

**1/21/80 [1]**

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/19/80

Mr. President:

Jimmy Allen will be at the WH tuesday morning at your breakfast for Evangelical leaders. He has asked for 5 minutes to follow up on his Iran support. If you want to see him I suggest he walk back from breakfast with you as a quick meeting.

           schedule walk to Oval office

           have Zbig meet with him

           other

Phil

*St Aug  
Love & do whatever  
you wish -  
God is love  
Truth often rides on the  
back of error*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1980

*Christ - Poland, Korea,  
China -  
Religions - Egypt, Israel, Sweden*

*N Redund  
Iran*

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANNE WEXLER  
BOB MADDOX

SUBJECT: Speech to the 37th Annual Convention of the National Religious Broadcasters

*Creators & exemplifying  
highest principles of  
those we serve  
you/I serve Christ  
also I serve us  
I fear that I will  
betray*

*Family - Things don't  
Need to go - listen  
2 mos explaining  
"down again"*

*Public  
Servant*

*India vs State  
Freedom vs Subjugation  
God vs atheism  
Terror, Lee  
vs peace*

The National Religious Broadcasters, a branch of the National Association of Evangelicals, includes 400 Christian radio stations, 30 television stations and approximately 400 program producers with such notables as Rex Humbard and Billy Graham among its membership. The NRB adheres to a theologically conservative statement of the Christian faith. It's Executive Director is Dr. Ben Armstrong, a highly respected and influential evangelical. The convention runs Sunday through Wednesday.

Your speech will be carried live on some of the national radio and television Christian networks, will be replayed many times and will be translated into eight languages, ultimately reaching millions of evangelicals. At the end of your speech, the group will stand and sing a special song in your honor.

As you know the following morning (Tuesday, January 22) you have a drop-by question/answer session with 15 evangelical leaders. Though there is no official connection between the convention and the breakfast, most of the people at the breakfast will have heard your speech. You should reserve your comments on specific issues for the breakfast drop-by. However, for your information, some of the issues of concern to the evangelical leaders include: abortion, national defense, the family, prayer in public schools, involvement of government agencies in religious institutions, appointment of evangelicals to government and White House Staff and your feelings on the spiritual climate of the nation.

Finally, Dr. Jimmy Waters from Macon, Georgia, says, "Tell the President to give the same kind of address at this convention that he gave to the 1972 Georgia Baptist Convention."

WEXLER/MADDOX -- MEMO OF INFORMATION RE MONDAY NIGHT SPEECH

6:50 P.M.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT'S APPEARANCE AT THE  
NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS  
37th ANNUAL CONVENTION

Schedule

JANUARY 21, 1980

ATTIRE: Business Suit

6:50 pm The President proceeds to motorcade  
for boarding.

MOTORCADE DEPARTS South Lawn en route  
Washington Hilton Hotel

(Driving time: 5 minutes)

6:55 pm MOTORCADE ARRIVES Washington Hilton  
Hotel.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE  
CLOSED ARRIVAL

The President will be  
greeted by:

Dr. David L. Hofer, President,  
National Religious Broadcasters

Dr. Benjamin L. Armstrong,  
Executive Director, National  
Religious Broadcasters

6:57 pm The President proceeds inside Washington  
Hilton Hotel to holding room.

PERSONAL/STAFF TIME: 4 minutes

7:01 pm The President departs holding room en route offstage announcement area.

7:02 pm The President arrives offstage announcement area and pauses.

Announcement

7:03 pm The President proceeds inside International Ballroom en route stage and takes his seat.

7:04 pm Introduction of the President by Dr. David Hofer, President, National Religious Broadcasters.

7:05 pm Presidential remarks.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE  
ATTENDANCE: 3500

Live TV via Satellite over Religious Broadcasters network.  
Estimated viewing audience: 40 million worldwide.

7:20 pm Remarks conclude.

The President departs stage and proceeds to motorcade for boarding greeting the guests along the way.

7:25 pm MOTORCADE DEPARTS Washington Hilton Hotel en route South Lawn.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE  
CLOSED DEPARTURE

(Driving time: 5 minutes)

7:30 pm MOTORCADE ARRIVES South Lawn.

DIAS GUEST

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS  
37th ANNUAL CONVENTION

DR. DAVID L. HOFER, president of NRB, is owner and president of radio stations KRDU and KLTA-FM in Dinuba, California. He is past president of the Gideons International and heads its international extension committee, with an outreach into 118 countries.

E. BRANDT GUSTAVSON, first vice president of NRB, is vice president of Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Illinois. He oversees Moody Broadcasting, Moody Press, Moody Monthly and development programs. He is also a member of the board of directors and president of the Evangelical Christian Publishers Association.

RICHARD P. BOTT, second vice president of NRB, is president of Bott Broadcasting Company in Kansas City, Missouri. Bott Broadcasting operates KCCV in Kansas City, KQCV in Oklahoma City and WFWR in Fort Wayne, Indiana.

DR. EUGENE R. BERTERMANN, NRB secretary, is associate director of Lutheran Bible Translators headquartered in Orange, California. Dr. Bertermann is formerly executive director of the Far East Broadcasting Company and was executive secretary of Lutheran Television for the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod. Dr. Bertermann served as NRB president for 18 years.

BISHOP ROBERT F. ANDREWS of Winona Lake Indiana is one of the five bishops of the Free Methodist Church in North America. He has served as speaker on the denominational broadcast Light and Life Hour since 1965.

DR. ROBERT A. COOK, executive committee member, is speaker on the daily King's Hour and president of The King's College in Briarcliff Manor, New York. He is a well-known Christian author.

PAUL R. HOLLINGER, executive committee member, is general manager of WDAC-FM in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

DR. HOWARD O. JONES, executive committee member, is an associate evangelist with the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. He is speaker on the weekly radio program Hour of Freedom, which he produces under the auspices of the BGEA in Oberlin, Ohio. The broadcast is minority-oriented and airs internationally.

MELVIN A. JONES, executive committee member, is executive director of The Back to the Bible Broadcast, which is the center of a multilingual, multimedia missionary organization headquartered in Lincoln, Nebraska.

DIAS GUEST

NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS  
37th ANNUAL CONVENTION

DR. THOMAS F. ZIMMERMAN, executive committee member, is general superintendent of the Assemblies of God denomination, headquartered in Springfield, Missouri. He is one of the founders of NRB and a longtime executive committee member. Dr. Zimmerman is also on the board of directors of the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelism, heading its communications working group. He is planning committee chairman for the LCWE-sponsored American Festival of Evangelism which will take place in Kansas City, Missouri in July 1981.

DR. BENJAMIN L. ARMSTRONG, NRB executive director since 1967, is formerly director of radio for Trans World Radio. Dr. Armstrong lives in Madison, New Jersey and is author of "The Electric Church," a history of evangelical broadcasting in the U.S. and around the world, published by Thomas Nelson in 1979.

DR. HERBERT L. BOWDOIN is speaker on The Methodist Hour, which originates from Lexington, Kentucky. He formerly worked with the Ford Philpot Evangelistic Association and produced more than 300 episodes of the religious TV series The Story.

LARNELLE HARRIS, who sang the title song to the movie "Born Again", regularly appears on national religious TV programs, including Billy Graham crusade telecasts and specials. He has appeared as a soloist at many Billy Graham Crusades and major Christian music events.

DR. JOHN W. WILLIAMS is pastor of St. Stephen Baptist Church in Kansas City, Missouri and a member of the board of directors of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. Dr. Williams has held leadership posts in the National Baptist Convention, the Baptist World Alliance, the National Council of Churches and the NAACP. He has served on the White House Conference on Children and Youth and the President's National Advisory Council of Economic Opportunity.

DR. JIMMY WATERS, former president of Southern Baptist Radio and TV Commission, Macon, Georgia.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 21, 1980

To: Bill Simon

From : Bob Maddox *BM*

Subject: NAMES TO BE RECOGNIZED BY THE PRESIDENT AT THE NATIONAL  
RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS CONVENTION

Dr. Hofer (like <sup>HOE</sup>~~deugh~~-fur), Dr. Armstrong, Dr. Bertermann,  
Larnell Harris, Dr. Williams, Members of the Rex Humbard Family,  
Dr. Jimmy Waters (from Georgia), Dr. Bowdoin (like Boh'den),  
Members of the Executive Committee, Chairman Ferris and Members  
of the Federal Communication Commission, members and friends of  
National Religious Broadcasters, ladies and gentlemen:

[The names in the first paragraph will be confirmed or corrected in writing no later than 3 P.M. on Monday by Bob Maddox x7060.]

Achsah Nesmith  
Draft A-1 1/17/80  
Scheduled Delivery:  
Mon., Jan. 21, 7 P.M.

Remarks to Religious Broadcasters

Dr. Hofer (like dough'-fur), Dr. Armstrong, Larnell (like Mar'-nell) Harris, members <sup>and friends</sup> of the National Religious Broadcasters Board, ~~members of the Federal Communications Commission~~, ladies and gentlemen:

Three years ago I took the oath of office as President of the United States. It was a responsibility I sought with every resource available to me, and I have tried to carry it out with the same all-out commitment. As I have sought to carry out my responsibilities, to mold policies and programs, to meet the needs of the moment and to prepare our Nation for a future we can only dimly see, I have been forced as never before <sup>had</sup> to rely on God's help.

As President, I have been privileged to meet men and women of great faith whose worship and background is very different from my

*and to worship with*  
own, ~~as well as~~ fellow believers who share a common tradition that  
is precious to me.

*The Bible*  
~~I read the Bible every day.~~ Rosalynn and I often read it  
*every day*  
together, not as some sort of mystical guidebook ~~[or magic talisman]~~  
to give us quick and simple solutions to life's problems, but  
because we find new insights and inspiration in passages we have  
read since childhood.

The Bible does not tell us just about mighty warriors,  
great geniuses, wise leaders. It also tells us of *sinful* ~~reluctant~~ men  
*or reluctant*  
and women, sometimes stubborn, or selfish or weak, struggling with  
their own fears and failures and lack of faith. Yet with God's  
help they were able to do great things.

God has always done his work through imperfect people, seeing  
the strength beneath their obvious weakness, the potential hidden  
behind their failures, the courage beneath their fear. Only when  
*own personal*  
they realized their limitations could God work fully in their lives.

*Peatti/Macris  
have changed again  
h*

*the seventies*

~~This~~ has been called the decade of the "Me Generation", and there is evidence all around us of self-indulgence. There is also evidence that even in the frantic effort to accumulate possessions, to define ourselves and our lives in material terms, there is a longing for meaning and purpose. <sup>*There is a hunger for things which do not change.*</sup> Our people have suffered great disillusionment in recent years. Yet it is not illusions they need, but the courage to face reality and come to terms with it.

Sometimes <sup>a</sup> ~~man's~~ search for faith and meaning is distorted into terrible acts, as recent experiences have painfully reminded us. The urge to believe is so strong that faith has great power, even when it is perverted into terrorism and tyranny. We see it in fanatical acts of cruelty and repression in the name of religion all around the world. The hungry, the homeless, the hostages all are testimony to man's continuing capacity for evil.

Yet we see as well the great urge of decent people to ease the suffering. We see nations and institutions and individuals

giving [of] their time and effort and money to make life bearable and better for a struggling population or a homeless child.

Our Nation has been specially blessed, yet in our abundance and freedom we are <sup>too</sup> quick to <sup>complain and</sup> turn aside from our <sup>principles and ideals.</sup> ~~goals~~. We are often like the children of Israel who <sup>were delivered from slavery</sup> ~~after they were brought~~ safely ~~out of~~ Egypt, while the Lord <sup>and</sup> provided manna [for their needs] each day, <sup>but</sup> ~~complained~~ <sup>about the discipline and remembered the</sup> ~~that they had had~~ fish and melons in ~~of~~ Egypt (Numbers 11:5).

~~We are quick to forget the manna and the freedom, remembering~~ <sup>We ~~the~~ blessings of ~~our~~</sup> ~~chafe at the discipline, and covet~~ <sup>our</sup> only the taste of the fish and melons and forgetting that the ~~and other luxuries that can~~ price of those passing pleasures was bondage.

Like the children of Israel, we cannot always know where the road will lead. God gives us guidance, but he does not provide road maps.

Often we feel limited because we do not know the real value

of things. Lands that once were regarded as worthless are now prized for their oil and mineral resources. ~~I was a peanut farmer, but peanuts were not always an important crop. The early settlers of Georgia did not realize that peanuts were a valuable source of protein.~~ We are limited not so much by what we have, as by our understanding of what is valuable and how to use it.

Our Nation is faced with serious challenges <sup>and choices</sup> ~~[at home and abroad that will require adjustments and even]~~ sacrifice, but it is important that we keep our perspective and realize what is truly valuable. It is no sacrifice to give up waste, <sup>to submit to God's will, to care for others, to struggle for peace, to tell the truth,</sup> ~~Current problems provide us the opportunity to decide as a Nation what our real goals are and how best to meet them, the chance to stop [trying to] defining ourselves and our lives in terms of material possessions.~~

We need not look at the <sup>problems</sup> ~~[challenges]~~ of today as <sup>a reason</sup> ~~[shrinking our possibilities, even where changes are required.]~~ <sup>for fear.</sup> This Nation was built by men and women who dared to strike out on new paths, who

saw change as opportunity, who held to enduring values even as they opened up new worlds.

We cannot recapture their world, but we can recapture their spirit of unity and mutual concern. We can share their faith, ~~in the future amid all the evidence of unconcern and inhumanity.~~

It has always been easier to destroy than to build. It has always been easier to turn away than to try to help. *A television station or ~~the~~ Oval Office is a powerful pulpit. Our years those who care and quietly struggle have managed to build up influence can be greatly magnified.* ~~more than the careless and cruel could destroy.~~ As we have multiplied our capacity to do evil, we have also multiplied our capacity to do good. We still have a choice. We still have a responsibility. We still have hope.

The next months and years will not be easy. God never promised us freedom would be easy, only that it was worth the cost.

God does not promise to make us perfect here on earth, only to *forgive* ~~give~~ our sins. God never promised a life without a cross, only ~~us~~ the strength to bear our burdens. Those burdens vary, our gifts

and responsibilities vary, but God meets all of us at the point of our needs if we let Him.

You here tonight, as Christian broadcasters, have a great responsibility. Millions of people listen to your voices, watch your programs. Through your newscasts, your talk shows, your special <sup>programs,</sup> as well as your preaching, you have an awesome power to shape public opinion. Even more than <sup>those</sup> [journalists] in commercial broadcasting, you must take the time, pay the price, to <sup>give a</sup> get all <sup>true message when you are</sup> ~~sides of an issue before you go on the air.~~

Since I have been in Washington, I have come to understand more completely what Paul meant about praying without ceasing.

~~[I do not closet myself for long hours at a time, but]~~ I do pray throughout the day -- as I move from one event to another, wait for a foreign official, decide issues that will affect the lives of people in one community or throughout the world. ~~I do not always get the answer I want.~~ I do not always make the right

*because I do not always follow God's will.*  
decision, ~~That is not because God is unreliable, but because~~  
~~sometimes I misunderstand His will or do not accept it, or because~~  
~~others get in the way of His will for me or for our Nation.~~

I am strengthened by the prayers of others, of those I love  
and of people throughout the Nation whom I may never meet. Even  
when people do not agree with a particular stand I take, they  
still keep praying for me as President. I need your prayers  
and your help in *helping to build a nation and*  
~~building the kind of Nation, the kind of world~~  
~~that I believe God would have us build --]~~ a world of freedom  
and justice and opportunity, of love and community, where our  
knowledge and power can be used to feed the hungry, to heal the  
sick, to husband the resources of our beautiful, bountiful earth.

Each of us has unique responsibilities, unique opportunities.  
As President of the wealthiest, most powerful Nation on earth, I  
have special responsibilities. *Some other*  
~~The~~ nations of the world look to  
us to respond to the dangers, to defend democracy, to set limits,

to live up to our own high principles even when they do not. When that responsibility weighs heaviest and I am most aware of my own limitations, it is good to know that I am not alone.

I remember the story of Moses at Rephidim (Ex. 17). The children of Israel were murmuring against Moses. As soon as he solved one problem, another would arise. Then Amalek attacked. While Joshua led Israel's soldiers, Moses stood on a high hill. As long as Moses held up his hands, the Israelites prevailed, but when he let down his hands, Amalek prevailed. They fought on through the day, and Moses' arms grew weary. Then Aaron and Hur came on each side and held up his hands. Moses' hands were steady until sundown and the Israelites prevailed.

No matter how strong his will, no matter how much he might want to, a President cannot carry out his responsibilities alone.

I have found that when my arms grow weary, there are those on each side to help hold up my hands.

*I thank God for the responsibilities and for the help.*

# # #

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

DR. "HO-FUR", DR. ARMSTRONG, "LAR-NELL" HARRIS,

MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS BROADCASTERS,

LADIES & GENTLEMEN:

EXCITED - SEE FAMOUS PEOPLE =

SPEECHES LATELY BEFORE 594

Δ DUTIES = fm 4 YRS AGO = THIS YEAR YOU DEFINE "BORN AGAIN"

THREE-YEARS-AGO I TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IT WAS A RESPONSIBILITY I SOUGHT WITH ~~EVERY RESOURCE AVAILABLE TO ME~~,  
AND I HAVE TRIED TO CARRY IT OUT WITH THE SAME ALL-OUT COMMITMENT. /

ALL MY ABILITY

AS I HAVE SOUGHT TO CARRY OUT MY ~~RESPONSIBILITIES~~ DUTIES

TO MOLD POLICIES & PROGRAMS,

TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE MOMENT, AND

TO PREPARE OUR NATION FOR A FUTURE WE CAN ONLY DIMLY SEE,

I HAVE, AS NEVER BEFORE, HAD TO RELY ON GOD'S HELP. //

AS PRESIDENT I HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO MEET MEN & WOMEN OF GREAT FAITH,

OR NO FAITH

WHOSE <sup>CONVICTIONS</sup> ~~WORSHIP~~ & BACKGROUND <sup>ARE</sup> ~~IS~~ VERY DIFFERENT FROM MY OWN,

AND TO WORSHIP WITH FELLOW BELIEVERS

WHO SHARE A COMMON TRADITION THAT IS PRECIOUS TO ME.

BIBLES (GIDGONS)

A MISSIONARY WORK = VICE PREMIER OF CHINA

SHARED MY FAITH WITH LEADERS OF KOREA & POLAND

SENSE OF BROTHERHOOD = MOSLEM LDR of EGYPT & JEWISH LDR of ISRAEL

QUIET & PRIVATE <sup>WORSHIP &</sup> PRAYER IN SECLUSION OF NEW HOME IN W.H.

OR AT C DAVID

1. ROSALYNN & I READ THE BIBLE TOGETHER EVERY ~~DAY~~, NIGHT

2. NOT AS SOME SORT OF MYSTICAL GUIDEBOOK ↗

TO GIVE US QUICK & SIMPLE SOLUTIONS TO LIFE'S PROBLEMS,

3. BUT BECAUSE WE FIND NEW INSIGHTS & INSPIRATION *IN THIS PRESENT JOB*  
IN PASSAGES WE HAVE READ SINCE CHILDHOOD.

I AM GLAD THAT

4. THE BIBLE DOES NOT TELL US JUST ABOUT MIGHTY WARRIORS,

<sup>PROPHETS</sup>  
GREAT GENIUSES, WISE LEADERS.

5. IT ALSO TELLS US OF SINFUL MEN & WOMEN, <sup>MEN</sup> ~~KA~~ LIKE THE DISCIPLES,

SOMETIMES STUBBORN OR RELUCTANT, OR SELFISH, OR WEAK,

6. STRUGGLING WITH THEIR OWN FEARS & FAILURES & LACK OF FAITH.

7. YET WITH GOD'S HELP THEY WERE ABLE TO DO GREAT THINGS.

I AM THANKFUL THAT

8. GOD HAS ALWAYS DONE HIS WORK THROUGH IMPERFECT PEOPLE,

SEEING THE STRENGTH BENEATH THEIR OBVIOUS WEAKNESS,

THE POTENTIAL HIDDEN BEHIND THEIR FAILURES,

THE COURAGE BENEATH THEIR FEAR.

9. ONLY WHEN THEY REALIZED THEIR OWN PERSONAL LIMITATIONS

COULD GOD WORK FULLY IN THEIR LIVES.

- 1. THE 70's HAS BEEN CALLED THE DECADE OF THE "ME GENERATION", *BUT*  
~~AND THERE IS EVIDENCE ALL AROUND US OF SELF-INDULGENCE.~~
- 2. THERE IS ~~ALSO~~ <sup>GRATIFY</sup> EVIDENCE THAT EVEN IN THE FRANTIC EFFORT TO ACCUMULATE POSSESSIONS,  
-- TO ~~DEFINE~~ <sup>GRATIFY</sup> OURSELVES ~~(AND OUR LIVES)~~ IN MATERIAL TERMS --
- 3. THERE IS A LONGING FOR MEANING & PURPOSE.
- 4. THERE IS A HUNGER FOR THINGS-WHICH-DO-NOT-CHANGE.
- 5. ~~OUR PEOPLE HAVE SUFFERED GREAT DISILLUSIONMENT IN RECENT YEARS.~~ *BILLY GRAHAM  
KOREA 1952  
POPE JOHN PAUL  
CHICAGO - 11/2*
- 6. ~~YET IT IS NOT ILLUSIONS THEY NEED,~~  
~~BUT THE COURAGE TO FACE REALITY & COME TO TERMS WITH IT.~~

- 7. *EVEN RELIGIOUS* SOMETIMES A SEARCH <sup>FOR</sup> FAITH & MEANING IS DISTORTED INTO TERRIBLE ACTS,  
AS RECENT EXPERIENCES HAVE PAINFULLY REMINDED US.
- 8. THE URGE TO BELIEVE IS SO STRONG THAT FAITH HAS GREAT POWER,  
EVEN WHEN IT IS PERVERTED INTO TERRORISM & TYRANNY.
- 9. WE SEE IT IN FANATICAL ACTS OF CRUELTY & REPRESSION  
IN THE NAME OF RELIGION ALL AROUND THE WORLD.
- 10. THE HUNGRY, THE HOMELESS, THE HOSIAGES --  
ALL ARE TESTIMONY TO MAN'S CONTINUING CAPACITY FOR EVIL.

1. YET WE SEE AS WELL THE GREAT URGE OF DECENT PEOPLE TO EASE ~~THE~~ SUFFERING.
2. WE SEE NATIONS & INSTITUTIONS & INDIVIDUALS  
GIVING THEIR TIME & EFFORT & MONEY  
TO MAKE LIFE BEARABLE & BETTER  
FOR A STRUGGLING POPULATION OR A HOMELESS CHILD.
3. OUR NATION HAS BEEN SPECIALLY BLESSED,
4. YET IN OUR ABUNDANCE & FREEDOM  
WE ARE TOO QUICK TO COMPLAIN & TURN ASIDE FROM OUR PRINCIPLES & IDEALS.
5. WE ARE OFTEN LIKE THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL  
WHO WERE DELIVERED FROM <sup>EGYPT</sup> ~~SLAVERY~~ & PROVIDED MANNA EACH DAY,
6. BUT COMPLAINED ABOUT THE DISCIPLINE  
<sup>COVETED</sup> AND ~~REMEMBERED~~ THE FISH & MELONS OF EGYPT. (NUMBERS 11:5)  
-- WHILE FORGETTING THE SLAVERY
7. LIKE THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, WE CANNOT ALWAYS KNOW WHERE THE ROAD WILL LEAD.
8. GOD GIVES US GUIDANCE, BUT HE DOES NOT PROVIDE ROAD MAPS, <sup>WITH</sup>  
A SURE DESTINATION.

1. OFTEN WE FEEL LIMITED BECAUSE WE DO NOT KNOW THE REAL VALUE OF THINGS.
2. LANDS THAT ONCE WERE REGARDED AS WORTHLESS  
ARE NOW PRIZED FOR THEIR OIL & MINERALS.
3. WE ARE LIMITED NOT SO MUCH BY WHAT WE HAVE.
4. AS BY OUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT IS VALUABLE & HOW TO USE IT.
  
5. OUR NATION IS FACED WITH SERIOUS CHALLENGES & CHOICES  
WHICH MAY REQUIRE SACRIFICE,
6. BUT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE KEEP OUR PERSPECTIVE  
AND REALIZE WHAT IS TRULY VALUABLE.
7. IT IS <sup>NOT A</sup> SACRIFICE TO GIVE UP WASTE, TO SUBMIT TO GOD'S WILL,  
TO CARE FOR OTHERS, TO STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, TO TELL THE TRUTH.
  
8. WE NEED NOT LOOK AT THE PROBLEMS OF TODAY AS A REASON FOR FEAR.
9. THIS NATION WAS BUILT BY MEN & WOMEN WHO DARED TO STRIKE OUT ON NEW PATHS,  
WHO SAW CHANGE AS OPPORTUNITY,  
WHO HELD TO ENDURING VALUES EVEN AS THEY OPENED UP NEW WORLDS.

1. WE CANNOT RECAPTURE THEIR WORLD,
2. BUT WE CAN RECAPTURE THEIR SPIRIT OF UNITY & MUTUAL CONCERN.
3. WE CAN SHARE THEIR FAITH.

- ~~4. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN EASIER TO DESTROY THAN TO BUILD.~~
- ~~5. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN EASIER TO TURN AWAY THAN TO TRY TO HELP.~~
6. A TELEVISION STATION OR THE OVAL OFFICE IS A POWERFUL PULPIT.
7. OUR INFLUENCE CAN BE GREATLY MAGNIFIED.
8. ~~AS WE HAVE <sup>A</sup>MULTIPLIED ~~OUR~~ CAPACITY TO DO EVIL,~~  
WE HAVE ALSO MULTIPLIED OUR CAPACITY TO DO GOOD.

- ~~9. WE STILL HAVE A CHOICE.~~
- ~~10. WE STILL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY.~~
- ~~11. WE STILL HAVE HOPE.~~

WITH TREMENDOUS AUDIENCE  
HUMILITY DOES NOT COME NATURALLY  
ONE MEASURE OF BEST  
GREATNESS ← EXEMPLIFYING  
HIGHEST PRINCIPLES OF THOSE  
WE SERVE  
YOU/I SERVE CHRIST  
I ALSO SERVE AMERICA  
NO INCOMPATIBILITY  
BIGGEST CONCERN IS THAT I  
MIGHT BETRAY THOSE ~~MASTERS~~  
WHOM I SERVE

1. THE NEXT MONTHS & YEARS WILL NOT BE EASY. *BUT I KNOW*
2. GOD NEVER PROMISED US FREEDOM WOULD BE EASY,  
ONLY THAT IT WAS WORTH THE COST.
3. GOD DOES NOT PROMISE TO MAKE US PERFECT HERE ON EARTH,  
ONLY TO FORGIVE OUR SINS.
4. GOD NEVER PROMISED A LIFE WITHOUT A CROSS,  
ONLY THE STRENGTH TO BEAR OUR BURDENS.
5. ~~THOSE BURDENS VARY, OUR GIFTS & RESPONSIBILITIES VARY,~~
6. ~~BUT GOD MEETS ALL OF US AT THE POINT OF OUR NEEDS IF WE LET HIM.~~

*CHANGE*

*OUR NATION IS HUNGRY FOR THE TRUTH.*

7. YOU HERE TONIGHT, AS <sup>RELIGIOUS</sup> ~~CHRISTIAN~~ BROADCASTERS, HAVE A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY.
8. MILLIONS OF PEOPLE LISTEN TO YOUR VOICES, WATCH YOUR PROGRAMS.
9. ~~THROUGH YOUR NEWSCASTS, YOUR TALK SHOWS,~~  
~~YOUR SPECIAL PROGRAMS, AS WELL AS YOUR PREACHING,~~
10. YOU HAVE AN AWESOME POWER TO SHAPE PUBLIC OPINION.
11. EVEN MORE THAN THOSE IN COMMERCIAL BROADCASTING,  
YOU MUST TAKE THE TIME, PAY THE PRICE,  
TO GIVE A TRUE MESSAGE WHEN YOU ARE ON THE AIR.

1. SINCE I HAVE BEEN IN WASHINGTON I HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND MORE COMPLETELY WHAT PAUL MEANT ABOUT PRAYING WITHOUT CEASING.
2. I DO PRAY THROUGHOUT THE DAY --  
AS I MOVE FROM ONE EVENT TO ANOTHER, WAIT FOR A FOREIGN OFFICIAL,  
DECIDE ISSUES THAT WILL AFFECT THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN ONE <sup>SMALL</sup> COMMUNITY  
OR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.
3. I DO NOT ALWAYS MAKE THE RIGHT DECISION,  
BECAUSE I DO NOT ALWAYS FOLLOW GOD'S WILL.  
*TRUTH OFTEN RIDES ON THE BACK OF ERROR*
4. I AM STRENGTHENED BY THE PRAYERS OF OTHERS,  
OF THOSE I LOVE & OF PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE NATION WHOM I <sup>WILL</sup> ~~MAY~~ NEVER MEET.
5. EVEN WHEN PEOPLE DO NOT AGREE WITH A PARTICULAR STAND I TAKE,  
THEY STILL KEEP PRAYING FOR ME AS PRESIDENT.

THOSE

1. I NEED YOUR PRAYERS & YOUR HELP AS I HELP TO  
IN ~~HELPING~~ TO BUILD A NATION & A WORLD  
OF FREEDOM & JUSTICE & OPPORTUNITY, OF LOVE & COMMUNITY,
2. WHERE OUR KNOWLEDGE & POWER & WEALTH  
CAN BE USED TO FEED THE HUNGRY, TO HEAL THE SICK, TO STRENGTHEN  
FAMILIES, TO HUSBAND THE RESOURCES OF OUR BEAUTIFUL, BOUNTIFUL EARTH.
3. EACH OF US HAS UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITIES, UNIQUE OPPORTUNITIES.
4. AS PRESIDENT OF THE WEALTHIEST, MOST POWERFUL NATION ON EARTH,  
I HAVE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.
5. SOME OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD LOOK TO US  
TO RESPOND TO THE DANGERS, TO DEFEND DEMOCRACY, TO SET LIMITS,  
TO LIVE UP TO OUR OWN HIGH PRINCIPLES EVEN WHEN THEY DO NOT, *DO THE SAME.*
6. WHEN THAT RESPONSIBILITY WEIGHS HEAVIEST & I AM MOST AWARE OF MY OWN LIMITATIONS
7. IT IS GOOD TO KNOW THAT I AM NOT ALONE.

AS PRESIDENT,

1. I REMEMBER THE STORY OF MOSES AT "REPHIDIM". (Ex. 17)
2. THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL WERE MURMURING AGAINST MOSES.
3. AS SOON AS HE SOLVED ONE PROBLEM, ANOTHER WOULD ARISE.
4. THEN AMALEK ATTACKED.
5. WHILE JOSHUA LED ISRAEL'S SOLDIERS, MOSES STOOD ON A HIGH HILL.
6. AS LONG AS MOSES HELD UP HIS HANDS, THE ISRAELITES PREVAILED,
7. BUT WHEN HE LET DOWN HIS HANDS, AMALEK PREVAILED.
8. THEY FOUGHT ON THROUGH THE DAY, AND MOSES' ARMS GREW WEARY.
9. THEN AARON & HUR CAME ON EACH SIDE & HELD UP HIS HANDS.
10. MOSES' HANDS WERE STEADY UNTIL SUNDOWN & THE ISRAELITES PREVAILED.

STRONG HIS DESIRE

1. NO MATTER HOW STRONG HIS WILL, NO MATTER HOW ~~MUCH HE MIGHT WANT TO~~,
2. A PRESIDENT CANNOT CARRY OUT HIS RESPONSIBILITIES ALONE.
3. I HAVE FOUND THAT WHEN MY ARMS GROW WEARY,
4. THERE ARE THOSE ON EACH SIDE TO HELP HOLD UP MY HANDS.
5. I THANK GOD FOR THE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND FOR THE HELP.

# # #

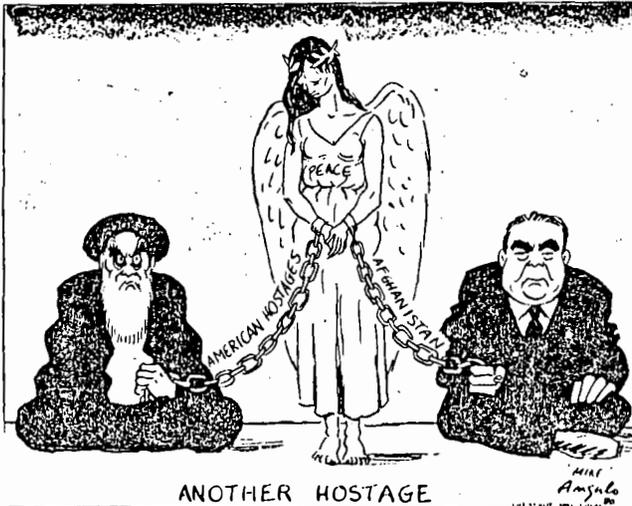
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/21/80

Emidio Angelo --

President Carter asked  
me to send you the enclosed  
copy of your letter which  
includes his note -- with  
his best regards!

-- Susan *Clough*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/20/80

Pat Bario --

(Ain't it fun?!?)

How 'bout sending copy  
of his incoming with  
"note" in margin back  
to him....perhaps with  
note from you or Jim.  
(If not from either of  
you, you may want to use  
my note, attached.)

Thanks--Susan Clough

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1980

MEMO FOR SUSAN CLOUGH  
FROM PAT BARIO

Apparently, this is one of your  
regulars.

PYB:bl  
Attachment

EMIDIO ANGELO • 7201 WISSAHICKON AVENUE • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19119 CH 2 - 8222

January 5, 1980

President Jimmy Carter  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Your speech last night was forceful and to the point. The Soviet Union also believes in PEACE, only spelled, "PIECE". A "Pie~~ce~~" of land here and a "Pie~~ce~~" of land there.

At the start of your first term as President I sent you a cartoon now at almost the end of your first term "but not your last" I'm sending you a clipping of my latest cartoon.

The subject you will note is Peace, which you stressed in your speech last night.

Cordially,  
*Emidio Angelo*  
Emidio Angelo

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

Thanks!  
Jimmy

18  
Pat Carter

1677

McIntyre said you  
requested attached.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JAN 17 1980

C  
/

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JIM McINTYRE *Jim*

SUBJECT: 1981 Budget - "Alternate Budget Proposals"

I wanted you to see this draft language on "Alternate Budget Proposals," required by the Congress to be presented along with your 1981 budget. It will appear in Part 6, "Perspectives on the Budget."

To meet our printing schedule, I would appreciate knowing any comments you may have by the close of business Friday, January 18.

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

January 17, 1980

### ALTERNATE BUDGET PROPOSALS

In April 1979, the Congress enacted a new temporary limit on the Federal debt (Public Law 96-5). Included in the Act was a provision that "If a budget which is transmitted by the President to the Congress . . . would, if adopted, result in a deficit in fiscal year 1981 or in fiscal year 1982, the President shall also transmit alternate budget proposals which, if adopted, would not result in a deficit." This section outlines such alternative budget proposals, describes the difference between the budget and alternate budget proposals, and explains why the budget proposed by the President is clearly preferable to these alternatives.

This discussion emphasizes, as it must, alternative taxing and spending proposals to those in the 1981 budget. No alternative budget policy, however, can be considered independent of economic conditions. This is particularly true for this budget.

The 1981 budget proposed by the President includes a deficit of \$15.8 billion, a 60 percent reduction from the deficit currently estimated for 1980. But, at the same time, this budget projects a mild economic downturn during calendar year 1980: a projection which has a considerable effect on the 1980 and 1981 budget deficits. In fact, as discussed in Part 2, if the economy were to perform strongly enough to keep the unemployment rate at its current level, the 1981 budget would be in surplus. This budget

January 17, 1980

### ALTERNATE BUDGET PROPOSALS

In April 1979, the Congress enacted a new temporary limit on the Federal debt (Public Law 96-27). Included in the Act was a provision that "If a budget which is transmitted by the President to the Congress . . . would, if adopted, result in a deficit in fiscal year 1981 or in fiscal year 1982, the President shall also transmit alternate budget proposals which, if adopted, would not result in a deficit." This section outlines such alternative budget proposals, describes the difference between the budget and alternate budget proposals, and explains why the budget proposed by the President is clearly preferable to these alternatives.

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thus embodies prudent and responsible spending proposals, and a fiscal policy appropriate to our economic circumstances. An alternative, harsher fiscal policy would result in a deeper and more prolonged economic downturn.

As noted in Part 2, this budget is the third to be prepared using the zero-base budget review process. This process has allowed the administration to establish priorities that make the best use of the taxpayers' dollars. Reduction and cost saving proposals have been recommended where possible and emphasis has been placed on increasing the efficiency of existing programs.

To balance the budget in 1981, either taxes would have to be increased or Federal spending reduced below the restrained levels proposed in this budget, or a combination of both actions would be required. Increased taxes or decreased Federal spending would have secondary effects on the economy and therefore on other federal programs. They would reduce real economic growth and employment and thereby reduce tax receipts and raise unemployment-sensitive spending. Consequently, tax increases or spending cuts in excess of the \$15.8 billion deficit now estimated would be needed to balance the budget. For purposes of this discussion, it has been estimated that \$20 billion in tax increases or spending decreases would be required to produce a balanced budget in 1981. This amount would be greater if these measures were placed in effect before the fiscal year began.

The undesirable effects of actions to increase taxes or to reduce spending still further in 1981 can be explained best by discussing specific alternatives. A number of alternative ways to achieve a balanced budget are possible. The alternatives considered here involve both tax and spending choices.

Tax choices.--The 1981 budget could be balanced by raising taxes through a surcharge on individual and corporate income taxes. To produce sufficient receipts to balance the 1981 budget, a surcharge of about 6% would be required. Such a surcharge would not, however, be in either the short-run or the long-run interest of our Nation. In the short-run, such an income tax increase would be likely to delay and weaken recovery from the downturn that is expected during the first half of this year. Unemployment would be increased, with very little decrease in inflation. From the longer-run perspective, it is the goal of this administration to reduce tax burdens, not to increase them. A tax increase therefore moves in exactly the opposite direction from that planned by this administration and desired by the American people.

Another possible source of major tax increases would be payroll taxes. It would be particularly inappropriate to raise payroll taxes beyond those increases already scheduled under current law. Such increases would have all of the bad effects of increases in

income taxes and in addition would raise business costs and thereby increase inflation.

Another option that would increase receipts would be to further increase the proposed windfall profit tax. The tax proposed by the administration strikes a balance between providing adequate incentives to increase energy production and capturing windfall gains resulting from decontrol of oil prices. Increases in windfall profit taxes substantially above those proposed by the administration would adversely affect production incentives.

Spending choices.--If achievement of a balanced budget irrespective of economic circumstances and national priorities were the administration's sole aim, an alternative to tax increases might be program reductions leading to lower spending. Obviously, such changes might be made in a variety of ways, however unacceptable. There could be a choice between a relatively few major program reductions or widespread, relatively small decreases.

The following are a few of the larger changes that could be considered:

	Alternate Budget Outlay Reductions (in billions of dollars)			
	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
Defense.....	----	-2.2	-11.0	-20.0

The amount of these reductions represents the effect on defense outlays if no real growth were planned in obligational authority through 1983. Such a reduction would be completely unacceptable because the resulting defense levels would prevent the United States from achieving its fundamental national security objectives. We would not be able (1) to maintain our strategic forces as an effective deterrent to both nuclear and conventional warfare, (2) to meet NATO commitments that increase defense efforts to prevent eventual Soviet military superiority, and (3) to develop the overall force structure necessary to assure our national security now and in the future.

Social security, veterans compensation and pensions, civil service and military retirement, and other programs indexed to the Consumer Price Index.....	-1.1	-6.1	-11.4	-17.1
---	------	------	-------	-------

Under this option, inflation-related increases in retirement, veterans, and disability benefits would be limited to three-quarters of the adjustment that would otherwise be made. A change of such magnitude would be precipitous and inequitable and therefore unacceptable to this administration.

General revenue sharing.....	----	-5.1	-6.9	-6.9
------------------------------	------	------	------	------

General revenue sharing grants to States and localities could be terminated. Since the inception of this program in 1972, the revenue-generating ability of State and local tax systems, in the aggregate, has grown rapidly relative to that of the Federal Government. Despite these improvements, however, general-purpose fiscal assistance is needed to redistribute aid to jurisdictions less able to meet their service obligations. Significant disparities in fiscal capacity among States and localities remain and are substantial enough to warrant continued Federal redistributive efforts.

Federal pay increases.....	----	-1.9	-3.0	-3.0
Defense.....	----	(-1.8)	(-1.8)	(-1.8)
Civilian agencies and programs.....	----	(-1.1)	(-1.1)	(-1.1)

This alternative would deny Federal pay increases that are scheduled for October 1980; the estimates for 1982 and 1983 assume that this reduction would not be made up in later years. Failure to provide this increase would inordinately concentrate restraint on public servants; in the long-run such a policy would make government less effective.

Targeted and anti-recession fiscal assistance.....	-0.2	-1.0	-1.0	-0.5
---	------	------	------	------

Under this option, pending legislation to assist localities experiencing high unemployment and fiscal strain would be withdrawn. This assistance is urgently needed in the areas experiencing the greatest fiscal distress.

Energy security initiatives....	-0.3	-3.7	-5.2	-7.3
Low income assistance.....	(---)	(-2.4)	(-2.4)	(-2.4)
Energy supply and conservation.....	(-0.2)	(-0.6)	(-1.8)	(-3.5)
Transportation programs.....	(-0.1)	(-0.6)	(-1.0)	(-1.3)

Estimates of 1981 spending would be reduced significantly if the administration did not propose its energy security program. Such an action would be irresponsible in view of the current energy shortage, the long-run nature of the Nation's energy problem, and the need to assist low income individuals facing dramatic increases in utility costs.

As an alternative to making reductions exclusively in major programs, some of the reductions listed above could be chosen together with a number of detailed reductions throughout the budget. The following is one such list but it should be noted that by itself it yields only one quarter of the reduction required to balance the 1981 budget.

ALTERNATE 1981 BUDGET  
SMALLER REDUCTIONS THROUGHOUT THE BUDGET  
(in millions of dollars)

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
<u>International affairs</u> .....	-525	-319	-244
Reductions in food aid, AID development programs, the economic support fund and contributions to the multilateral develo- ment banks.....	(-439)	(-130)	(-95)
Reductions in Export-Import Bank direct loans.....	(-15)	(-90)	(-60)
Reductions in State Department programs.....	(-71)	(-99)	(-89)
<u>Energy programs</u> .....	-470	-1,098	-1,553
Across-the-board reductions in supply and conservation programs (other than energy security programs).....	(-241)	(-290)	(-456)
Delays in oil purchases for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.....	(-228)	(-808)	(-1,097)
<u>Agriculture</u> : Reductions in operating support and construction funds for land grant colleges, grading and marketing services, and basic research.....	-24	-22	-22
<u>Natural resources</u> .....	-434	-431	-424
Elimination of the Agricultural Conservation Program.....	(-63)	(-190)	(-190)
One-year reduction in Corps of Engineers construction of water resources projects...	(-100)	(---)	(---)
Reduction in planned acquisition of park areas, and other recreational lands as well as endangered species habitats by the Land and Water Conservation Fund.....	(-60)	(-30)	(-30)
Reduction in basic operations of the Forest Service.....	(-42)	(-57)	(-57)
Reduction in EPA municipal wastewater facilities construction grants.....	(-20)	(-30)	(-60)
Other reductions (Park Service operations, non-construction activities of the Corps of Engineers, earthquake prediction research, urban recreation grants, historic preservation, saline water research and development, operation and maintenance activities of the Water and Power Resources Service, air and water quality grant programs, and river basin surveys.).....	(-147)	(-122)	(-85)

## ALTERNATE 1981 BUDGET (continued)

	<u>1981</u>	<u>1982</u>	<u>1983</u>
<u>Highway trust fund: Maintenance of the 1981 program level at the same level as 1980 (\$8.4 billion).....</u>	-60	-240	-80
<u>Welfare reform: Cancellation of demonstration projects.....</u>	-226	-271	-34
<u>Public service jobs: Reductions of 25,000 jobs from planned levels.....</u>	-248	-262	-278
<u>Health programs:.....</u>	-846	-318	-306
Elimination of funding for Public Health Service hospitals and clinics.....	(-168)	(-165)	(-165)
Delay of health services initiatives for one year.....	(-55)	(-40)	(-10)
Delay of benefits improvements for Medicare and Medicaid for one year.....	(-578)	(---)	(---)
Reduction in program level for drug abuse treatment services.....	(-21)	(-70)	(-75)
Reduction in program level for community health centers.....	(-18)	(-31)	(-38)
Elimination of adolescent health programs....	(-6)	(-12)	(-18)
<u>Income security programs.....</u>	-570	-1,015	-1,586
Reduction of Federal housing subsidies for low income tenants.....	(-414)	(-801)	(-1,297)
"Freeze" in deductions from gross income permitted for food stamp eligibility and benefit level determination.....	(-110)	(-110)	(-110)
Smaller increases in special supplemental food programs for Women and Infant Children (WIC)	(-46)	(-104)	(-179)
<u>Veterans benefits and services.....</u>	-324	-289	-277
No increases in medical programs and benefits, construction, and other programs.....	(-144)	(-146)	(-162)
Elimination of proposed 10% rate increase in GI bill benefits.....	(-180)	(-143)	(-115)
<u>LEAA block grant program: Elimination of grant assistance to State and local governments for criminal justice programs.....</u>	-87	-214	-307
<u>Mass transit operating assistance: Decrease in Section 5 Base Tier Formula grants below 1980 levels.....</u>	-50	-5	---

The reductions identified above are not included in this budget.

Among their more significant effects would be:

- a disproportionate burden on veterans and the poor and disadvantaged if the indicated changes were made in programs for veterans, housing subsidies, food stamps, WIC, and public service jobs;
- delays in increasing energy supply and conservation that would be in direct conflict with the urgency of finding solutions to national energy problems;
- lack of an appropriate response on the part of the United States to international food and development needs;
- increased costs in future years for programs and projects (such as EPA construction grants) that can be postponed but not cancelled if national needs are to be met;
- elimination of necessary efforts to preserve national resources and to use our renewable resources; and,
- termination of Federal assistance to cities and counties for criminal justice programs.

Every effort has been made in the 1981 budget and in the earlier budgets of this administration to eliminate unnecessary spending. Reductions or terminations of low priority or outmoded programs have been proposed. As is noted in Part 2 of this Budget, substantial operating efficiencies and cost reductions have been achieved and more are proposed. Substantial additional reductions cannot be achieved without actual program reductions, and this would mean unavoidably that important national needs would go unmet. For these reasons, the administration does not recommend that the reductions listed above be made.

Consideration of these alternative budget proposals is useful nonetheless because it illustrates the nature of the task the President faces each year in his review of the budget. Indeed, he has already made a large number of such choices in order to arrive at the restrained 1981 budget.

These alternatives were not forced in order to appear intractable. Indeed, they are not dissimilar from alternatives the President sees every year. Most of the budget is composed of spending for national security and programs that the President is required under current law to carry out automatically. To achieve significant reductions, the President must face a series of difficult tradeoffs. Should he propose legislative changes in major entitlement programs that directly affect millions of people, or should he risk reductions in national security, or

both? It is not likely that the Congress or the public would accept substantial reductions in either of these areas. Yet massive cuts in the remainder of the budget, which comprises less than 25 percent of the total, would almost certainly create an ineffective government unacceptable to most.

The effort to restrain Government spending must be continuous and must take place incrementally over a period of time. Restraint cannot be accomplished by rhetorical statements or by general directions to eliminate waste, fraud, and abuse. It requires hard and unending efforts to determine the effectiveness of programs and to eliminate or change those that do not meet their objectives. Such changes must be accompanied by the difficult task of coping with the expectations and hopes of program supporters.

The alternative approaches mentioned in this section may appear particularly unpalatable. Indeed, all actions that would result in major budget reductions are unpalatable to someone. A President faces and makes these kinds of choices each year. This discussion of alternative proposals may mean that there will be more understanding of the problems inherent in restraint and more assistance in achieving sustainable restraint in the future.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1/21/80

Jack Watson  
Arnie Miller

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

Rick Hutcheson

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 17, 1980

①

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK WATSON *Jack*  
ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT:

Federal Co-Chairman, Four Corners Regional  
Commission

In January 1979, we made a recommendation to you that the current Federal Co-Chairman of the Four Corners Regional Commission, Kenneth Baskette, Jr., be replaced. Baskette's performance had been less than adequate and he had frequently failed to support this Administration's policies. You approved our recommendation last year for replacing Baskette with Fabian Chavez, Jr. Chavez subsequently decided not to accept the position.

We recommend Gary Blakeley, of New Mexico, to replace Baskette, who, at our request, has submitted his resignation. Blakeley was appointed by Governor Bruce King to head the Energy and Conservation Management Division of the New Mexico State Energy and Minerals Department. Prior to that, he served on the New Mexico Public Service Commission, appointed by former Governor Apodaca. He has also served as Director of Governmental Affairs for the Greater Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of the Legislative Committee of the New Mexico Democratic Party.

We have consulted the five Governors of the region and, at our request, each has met with Mr. Blakeley. Except for Dick Lamm, the Governors will support Blakeley's nomination. Lamm originally recommended Baskette.

Luther Hodges concurs.

RECOMMENDATION

That you nominate Gary Blakeley, of New Mexico to be Federal Co-Chairman of the Four Corners Regional Commission.

approve

disapprove

GARY BLAKELEY  
OF New Mexico

EXPERIENCE

1979 - Present	Head of the Energy and Conservation Management Division of the State Energy and Minerals Department, State of New Mexico
1979	Energy consultant to New Mexico business concerns
1975 - 1979	New Mexico Public Service Commission
1972 - 1975	Director of Governmental Affairs, Greater Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce

EDUCATION

1972	B.S., Eastern New Mexico University Portales, New Mexico
------	---

PERSONAL

White Male  
Age 31  
Democrat

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 15, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACK WATSON *Jack*  
ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT: Overseas Private Investment Corporation

The position of Executive Vice President of OPIC has been vacant since the beginning of your administration. Before your reorganization of development assistance and trade programs, it was not necessary that the position be filled. Since the responsibilities of the president of OPIC have been increased as a result of these efforts, filling the position at this time seems appropriate.

During our search, we sought candidates with strong management backgrounds and international business experience.

Dean R. Axtell, of Illinois, currently serves as President and Chief Executive Officer of a medium-sized manufacturing concern in Chicago. He has successfully marketed his products in Europe, Asia, and South America. His strong management credentials would allow him to assume a large part of the day-to-day management of OPIC, freeing the president to meet his increased external responsibilities. He has been very highly recommended by Wallace Hyde.

Bruce Llewellyn, President of OPIC, and Frank Moore concur with the following recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION:

Nominate Dean R. Axtell, of Illinois, for the position of Executive Vice President of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

✓ APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

DEAN R. AXTELL  
Illinois

EXPERIENCE:

1976 - Present      President and Chief Executive Officer,  
AMCA International Corporation, DESA  
Industries Division.

1974 - 1976      Vice President and General Manager,  
AMCA International Corporation,  
Varco-Pruden Division.

1955 - 1974      Vice President of Building Systems to  
Vice President of Operations,  
Inland Ryerson Construction Products  
Company.

EDUCATION:

1950      B.B.A., University of Wisconsin.

1953      CPA, State of Wisconsin

PERSONAL:

White Male  
Age 52  
Democrat

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 15, 1980

①

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK WATSON *Jack*

ARNIE MILLER *AM*

SUBJECT:

National Consumer Cooperative Bank

Recently, you signed a bill allowing for the expansion of the Board of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank from thirteen members to fifteen members. You appoint the two new members. One must come from the private sector and the other from government.

Frank B. Sollars, of Ohio, is a board member of the Nationwide Insurance Companies and Board Chairman of Nationwide Mutual, the nation's fourth largest auto insurer, and parent company of all Nationwide Companies. Additionally, he owns and operates a farm, serves as president of a family company that manufactures farm equipment, and serves as board Chairman of a small bank.

His appointment would be well received by the small business community, which has felt its views were not adequately represented among the earlier thirteen Board members appointed.

Alexis M. Herman currently serves as Director of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Prior to joining the Administration, she was employed by two organizations -- the Southern Regional Council and the Campaign for Human Development -- which were very active in the support of cooperative ventures as opportunities for economic development in low-income communities.

Larry Connell, Board Chairman of the Bank and your appointee as Chairman of the National Credit Union Administration, and Frank Moore concur with the following recommendation.

RECOMMENDATION:

Nominate Frank B. Sollars, of Ohio, and Alexis M. Herman to the Board of Directors of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank.

Secretary Marshall supports the nomination of Herman.

✓  
\_\_\_\_\_ APPROVE

\_\_\_\_\_ DISAPPROVE

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for Preservation Purposes

FRANK B. SOLLARS  
Ohio

EXPERIENCE:

Present Farm Owner and Operator, Fayette County, Ohio.  
President, Sollars Brothers Corporation, (farm equipment manufacturing).  
Chairman, Board of Directors, Fayette County Bank.  
1972 - Present Chairman, Board of Directors, Nationwide Mutual Insurance Company.  
1968 - Present Member, Board of Directors, Nationwide Mutual, Fire, Life and General Insurance Companies.  
1965 - 1968 President, Ohio Farm Bureau Federation.

OTHER ACTIVITIES:

Past Director, Ohio Chamber of Commerce.  
Past Member, Board of Directors, American Farm Bureau Federation.

EDUCATION:

1939 Diploma, Washington Court House High School, Ohio.

PERSONAL:

White Male  
Age 58

ALEXIS M. HERMAN  
Washington, D. C.

EXPERIENCE:

1979 - Present      Coordinator, Minority Bank Deposit  
Program, U. S. Department of Labor.

1977 - Present      Director, Women's Bureau,  
U. S. Department of Labor.

1972 - 1977      National Director, Minority Women's  
Employment Program, RTT, Inc.,  
Atlanta, Georgia.

1972 - 1975      Member, Board of Directors,  
Campaign for Human Development.

1972 - 1974      Executive Staff, Southern Regional  
Council.

EDUCATION:

1969      B.A., Xavier University, New Orleans,  
Louisiana.

PERSONAL:

Black Female  
Age 32  
Democrat

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/21/80

Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned  
in the President's outbox  
today and is forwarded  
to you for appropriate  
handling. Please notify  
DOE et al  
Rick Hutcheson

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1980

*See - See  
me after you  
go over st of  
Duncan speech  
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*  
SUBJECT: KITTY SCHIRMER  
Comments on the Duncan Memorandum on  
Energy Emergency Actions

I concur with the first two recommendations in the Duncan memorandum concerning the level of the 1980 oil import target and selection of an import fee as the backstop enforcement device.

I differ, however, with Secretary Duncan on whether you should declare an energy emergency in your State of the Union address and state your intent to set mandatory state gasoline targets. Secretary Duncan recommends that you defer declaration of an emergency until the mandatory targets have been worked out with the Governors and a clearer basis for the emergency declaration is available.

I strongly recommend that you make the declaration of emergency -- by finding a risk of future supply interruption in your State of the Union address. Implementing mandatory state gasoline targets is one of the few energy initiatives we will have in 1980 and I believe the time is right to capitalize on the strong public patriotism generated by the Iranian and Afghanistani situations. While we cannot expect this program to result in large savings, we should get the Governors involved through mandatory state conservation plans and use this as a means to focus public attention on energy.

The proposed State of the Union language I sent you earlier this morning contains the phrasing I recommend for an emergency declaration. This preserves an opportunity to work out the details of state targets with the Governors, but permits you to take decisive action by making the needed statutory finding.

On the final point addressed in the Duncan memo -- amendments to your rationing authority under S. 1030 -- I strongly agree with their recommendation that we defer submission of any amendments until after the standby

rationing plan has been approved. Even with a very full, strong White House lobbying effort we lost gas rationing last year; I do not expect it to be much easier this year, particularly in view of reduced staff in Frank Moore's shop.

A defeat of our standby plan would be a far more serious blow, both substantively and politically, than a delay in sending legislation which you mentioned in your Frank Reynolds interview. Given the strong congressional views that changes to S. 1030 will jeopardize approval of the plan itself, delay in submitting legislation is, to me, the wisest course.





THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Charles W. Duncan, Jr.  
by John C. Sawhill, Deputy Secretary

SUBJECT: Implementation of Energy Emergency Actions

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to John C. Sawhill, Deputy Secretary.

We recommend that you take actions to execute the policy decisions which you reached after the economic and energy discussions held during the week of December 16, 1979. These recommendations have been reviewed by both the Executive Council of the Energy Coordinating Committee and the Economic Policy Group. These items are appropriate for inclusion in your State of the Union Address.

1. Oil Import Targets for 1980.

Actual 1979 net oil imports were 7.9 MMB/D including 0.1 MMB/D for SPR. This level was 0.3 MMB/D below our target of 8.2 MMB/D. Unless there is a new interruption, DOE estimates that world oil production will exceed demand in 1980. These estimates assume that Iran continues stable production of about 3.0 MMB/D through the year, and that non-OPEC production increases by about 0.8 MMB/D during the year. In the foregoing circumstances, even if U.S. imports were as high as 8.2 MMB/D, they would not likely cause significant upward pressures on world oil prices.

DOE estimates net U.S. oil imports for 1980 of 7.2-7.8 million barrels per day (MMB/D), excluding Strategic Petroleum Reserve (SPR) fill. The "best estimate" is 7.5 MMB/D. This assumes no new demand restraint actions, but reflects the expected impact of higher oil prices and slower economic activity (as now estimated by Charlie Schultze). The uncertainty in the import level stems from such variables as oil prices, the weather, the level of domestic oil production, and the level of economic activity. If we were to fill the SPR at close to the maximum feasible rate, the 1980 imports could be increased by an annual average of about 300,000 B/D, yielding a range of 7.5-8.1 MMB/D for net imports. Thus, to have high confidence that the target would not be exceeded, it would have to be greater than 8.1 MMB/D. (The estimate of imports in 1981 is 7.3-7.9 MMB/D, excluding SPR fill. Thus, we are predicting little change from 1980 to 1981 in oil imports.)

Another consideration is that we should not now announce a low oil import target, such as 7.6 or so before the IEA meeting in March. Such an announcement could undermine our bargaining leverage with other IEA countries.

Unless you disagree, we will begin consultations with the major producing and consuming countries as a prelude to resumption of SPR purchases. We are preparing a separate memorandum for you on SPR purchases.

We recommend that you:

- o Announce that the 1979 oil import target of 8.2 million barrels per day (MMB/D) set last July was met and bettered as a result of conservation efforts by Americans; and
- o Announce that oil imports in 1980 will be held to no more than 8.2 MMB/D (300,000 B/D less than the target of 8.5 MMB/D set at Tokyo last June); that we will work to do better than 8.2 MMB/D; and that a lower target may be set if the IEA countries agree on an overall reduction at their meeting in March.

Decision:

          ✓          

Approve

Disapprove

2. Oil Import Fee.

We recommend that the mechanism for enforcing the oil import target be an oil import fee. You would impose the fee under the authority of the Trade Expansion Act if oil imports threatened to exceed 8.2 MMB/D (or any lower target set subsequent to the March IEA meeting). If a fee were imposed, it would help hold down pressures on world oil prices and limit U.S. dependence on foreign oil. You should not now determine the level of any such fee, or whether the fee would be passed on entirely to gasoline or spread among all products. If the fee were imposed and spread to all products, it would lead to similar increases in the price of decontrolled domestic crude, with some of these increases captured by the windfall profits tax.

You can decide this issue separately from that of gasoline decontrol, which will be the subject of a separate memo. The two issues have this relation: if there were a shortage, decontrolled gasoline would likely rise to a price sufficient to "clear" the market without the assistance of a fee. There are significant differences: fee-based price rises go to the government, and those of decontrol go to oil companies. A

fee can be used to suppress demand regardless of whether any actual shortage occurs and thus to reduce consumption for other purposes -- here, to meet an import target founded on broader considerations. It can reduce demand beyond the level existing under decontrol. Gasoline decontrol could not dependably enforce a target, because the target could be exceeded even at a decontrolled price and because decontrol allows prices to rise primarily during shortages, when there is less likely a threat to exceed the target. Decontrol or a fee can be used together or separately, depending on the results desired.

The level of any fee should be determined at the time of decision to impose it, based on latest demand projections. For example, a fee of \$5 per barrel would be expected to reduce consumption by an average of about 100,000 to 150,000 barrels per day during the first 12 months. The fee should not be "variable," but should be "fixed," subject only to infrequent adjustment if there were major developments in the world oil market. Because of the lag time in market response to higher prices, adjusting the fee level in response to short-term demand changes would be inappropriate (particularly in view of the inaccuracy of short-term demand data). A variable fee, which would decrease as oil prices rise, might also give OPEC incentive to displace it by raising prices.

In your speech of July 15, 1979 you announced your intention to set a quota to limit oil imports and directed the Secretaries of Energy and Treasury to develop recommendations for enforcement of the quota. A Notice indicating your intention to implement your decision, and seeking public comment was published in the Federal Register on October 3, 1979. We recommend that you approve the import fee mechanism and that this decision conclude formal consideration of alternative ways to implement the quota.

Decision:

Approve

Disapprove

### 3. Mandatory State Gasoline Targets.

DOE, in consultation with the states, is now developing state gasoline consumption targets. You have authority to make these targets mandatory if you determine that "a severe energy supply disruption exists or is imminent" with respect to gasoline or petroleum. The statute requires that the "information and analysis" providing the basis of the determination be sent to Congress and made available to the public.

We are assessing whether there is adequate basis for such a determination. Pending the results, as well as the consultations with the Governors, and the development of the standby Federal plan, we recommend that you should not now declare an energy emergency. DOE believes that such a determination now would upset the process of conferring with the states.

If there proves to be an adequate basis, we believe the determination should be made after consultations are complete. A reduction in demand would tend to put downward pressure on world oil prices, help our inflation and balance of payment problems and reduce our dependency. It sends the proper international signal and would encourage consumption habits consistent with the building of a conservation ethic.

If made, the determination should be announced and the targets set at the beginning of March 1980. This would require the States to submit conservation plans by about April 15, 1980, and have them in effect before the heavy driving season. A detailed timetable is available.

Any such targets should be set at levels which aggregate about a 200,000 B/D reduction from projected national demand for 1980 at the time the declaration is made. State conservation actions will probably not be able to achieve greater reductions, absent the imposition of substantial gasoline tax increases and other measures which may not be feasible.

Decision:

*Confusing*

*I will say in St of Union that mandatory standards will be set - Not declare an emergency now*

\_\_\_\_\_ ✓

Plan to declare an energy emergency and make gasoline targets mandatory in March, if basis proves adequate.

*J*

\_\_\_\_\_

Announce your intention now to declare an energy emergency; gasoline targets would become mandatory when consultation with the Governors is concluded and a standby Federal plan is published.

4. Amendments to S.1030.

DOE will prepare a comprehensive package of proposed changes to S.1030 for your consideration, including changes to:

- o Reduce the oil shortfall requirement for imposing rationing, from 20% to 5%, as you suggested;
- o Provide authority for the Government to buy coupons under a full-scale rationing system to assure that available coupons match the gasoline supply;

- o Possibly provide broader authority for a streamlined rationing system that could be implemented quickly if necessary; and
- o Remove the 8% shortfall requirement for imposing a Federal conservation plan on states whose plans are ineffective.

We do not believe the package of S.1030 changes should be submitted to Congress before Congressional approval of the rationing plan currently scheduled to be sent to the Hill later in February. White House legislative liaison staff believes earlier submission will adversely affect our ability to obtain prompt approval of the plan.

The legislative liaison staff also reports that with the possible exception of the third proposal, the Hill strongly opposes these changes and that previous compromises are likely to be reopened. OMB agrees with this assessment. Members of both Houses point out that the law was written to give you authority to impose rationing for shortfalls of less than 20 percent, subject to approval by both Houses.

Moreover, you should be aware that the current law does not require an actual shortfall of 20 percent from current supply projections in order to impose rationing. The law contains a formula for calculating a supply criterion which employs a base period within the last 36 months, with an allowance for "normal growth." Application of the formula to our current situation would yield a statutory "shortfall" of 5-10 percent now, despite presently adequate supplies.

We are, at your request, analyzing the possibility of using credit cards rather than coupons for rationing and will submit a memorandum to you in February.

DECISION:

*I will state in S.O. that 20% is too high a shortage*

\_\_\_\_\_ Prepare legislative package now for submission after rationing plan is approved.

\_\_\_\_\_ Prepare legislative package for immediate submission to Congress.

*I should have been aware earlier*

MC INTYRE MEMO

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/21/80

Tom Teal

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

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Al McDonald

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald <sup>0</sup>  
Rick Hertzberg  
Tom Teal <sup>TAT</sup>  
Chris Matthews  
Bob Rackleff

SUBJECT: Presidential Speeches:  
Consumer Federation  
Fundraisers  
American Legion

Attached for your modification and approval are the speech strategies for the above speeches as worked out at a speech planning meeting earlier this week. The strategy for the consumer speech has been approved by Esther Peterson.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH STRATEGY

ok  
J

CONSUMER FEDERATION OF AMERICA CONFERENCE

(Group or Event)

Thursday, February 7, 1980

(Date)

11 A.M.

(Time)

Capital Hilton

(Place)

Rick Hertzberg

(Speechwriter)

¶ Audience description: About 1000 representatives of some 200 consumer groups, including state and local government consumer agencies, grass-roots organizations, labor unions, consumer advocates from business, etc.

¶ Purpose: To demonstrate this Administration's commitment to the consumer and to consolidate consumer support.

¶ Theme: This Administration will work for a consumer/government partnership for the 1980s.

¶ Main topics:

Show commitment to the consumer protection responsibilities of the Federal government.

Give a vigorous defense of the FTC. (Pending approval)

Emphasize the importance of bringing the voice of the consumer into government through appointments, executive order, and other means of increasing consumer participation and influence.

Highlight the Administration's pro-consumer accomplishments and its future course.

Demonstrate the potency of the special interest lobbies and call for balance from the consumer side.

¶ Tone: Forceful

¶ Length: 15 minutes

¶ Notes: We believe the hard news item in this speech will be the defense of the FTC.

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PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH STRATEGY

ok  
J

CALIFORNIA, SEATTLE FUNDRAISERS

(Group or Event)

Thursday-Friday,  
February 7-8, 1980

(Date)

(Time)

Seattle, S.F.,  
Fresno, L.A.

(Place)

Christopher Matthews

(Speechwriter)

- ¶ Audience description: Carter Supporters.
- ¶ Purpose: Rally supporters, signal major themes of campaign, broaden coalition.
- ¶ Theme: Carter Administration Faces the Hard Facts, Tells the Truth, Does What is Right for Country.
- ¶ Main topics:
  - 1) Appreciation of support.
  - 2) Update on Iran, Afghanistan; need for reason and firmness.
  - 3) Reaffirm goals on peace, increased job opportunities, social justice.
  - 4) Stress need to face facts, both foreign and domestic (countering Soviet aggression and ensuring energy security is not cost-free).
  - 5) Administration has faced up to facts, told the truth.
  - 6) Importance of firm and steady policies; nation needs to stay the course.
- ¶ Specific phrases: Like Harry Truman: We are doing what's right, telling it straight, taking the heat.
- ¶ Tone: Rousing
- ¶ Length: 10 minutes
- ¶ Notes: Will provide local material for each event.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH STRATEGY

ok  
J

AMERICAN LEGION MID-WINTER MEETING

(Group or Event)

Tuesday, February 19, 1980

(Date)

(Time)

Capital Hilton

(Place)

Bob Rackleff

(Speechwriter)

- ¶ Audience description: About 1500 American Legion officers: politically, the most active core of the Legion.
- ¶ Purpose: To convince the audience that the Administration has a strong, coherent national security policy.
- ¶ Theme: The stance of the United States in international affairs is resolute, reasonable and effective.
- ¶ Main topics:
  - U.S. defense posture -- a response to popular poor-mouthing of American military capability.
  - Other points will depend on events in Iran and Afghanistan.
- ¶ Tone: Serious and patriotic.
- ¶ Length: 12-15 minutes.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald  
Rick Hertzberg  
Tom Teal ~~TAT~~  
Achsah Nesmith *et al*

SUBJECT: Presidential Speech:  
Civil Rights  
Leadership Conference  
Dinner

Scheduled delivery:  
Sunday, Jan. 27

Attached for your modification and approval is the speech strategy for the above speech as worked out at a speech planning meeting this week. It has been read and approved by Louis Martin.

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH STRATEGY

ek  
J

CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 30th ANNIVERSARY DINNER

(Group or Event)

Sunday, January 27, 1980

(Date)

7:30 P.M.

(Time)

Washington Hilton

(Place)

Achsah Nesmith

(Speechwriter)

¶ Audience description: About 800 leaders of all major Civil Rights organizations for blacks, women, ethnic groups, etc., at a dinner honoring CRLC Chairman Clarence Mitchell and, posthumously, George Meany.

¶ Purpose: To consolidate the support of the Civil Rights leadership and challenge them to renew their all-out efforts for equal economic opportunity.

¶ Theme: This Administration is committed to continuing the great work of the Civil Rights movement.

¶ Major topics:

1) Tribute to Clarence Mitchell, and also to George Meany and to the black and white Civil Rights coalition. (Roughly one third.)

2) The strong record and accomplishments of the Administration and the recognition of unfinished business in housing and employment and education. (Roughly 1/3.)

3) Economic opportunity. The major battle now is economic, to provide employment and business opportunities, and to prepare young people to participate fully in our economic system. (Roughly 1/3.)

¶ Specific language:

The leaders of this group were instrumental in winning the legislative struggles of the past. Through the period of fragmentation, these black and white leaders stood together, and we turn to them now to help us win the battle for economic opportunity.

¶ Tone: Inspiring

¶ Length: 15 minutes

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the christian CENTURY

NUARY 23, 1980

JAMES M. WALL  
EDITOR

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312 - 427-5380  
HOME 312 - 279-7166



Fulfillment Theology  
and the Future of  
Christian-Jewish  
Relations

Isaac C. Rottenberg



A Model for Learned Pastors

Roland M. Kawano

Morals, Medicine and Monasticism

James S. Miller

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/19/80

Mr. President:

You will need to deoart  
Camp David sunday morning at  
9:25 am for the White House.

Do you want to.attend

earlier church services at <sup>8:30</sup>~~8:15~~ am?

no church services?

hold regular services for RSC  
and Aunt Sissy

Phil



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Jan. 21, 1980  
3:10 p.m.

MR. PRESIDENT:

The final vote in  
the Georgia Senate was 23 for  
ERA ratification - 32 against.

Sarah Weddington

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 21, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD CUTLER

*LNC*

SUBJECT: REPORT TO CONGRESS ON  
GRAIN EMBARGO.

As approved by you this morning, attached  
for your signature are:

1. Letter to the Speaker attaching  
the Report on the Grain Embargo; and
2. Letter to the President of the  
Senate attaching the Report on  
the Grain Embargo.

(TWO SIGNATURES REQUESTED)

0421



# International Communication Agency

United States of America  
Washington, D.C. 20547

Director

January 15, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable  
Zbigniew Brzezinski  
Assistant to the President  
for National Security Affairs  
The White House

FROM: John E. Reinhardt *JR*

SUBJECT: Presidential Foreign Policy Speech

With respect to the President's forthcoming foreign policy speech, there are three elements which -- from our perspective -- might usefully be addressed:

-- First, there is a clear opportunity to shift some of the "colonialist" or "imperialist" label to the USSR in the minds of many. We suggest a paragraph in the speech which will describe the invasion of Afghanistan as a colonialist act reminiscent of the darker side of the Tsars. The same paragraph could raise for global consideration the question whether Soviet behavior was consistent with a reasonable definition of a "progressive" state. The speech could usefully pose the question whether thoughtful people and their governments need to think anew about the definitions of imperialism and "reaction?"

-- Second, and related to the question of "progressive" behavior, is the fact that the UNGA has just declared Soviet behavior illegitimate in the eyes of the international community. It will be psychologically useful to pursue this line of attack; a state with claims to international legitimacy does not attack a defenseless neighbor; its moral authority and legitimacy, its founding premises, its claim to serve as a model for other societies, are deeply suspect when it itself is reduced to the

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illegitimate use of power. It can be suggested that this must represent deep psychological insecurity and lack of self-confidence in its own attractive power.

-- Finally, in the period 1971-72 the USSR signed various "Declarations of Principles" with the U.S., and at least several Western European governments. Paragraphs 3 and 11 of the US-USSR Declaration, for example, contain explicit undertakings not to undertake actions of the Afghanistan type. The details of these commitments should be recalled to the world, and the lesson driven home that Soviet commitments are not to be relied upon.

Whatever the final content of the President's speech, we recommend the systematic introduction of these themes into briefings of American and, particularly, foreign media representatives. Our own media will proceed accordingly.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

JAN 19 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: JAMES T. McINTYRE   
SUBJECT: Energy Emergency Actions

At the Energy Coordinating Committee meeting on January 17, Secretaries Duncan and Miller recommended that the following energy policy actions be taken:

- (1) Establish an oil import target of 8.2 million barrels per day (mmb/d) for 1980.
- (2) Announce a standby oil import fee, with passthrough of costs only to gasoline if further DOE review proves this to be feasible. The fee would be used only if the import target is exceeded.
- (3) Declare that a severe petroleum supply interruption is imminent and establish mandatory state gasoline targets consistent with a national target of 6.9 mmb/d of gasoline usage.
- (4) Propose amendments to the Emergency Energy Conservation Act (S. 1030) to reduce or eliminate certain constraints on executive authority to implement rationing and mandatory conservation measures.
- (5) Resume oil acquisition for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve in 1980 at a rate of up to 200,000 b/d.

While I understand DOE and Treasury may no longer be advocating actions (3) and (4) and thus there now may be no disagreement with OMB, I thought you should have my views on the subject.

I concur with the recommendations to establish an oil import target of 8.2 mmb/d, to announce a standby fee, and to resume SPR purchases. I nevertheless have some reservations about the standby fee. I seriously question whether there can be assurance that the fee would be passed through only to gasoline unless oil price controls are retained. Continuation of oil price controls would of course gut one of the

central themes of your energy policies. Thus my endorsement of the standby fee is predicated on the assumption that price controls will not be reimposed and we will accept the possibility that a portion of any fee may be passed on to other petroleum products.

As to the other two recommendations, I believe it would be a serious mistake to impose mandatory gasoline targets on the states under current circumstances. I also think it would be unwise to ask the Congress at this time to amend the S. 1030 legislation.

Imposition of mandatory gasoline targets on the states would be inconsistent with this Administration's basic approach to both energy and economic policy, that is, primary reliance on the market place to determine the levels of consumption, investment, and production that will most effectively and efficiently meet the needs of the American people. It appears inconsistent to me to tell the American people on the one hand that they should pay the full replacement cost for energy in order to encourage both conservation and production, and then on the other hand to dictate how much gasoline they can use and impose arbitrary restrictions on their consumption decisions.

In addition to being inconsistent with basic Administration policy, there are more-practical substantive and political problems associated with the proposed actions that have not been adequately addressed. In the first place, the proposed gasoline target of 6.9 mmb/d is inconsistent (too low) with the proposed import target of 8.2 mmb/d. The supply/demand analysis provided by DOE indicates that a consistent gasoline target would be 7.1 - 7.3 mmb/d. The inconsistency will be quickly detected by the press and the public will wonder why a relatively stringent gasoline target is being imposed on them in the face of a generous import target and resumption of SPR purchases at an ambitious rate.

The proposed mandatory gasoline target of 6.9 mmb/d is only 100,000 b/d (1 percent) below the current voluntary target of 7.0 mmb/d. I do not think this would be a credible response to the finding of an imminent severe petroleum supply interruption which you must make in order to impose mandatory targets and conservation measures.

I also question the wisdom of imposing a rather onerous burden on each of the states a few months before the general election. This is bound to be controversial, as evidenced by the posturing and criticism already evidenced by state officials in connection with the voluntary targets. Moreover, the measures available to reduce consumption of gasoline or other fuels outside of the realm of market forces are few in number, very difficult and costly to enforce, and potentially damaging to economic productivity and employment. If a state refused to cooperate, which is quite likely in the absence of an evident emergency, there would not be enough Federal personnel to enforce the conservation measures.

I am also concerned that announcement of a severe interruption and mandatory gasoline targets will have just the opposite of the intended effect. It will likely precipitate hoarding, leading to gasoline lines and upward price pressures. It may also weaken the already depressed demand for automobiles, with repercussions throughout the economy.

Finally, I recommend that we stay with the current voluntary targets for gasoline. The most likely scenario for 1980 according to DOE, with which we concur, is that petroleum supplies will be adequate to meet domestic demand and SPR fill without further demand restraint. If a severe interruption should occur, it would be far more effective to deal with it with such measures as minimum purchase, odd-even, voluntary conservation, and gasoline decontrol than to attempt now to impose mandatory consumption restrictions which can not be enforced effectively, would inflict serious economic damage, and could themselves precipitate a shortage. The gasoline lines which developed last summer were due in large measure to our own allocation regulations which cannot anticipate the regional shifts in demand during a shortage. While an effort is being made to reduce these problems, imposition of mandatory conservation measures would introduce yet additional regulatory problems.

As for amendments to the S. 1030 legislation, I do not believe such amendments are needed under the current circumstances or that it would be a politically wise move. The 20 percent shortfall threshold for implementing rationing and the 8 percent threshold for imposing Federal conservation measures were the result of a hard fought compromise. Without them the legislation would not have passed. The substantive committees presently advise there is very little chance that an amendment to reduce or eliminate these restrictions would be successful and that such a proposal would open the legislation to weakening amendments.

Moreover, the 20 percent restriction is not absolute. Rationing could be implemented in a lesser shortage if both houses of Congress approve. If such a concurrent resolution cannot be passed in an emergency, chances are even less that an amendment can be passed now under rather tranquil circumstances to reduce the trigger from 20 percent to 5 percent. The 8 percent shortfall trigger for Federal conservation measures also is not absolute. It does not apply in the case where a state has not submitted an acceptable conservation plan or is not making a good faith effort to implement its approved plan. Elimination of the trigger, moreover, would be largely cosmetic since the Federal Government could not effectively enforce conservation measures in an uncooperative state.

As to the recent announcement that we would seek legislation to reduce the rationing trigger to 5 percent, it could be explained that we would not hesitate to seek Congressional approval for rationing in a shortfall of less than 20 percent if we thought the circumstances warranted it.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

1/19/80

Mr. President:

John Denver called for you  
friday. Al McDonald took the  
call. John was following up  
on your request for ideas on  
World Hunger Commission. He  
passed on suggestions in line  
with Linowitz's report, nothing  
really new. Al has them if  
you are interested.

Phil

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