't see the Oval Office as a place to lull the public asleep with easy -- and illusory -- answers. His temperament is to get to the heart of a problem and try to do something about it; the idea of deliberately choosing a course of non-controversy and inaction is as alien to his character as anything can be. He is willing to face up to the hard, intractable questions and tell the hard, unpalatable truths. And he is willing to take the heat for doing what he knows is right. The Presidency is pre-eminently a place of moral leadership, and he understands that no one can look up to a politician who's got his ear to the ground.

As a result, the past eleven months have not always been calm or easy. From time to time we have been told that such-and-such a bill is not being greeted with open arms by the Congress, or that such-and-such a reform is not whisking

along quite as fast as someone hoped it would, or that such-and-such a message has not gotten through to the people as convincingly as we would have liked. Perhaps so; but the true test will be in the final results, and for those, we still have every reason to be optimistic.

Already, Jimmy Carter in his first year has signed more laws, benefiting more Americans, than any other new President since Franklin Roosevelt. And the Administration, by giving voice to our most fundamental beliefs abroad, and by working to restore confidence at home, has brought the government closer to the American people once again.

Why should any country assume that it can continue, forever, to be "great?" Although America has grown from a small group of colonies to the world's most powerful and emulated nation in just two hundred years, the only guarantee of our greatness lies in our willingness to meet and master the challenges that are thrust upon us. As Churchill said, out of the crucible of experience, "the price of greatness is responsibility" -- responsibility in our leaders and in ourselves. That is the kind of performance Jimmy Carter is trying to provide.

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JULY 21, 1977

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY  
(Charleston, South Carolina)

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE  
SOUTHERN LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

## GAILLARD MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

3:08 P.M. EDT

Thank you very much.

Senator Hollings and Senator Eastland and Senator Stennis, Governor Edwards, Chairman Bragg, distinguished Members of Congress, those representatives from State government who share the leadership of America, my friends in a personal way who come out to welcome me back to the South:

It is not often that a President comes as a substitute speaker. I realize that my brother, Billy, was the first choice. (Laughter) (Applause) I understand that the Southern Legislative Conference couldn't afford Billy here. (Laughter)

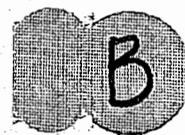
I was going to go by Plains on this trip, but I couldn't get a room there. (Laughter) I am going to go to Yazoo City tonight and then to New Orleans later on.

I am very grateful to be here as President of our country. I have learned a lot in this first six months. When I got to Washington and sought advice, someone said, "Just act like you are a President and treat the Congress like the Georgia Legislature." It didn't work at first. (Laughter)

Very quickly I realized that the Congress was treating me like I was still Governor of Georgia, but now with the help of a great number of friends in the Congress we formed a kind of relationship that ought to exist between the White House and our Nation's capital. I think there is a genuine sense of sharing of responsibility and the burden of government, and you are a part of that circle of leaders in the State legislature and the Governors' offices who join with the President, the Congress and others in making sure that our Government works.

I have become even more proud of being an American. And I have become even more proud of being a Southerner, too. (Applause) I am proud, also, to be with you today where two great rivers come together, as they say in Charleston, to form the Atlantic Ocean. (Applause) This is one of our Nation's most gracious cities.

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And I want to talk to you today about the hopes and problems that we as Southerners and as Americans share together. I feel a special kinship with your State legislators. For four years, I was a member of the Georgia Senate and I still prize State government not only for the talents of those who work in it, but as Fritz Hollings says, for the closeness to the people it represents.

Our Southern States have a proud tradition of local, independent government, and now you are the heirs of that tradition. But we in the South have also felt, perhaps more directly than many others, some of the rapid changes that have taken place in this modern age. More and more our own lives are shaped by events in other cities, decisions in other States, tensions in other parts of the world.

And as Americans we cannot overlook the way that our fate is bound to that of other nations. This interdependence stretches from the health of our economy through war and peace, to the security of our own energy supplies. It is a new world, in which we cannot afford to be narrow in our vision, limited in our foresight, or selfish in our purpose.

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When I took office almost exactly six months ago, our Nation was faced with a series of problems around the world -- in Southern Africa, the Middle East, in our relationships with our NATO allies, and on such tough questions as nuclear proliferation, negotiations with our former adversaries, a Panama Canal Treaty, human rights, world poverty.

We have openly and publicly addressed these and other many difficult and controversial issues -- some of which had been either skirted or postponed in the past.

As I pointed out in a recent press conference, a period of debate, disagreement, probing was inevitable. Our goal has not been to reach easy or transient agreements, but to find solutions that are meaningful, balanced and lasting.

Now, a President has a responsibility to present to the people of this Nation reports and summations of complex and important matters. I feel more secure as President making decisions, if I know that either the most difficult, the most complex questions that face me have been understood and debated by you and understood and debated by the Congress.

In the past I think our Nation's leaders have been guilty of making decisions in secret and even when the decision turns out to be the right one, it makes the President, the Secretary of State speak with a weak voice, when they speak alone.

Today I want to discuss a vitally important aspect of our foreign relations, the one that may most directly shape the chances for peace for us and for our children. I would like to spell out my view of what we have done and where we are going in our relations with the Soviet Union, and to reaffirm the basic principles of our National policy.

I don't have any apology for talking about foreign affairs at a Southern legislative conference, because foreign affairs and those difficult decisions ought never to be made with a concept that we can abandon common sense and the sound judgment and the constructive influence of the American people.

For decades the central problems of our foreign policy revolved around antagonisms between two coalitions, one headed by the United States, and the other headed by the Soviet Union.

Our national security was often defined almost exclusively in terms of military competition with the Soviet Union.

This competition is still critical, because it does involve issues which could lead to war. But however important this relationship of military balance, it cannot be our sole preoccupation, to the exclusion of

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other world issues which also concern us both.

Even if we succeed in relaxing tensions with the USSR, we could still awake one day to find that nuclear weapons have been spread to dozens of other nations who may not be as responsible as are we. Or we could struggle to limit the conventional arsenals of our two nations to reduce the danger of war, only to undo our efforts by continuing without constraint to export armaments around the world.

As two industrial giants, we face long-term worldwide energy crises. Whatever our political differences, both of us are compelled to begin conserving world energy and developing alternatives to oil and gas.

Despite deep and continuing differences in world outlook, both of us should accept the new responsibilities imposed on us by the changing nature of international relations.

Europe and Japan rose from the rubble of war to become great economic powers. Communist parties and governments have become more widespread and more varied, and I might say more independent from one another. Newly independent nations emerged into what has now become known as the "Third World." Their role in world affairs is becoming increasingly significant.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union have learned that our countries and our people, in spite of great resources, are not all-powerful. We have learned that this world, no matter how technology has shrunk distances, is nevertheless too large and too varied to come under the sway of either one or two superpowers. And, what is perhaps more important of all, we have, for our part, learned, all of us, this fact, these facts in a spirit not of increasing resignation, but of increasing maturity.

I mention these changes with which you are familiar because I think that to understand today's Soviet-American relationship, we must place it in perspective, both historically and in terms of the overall global scene.

The whole history of Soviet-American relations teaches us that we will be misled if we base our long-range policies on the mood of the moment, whether that mood be euphoric or grim. All of us can remember times when relations seemed especially dangerous, and other times when they seemed especially bright.

We have crossed those peaks and valleys before. And we can see that, on balance, the trend in the last third of a century has been positive.

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The profound differences in what our two governments believe about freedom and power and the inner lives of human beings, those differences are likely to remain. And so are other elements of competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. That competition is real and deeply rooted in the history and the values of our respective societies. But it is also true that our two countries share many important overlapping interests. Our job -- my job, your job -- is to explore those shared interests and use them to enlarge the areas of cooperation between us, on a basis of equality and mutual respect.

As we negotiate with the Soviet Union, we will be guided by a vision -- of a gentler, freer, and more bountiful world. But we will have no illusions about the nature of the world as it really is. The basis for complete mutual trust between us does not yet exist. Therefore, the agreements that we reach must be anchored on each side in enlightened self-interest, what is best for us, what is best for the Soviet Union. That is why we search for areas of agreement where our real interests and those of the Soviets coincide.

We want to see the Soviets further engaged in the growing pattern of international activities designed to deal with human problems -- not only because they can be of real help, but because we both should be seeking for a greater stake in the creation of a constructive and a peaceful world order.

When I took office, many Americans were growing disillusioned with detente. President Ford had even quit using the word, and by extension people were concerned with the whole course of our relations with the Soviet Union. Also, and perhaps more seriously, world respect for the essential rightness of American foreign policy had been shaken by the events of a decade -- Vietnam, Cambodia, CIA, Watergate. At the same time, we were beginning to regain our sense of confidence and our purpose and unity as a nation.

In this situation, I decided that it was time for honest discussions about international issues with the American people. I felt it was urgent to restore the moral bearings of American foreign policy. And I felt that it was important to put the U.S. and Soviet relationship, in particular, on a more reciprocal, realistic and ultimately more productive basis for both nations.

It is not a question of "hard" policy or of "soft" policy, but of a clear-eyed recognition of how most effectively to protect our own security and to create the kind of international order that I have just described. This is our goal.

We have looked at the problems in Soviet-American relations in a fresh way, and we have sought to deal with them boldly and constructively with proposals intended to produce concrete results. I would like to point out just a few of them.

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In the talks on strategic arms limitations, the SALT talks, we advanced a comprehensive proposal for genuine reductions, limitations, and a freeze on new technology which would maintain balanced strategic strength.

We have urged a complete end to all nuclear tests, and these negotiations are now underway. Agreement here could be a milestone in U.S.-Soviet relations.

We are working together toward a ban on chemical and biological warfare and the elimination of inventories of these destructive materials. We have proposed to curb the sales and transfer of conventional weapons to other countries, and we have asked France, Britain and other countries to join with us in this effort.

We are attempting to halt the threatening proliferation of nuclear weapons among the nations of the world which don't yet have the ability to set off nuclear explosives.

We have undertaken serious negotiations on arms limitations in the Indian Ocean. We have encouraged the Soviets to sign, along with us, the Treaty of Tlatelolco, which would ban the introduction of nuclear weapons into the southern part of the Western Hemisphere.

We have begun regular consultations with the Soviet leaders as co-chairmen of the prospective Geneva Conference to promote peace in the Middle East.

We and our allies are negotiating together with the Soviet Union, and their allies in the Warsaw Pact nations, to reduce the level of military forces in Europe.

We have renewed the 1972 agreement for cooperation in science and technology, and a similar agreement for cooperation in outer space.

We are seeking ways to cooperate in improving world health and in relieving world hunger.

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In the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, confirming and then building on Vladivostok Accords, we need to make steady progress toward our long-term goals of genuine reductions and strict limitations, while maintaining the basic strategic balance.

We have outlined proposals incorporating significant new elements of arms control, deep reductions in the arsenals of both sides, freezing of deployments and technology, and restraining certain elements in the strategic posture of both sides that threaten to destabilize the balance which now exists.

The Vladivostok negotiations of 1974 left some issues unresolved and subject to honest differences of interpretation. Meanwhile, new developments in technology have created new concerns -- the cruise missile, the very large intercontinental ballistic missiles of the Soviets.

The Soviets are worried about our cruise missiles, and we are concerned about the security of our deterrent capability. Our cruise missiles are aimed at compensating for the growing threat to our deterrent represented by the buildup of strategic Soviet offensive weapons forces.

If these threats can be controlled, and I believe they can, then we are prepared to limit our own strategic programs.

But if an agreement cannot be reached, there should be no doubt that the United States can and will do what it must to protect our security and to insure the adequacy of our strategic posture.

(Applause)

Our new proposals go beyond those that have been made before. In many areas we are in fact addressing for the first time the tough, complex core of longstanding problems. We are trying for the first time to reach agreements that will not be overturned by the next technological breakthrough. We are trying, in a word, for genuine accommodation.

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But none of these proposals that I have outlined to you involves the sacrifice of security. All of them are meant to increase the security of both sides. Our view is that a SALT agreement which just reflects the lowest common denominator that can be agreed upon easily will only create an illusion of progress and, eventually, a backlash against the entire arms control process. Our view is that genuine progress in SALT will not merely stabilize competition in weapons, but can also provide a basis for improvement in political relations as well.

When I say that these efforts are intended to relax tensions, I am not speaking only of military security. I mean as well the concern among our own individual citizens, Soviet and American, that comes from the knowledge which all of you have that the leaders of our two countries have the capacity to destroy human society through misunderstandings or mistakes. If we can relax this tension by reducing the nuclear threat, not only will we make the world a safer place but we will also free ourselves to concentrate on constructive action to give the world a better life.

We have made some progress toward our goals, but to be frank, we also hear some negative comments from the Soviet side about SALT and about our more general relations. If these comments are based on a misconception about our motives, then we will redouble our efforts to make our motives clear; but if the Soviets are merely making comments designed as propaganda to put pressure on us, let no one doubt that we will persevere. (Applause)

What matters ultimately is whether we can create a relationship of cooperation that will be rooted in the national interests of both sides. We shape our own policies to accommodate a constantly changing world, and we hope the Soviets will do the same. Together we can give this change a positive direction.

Increased trade between the United States and the Soviet Union would help us both. The American-Soviet Joint Commercial Commission has resumed its meetings after a long interlude. I hope that conditions can be created that will make possible steps toward expanded trade.

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In southern Africa we have pressed for Soviet and Cuban restraint. Throughout the non-aligned world, our goal is not to encourage dissension or to redivide the world into opposing ideological camps, but to expand the realm of independence, economically self-reliant nations -- and to oppose attempts at new kinds of subjugation.

Part of the Soviet Union leaders' current attitude may be due to their apparent -- and incorrect -- belief that our concern for human rights is aimed specifically at them or is an attack on their vital interests.

There are no hidden meanings in our commitment to human rights.

(Applause)

We stand on what we have said on the subject of human rights. Our policy is exactly what it appears to be: The positive and sincere expression of our deepest beliefs as a people. It is addressed not to any particular people or area of the world, but to all countries equally, yes, including our own country.

And it is specifically not designed to heat up the arms race or bring back the Cold War.

On the contrary, I believe that an atmosphere of peaceful cooperation is far more conducive to an increased respect for human rights than an atmosphere of belligerence or hatred or warlike confrontation. The experience of our own country, this last century, has proved this over and over again.

We have no illusions that the process will be quick or that change will come easily. But we are confident that if we do not abandon the struggle, the cause of personal freedom and human dignity will be enhanced in all nations of the world. We are going to do that.

(Applause)

In the past six months we have made clear our determination -- both to give voice to Americans' fundamental beliefs, and to obtain lasting solutions to East-West differences. If this chance to emphasize peace and cooperation instead of animosity and division is allowed to pass, it will not have been our choice.

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We must always combine realism with principle. Our actions must be faithful to the essential values to which our own society is dedicated, because our faith in those values is the source of our confidence that this relationship will evolve in a more constructive direction.

I cannot forecast whether all of our efforts will succeed. But there are things which give me hope, and in conclusion I would like to mention them very briefly.

This place where I now stand is one of the oldest cities in the United States. It is a beautiful town -- (Applause) -- of whose culture and urban charm all Americans are proud -- just as the peoples of the Soviet Union are justly proud of such ancient cities as Tbilisi or Novgorod which they lovingly preserve, as you in Charleston, and into which they infuse a new life that makes these cities far more than just dead remnants of a glorious historical past.

Although there are deep differences in our values and ideas, we Americans and Russians belong to the same civilization whose origins stretch back hundreds of years.

Beyond all the disagreements between us -- and beyond the cool calculations of mutual self-interest that our two countries bring to the negotiating table -- is the invisible human reality that must bring us closer together. I mean the yearning for peace, real peace, that is in the very bones of us all.

I am absolutely certain that the people of the Soviet Union who have suffered so grievously in war feel this yearning for peace. And in this they are at one with the people of the United States. It is up to all of us to help make that unspoken passion into something more than just a dream -- and that responsibility falls most heavily on those, like you, of course, but particularly like President Brezhnev and me, who hold in our hands the terrible power conferred on us by the modern engines of war.

Mr. Brezhnev said something very interesting recently, and I quote from his speech: "It is our belief, our firm belief," he said, "that realism in politics and the will for detente and progress will ultimately triumph and mankind will be able to step into the 21st century in conditions of peace stable as never before."

I see no hidden meaning in that. I credit its sincerity. And I express the same hope and belief that Mr. Brezhnev expressed. With all the difficulties, all the conflicts, I believe that our planet must finally obey the Biblical injunction to "follow after the things which make for peace."

Thank you very much.

END (AT 3:38 P.M. EDT)

12/14

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Bob Lipshutz

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder

RE: PROPOSED PROCLAMATION CONCERNING IMPORTS OF PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

cc Lipscomb

to Linder

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT LIPSHUTZ 

RE: Proposed Proclamation Re Imports  
of Petroleum and Petroleum Products

The Department of Energy has submitted the attached Proclamation which would exempt from license fees those DOE imports of crude oil and finished products to be used in its Strategic Products Reserve Program. The effect of the Proclamation would be to reduce the fees paid into the general fund of the Treasury, but to increase by an equal amount the funds available to the Department of Energy (which would otherwise be expended for the fees in question).

We recommend that you sign the attached Proclamation.

Approve

Disapprove

MODIFYING PROCLAMATION NO. 3279, AS AMENDED, RELATING  
TO IMPORTS OF PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS, AND  
PROVIDING FOR THE LONG-TERM CONTROL OF IMPORTS OF  
PETROLEUM AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS THROUGH A SYSTEM  
OF LICENSE FEES

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

-----  
A PROCLAMATION

It is necessary that the United States complete the establishment of a Strategic Petroleum Reserve as quickly as possible.

The imposition of license fees on imports of crude oil and products for such Reserve would not carry out the purposes of Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, and could create administrative and other problems with respect to the expeditious completion of the Reserve.

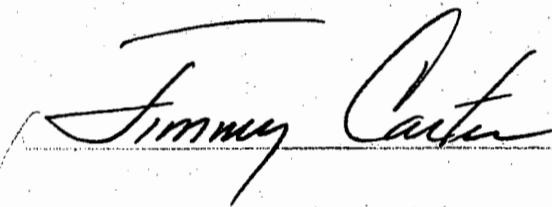
NOW, THEREFORE, I, JIMMY CARTER, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962, as amended (19 U.S.C. 1862), do hereby proclaim that, effective as of October 1, 1977, Proclamation No. 3279, as amended, is further amended as follows:

Clauses (i) and (ii) of subparagraph (1) of paragraph (a) of Section 3 are revised to read as follows:

"(i) with respect to imports of crude oil (other than that imported by the Department of Energy, or by another person or agency of the Federal Government acting on behalf of the Department, for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve Program) and natural gas products over and above the levels of imports established in Section 2 of this Proclamation, such fees shall be \$0.21 per barrel;

(ii) with respect to imports of motor gasoline, unfinished oils, and all other finished products (except ethane, propane, butanes, asphalt and finished products imported by the Department of Energy, or another person or agency of the Federal Government acting on behalf of the Department of Energy, for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve Program), over and above the levels of imports established in Section 2 of this Proclamation, such fees shall be \$0.63 per barrel;".

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this                      day of                      in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and second.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter", is written over a horizontal line.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Bob Lipshutz

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder

RE: E.O. "AMENDING THE  
GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Mr. President:

Zbig Brzezinski concurs;  
Eizenstat, Moore and Watson  
have no comment.

Rick (wds)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 22, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT LIPSHUTZ *RL*

RE: Proposed Executive Order "Amending the  
Generalized System of Preferences"

The Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) is a means of assisting developing countries by according duty free treatment to some of their products. The GSP is revised periodically to reflect changed economic circumstances both in this country and in the beneficiary countries.

Bob Strauss as STR submitted the attached proposed order, which incorporates GSP recommendations of the interagency Trade Policy Staff Committee. The recommendations were made after public hearings and a review of economic issues, including the impact on domestic producers of competitive articles and the effect on the economic development of the beneficiary countries.

Based on this review:

1. Certain new articles are given duty free treatment, specifically reptilian leather, sew-on fasteners and coaster brakes for bicycles.
2. Certain other articles--cast iron cookware, cast iron stoves and cast iron fireplace grates--are treated so that "competitive need" limitations will operate to withdraw GSP treatment from the major supplying countries, Taiwan and South Korea. (There is an automatic "competitive need" factor in the GSP: otherwise eligible articles are disqualified if produced by a country meeting certain criteria--either the country produced more than 50 percent of total U.S. imports of the article in question, or the country has more than \$30 million in total annual imports to the U.S.)

3. One item--toy walkie talkies--is treated so that the "competitive need" limitation will not operate, since the article is not produced at all in this country.
4. Israel is redesignated as eligible for GSP treatment for brass pipe and tube fittings. The designation is made retroactive to March 1, 1977, to correct for an error in earlier treatment based on statistical data which is now known to be incorrect.

The proposed Order has been approved by Justice and OMB. We recommend that you sign it.

The Order must be signed no later than December 27, preferably before.

           Approve

           Disapprove

EXECUTIVE ORDER

---

AMENDING THE GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including Title V and Section 604 of the Trade Act of 1974 (88 Stat. 2066, 19 U.S.C. 2461 et seq.; 88 Stat. 2073, 19 U.S.C. 2483), and as President of the United States of America, in order to modify, as provided by Section 504(c) of the Trade Act of 1974 (88 Stat. 2070, 19 U.S.C. 2464(c)), the limitations on preferential treatment for eligible articles from countries designated as beneficiary developing countries, and to adjust the original designation of eligible articles taking into account information and advice received in fulfillment of Sections 503(a) and 131-134 of the Trade Act of 1974, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. In order to subdivide existing items for purposes of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) are modified as provided in Annex I, attached hereto and made a part hereof.

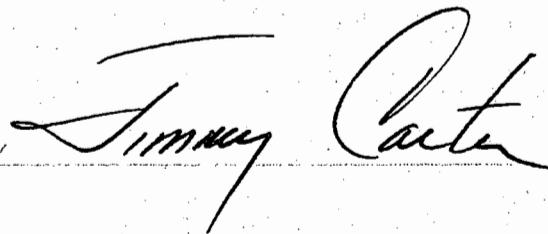
Sec. 2. Annex II of Executive Order No. 11888 of November 24, 1975, as amended, listing articles that are eligible for benefits of the GSP when imported from any designated beneficiary developing country, is further amended as provided in Annex II, attached hereto and made a part hereof.

Sec. 3. Annex III of Executive Order No. 11888, as amended, listing articles that are eligible for benefits of the GSP when imported from all designated beneficiary countries except those specified in General Headnote 3(c) (iii) of the TSUS, is amended as provided in Annex III, attached hereto and made a part hereof.

Sec. 4. General Headnote 3(c) (iii) of the TSUS, listing articles that are eligible for benefits of the GSP except when imported from the beneficiary countries listed opposite those articles, is amended as provided in Annex IV, attached hereto and made a part hereof.

Sec. 5. (a) The amendment made by Annex IV, paragraph (a) of this Order with respect to item 613.18, TSUS, made part hereof by Section 4 above, shall be effective with respect to articles that are both: (1) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (2) entered for consumption, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after March 1, 1977.

(b) The other amendments made by this Order shall be effective with respect to articles that are both: (1) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (2) entered or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after January 1, 1978.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter", is written over a horizontal line.

THE WHITE HOUSE

ANNEX I

GENERAL MODIFICATIONS OF THE TARIFF SCHEDULES OF THE UNITED STATES

NOTES:

1. Bracketed matter is included to assist in the understanding of proclaimed modifications.
2. The following items, with or without preceding superior descriptions, supersede matter now in the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS). The items and superior descriptions are set forth in columnar form and material in such columns is inserted in the columns of the TSUS designated "Item", "Articles", "Rates of Duty 1", and "Rates of Duty 2", respectively.

Subject to the above notes the TSUS is modified as follows:

1. Item 121.58 is superseded by:

	<u>Leather, in the rough, partly finished, or finished:</u>	:	:
	<u>Other:</u>	:	:
	<u>Other:</u>	:	:
	<u>Not fancy:</u>	:	:
"121.56	Reptilian.....	5% ad val	: 25% ad val.
"121.59	Other.....	5% ad val.	: 25% ad val."

2. Item 653.50 is superseded by:

	<u>Stoves, central-heating furnaces and burners, ranges, cookers, grates, space heaters, and similar heating or cooking apparatus, all the foregoing, of base metal, not electrically operated, of types used in the household, hotels, restaurants, or offices; and parts thereof, of base metal:</u>	:	:
"653.47	Fireplace grates and parts thereof, wholly or almost wholly of cast-iron.....	6% ad val.	: 45% ad val.
653.49	Stoves and stove parts wholly or almost wholly of cast-iron.....	6% ad val.	: 45% ad val.
653.51	Other.....	6% ad val.	: 45% ad val."

3. Item 653.95 is superseded by:

	<u>Articles not specially provided for of a type used for household, table or kitchen use;...:</u>	:	:
	<u>Articles, wares, and parts, of base metal, not coated or plated with precious metal:</u>	:	:
	<u>Of iron or steel:</u>	:	:
	<u>Not enameled or glazed with vitreous glasses:</u>	:	:
	<u>Other:</u>	:	:
653.93	Cooking ware, and parts thereof, wholly or almost wholly of cast-iron.....	8.5% ad val.	: 40% ad val.
653.94	Other.....	8.5% ad val.	: 40% ad val."

- 4.(a) Item 685.25 is superseded by:

	<u>Radiotelegraphic and radio telephonic transmission and reception apparatus;...:</u>	:	:
	<u>Radiotelegraphic;...:</u>	:	:
	<u>Other:</u>	:	:
"685.26	Low-power radio telephonic transceivers operating on frequencies from 49.82 to 49.90 megahertz.....	6% ad val.	: 35% ad val.
685.28	Other.....	6% ad val.	: 35% ad val."

- (b) Conforming change: Headnotes of part 5, Schedule 6 are modified by adding therein:

"3. For the purpose of this part 'transceivers' are combinations of radio transmitting and receiving equipment in a common housing, employing common circuit components for both transmitting and receiving, and which are not capable of simultaneously receiving and transmitting."

5.(a)	Item 732.36 is superseded by:	:	:
	<u>[Parts of bicycles:]</u>	:	:
732.35	Coaster brakes designed for single-speed bicycles.....	15% ad val.	30% ad val.
732.37	Other parts of bicycles.....	15% ad val.	30% ad val."
(b)	Conforming change: Item 912.10 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States is amended by deleting "(provided for in item 732.36, part 5C, schedule 7)" and by substituting therefor "(provided for in items 732.35 and 732.37, part 5C, schedule 7)."	:	:
6.	Item 745.63 is superseded by:	:	:
	<u>[Clasps, handbag, and similar frames incorporating clasps,....]</u>	:	:
	<u>[Valued not over 20¢ per dozen pieces or parts:]</u>	:	:
	"Sew-on fasteners and parts thereof:	:	:
745.61	Of plastics, in clips suitable for use in a mechanical attaching device.....	27.5% ad val.	60% ad val.
745.62	Other.....	27.5% ad val.	60% ad val."

ANNEX II

Annex II to Executive Order No. 11888, as amended by Executive Orders Nos. 11906, 11934, and 11974, is amended--

(a) by deleting the following TSUS item numbers:

- 653.50
- 653.95
- 734.97

(b) by adding in sequence, the following TSUS item numbers:

- 121.56
- 613.18
- 653.51
- 653.94
- 685.26
- 732.35
- 734.99
- 745.62

ANNEX III

Annex III to Executive Order No. 11888, as amended by Executive Orders Nos. 11906, 11934, and 11974, is amended--

(a) by deleting the following TSUS item number:

- 613.18
- 685.25

(b) by adding in sequence, the following TSUS item numbers:

- 653.47
- 653.49
- 653.93
- 685.28

ANNEX IV

General Headnote 3(c)(iii) of the TSUS, as amended by Executive Orders Nos. 11906, 11934, 11974, is amended--

(a) by deleting the following TSUS item number and country set opposite that number:

- 613.18     Israel
- 685.25     Republic of China

(b) by adding in numerical sequence the following TSUS item numbers and countries set opposite these numbers:

- 653.47     Republic of Korea
- 653.49     Republic of China
- 653.93     Republic of China
- 685.28     Republic of China

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Zbig Brzezinski  
Jim Fallows

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

Rick Hutcheson

RE: PARIS SPEECH - DELHI DECLARA-  
TION; NEW DELHI SPEECH

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

DELHI DECLARATION  
(NSC Draft)

*Joint* *Supt*  
*PBis & Jim*  
*J*

We are convinced that the problems of economic development can and should be met in the context of a society of free people who can make choices about their own future. While many different political forms are possible, we know from our own experience that a democratic system is a feasible and desirable framework for nations in differing stages of development.

We know from our own experience that broad economic development is essential for a modern nation state. But we also know that economic development rings hollow when its benefits do not reach all segments of society. Our two countries share the goal of economic growth with equity; we are ready to work together in achieving this goal; we are ready to share our experience with others who share this goal with us.

We believe that the state exists to protect the freedom and well-being of the individual. Human dignity and human rights -- both political and economic -- must be enhanced simultaneously. We therefore join together in declaring that every human is entitled to certain basic rights:

1. A right to eat so that <sup>one</sup> ~~he~~ can live and work;
2. A right to learn and to be taught;

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3. A right to be healed when sick;
4. A right to think and to speak his mind freely;
5. A right to worship his God openly;
6. A right to choose and to change his governments.

The spectre of nuclear war has hung over the world too long. The excessive stockpiles of nuclear weapons already in existence must be reduced; the danger of proliferation of nuclear <sup>explosives</sup> weapons must be prevented. We pledge to do our utmost in both of these areas.

We solemnly state that war is not an acceptable means of settling political disputes. We will work to reduce the danger of any war, whether it be global or regional in nature. There are <sup>✓</sup> fortunately no significant political disputes between India and the United States. We will do our utmost to resolve amicably disputes that we have with other parties and within the framework of the United Nations <sup>other nations</sup> cooperate in helping to resolve the disputes of others.

We live in a world where boundaries among nations have taken on a different meaning. We must scrupulously recognize each nation's right to independent sovereignty. At the same time, the well-being and dignity of each individual is a matter of global concern no matter where he may live. We cannot and will not turn our back on suffering and injustice.

Above all, we recognize an obligation to ourselves and others that transcends traditional ideas of statecraft.

Ends do not justify evil means; nations as well as individuals are morally answerable for their actions.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

*Zbys & Jim Fallows*

Hunter/Doolittle

12/20/77 -- 2

*Let C Schultze # Henry Owen  
check & edit -*

*Also look over Zbys's  
preamble to trip book &  
Note same speech for any  
other ideas -*

*JC*

PARIS SPEECH

When our democracy was born, France was there.

As our nation has grown, we have been inspired by the contribution of France to our beliefs, from the Oath of the Tennis Court and the Rights of Man, to the resurgence of French democracy after the last war.

*improve  
sequence*

Our friendship, born of a shared belief that the rights of the individual stand higher than the claims of the state, has endured and grown for more than 200 years. It is a friendship of shared ideals, of culture, of common democratic institutions. Even in the early days of our friendship, Thomas Jefferson could truly say:

"Every man has two motherlands: his own and France."\*

We stood together during two wars in this century, and since then we have stood together in peace...and in freedom.

France rose from the turmoil of World War II to build an economy and society more thriving and productive than ever before and to regain a position of leadership--and she was not alone.

The last three decades have been an extraordinary time in the life of Western Europe as a whole, and of the United States, Japan, and other nations of the West.

Never before has <sup>the</sup> a system of government <sup>which we call democracy</sup> and ~~society~~ done so well in providing opportunities for individual expression, development and growth.

\* to be verified.

Never have so much new wealth and so many new jobs been created. Never has an economic system so ably managed so much change in the lives of individual people, and continued to grow stronger.

In recent years the industrialized <sup>democratic</sup> world and its people have had to adapt to

- . The revolution in communications and transport.
- . Massive migration from the countryside to the cities.
- . The steady shift of productive jobs into high technology and service industries which require new skills of the worker.
- . An ever-larger work force, resulting from the post-war baby boom and wider employment of women.
- . Pollution and other threats to the environment.

*longer life-span*

~~Solutions to these problems have been made more difficult by inflation and unemployment, which have gone hand in hand in recent years, despite our economic assumptions that served us well for four decades. It has even led some people to question the basic soundness of our economic system.~~

At the same time, the strains of adjusting to economic growth and change--and coping with the sheer complexity of modern life--have led some people also to question the continued capacity of democracy itself to meet our needs. To many, government seems remote, impersonal and ineffective. *Many* Individual men and women may doubt whether they can affect basic decisions that shape their lives; or whether government can succeed in dealing effectively with the maze of issues facing our societies.

There can be no shrinking from the magnitude of these problems, or indifference to basic questions about our underlying system of government.

Yet I believe that democracy itself proves the best hope for answering these questions. The fact that they are posed in direct human terms itself reflects the deep imprint that democracy has made on our way of thinking. It places the individual at the center rather than the state; it enshrines values of humanity and compassion.

And it is no accident that democratic societies have achieved so much. Other political systems also have great human and national resources, but they lack the advantages that democracy offers.

For democracy is not merely an idea so compelling that even its enemies use its rhetoric to sell their own ideology.

More than this, democracy is also the most effective way ever devised to organize human society for common betterment.

Where the state is all, only the narrow talents of the bureaucrat are free to flower. But the pluralistic nature of a democracy allows for a broad range of talents to succeed--in government, in the arts, in labor, in the academy, in the marketplace, and in the sciences.

The end product of such an open society is diversity of thought. Not one solution, but a dozen, is advanced for each problem. Some solutions may work only partly, and some not at all, but each has its chance.

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*Freedom  
initiative*

7  
6

Thus we have not chosen democracy as our form of government merely because it is right and just, but because it is also the most efficient means of regulating human affairs.

It is no coincidence that the great trend of emigration in the world is from those states which deny basic rights to their people, and toward the nations of the <sup>free</sup> West.

This week in India, I was deeply moved by the renewed commitment of the Indian people to the democratic way. Here in Europe, too, Portugal, Greece, and Spain have moved again into the ranks of democracy. They have done so not from a choice imposed upon them from outside, but because their peoples chose that course by themselves.

These three nations now join us in the continuing job of adapting liberal, democratic societies to the demands of the future.

As we have done before at critical moments in our history, together we will test how our nations, building on the best of the past and the underlying strength of pluralistic societies, can best respond to the needs of our people.

As we experiment in building a new democracy, each nation will find its own way, choosing what best suits its history and its character. Together, our democratic nations are all strengthened by the individuality and uniqueness of each one of us.

Already these experiments are going on.

In France and other European nations, the dedication in recent years to sharing economic growth at all levels of society has provided a firm basis for meeting other social problems.

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one "pluralistic"  
is enough

?)

The member nations of the European Community will soon hold direct elections for the European Parliament.

*French  
attitude  
on this?*

Spain and the United Kingdom are beginning to experiment with turning over certain powers to individual regions.

In some countries, like Germany, there are new forms of relations between workers and management.

In some of our nations, there is a vigorous effort to reduce government regulation in areas better left to the individual.

And in some there is emphasis on strengthening the role of local government, on decentralizing power, and on working through voluntary associations to meet particular problems and needs. A century and a half ago, Alexis de Tocqueville saw in these approaches a basic strength of American democracy. They are still useful to my own nation, and they may prove to have value for others, as well.

In these ways and others, we can make government more responsive, accountable and closer to the people; we can bring far more people into the making of choices; and we can foster a renewed sense of national and local community.

We can also find new answers to the old problem of combining freedom with responsibility. As President Giscard wrote in his book, Towards a New Democracy:

The pluralism of power guarantees freedom....  
Democratic progress does not result in disorder,  
but in a better balance of order within freedom  
and responsibility.

¶ In creating a new democracy, our goal must also be to create a climate in which human dignity and respect for individual rights can flourish throughout the world. ?

The worth of the individual is the most basic human right:

-- To have enough to eat, good health, education for one's children, a useful job;

-- To be secure from persecution and arbitrary arrest;

-- And to have greater political and economic choice.

This sense of individual worth builds on Franklin Roosevelt's four freedoms: freedom of speech and of religion, freedom from want and from fear.

The culture of the West is based on our commitment to individual rights--to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Our message to other nations is not that we have more bombs or missiles, not that we have higher living standards or a greater gross national product.

Our message is that we have created societies in which individual values are reflected in our political actions.

That reflection may be imperfect, and we do not always meet our own standards--but at least our societies are based on the assumption that each human being has a spiritual dignity that transcends the demands of the state.

→ Let me turn again to Alexis de Tocqueville, who wrote at another time of testing for democracy:

I grow ever firmer in my conviction that, for democratic nations to be virtuous and prosperous, they need only to will it.

*quote from  
US Decl  
of Ind.*

That sense of quiet confidence in our underlying democratic system also sustains us as we face critical problems of the world and our own societies.

In the West, we continue to bear the burdens of providing for our security. I come to France today recognizing that our two nations share a basic commitment to preserving our hard-won freedom. Together, we still maintain strong military forces, 33 years after the last war. Yet we are able with our Allies to keep the peace precisely because we are strong. And we are confident of success because we share a common bond, not only of national interest, but also of human, democratic values that go even deeper.

For so long as I am President, the commitment of the United States to the security of Europe -- and to maintaining the forces needed to back up that commitment -- will not be in doubt. And we in the United States are <sup>Thankful</sup> [impressed by the steps] that France [is taking to] maintain and improve forces that are essential for defense.

*Commitment of American people*

*independence* →

At the same time, both of our governments and peoples believe deeply in the need to move beyond sterile confrontation, to seek a resolution of differences between East and West, and to see real steps towards arms control and disarmament. While our approach may sometimes differ, our desire to build a more stable peace is one and the same.

Our confidence in the democratic system also sustains us as we meet today's pressing economic challenge. Whatever the problems of the moment -- and they are many -- the underlying strength of the French and American economies, and those of other Western nations, has never been greater.

We have skilled work forces. We have productive plants and equipment, effective management, and a firm base of close cooperation with all Western nations, including an unprecedented web of economic institutions.

And, in the free market, we have a means of matching production to human needs that is swifter and more subtle than any computer, more sensitive to society's requirements than any committee.

Now we must build <sup>even further</sup> on the basic economic strength which has been the great engine of our prosperity and social development since the Second World War.

And my nation is fully able and willing to <sup>join our allies</sup> [take the lead] in putting the global economy back on the path of growth and rising prosperity.

We have confidence in the strength of the dollar, both now and for the future. ?

We are bringing inflation under control, and are moving progressively to cut the rate of unemployment.

I will soon propose a major tax reduction, to stimulate economic growth while keeping inflation under control.

We are hard at work on a comprehensive energy program which will lessen our imports of foreign oil in order to reduce the deficit in our balance of trade. I am committed to decisive action in energy not just for ourselves, but also because of the interests we share with you in this critical area.

And we are working effectively with our economic partners in the Geneva trade negotiations, in order to sustain and improve the open trading system, to expand commerce and create new jobs.

Check &  
Schultz

I am confident that our two nations and others in the West are emerging from the economic downturn of recent years. For many nations, achieving new growth will be a slow and difficult process, which must be preceded by sometimes painful measures to reduce inflation. Others can and should turn their attention to healthy growth. For all our nations, attaining stable growth requires a steady application of sound policy, and the patience of our peoples to permit sound policy to have the needed impact.

*Have Schulze check all this*

As more nations are able to pursue higher growth, our economies will create more jobs. Unemployment will go down.

Growth will reduce pressures for trade restrictions, make it easier for us to adapt to changes within our societies, help us make more efficient use of energy, and make it easier for surplus countries to open their markets to developed and developing countries alike.

But growth <sup>will not happen</sup> by itself ~~is not enough~~.

With other nations, we must turn away from a new threat of protectionism, and all countries must stop trying to export their economic difficulties to other nations, rich or poor.

*strengthen*

We must all work together for further advances in high technology, so that all will be able to compete effectively in tomorrow's markets.

We must join with others to build on the economic institutions that have served us so well -- and in particular strengthen the role of the OECD.

*write out*

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Together with our other economic partners, we must reach a new understanding of basic economic forces, so as to solve the problems of inflation linked with unemployment.

We must work more intensively together to meet the critical challenge of energy, where France has shown decisive leadership in reducing consumption and dependence on oil imports.

And we must mount special efforts to solve the growing problem of youth unemployment, which keeps a major part of an entire generation from gaining an effective start in life.

At the heart of all these efforts is our continued cooperation, along with our other economic partners -- as reflected in the Economic Summits which France first proposed. This cooperation builds on the independence and individuality of each nation; but also on our recognition that in seeking prosperity we stand or fall together.

As we move forward together, few goals will be as important for all of us as continuing to build the strength and unity of Europe. In an act of wisdom and political courage, Robert Schumann proposed the first decisive step that has led to today's European Community. And France's leadership has continued, until today the Community is one of the great vital forces in the global economy.

The United States will give its unqualified support to what you and your partners in the Nine are doing to strength European cooperation -- for we do not see European strength and unity as threats to us. The real threat to all our interests would be economic weakness and disunity.

The very factors that led to our economic successes over the past two generations -- science and technology, education and health, the will and wisdom of individual men and women -- have also changed forever the relations between our peoples and the developing world.

It was only a hundred years ago that the Western powers met to divide the continent of Africa among them. And yet today, colonialism has nearly ended.

Before World War II, 80 percent of the world's land mass and 75 percent of its people lived under Western control. But today there are more than a hundred new nations, each with insistent needs and demands.

A few years ago, the industrial world's control of most of the world's resources allowed us to make virtually all the decisions which affected the global economy.

But now, major resources are under the control of developing countries -- as the energy crisis has made clear. The councils of economic action can no longer be limited to a few nations.

Henry Ford raised his workers' wages in 1914 so that they could become customers for the cars they made. And now we in the industrialized world are coming to a similar understanding: that we need economic growth in the developing world to help fuel our own economies.

Not even the most rich and powerful nation can shape its destiny alone in these days. We are all part of a larger economic community, of rich and poor alike.

During my current trip, I have seen first-hand how the peoples of the developing nations are creating a role for themselves in the world's economic system. That role is bringing a new distribution of global power, and a new agenda of global problems.

No nation is more aware of these changes, or has acted more forthrightly to meet them, than France. It is playing a critical role in seeking to reorder relations between North and South, and has set an example for others to follow in providing concrete assistance to nations in the developing world.

The three areas of international concern I have discussed -- strength for Western security, cooperation among the industrial states, and North-South relations -- are all part of a wider perspective on today's world, its problems and its challenges. It is no longer possible to center our attention on only one of these three vital areas of concern. Our vision must be broad enough to see each in its own terms, to see the relations between them, and to develop the common thread that draws them together. This is the common thread of cooperation between our two countries, and with our partners; consultations that become ever closer; and a rekindling of strength and purpose based both on our diversity and on our underlying commitment to shared democratic values.

In proposing the North-South conference, President Giscard spoke of the task of creating new forms of international cooperation. What he said stands as the watchword of all our efforts together:

(This) should not constitute a victory for some countries over others, achieved by taking advantage of temporary power relationships. Rather it must be a victory of mankind over itself, for the problem is mankind's economic organization on a world scale.

In that spirit, we can and will succeed.

Thank you.

*3615 - mention regional  
settle disputes, as in Africa,  
& settlement  $\bar{c}$  out outside  
invasion - multilateral help.*

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

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D R A F T

New Delhi Speech

*Value of Commitment*  
*Desa*  
*3615 to Tom*  
*hurriedly*  
*J*

I bring you the warm greetings and good wishes of the second largest democracy on earth, the United States of America, to the people of the largest democracy, the Republic of India.

*In the last few years*  
~~Not long ago~~, both our nations *have* passed through *political* crises in ~~democracy~~, The world wondered *perhaps* whether democracy could survive.

~~There was talk that democracy was a dying form of government.~~ It was fashionable to say ~~that democracy is and was~~ obsolete and irrelevant to the problems of both the developing world and *to the* advanced industrial nations. And there was *also* a view -- ~~that I believe~~ *which* had overtones of prejudice -- that at best only nations with populations of northern European background were capable of *permanently* practicing democracy.

India has proven *all* these views *to be* false. Both your nation and my own have recently reaffirmed the basic values for which we stand -- human values which make us unique, which bind us together, which offer promise to the peoples of the world.

Both of us struggled to achieve national independence after a long period of colonial rule and established federal republics as a way of reconciling national unity with a great diversity of local interests.

We in the United States are proud of having achieved political union among a people whose ancestors come from all over the world. Our system strives to respect the rights of a great variety of minorities -- including, by the way, a growing and productive group of Americans who came from India and who now number more than a million.

But the success of political union in India is <sup>even</sup> more remarkable, than our own. In its diversity of languages, religions, political opinions, and racial and cultural groups, India is comparable to Europe, which has a <sup>total</sup> population of about the same size as India's. Yet India has blended this vast mosaic of humanity into a single democratic nation that has weathered many challenges to its survival both as a nation and as a democracy. I believe that this is one of the greatest political achievements of this or any century. <sup>history</sup>

India and the United States are at one in recognizing the right of free speech -- which <sup>Mohatma</sup> Gandhi called "the foundation-stone of swaraj" or self-government -- and the rights of academic freedom, of trade union organization, of freedom of the press, and of competing political parties. All these rights are recognized in international covenants. There are few governments which do not at least pay lip service to most of them. And yet, to quote Gandhi once more, "No principle exists in the abstract. Without its concrete application it

has no meaning." In India, as in the United States, these rights have <sup>concrete application and real</sup> meaning.

edited  
↑  
↓  
not edited

Too many "democracies"

For this reason, both of us have chosen the democratic path to the development of our resources and the betterment of the life of our people. Differences in the degree to which development is pursued through public or private enterprise, are insignificant compared to our shared belief that the political structure in which development takes place should be democratic and should respect the human rights of each and every citizen.

Our two countries also agree that human needs are a dimension of human rights -- that civil and political liberties are good in themselves, they must be based on a society to whom physical survival is not a matter of daily anxiety. To have sufficient food to live and work; to be adequately sheltered and clothed; to live in a healthy environment and be healed when sick; to learn and be taught -- these rights, too, must be the concerns of the work our governments do separately and together. To meet these needs, economic growth is crucial. And if the benefits of growth are to reach those whose need is greatest, social justice is crucial to human justice. India is succeeding in this historic task.

?

India is now also a major industrial democracy. Its economy ranks among the ten largest in the world and is

~~include food~~

virtually self-sufficient in consumer goods and a wide variety of iron and steel products. India now produces four times the amount of rubber products, six times the amount of paper products, and more than seven times the quantity of chemicals as she did in 1951. One of the most impressive increases is in the production of machine tool items, which has grown from three million a year in 1951 to 692 million a year now.

These increases reflect an economy of great technological sophistication. India's thirty national scientific laboratories are linked to two hundred local laboratories and research centers. Television broadcasting blankets the country. India is more than self-sufficient in engineering training -- Indian engineers are using their advanced skills to promote the welfare of countries throughout the world.

*Since when?*

I believe that even more important than these achievements are the advances in human welfare that have touched the lives of ordinary Indians. Life expectancy is up ten years. The threat of epidemics has receded. The literacy rate has doubled. While only a third of Indian children went to school in the years just after independence, fully 86 per cent of primary-age Indian children now receive schooling. Nine times as many students now go to universities as before.

I mention these gains because the world tends to overlook their significance in comparison with the problems that quite

properly engage the most attention. India's difficulties, which are typical of the problems faced in the developing world, remind us of the tasks that lie ahead. But India's successes, which are perhaps less typical, decisively refute the theory that in order to achieve economic progress, a developing country must accept <sup>an</sup> authoritarian or totalitarian ~~rule~~ <sup>government</sup> and all the dreadful damage to the health of the human spirit which that kind of rule brings with it. India proves that democracy is not a luxury. It is a necessity. It is <sup>a good</sup> the foundation for creating unity out of diversity, for releasing the creativity essential for human progress -- both material and spiritual. ?

Nevertheless -- as Indians are the first to affirm -- the challenges your country faces are as immense as the problems that define those challenges. All of us recognize that every country stands or falls by its own efforts. The donor-recipient relationship that once existed between India and the United States is a thing of the past. That kind of relationship reflects neither reality nor the inclinations of either side. *We have probs also*

But we are eager to <sup>maintain</sup> ~~join~~ with you in a partnership of equals <sup>already do</sup> in approaching some of these problems. We need to identify areas where we can work together for mutual benefit, and, indeed, the benefit of the whole world.

In the area of development, I am deeply impressed with the creative direction the Government of India has charted in the New Economic Statement.

Almost uniquely in the developing world and consistent with Indian democratic spirit, you have committed your nation unequivocally to rural improvement and the creation of rural employment. <sup>Many</sup> Others, throughout the world, have put similar commitments into their political documents but <sup>they</sup> have then succumbed to the temptation to pursue the more elitist path of capital-intensive urban development, to the neglect of the countryside.

Your policy is a new one that now faces the test of implementation, and especially the test of bringing its benefits to the poorest sections of your rural population. But the seriousness and determination of your commitment is cause for confidence.

The new direction of your government happens to coincide with our own thinking on the priorities of development, and we are eager to cooperate with you however we can.

In the production of food -- a rewarding area of cooperation between us in the past -- there are exciting new areas of technology that we can work on together. After a decade of importing grain, India now stands with a surplus of 28 million metric tons -- an assurance against famine even if the next

two monsoons fail. This is a tribute to the growing productivity of your agriculture and the competence of your administrative services.

*Hand to believe*

We applaud the food grain reserve program you have begun and we are eager to share with you the benefit of our resources and experience in dealing with the storage problems that surpluses bring with them. Our two countries must be in the forefront of the effort to bring into existence the international food reserve that would mitigate the fear of famine in the rest of the world.

At the same time, we must recognize that today's surpluses are a temporary phenomenon. The best estimates indicate that by the mid-1980's, not only India but the world as a whole will be facing large food shortages unless new productive capacity is developed. <sup>Growth in</sup> Agricultural productivity in the United States is beginning to <sup>level off</sup> [approach its limits], but there could be substantial rises in productivity here and elsewhere in the developing world. Fertilizers, irrigation, and efficient use of resources are the keys to increased output, and we stand ready to cooperate with you in tackling these tasks.

?

Sustained economic growth requires a strong base in energy as well as in agriculture. Energy is a serious problem in both our countries, for both of us import oil at levels that threaten our economic health and open us to the danger of supply inter-

ruptions.

American firms are already working with Indians in developing the oil producing area off Bombay. We stand ready to increase our technological cooperation, where that is desirable and appropriate, in further assisting the development of Indian fossil fuel resources.

Additionally, we are eager to work with you in developing renewable energy resources, especially solar energy. Active cooperation in this area could be of enormous help to both our countries. There is no shortage of sunlight in India, and the lack of a massive existing infrastructure tied to fossil fuel use will make the shift to solar and solar-related energy sources vastly easier here than it will be in my country. *Biomass* Moreover, the inherently decentralized nature of solar energy makes it ideal as a complement to your Government's stress on developing self-reliant villages. With adequate energy and engineering applied to the use of existing ground water resources, the potential gains in agricultural productivity are greatly enhanced.

The starry void of space may seem remote from these challenges, but the intricate electronics of a space satellite can be as useful to earth-bound farmers as a new plow. The Indian and American governments are today exchanging diplomatic notes confirming that the United States will program its Landsat earth resources satellite to transmit data directly to

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

-9-

a ground receiving station to be established here by India.

The Landsat satellite will provide <sup>to India</sup> comprehensive topographic and minerals information and timely data on the ever-changing condition of agricultural, water, and other natural resources. Because it will take some time before the permanent station is operating, I am pleased to announce that the United States expects to make available an interim station capability, so that India can very quickly begin to receive and use satellite data.

Also, India has <sup>already</sup> reserved space on board the American space shuttle in 1981 to initiate a domestic communications satellite system.

Our <sup>growing</sup> expanded technological cooperation should be anchored in expanded knowledge of each other's people and cultures. Our scholarly and <sup>scientific</sup> other exchanges have enriched the lives of Americans who have participated in them, and I hope the same has been true of Indian participants. American scholars of India have consistently been at the forefront in insisting that our government understand the Indian perspective. I want this tradition of exchange of persons to flourish and grow.

In the larger world, both India and the United States bear the burdens of responsibility that accompany the size and power of our nations. History has cast us in different roles. The United States is one of the two so-called superpowers; India is

the most populous of the nonaligned countries. But each of us respects the other's conception of its international duty, and the values we do share provide a basis for cooperation in attacking the great global problems of economic justice, human rights, and the prevention of war.

The pursuit of justice and the building of a new economic order in the world must be undertaken in ways that promote constructive development rather than fruitless confrontation. Every country will suffer if the North-South dialogue is permitted to founder on the shoals of stridency. As a power which in many respects is both "Northern" and "<sup>(already) industrialized (and still) developing</sup> Southern" in its interests and endowments, India is uniquely qualified to bring the parties together and promote constructive discussion about trade, energy, investment, balance of payment, technology, and other questions that must be answered if any order is to emerge at all.

India and the United States agree that far from being contradictory, economic growth and human rights complement each other in social life exactly as physical health and spiritual health complement each other in individual life. Our two countries are part of a democratic world that includes nations at all stages of development, from Sweden and Japan to Sri Lanka and Costa Rica. We share an obligation to advance human rights -- not by interfering in the affairs of other nations, not by trying to deny other nations to choose their own political

or social system, but by speaking the truth as we see it and by providing an example of what democracy can mean and what it can accomplish.

It is often argued that democracy is a kind of rich man's plaything -- a luxury that the poor are too brutalized, too ignorant, or simply too preoccupied with survival to care about. This argument is repeated all over the world, but I have noticed that those who repeat it generally have full bellies -- and well-stocked libraries as well. The poor themselves are not often consulted. When I hear this argument, I remember something Abraham Lincoln once said. "Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery," Mr. Lincoln said, "I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."

*omit*

The motto of my country is "In God We Trust." India's is Satyamev Jayte (SAHT-yuh-muv JIE-tay) -- "Truth Alone Prevails." I believe that such is the commonality of our fundamental values that your mother could be ours and perhaps ours yours. Our nations share the common goals of peace in the world and human development in our own societies. And we share as well the conviction that the means we employ to reach these goals must be as much in keeping with the principles of freedom, human dignity, and social justice as the goals themselves. This affinity of belief is as strong a tie as there can be between two nations.

?

The values that Indians and Americans share have deeply affected my own life. In this sense, a more personal sense, I come not <sup>only</sup> in an act of diplomacy but <sup>also</sup> as a pilgrim.

This morning I had the honor of laying a wreath on the memorial to Mahatma Gandhi, on the banks of the Ganges River. In that sacred place, so simple and serene, I said a prayer of thanksgiving and recalled anew the ways in which Gandhi's teachings have touched the lives of so many millions of people in my country, <sup>including</sup> [not least] my own life.

When I was growing up on a farm in the state of Georgia, in the heart of the Southern United States, an invisible wall of racial segregation came between me and my black playmates as soon as we were old enough to go to school. It seemed then as if that wall would stand forever.

But it did not stand forever. It crumbled and fell, and though it has not yet been completely demolished, it <sup>removed</sup> <sup>the wall</sup> no longer separates us one from another, blighting the lives of those on <sup>both sides</sup> [either side] of it.

Among the many who marched and suffered and bore witness against that great evil <sup>of racial prejudice,</sup> the greatest was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a son of Georgia and a spiritual son of Mahatma Gandhi.

The most important influence in the life and work of Dr. King, apart from his own religious faith, was the life and work of Gandhi. Martin Luther King took Gandhi's concepts of

*pronunciation?*

ahimsa and satyagraha -- non-violence and truth-force -- and put them to work in America.

Like Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King believed that truth and love are the strongest forces in the universe.

Like Mahatma Gandhi, ~~Martin Luther King~~ <sup>*we have learned*</sup> know that ordinary people, armed only with courage and faith, could overcome injustice by appealing to the spark of good in the heart of the evildoer.

Like Mahatma Gandhi, ~~Martin Luther King~~ <sup>*we have seen*</sup> saw that a system of oppression damages those at the top of it as surely as it does those at the bottom.

~~And for Martin Luther King,~~ <sup>*for MLK Jr,*</sup> as for Mahatma Gandhi, non-violence was not only a political method, it was a way of life and a spiritual path to union with the ultimate. These men set a standard of courage and idealism that few of us can meet, but from which all of us can draw strength and sustenance.

I am sure you will forgive me for speaking at some length about the very real and intimate meaning that the life of Mahatma Gandhi has had for me and for millions of my countrymen. I do so because I want you all to understand that when I speak of friendship between the United States and India, I speak from the heart as well as the head. I speak from a deep, firsthand knowledge of what the relationship between our two countries has meant in the past and what it can mean in the future.

For the remainder of this century and into the next, the democratic countries of the world will increasingly turn to one another for answers to our most pressing common challenge: whether the political and spiritual values we believe in can withstand the social and economic strains to which they will unquestionably be subjected. Whatever the differences between my country and yours, we are both moving on the path of democracy toward a common goal of human development.

For us democracy is not like a fortress, isolated and alone, standing against the currents of history. Nor is it an island sanctuary for the privileged few.

Democracy is a great river of human experience, constantly moving and changing at times turbulent and trying -- yet consistent in its course and a source of life, beauty and fulfillment for all who partake of it. I speak for all Americans when I say that we are grateful for the knowledge that we do not travel that river alone.

*Too much about India  
add brief P's on:  
a) Arms control  
b) Non-prolif*

*c) SALT  
d) Human Rights*

*Individual freedoms  
Racial prejudice  
Life*

*a) Value of communicating  
c) Desai*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

12/27/77

TO : Rick Hutcheson

FROM: Carolyn Shields

I'll let you make the decision on whether or not the attached should go into the President's permanent files. He has made a few notes on it. It's the final draft of a telegram which was sent last Wednesday, 12/21/77, to a Mrs. Luke in Baxley, Georgia.

Final

Well publicized Seminars  
in Virginia and around the country have  
~~been~~ brought home primarily to Am.  
people the fact that the welfare  
of Am. consumers and the Am. farm  
families cannot be separated. This  
ability of farmers <sup>and fathers</sup> to ~~engage~~ and  
~~gain public attention~~ focus public  
attention upon ~~this problem is~~ a  
the problems of Am. agriculture is a  
new and healthy development.

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ok -  
Add reference  
to farmer: consu.  
relationship  
J

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

Thank you for writing me about the problems farmers are facing, ~~this year~~

Present →

You and others who have written and called ~~me~~, or ~~taken part~~ in the farmer's demonstrations around the country, are asking what ~~this administration is doing to help farmers~~. I've done for farmers since I came into office and how, as a farmer, I view the whole situation.

~~I certainly realize how difficult a year this has been for~~ *THIS HAS BEEN AN ROUGH YEAR* *than usual* many farmers. Drought has done terrible damage to some sections of our country.

Our own home state has been one of the hardest hit. Last year Georgia produced 134 million bushels of corn. This year only 24 million bushels.

There is a word for that situation and others like it across the country -- "disaster" -- and the disaster programs we inherited were sadly inadequate to deal with so widespread a problem.

Farmers have had to pay higher and higher prices for machinery, fuel, fertilizer, land and everything else needed to produce crops. When production expenses are going up and prices are going down, ~~it is harder and harder to make ends meet~~. I know first hand how impossible that situation can seem.

In the 11 months since I took office, I've tried to face up to those problems with the best interests of both farmers and consumers in mind. I'd like to tell you about some of the steps

we have taken since January, both through administrative action and by working with the Congress, <sup>(that will)</sup> ease the problems that now affect farmers.

We passed a new farm bill this year - in record time - because both I and the Congress were aware that existing policies and programs were inadequate. That bill went into effect this October and will be <sup>of great</sup> ~~here to~~ help <sup>to</sup> farmers next year.

The new farm bill has several <sup>(important)</sup> ~~good~~ features. It raises <sup>(both)</sup> loan levels and target prices. Target prices <sup>(was)</sup> increased 17 percent ~~this year~~ and will continue to increase <sup>(each year)</sup> as production costs go up. As I promised during the campaign, the bill links income support levels to cost of production. Also, the bill authorizes formation of a farmer-held grain reserve to help stabilize farm markets in a way that will avoid a repeat of the mistakes of the early 1970's.

*insert from p. 3*

Even before the farm bill was passed, we, In April reduced the interest rates on commodity and storage loans, boosted feed grain loan prices, and established a farmer-owned wheat and rice reserve. We later expanded this program, and announced a feed grain reserve. To keep excess grain from being turned over to the government, we liberalized the farm storage loan program.

In May, the Administration provided \$479 million in emergency loans to help producers who had been hurt by the drought. Three months later I authorized another \$50 million in loans. Later I signed legislation authorizing <sup>(dis)</sup>aster payments based upon acreage planted instead of upon outdated allotments.

*1/16/76*

B

Farm exports this year will be the highest in the history of our country, and we will be making an even greater effort to sell our farm products abroad next year.

On August 31, we increased the loan rates for feed grains again.

*mm to P. 2*

~~On September 29, I signed~~ The new Food and Agriculture Act of 1977 ~~this~~ authorized \$1.2 billion in wheat deficiency payments, more than \$800 million above the amount authorized under the ~~1972 Act.~~ *old act.* ~~Starting~~ *By* December 1, checks were ~~being sent~~ *on their way* to about 1.8 million farmers under this program.

During these last 11 months, we have ~~tried hard to make~~ *also made* progress in international negotiations that affect our farmers. The results here were good: an International Sugar Agreement has been formulated, an international wheat reserve is under discussion, and the multi-lateral trade negotiations are again underway.

*B*

We have not solved our farm problems, but these efforts -- along with record loan activity and stronger demand for our farm products -- have pulled farm prices up. By the end of this year agricultural exports will be at their highest level in our nation's history. The price of wheat climbed from a season low of \$2.03

*Exports - highest in history  
#4 Bill -  
Even greater effort in future*

a bushel in June to \$2.48 in November. The price of corn rose from \$1.60 a bushel in September to \$1.91 in November.

A hundred pounds of sorghum sold for \$2.52 in September, and \$3.15 in November. The average price received by farmers for soybeans moved from a season low of \$5.27 to a November average of \$5.68 a bushel.

Farm prices and income are still too low, but they have improved. Farm production costs are ~~not~~ rising <sup>(but not)</sup> as fast as they did before. The prices of supplies, interest, taxes and wage rates have been essentially unchanged for the last three months.

I hope farmers will continue to use the farm programs. They are now <sup>(no)</sup> designed to ~~really~~ help through periods, like the present one, when supplies are abundant and prices too low.

One <sup>(other)</sup> chronic problem is that even when prices are high in the supermarket, they're still too low on the farm. Farmers know -- but most consumers don't -- how little of the food dollar actually goes to those who take the risks and produce the food. ~~As I promised during my campaign,~~ We have taken steps to deal with this problem, too. ~~As you may know,~~ I promised <sup>(as a candidate)</sup> to try to hold down the "middleman" portion of food costs. ●

My Agriculture Secretary, Bob Bergland, a family farmer himself, has ordered the Agricultural Marketing Service to conduct a full-scale investigation into the pricing of meat between the farmer and the consumer. The investigation is focused on pricing at the

wholesale level, to see whether the current system blocks competition.

We are spending \$1.5 million this fiscal year ~~on projects~~ <sup>to</sup> ~~that~~ set up direct farmer-to-consumer marketing, a system which would eliminate the substantial costs associated with middleman mark-up. ?

The Agriculture and Transportation Departments are jointly studying the food transportation system, looking mainly at inequities in the system that prevent more efficient and less costly means for the movement of food. ?

(have given out)  
We support ~~the~~ idea of a food marketing commission. That commission would look into the whole food marketing system, including pricing at the middleman level. In commenting publicly on this issue, officials of this Administration have focused particularly on the costs associated with transportation, advertising and packaging of food. ?

I hope this letter answers some of your questions; I wish it were possible for government action to solve all the problems that farmers face. But you know that the combination of nature's chance and the farmer's determination makes that impossible; that very challenge is what has drawn so many of us to farming. I respect that spirit, and I am glad for a chance to explain my <sup>view</sup> ~~outlook~~ to you.

I cannot promise that I will solve ~~all your~~ <sup>the way</sup> problems. I know that is not what you want, and you know that no President and no

government can do that.

I cannot promise ~~you~~ a guaranteed profit, but I have never met a farmer who asked for that.

What farmers want is a fair chance, and I do believe we can and have begun to change the policies of this government so that the farm family gets a decent break. If the changes we've made this year don't have the results we expect they will themselves be changed.

Sincerely,

146

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
December 27, 1977

Frank Moore

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder

RE: CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS OF THE  
ANTITRUST COMMISSION

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROBERT LIPSHUTZ *RL*

RE: Congressional Members of the Antitrust Commission

You recently signed the Executive Order establishing the National Commission for Review of Antitrust Laws and Procedures. The Order provides for six Congressional members, three to be recommended by the President of the Senate, and three to be recommended by the Speaker of the House.

In order formally to obtain recommendations from the Senate and the House, you need to sign the attached letters to the Vice President (in his capacity as President of the Senate) and to Speaker O'Neill.

The Speaker already has three recommendations ready. On the Senate side, the Vice President needs to consult with Majority and Minority Leaders as well as Senator Kennedy; all three Senators are working together to come up with the Senate's three names.

The Attorney General recommends that you sign the attached letters. We concur.

           Approve

           Disapprove

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

On November 30, 1977, I signed an Executive Order establishing a National Commission for the Review of Antitrust Laws and Procedures. A copy of the Order is enclosed.

The Commission will study and make recommendations on legislative or other proposals for expediting complex antitrust cases and making the remedies in such cases more effective, and on the desirability of retaining the various exemptions and immunities from the antitrust laws. The Commission shall conclude its work within six months and submit its final report to the Attorney General and me within thirty days after completing its work.

By the terms of the Executive Order, I must appoint three of the Commission's fifteen members upon your recommendation. I would appreciate your providing me with your recommendations at an early date, by submitting the names to the Attorney General.

I believe it is essential that our antitrust enforcement efforts not be allowed to become outdated or inefficient. This Commission will have the important responsibility of helping to ensure that this does not occur.

I wish to thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

The Honorable Walter F. Mondale  
President of the Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Speaker:

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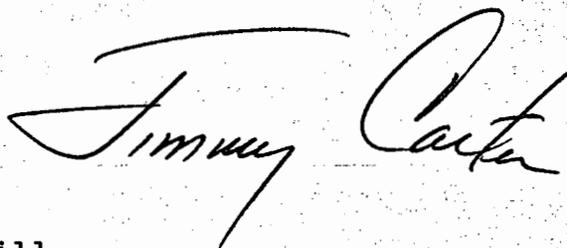
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By the terms of the Executive Order, I must appoint three of the Commission's fifteen members upon your recommendation. I would appreciate your providing me with your recommendations at an early date, by submitting the names to the Attorney General.

I believe it is essential that our antitrust enforcement efforts not be allowed to become outdated or inefficient. This Commission will have the important responsibility of helping to ensure that this does not occur.

I wish to thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name below.

The Honorable Thomas P. O'Neill  
Speaker of the  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

# National Commission for the Review of Antitrust Laws and Procedures

Executive Order 12022. December 1, 1977

## ESTABLISHING THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR THE REVIEW OF ANTITRUST LAWS AND PROCEDURES

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, and as President of the United States of America, in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. I), it is hereby ordered as follows:

**SECTION 1. Establishment.** (a) There is hereby established the National Commission for the Review of Antitrust Laws and Procedures, hereafter referred to as the Commission.

(b) The Commission shall consist of fifteen members to be appointed by the President and shall include:

(1) The Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

(2) The Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission.

(3) The Chairman of one other appropriate independent regulatory agency.

(4) Three members of the Senate recommended by the President of the Senate.

(5) Three members of the House of Representatives recommended by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

(6) One judge of a United States District Court.

(7) Five persons from the private sector.

(c) The President shall designate a Chairman or Cochairmen from among the members of the Commission.

### SEC. 2. Functions of the Commission.

(a) The Commission shall, within the framework of existing antitrust laws (as that term is defined in 15 U.S.C. 12), study and make recommendations on the following subjects:

(1) Revision of procedural and substantive rules of law needed to expedite the resolution of complex antitrust cases and development of proposals for making the remedies available in such cases more effective, including:

(i) creation of a roster of district court judges knowledgeable regarding antitrust law and large-case problems to whom such cases may be assigned;

(ii) revision of pleading requirements in order to narrow as quickly and precisely as possible the scope of contested issues of fact and law;

(iii) revision of discovery practices in order to limit expensive and time-consuming inquiry into areas not germane to contested issues;

(iv) the desirability of a grant of judicial authority to restrict and penalize dilatory practices through control of issue formulation and imposition of sanctions for unnecessary delays or failures to cooperate;

(v) amendment of evidentiary practices to expedite introduction of testimony and exhibits at trial;

(vi) simplification of the standards required to establish attempted monopolization in suits brought by the United States under Section 2 of the Sherman Act;

(vii) consideration of structural relief for antitrust violations, and of nonjudicial alternatives for resolution of complex antitrust issues; and

(2) the desirability of retaining the various exemptions and immunities from the antitrust laws, including exemptions for regulated industries and exemptions created by State laws that inhibit competition.

(b) The Commission shall conclude its work not later than six months from the date the last member is appointed and shall submit a final report to the President and the Attorney General within thirty days thereafter. The Commission shall terminate thirty days after submitting its final report.

**SEC. 3. Administrative Matters.** (a) The Commission may request any Federal agency to furnish it with such information, advice, and services as may be useful for carrying out its functions under this Order.

(b) The Department of Justice shall furnish to the Commission a staff director and any necessary staff, supplies, facilities and other administrative services. Such funds as are necessary for ordinary operations of the Commission, to the extent permitted by law, shall be provided from the appropriations available to the Department of Justice.

(c) The Commission may procure, subject to the availability of funds, the temporary professional services of individuals to assist in its work, in accordance with the provisions of Section 3109 of Title 5 of the United States Code.

(d) Members of the Commission shall receive no compensation from the United States by virtue of their service on the Commission but shall be entitled to receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5702 and 5703).

(e) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. 1), except that of reporting annually to the Congress, which are applicable to the Commission shall be performed by the Attorney General in accordance with guidelines and procedures established by the Office of Management and Budget.

JIMMY CARTER

The White House,  
December 1, 1977.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
4:13 p.m., December 1, 1977]



STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am pleased to sign the Clean Water Act of 1977 which amends the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972. This Act reaffirms our national commitment to protect the quality of our waters and the health of our people.

I particularly want to thank Senators Randolph and Muskie and Congressmen Johnson and Roberts for their outstanding leadership in resolving the many difficult issues embodied in this Act. I am also grateful for the consistent cooperation of Senator Stafford and Congressman Harsha, and the other Conferees, and for the dedication of the staff, and EPA Administrator Costle in this effort.

This act culminates three years of hard work by the Congress to make the necessary mid-course corrections in our national water pollution control program. This is a fine example of how close cooperation between the Administration and the Congress can produce major legislation of national significance.

The Clean Water Act of 1977 embraces many of the principles and proposals put forward by my Administration. The Congress has agreed to long-term funding for the municipal sewage treatment construction grant program which I urged in my Environmental Message earlier this year. This will help states and communities plan and implement effectively programs to clean up backlogs of municipal pollution.

The bill also emphasizes the importance of controlling toxic pollutants which endanger the public health -- a focus which my Administration has urged.

The Nation's wetlands will continue to be protected under a framework which is workable and which shares responsibilities with the States. Certain farming <sup>and</sup> had forestry activities that were never intended to be covered under the original Act are specifically exempted from requirements to obtain permits. I

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Zbig Brzezinski

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

Rick Hutcheson  
MR. SIDES MESSAGE -- RUSSIA

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*ANDREW SIDES, Rhode Island*

*Just returned from Russia...*

*Were in Moscow, outside the University, with their tour guide...Russian man asked guide if they were Americans and when guide affirmed that they were, the man came up and literally embraced them as he said "I like your Jimmy Carter! He is doing a great thing for the world with his stand on "civil" rights." Man was very excited and emotional.*

*Mr. Sides is rather sure the "civil" rights was mistranslated and should have been "human" rights. They were amazed that an average Russian knew this much, and even more amazed that the guide would translate his comments.*

*12/22/77*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

36.9  
J

R,

Mr. Sides thought this message  
may brighten the President's  
holidays. He considered it to  
be extremely significant.

m

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Barry Jagoda

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

Rick Hutcheson

RE: TAPING FOR SAMOA AND MARIANA  
ISLAND

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

oh  
J

December 27, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BARRY JAGODA *B.J.*

SUBJECT: Taping for Samoa and Mariana Islands

After you have revised and/or approved these brief remarks, we'll put them on teleprompter, for your taping at 11:00am, Wednesday, December 28th in the Roosevelt Room.

# # # # #

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

## American Samoa Statement

I am proud to send my greetings, on behalf of the American people, to Governor Coleman, Lieutenant Governor Tufele, and all the people of American Samoa on this happy day. *pronounce?*

For more than three quarters of a century, our people have been linked by ties of common values, mutual respect, and shared interests in the world. We have taken up arms together to protect the cause of peace and freedom. We have worked together for prosperity and human development. We have learned from each other's culture.

And we have shared the belief that people should decide, in a democratic fashion, the questions that affect them most closely. Today, as your first elected leaders are inaugurated, the authority for decisions that affect American Samoa passes to the leaders the people of American Samoa have chosen.

I am glad that my son, Jeff, can be with you to extend my best personal wishes, along with the Undersecretary of the Interior, James Joseph, who is an eloquent spokesman for your interests in Washington.

As a former Governor, I know that Governor Coleman will have his trials and difficulties ahead; but I share your knowledge that today all of you have won a rich prize.

# # #

Marianas Statement

When the United States claimed its right to self-government two hundred and two years ago, it spoke not just of its own interests, but of a standard people everywhere should enjoy.

That is why I am proud to send you ~~my~~ greetings, on behalf of the American people, <sup>to the people of the Northern Marianas Islands</sup> as the powers of full self-government become yours.

Our nations have been associated for decades, during which we have prepared together for this day. We remember those years with satisfaction; but most of all we are proud that you have chosen to remain part of the American political family.

I am glad that my son, Jeff, can be with you to extend my best personal wishes, along with the Undersecretary of the Interior, James Joseph, who is an eloquent spokesman for your interests in Washington. With his guidance and advice, our government will work closely with Governor Camacho, Resident Representative Pangalinen, and other officials of the Government of the Northern Marianas Islands. pronounce?

The Covenant between our peoples says that we "share the goals and values.... of government by the consent of the governed, individual freedom, and democracy." There is no better guiding principle for this new beginning in your history, and no people <sup>with whom</sup> we are prouder to be associated ~~with~~ than you.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON  
December 27, 1977

Zbig Brzezinski  
Jim Fallows

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for your information. The signed original has been given to Bob Linder for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Bob Linder  
OVERSEAS TRAVEL OF SENIOR ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
/	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
		MONDALE
		COSTANZA
		EIZENSTAT
		JORDAN
		LIPSHUTZ
		MOORE
		POWELL
		WATSON
		McINTYRE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

		ARAGON
		BOURNE
/		BRZEZINSKI
		BUTLER
		CARP
		H. CARTER
		CLOUGH
/		FALLOWS
		FIRST LADY
		HARDEN
		HUTCHESON
		JAGODA
		GAMMILL

		KRAFT
/		LINDER <i>dist's</i>
		MITCHELL
		MOE
		PETERSON
		PETTIGREW
		POSTON
		PRESS
		SCHLESINGER
		SCHNEIDERS
		STRAUSS
		VOORDE
		WARREN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

12/27/77

Mr. President:

Jim Fallows edited the  
proposed memo.

Rick

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

7255

ACTION

December 21, 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI 

SUBJECT: Overseas Travel of Senior Administration  
Officials

Attached is a revised memo on overseas travel to include  
your specific comments.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you approve the memo to the Cabinet at Tab A.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_

As amended \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Travel abroad by senior officials of the Federal Government is an important part of the Administration's conduct of foreign policy. To insure that such travel is planned and timed in the best interests of our overall foreign policy, I have asked the Department of State to establish a set of procedures for coordinating travel plans by senior Administration officials (to include Assistant Secretary level and above or the equivalent). When you or senior members of your Department or Agency are contemplating a trip abroad, you should notify the Executive Secretariat of the Department of State at least 10 working days before your trip. Before confirming your travel plans with foreign government representatives, you should tell the Executive Secretariat about the purpose of your trip and the expected date of departure. The Department of State will review the travel plans and, if necessary, will suggest modifications. The Department will keep the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs informed of travel plans and will consult with the National Security Council in making these decisions. After the trip is cleared, the Department of State will be happy to provide briefings or other sorts of help you may desire.

If you hear no reply from the National Security Council or State Department, or if there are unwarranted delays in their response, you should go ahead with your plans.

Instructions for reporting foreign travel will be provided separately by the Department of State.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "J. Carter". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

JF/Jms 12/15

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE  
DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Travel abroad by senior officials of the Federal Government is an important part of the Administration's conduct of foreign policy. To insure that such travel is planned and timed in the best interests of our overall foreign policy, I have asked the Department of State to establish a set of procedures for coordinating travel plans by senior Administration officials (to include Assistant Secretary level and above or the equivalent). When you or senior members of your Department or Agency are contemplating a trip abroad, you should notify the Executive Secretariat of the Department of State at least 10 working days before your trip. Before confirming your travel plans with foreign government representatives, you should tell the Executive Secretariat about the purpose of your trip and the expected date of departure. The Department of State will review the travel plans and, if necessary, will suggest modifications. The Department will keep the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs informed of travel plans and will consult with the National Security Council in making these decisions. After the trip is cleared, the Department of State will be happy to provide briefings or other sorts of help you may desire.

If you hear no reply from the National Security Council or State Department, or if there are unwarranted delays in their response, you should go ahead with your plans.

Instructions for reporting foreign travel will be provided separately by the Department of State.

Date: December 15, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Jim Fallows

FOR INFORMATION:

Tim Kraft

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Brzezinski memo dated 12/14/77 re Overseas Travel of Senior Administration Officials.

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME:

DAY: IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

DATE:

ACTION REQUESTED:

Your comments

Other:

STAFF RESPONSE:

I concur.

No comment.

*Please note other comments below:*

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

*If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HEADS OF EXECUTIVE

DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Travel abroad by senior officials of the Federal Government is an important part of the Administration's conduct of foreign policy. To insure that such travel is planned and timed in the best interests of overall foreign policy considerations, the Department of State has been asked to establish a set of procedures for the notification of travel plans by senior Administration officials (to include Assistant Secretary and above or the equivalent). When you or senior members of your Department or Agency are contemplating a trip abroad, the Executive Secretariat of the Department of State is to be informed (no later than 10 working days in advance) and provided with information on the purpose of the trip and expected date of departure prior to confirming travel plans with foreign government representatives. The Department of State will keep the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs currently informed and will implement a review of the prospective travel and, if necessary, suggest modification as may be considered appropriate after consultation with the National Security Council. If no comment is made by the Department of State or the NSC, or if there are unwarranted delays in clearance by State or the NSC, the trip should be made. The Department of State will provide facilitative assistance and substantive briefings, if desired.

Instructions for reporting foreign travel will be provided separately by the Department of State.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Midge Costanza

The attached was returned in the  
President's outbox and is forwarded  
to you for appropriate handling.  
Please draft a birthday greeting.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Greg Schneiders

RE: ROGER BALDWIN -- 94th Birthday

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

12/27/77

Mr. President:

Lipshutz concurs with Midge.

Greg Schneiders recommends  
a birthday greeting rather  
than a Medal of Freedom.

No other staff comments.

Rick

*ok -  
Prepare same  
J*

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 19, 1977

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARGARET COSTANZA *mc*

SUBJECT: Recommendation to award the Medal of Freedom to Roger Baldwin on the occasion of his ninety-fourth birthday, January 21, 1978

Roger Baldwin, founder of the American Civil Liberties Union will be 94 on January 21, 1978.

I recommend that he be awarded the Medal of Freedom because of especially meritorious contributions in public endeavors related to human rights. Mr. Baldwin's life work meets the criteria in Executive Order #9586.

He has been hospitalized four times in the last year with heart and lung trouble which has partially incapacitated him. In view of his age and health, I further recommend that the traditional July 4 date be waived and that presentation be made on his birthday.

~~Attached~~ is his bio and a list of previous Freedom Medal recipients.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Date: December 5, 1977

*Hold per Marilyn  
Hof - mistake  
in date -  
should be 1/20  
MEMORANDUM  
returned to MH  
12/7  
OR/6*

**FOR ACTION:**

Stu Eizenstat  
Hamilton Jordan *re by phone*  
Bob Lipshutz *cancel*  
Frank Moore *re by phone*  
Jody Powell *re phone*  
Jack Watson *re phone* Greg Schneiders *attached*

**FOR INFORMATION:**

The Vice President

**FROM:** Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

**SUBJECT:** Costanza memos re Request for Presidential Greetings and Medal of Freedom for Roger Baldwin on 94th birthday

*12/21 - Revised memo  
expected 12/22*

**YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:**  
**TIME:** 12:00 Noon  
**DAY:** Wednesday  
**DATE:** December 7, 1977

**ACTION REQUESTED:**

Your comments

Other:

**STAFF RESPONSE:**

I concur.

No comment.

*Please note other comments below:*

**PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.**

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

/	FOR STAFFING
	FOR INFORMATION
	FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
/	LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
	IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND

ACTION	FYI	
	/	MONDALE
		COSTANZA
/		EIZENSTAT
/		JORDAN
/		LIPSHUTZ
/		MOORE
/		POWELL
/		WATSON
		LANCE
		SCHULTZE

	ENROLLED BILL
	AGENCY REPORT
	CAB DECISION
	EXECUTIVE ORDER
	Comments due to Carp/Huron within 48 hours; due to Staff Secretary next day

	ARAGON
	BOURNE
	BRZEZINSKI
	BUTLER
	CARP
	H. CARTER
/	CLOUGH
	FALLOWS
	FIRST LADY
	HARDEN
	HUTCHESON
	JAGODA
	KING

	KRAFT
	LINDER
	MITCHELL
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PETTIGREW
	POSTON
	PRESS
	SCHLESINGER
/	SCHNEIDERS
	STRAUSS
	VOORDE
	WARREN

Date: December 5, 1977

MEMORANDUM

## FOR ACTION:

Stu Eizenstat  
 Hamilton Jordan  
 Bob Lipshutz  
 Frank Moore  
 Jody Powell  
 Jack Watson ~~Greg Schneiders~~

## FOR INFORMATION:

The Vice President

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Costanza memos re Request for Presidential Greetings and  
 Medal of Freedom for Roger Baldwin on 94th birthday

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED  
 TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 12:00 Noon

DAY: Wednesday

DATE: December 7, 1977

## ACTION REQUESTED:

 Your comments

Other:

## STAFF RESPONSE:

 I concur. No comment.

Please note other comments below:

*Birthday greeting - si  
 Medal of Freedom - non*

**PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.**

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

Date: December 5, 1977

MEMORANDUM

## FOR ACTION:

Stu Eizenstat  
 Hamilton Jordan  
 Bob Lipshutz  
 Frank Moore  
 Jody Powell  
 Jack Watson Greg Schneiders

## FOR INFORMATION:

The Vice President

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Costanza memos re Request for Presidential Greetings and  
 Medal of Freedom for Roger Baldwin on 94th birthday

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED  
 TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 12:00 Noon

DAY: Wednesday

DATE: December 7, 1977

## ACTION REQUESTED:

 Your comments

Other:

## STAFF RESPONSE:

 I concur. No comment.

Please note other comments below:

**PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.**

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a delay in submitting the required material, please telephone the Staff Secretary immediately. (Telephone, 7052)

Date: December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM

**FOR ACTION:**

Stu Eizenstat  
Jody Powell  
Tim Kraft

**FOR INFORMATION:**

Vice President

**FROM:** Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

**SUBJECT:** Costanza memo re: Request to award Medal of Freedom to Roger Baldwin on 94th birthday

**YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED  
TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:**

**TIME:** 9 a.m.

**DAY:** Tuesday

**DATE:** December 27

**ACTION REQUESTED:**

Your comments

Other:

**STAFF RESPONSE:**

I concur.

No comment.

*Please note other comments below.*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Previous comments

HS - no comment

FMora - no comment

JW - no comment

TSL - concu

Greg S - attached

## ROGER BALDWIN BIOGRAPHY

- 1) Born - January 21, 1884, Wellesley, Massachusetts; Wellesley Public Schools; Harvard - A.B. 1904; A.M. 1905.
- 2) Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 and its Executive Director for 30 years until 1950.
- 3) Chairman of National Committee for ACLU 1950 to 1955.
- 4) 1950 to present -- Chief International Affairs Advisor in relation to U.N. activities as they affect the United States.
- 5) Honorary President and former Board Chairman for the International League for Human Rights -- founded in 1942. The International League for Human Rights is comprised of National Civil Rights Agencies in over 30 countries and is affiliated with the U.N. in a consulting role. ACLU is among its member agencies.
- 6) Since retirement from administrative work in 1950, Roger Baldwin has specialized in international work for human rights abroad and at home. He served as consultant to General MacArthur on civil rights matters in Japan in 1947. For this, he received the Order of the Rising Sun. He served as Civil Liberties Advisor to General Clay in Germany, 1948, and has also served as Civil Liberties Advisor to legislators in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. He has traveled widely with U.N.-connected missions specializing in matters affecting civil rights in overseas territories.
- 7) Prior to WWI, Roger Baldwin was engaged for over 10 years in political and civil reform in St. Louis, Missouri. Upon graduation from Harvard in 1905, he engaged in social work in a slum district and established the Sociology Department at Washington University. For several years, he was the Chief Officer of the St. Louis Juvenile Court and Secretary of the National Probation Association.
- 8) He left St. Louis in 1917, when the war broke out, to volunteer his services by counselling conscientious objectors. The ACLU grew out of the wartime experience of opposing the repression of dissent and conscience. He has since been associated with many pacifist and international organizations as well as many organizations in the field of conservation.

- 9) Baldwin taught at the New School for Social Research in New York and served for many years on the Harvard Overseer Visiting Committee of the Economics Department. Prior to his collapse before Thanksgiving, 1977, Baldwin was teaching law at the University of Puerto Rico Law School.
- 10) He is a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the author of several books and countless articles on political and social topics.
- 11) He holds Honorary Doctor of Law Degrees from Washington University, Yale, and Brandeis. Mr. Baldwin is a widower, father of three children and nine grandchildren.

THE MEDAL OF FREEDOM

Presented by  
President Truman

CHARMAN, William H.	1/26/46
HOWE, George L.	2/18/46
JACKSON, Gordon Thorpe	1/26/46
MAZZARINI, Richard	2/18/46
POULLET, Pierre A., Father	1/26/46
PULESTON, Dennis	2/18/46
SUN, Chen	2/18/46
WEST, Norman H.	1/26/46
WHEELER, William M., Jr.	2/18/46

Presented by  
President Eisenhower

ANDERSON, Robert B.	8/3/55
DOUGLAS, James H.	1/18/61
DULLES, John Foster	5/19/59
GALARD-TERRAUBE, Mademoiselle Genevieve de	6/29/54
GATES, Thomas S.	1/18/61
GRAY, Gordon	1/18/61
HERTER, Christian A.	1/18/61
KISTIAKOWSKY, George Bogdan	1/18/61
McELROY, Neil	12/1/59
QUARLES, Donald A.	7/9/59
STRAUSS, Lewis L.	7/14/58
VON NEUMANN, Dr. John	2/15/56
WILSON, Charles E.	10/9/57

Presented by  
President Kennedy

SPAACK, Paul-Henri	2/21/61
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THE PRESIDENTIAL MEDAL OF FREEDOM

Presented by  
President Johnson

ACHESON, Dean G.	9/14/64
ANDERSON, Marian	12/6/63
BLACK, Eugene R.	1/20/69
BRONK, Detlev W.	9/14/64
BUNCHE, Ralph J.	12/6/63
BUNDY, McGeorge	1/20/69
BUNKER, Ellsworth	12/6/63, 2/6/68

CASALS, Pablo	12/6/63	
CAULFIELD, Genevieve	12/6/63	
CLIFFORD, Clark	1/20/69	
CONANT, James B.	12/6/63	
COPELAND, Aaron	9/14/64	
DeBAKEY, Dr. Michael E.	1/20/69	
deKOOING, Willem	9/14/64	
DISNEY, Walter	9/14/64	
DOBIE, J. Frank	9/14/64	
DUBINSKY, David	1/20/69	
EDWARDS, Lena F.	9/14/64	
ELIOT, Thomas Stearns	9/14/64	
ELLISON, Ralph	1/20/69	
ENDERS, John F.	12/6/63	
FONTANNE, Lynn	9/14/64	
FORD, Henry, II	1/20/69	
FRANKFURTER, Felix	12/6/63	
GARDNER, John W.	9/14/64	
HARRIMAN, W. Averell	1/20/69	
HESBURGH, Theodore M.	9/14/64	
HOLTON, Karl	12/6/63	
HOPE, Bob	1/20/69	
JOHNSON, Clarence L.	9/14/64	
KAISER, Edgar F.	1/20/69	
KAPPEL, Frederick	9/14/64	
KELLER, Helen	9/14/64	
KENNEDY, John Fitzgerald	12/6/63	(posthumously)
KIPHUTH, Robert J.	12/6/63	
KOMER, Robert W.	2/6/68	
LASKER, Mary	1/20/69	
LEHMAN, Herbert H. (Governor)	12/6/63	(posthumously)
LEWIS, John L.	9/14/64	
LIPPMANN, Walter	9/14/64	
LOCKE, Eugene Murphy	2/7/68	
LOVETT, Robert A.	12/6/63	
LUNT, Alfred	9/14/64	
McCLOY, John J.	12/6/63	
McGILL, Ralph	9/14/64	
McNAMARA, Robert S.	28/28/68	
MacDONALD, J. Clifford	12/6/63	(posthumously)
MACY, John W., Jr.	1/20/69	
MEANY, George	12/6/63	
MEIKLEJOHN, Alexander	12/6/63	
MONNET, Jean	12/6/63	
MORISON, Samuel Eliot	9/14/64	

MUMFORD, Lewis	9/14/64	
MUNOZ-MARIN, Luis	12/6/63	
MURROW, Edward R.	9/14/64	
NIEBUHR, Reinhold	9/14/64	
PECK, Gregory	1/20/69	
POPE JOHN XXIII, His Holiness	12/6/63	(Posthumously)
PRICE, Leontyne	9/14/64	
RANDALL, Clarence B.	12/6/63	
RANDOLPH, A. Philip	9/14/64	
ROCKEFELLER, Laurance S.	1/20/69	
ROSTOW, Walt Whitman	1/20/69	
RUSK, Dean	1/16/69	
SANDBURG, Carl	9/14/64	
SERKIN, Rudolf	12/6/63	
SMITH, Merriman	1/20/69	
STEICHEN, Edward	12/6/63	
STEINBECK, John	9/14/64	
TAUSSIG, Helen B.	9/14/64	
TAYLOR, George W.	12/6/63	
VANCE, Cyrus R.	1/20/69	
VAN DER ROHE, Ludwig Mies	12/6/63	
VINSON, Carl	9/14/64	
WATERMAN, Alan T.	12/6/63	
WATSON, Mark S.	12/6/63	
WATSON, Thomas J., Jr.	9/14/64	
WAUNEKA, Annie D.	12/6/63	
WEBB, James E.	12/9/68	
WHITE, E. B.	12/6/63	
WHITE, Paul Dudley	9/14/64	
WHITE, William S.	1/20/69	
WILDER, Thornton N.	12/6/63	
WILKINS, Roy	1/20/69	
WILSON, Edmund	12/6/63	
WYETH, Andrew	12/6/63	
YOUNG, Whitney M., Jr.	1/20/69	

Presented by  
President Nixon

ALDRIN, Edwin E., APPOLLO 13 Mission Operations Team	8/13/69 4/18/70
ARMSTRONG, Neil A.	8/13/69
BEHRENS, Earl Charles	4/22/70
BROSIO, Manlio	9/29/71
COLLINS, Michael	8/13/69
ELLINGTON, Edward Kennedy	4/29/69
FOLLIARD, Edward T.	4/22/70
FORD, John	3/31/73
GOLDWYN, Samuel	3/27/71

HAISE, Fred Wallace., Jr.	4/18/70	
HENRY, William M.	4/22/70	(posthumously)
HOFFMAN, Paul G.	6/21/74	
HOPKINS, William J.	6/2/71	
KROCK, Arthur	4/22/70	
LAIRD, Melvin R.	3/26/74	
LAWRENCE, David	4/22/70	
LINCOLN, George Gould	4/22/70	
LOVELL, James A., J r.	4/18/70	
LOWMAN, Dr. Charles LeRoy	7/27/74	
MOLEY, Raymond	4/22/70	
ORMANDY, Eugene	1/24/70	
ROGERS, William P.	10/15/73	
ST. JOHNS, Adela Rogers	4/22/70	
SWIGERT, John Leonard, Jr.	4/13/70	
VANN, John Paul	6/16/72	(posthumously)
WALLACE, Dewitt and Lila	1/28/72	

Presented by  
President Ford

ABEL, I. W.	1/10/77	
BARDEEN, John	1/10/77	
BERLIN, Irving	1/10/77	
BORLAUG, Norman	1/10/77	
BRADLEY, General Omar N.	1/10/77	
BRUCE, David K. E. (with distinction)	2/10/76	
BURKE, Admiral Arleigh	1/10/77	
CALDER, Alexander	1/10/77	(posthumously)
CATTON, Bruce	1/10/77	
DiMAGGIO, Joe	1/10/77	
DURANT, Ariel	1/10/77	
DURANT, Will	1/10/77	
FIEDLER, Arthur	1/10/77	
FRIENDLY, Judge Henry J.	1/10/77	
GRAHAM, Martha (with distinction)	10/14/76	
JOHNSON, Lady Bird	1/10/77	
KISSINGER, Henry A.	1/13/77	
MacLEISH, Archibald	1/10/77	
MICHENER, James Albert	1/10/77	
O'KEEFFE, Georgia	1/10/77	
OWENS, Jesse	8/5/76	
ROCKEFELLER, Nelson A.	1/10/77	
ROCKWELL, Norman	1/10/77	
RUBINSTEIN, Arthur (with distinction)	4/1/76	
RUMSFELD, Donald H.	1/19/77	
SHOUSE, Katherine Filene	1/10/77	
THOMAS, Lowell	1/10/77	
WATSON, James, D.	1/10/77	

Presented by  
President Carter

KING, Martin Luther  
SALK, Jonas

7/11/77 (posthumously)  
7/11/77



**OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET**

Date: 12-23-77

TO : Robert D. Linder

FROM: James M. Frey  
Assistant Director for  
Legislative Reference

Attached for the enrolled bill file  
is the VA views letter on H.R. 6666.

*MSL*



VETERANS ADMINISTRATION  
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS AFFAIRS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20420



December 21, 1977

The Honorable  
James T. McIntyre, Jr.  
Acting Director, Office of  
Management and Budget  
Washington, D. C. 20503

Dear Mr. McIntyre:

This will respond to the request of the Assistant Director for Legislative Reference for the views of the Veterans Administration on the enrolled enactment of H.R. 6666, 95th Congress, a bill to be known as the "Legal Services Corporation Act Amendments of 1977."

The subject Act authorizes continued funding of the private, nonprofit Legal Services Corporation and makes several technical amendments to the Legal Services Corporation Act (42 U.S.C. 2996), none of which would directly affect the Veterans Administration. Nevertheless, the following three areas are of interest to this agency as they directly affect veterans: (1) setting of priorities for assistance, (2) limitations on the use of funds in fee-generating cases, and (3) an assessment study on special needs of certain types of eligible clients.

Section 9(b) of the subject Act requires that the Legal Services Corporation in setting its priorities for assistance give consideration to those groups of low-income persons with special legal problems or difficulty of access to legal services. The Conference Report (House Report No. 95-825) at page 12 clearly states that the two groups mentioned, i.e., "elderly and handicapped individuals," are suggestive only and that other groups subject to the assessment study mentioned below, such as veterans, are to be examined in this priority setting process. We concur in that approach.

Section 10 of the subject Act relaxes the existing requirement of 42 U.S.C. 2996f(b)(1) which precluded legal

assistance with respect to any "fee-generating" case. The qualifying language added by Section 10 ("which guidelines shall not preclude the provision of legal assistance in cases in which a client seeks only statutory benefits and appropriate private representation is not available") now allows the Corporation to assign Social Security and Veterans Administration benefits cases to its attorneys without first attempting to refer such cases to a private lawyer before providing representation. As noted in Senate Report No. 95-172 at page 16: "Legal Services lawyers have developed and demonstrated unique expertise in administrative law relating to statutory benefits. It is difficult for lawyers in private practice, who rarely provide representation in these low-paying cases, to develop familiarity with highly complex and ever-changing regulations required to provide adequate representation." While veterans are competently represented by national service organizations, such as the American Legion, VFW, and Disabled American Veterans, as well as by attorneys in private practice, we do not object to the increased Legal Services attorney representation that may result from this amendment.

Section 13 of the subject Act requires that a study be conducted (and a report submitted to Congress by January 1, 1979) on whether eligible clients who are veterans, among others, have special difficulties of access to legal services or special legal problems which are not being met. It was noted at page 17 of the Conference Report that the conferees "believe that the Corporation, when examining and taking appropriate action to meet the needs of all veterans, should be particularly concerned about the needs for legal assistance of veterans (eligible for legal assistance under this title) with upgraded administrative discharges which are affected by the provisions of Public Law 95-126 during the period ending October 7, 1978." We agree with this provision and would be pleased to extend to the Corporation our assistance in this study.

Although the Veterans Administration has not previously been asked to comment on H.R. 6666, 95th Congress, we believe the amendments mentioned above are in the best interest of veterans. We, therefore, recommend its approval by the President.

Sincerely,



Deputy Administrator - In the absence of  
MAX CLELAND  
Administrator

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Date: December 23, 1977

MEMORANDUM

FOR ACTION:

Stu Eizenstat  
Jody Powell  
Tim Kraft

FOR INFORMATION:

Vice President

FROM: Rick Hutcheson, Staff Secretary

SUBJECT: Costanza memo re: Request to award Medal of Freedom to Roger Baldwin on 94th birthday

YOUR RESPONSE MUST BE DELIVERED  
TO THE STAFF SECRETARY BY:

TIME: 9 a.m.

DAY: Tuesday

DATE: December 27

ACTION REQUESTED:

Your comments

Other:

The President will be out of the city on January 21, hopefully on vacation at St. Simon's or points South. I ~~STAFF RESPONSE:~~ staff think the medal should be awarded to Roger Baldwin, I suggest that the Vice President make No comment.

Please note other comments below:

the presentation on behalf of the Pres.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 27, 1977

Jody Powell

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

Rick Hutcheson

RE: INTERVIEW WITH LEDGER AND  
ENQUIRER STAFF MEMBERS