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The Next Four Years, 1977.

The Next Four Years Daniel Jeremy Silver January 16, 1977

On Thursday of this week Jimmy Carter will take the oath office as the 39th president of the United States. I somehow confess that I find it difficult to speak a president of the United States as Jimmy, but he's never called himself James and I mean no disrespect. I'm sure that Thursday will be a deeply felt emotional experience for the new president. After all, he devoted, sacrificed, two years of his life to gain the office. He campaigned tirelessly for this moment. He's paid the price and I only hope that when he enters the Oval Office and he begins to serve he'll find that the prize was worth the effort. For whatever else the presidency has been these last years, it has not been a road to happiness. The President can command a fleet of planes and of boats and cars; he can command a legion of lackeyes to do his will. He lives surrounded by adulation by millions. Everything is made very easy for him. He moves with the great and near great. There is no routine to his life. I'm sure he has the sense that he is not only making history but making a place for himself in the annals of history. It must all be a kind of heady life. With it in recent years has come a full measure of frustration, grief, tears. Of our last four presidents one was assassinated in office; and one so fell from grace in the eyes of his countrymen that he could not run for re-election and had to retire to a very restless retirement on his ranch; and the third had hastily to resign the office for if he had remained any longer he would surely have been impeached by the Senate. He remains now locked within the walls of San Clemente. And the fourth, caretaker president, was allowed his short term of office and then essentially told by the nation, thank you, but no more, you're much better at playing golf than you are at being a president. No president of the United States in recent times has retired to the respect of his country. None emerges as a great statesman, a man of sterling quality, of memorable character. None has been allowed to serve out the full eight years which our Constitution allowed to a president. Mr. Carter assumes this office at a time when respect for the presidency, and indeed, for all the institutions of government, has plunged to the depths.

In 1965, just twelve short years ago, a political scientist at Yale University, Robert Lane, summarized all of the available polling data on the attitudes of the American people towards the government and he found that between 70 and 75 percent of them had great confidence in our political institutions, and only a slightly smaller number spoke with some happiness and some confidence of their elected officials. There was an essential bond of trust, at least at the upper reaches of government, between those who held office and those who elected them to office. All Americans, he found, were very cynical about ward politics and city hall. They knew all about corruption and bribery on that level; that you could fix a parking ticket or buy some kind of adjustment in zoning or a license for your tavern, but they assumed on the whole that the higher a man rose in the government the more he rose to the requirements of his office. The great model was Harry Truman who had risen from the politics in Kansas City to become a respected and honored president of United States. Now, twelve years later, the social scientists are telling us that between 60 and 70 percent of the American people are openly dissatisfied with their institutions of government and a greater percentage than that are openly contemptuous of those who occupy the seats of power. In a recent series of investigations one in four Americans volunteered, not in answer to a question, but simply volunteered that all politicians are corrupt and immoral, and they made no difference, as had once been done, between the levels at which a politican was in office, between the ward healer and the president of the

United States. A blanket of dissatisfaction, disappointment, disgruntlement, covers the land. We are deeply suspicious of all who have power and we wonder whether, in fact, there will be any opportunity ever for us to regain a sense of confidence, both in our institutions and in those who are elected to be its stewards.

Now this truth Mr. Carter knows full well. If it were not for this suspicion of Washington, the presidency, he would not now be president. He emerged from the near obscurity of Georgia politics because he was from Plains, Georgia, a simple man from a small town who was not yet dirtied by the mud of the Potomac River. He suddenly burst on to the national scene because he promised to bring to Washington a new way of going about the business of government, or rather, an old way, open government, honest government, easy access by the people to their elected officials and full disclosure by elected officials of the basis for their actions. Mr. Carter knows the depth of this feeling among Americans because the minute he began to go back on this image, when his candidacy emerged and assumed national prominence, the minute he began to speak with different emphases to different groups, the minute the American public began to suspect that here was another politician of the old, all too familiar mold, his popularity began to plummet, nearly fatally. And if he had to fight any image during the last campaign it was the image that he was simply another of the same, another politician who will tell anybody anything as long as he thinks that that person wants to hear what he is saying and will in return vote for him,

Now no country such as ours, no political system which is based on a social compact, no system which is as delicately balanced as ours and which requires a bond of confidence between those who govern and those who are governed, no system such as ours can long exist in its present form unless this bond of confidence is reestablished. And I would submit to you that the urgent priority, I'd almost say the only basic

responsibility that this new president will have during his term of office, is the responsibility to reestablish our sense of confidence in our government and in those who govern us. Now it's easy to understand how we lost that sense of confidence. One word in a sense sums it up - Watergate, the plumbers, the bad dirty tricks, CREEP, the very acronym symbolic of a government by manipulation, an underhanded form of government, but it's too easy, really, for any of us to assume that our disenchantment is due only to one bad apple, to Richard Nixon, to one meglomaniac who was willing and able to abuse the powers of office, that's too simple. In point of fact, the investigations and revelations of the last months and years have made it clear that over two decades at least those who govern us have tried to manipulate us and they have tried to rule rather than to gain consent. Camelot, the presidency of Jack Kennedy, has been found to be also the time when wire-tapping on a major scale was begun against selected Americans. We now know that we were not told the open unvarnished truth about the Bay of Pigs or the assassination of President Diem. We now know that there were some very ugly so-called high living going on at the White House. During the presidency of Lyndon Johnson we know that not only were agencies of the government abused, particularly the investigative agencies; not only did wire-tapping continue; not only were we systematically lied to about the extent of our involvement in Vietnam and the extent of the failure of that involvement, but that at various times in his administration both the Congress and the community were not told the truth about certain incidents which led to very consequential decisions, an example being the events in the Gulf of Tankin, which led to the willingness of the Congress to make further commitments, troops and personnel and authority in that area. The presidency of Richard Nixon saw not only Richard Nixon but Spiro Agnew; saw not only the continued misuse

of the CIA and the FBI, but now of the Internal Revenue Service, of other investigative agencies; saw the systematic opening of the mail of Americans; saw the opening of mail between Americans. Apparently there was no limit to which in the name of success, in the name of a particular policy geared to them, that administration was not willing to Another caretaker administration of Gerald Ford began, I think, to respond to this need for new confidence in government. I believe that Mr. Ford made a deliberate attempt in this respect. He certainly was never forthcoming and forthright with the American people about energy; he spoke what we needed to hear, but did not try to legislate what we needed to have happen. And again and again we saw this speaking with forked tongues, telling, as an example, to the Jewish community that yes, this administration is deeply concerned with the Arab boycott and is in favor of certain kinds of legislation to prohibit American industry from cooperating with the boycott at the same time that members of the White House staff were on the hill trying to sabotage all boycott legislation and members of the administration were escorting the Saudi Arabian ambassador and others around Washington to tell various congressmen and senators there would be great cost both in the cost of oil and otherwise if such legislation was in fact enacted.

The record is long, ugly, sordid and it reached in all areas of Washington. It reached into the Congress; Wilbur Mills and Wayne Hays. It reached into the Congress where he found that any number of senators and congressmen had received tarnished campaign contributions and even direct subsidies from special interest groups as varied as the South Korean government, corporations like Lockheed and IT&T. It reached into the regulative commissions of the government. Americans could hardly pick up a paper these last several years without reading one or another expose of non-feasance or malfeasance or misfeasance. There's no wonder that we have become

suspicious, that we've ceased to really trust what those in authority tell us.

Now on Thursday next the president will deliver an inaugural address. I'm sure he's worked hard over this address. It's the kind of historic piety that an inaugural address is a consequential speech and I'm sure that every weekly reader in schoolrooms across the country will feature that inauguration speech in their next issue and that our newspapers will border it with some kind of dark color and give us the speech in full. But you know, the last inaugural address to which the American people paid any attention was that of President Kennedy's, now nearly twenty years ago, when he said to us, 'ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country, ' and out of that speech came the response which led to the Peace Corps and to Vista. There certainly was a resurgence of community spirit all across the land and at the same time there was that recognition which began to emanate from that White House that not all was being told, that we were being manipulated rather than being consulted with; that there was a presidential agenda quite apart from whatever the popular concensus might be. And so, whatever Mr. Carter will say this coming Thursday has been discounted in advance. I doubt that most of you will even bother to read it. You may read a line here or a line there that some headline writer pulls out of context, and if you do read it you will not read it as if it reveals the true man because you know and feel deep down that what it reveals is the man and the skill of any number of paid speech writers; that it's a public statement for a public occasion and very little more. And if to prove this feeling that I have about our attitude I picked up the paper last night after this lecture had been written and I found an article by Richard Brunner of the News Enterprise Association. Let me read to you one or two paragraphs.

Great phrases are as much a part of American history as the great men who coined them. Or are they?

Voters who heard President Ford's State of the Union speech this week and will hear President-elect Jimmy Carter's inaugural address next week well may wonder.

No matter what candidate you listened to in the past year, chances are many of his words were carefully put together by ghost writers.

The ex-newspaperman, the public relations flack or the advertising copywriter who can mint historymakers like "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" and "ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country, " does himself and his boss proud.

Never mind where the wordsmith "found" all those confidence inspiring and elegant-sounding phrases. As long as they project an impe of a candidate who is wise, witty, affable, trustworthy, surefooted, urbane and understanding, one who is knowledgeable in the affairs of man and God, the political ghost is doing his job.

But perhaps the cynicism of the age is overtaking the ghostwriter. For not only gas the public come to doubt the politician's word, but also has begun to doubt that his words are his own.

Perhaps by creating the multiple-choice-personality candidate, wired together with memorable metaphor, acute alliteration and sagacious simile, they have encouraged public cynicism. Perhaps these supers who lurk behind the seats of power have made their masters too credible too congenial, too mister-know-it-alls for human belief.

Perhaps not only the cynics are cynical when the chief ghostwriter who put words into Carter's mouth during the campaign is the same writer who wrote "The President's Mistress," a book the New York Times called a "racy novel about sex in the White House."

Political ghostwriting is as old as the Republic. Although George Washington and Abraham Lincoln both wrote many of their speeches, both used ghosts - sometimes unwitting ones.

Washington's Farewell Address was drafted by James Madison and polished by Alexander Hamilton, a writer who used the pen names of "Caesar" and "Publius." This deed was considered so dastardly that its perpetrators kept it secret lest its common knowledge shock the citizenry to riot.

In his acceptance speech to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City, President Ford closed the address his six ghostwriters had labored over for six weeks by promising "to do what is right, as God gives me to see the right. . . "

Ford's words had a familiar ring about them. And well they should. They were spoken by another Republican president Ill years ago. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," that President intoned on his second Inaugural Day.

And the question we will ask on Thursday is these words are Jimmy Carter's, or are they?

Those words were Abraham Lincoln's. Or were they?

Now we've come to a sorry pass in a democracy when we no longer believe that a president's words really reflect the man, that he's really saying to us what he wants to say to us, that he's really speaking the truth to us, that he really is trying to lead us rather than to manipulate us. Yet, that's precisely the situation of the presidency as Jimmy Carter enters it. There can be no doubt about it. We no longer trust the president of the United States. We no longer trust the senior elected officials of our nation to speak to us openly and honestly and forthrightly. In brief, we know that the leaders of the country no longer trust us for you speak the truth to people whom you trust.

Now in western Europe, particularly in western continental Europe, where there are elections and institutions like our own, the people have long since lost faith in politicians and they keep as much of their private lives to themselves as they can. There is a very clear separation or distance between the politician and the citizen. Part of the game of life is to not tell, to fudge on your taxes, to keep part of your life so totally concealed that the government cannot know about it, not to completely speak your mind, but that's never been our way and it would be a tragedy, would it not, if that openness which has characterized the American society lo these many

years, were to disappear. There is no doubt that Mr. Carter assumes an office freighted with great power. He does not really need our consent to manage most of the ongoing responsibilities which are his.

When he left Camelot, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. went to New York University to become a professor of history and he wrote a book which he called, as you remember, The Imperial Presidency, and in that book he described the tremendous growth of power which is accrued to the office of the president of the United States in the last several generations. He offered many explanations: the inability of Congress because so many congressmen represented special interest groups to form policies which would in fact perform the necessary surgery, reforms, on the American body politic, the country had to turn to some central authority; the vast growth of the bureaucracy corresponding to the growing intricacy of our economic and social life and the fact that all that bureaucracy is subsumed under the administration; the emergence of the United States as a super power of the world and the inevitable accrual of power to the man who really controls and fashions and sculpts and manages our foreign policy; the basic weakness of the Congress at a time of great change, Congress essentially abandoned most of its powers. And we have seen the growth of the power of the office and to that power Mr. Carter will come to authority. He will have power over us and power directly over the lives of many men and many women, but it's one thing to discharge this power and quite another thing to be president of the United States and recognize the greatest need of all, the need to reestablish the confidence of the American people in the government. I am quite convinced that Mr. Carter is an able man. I know that he will do all that he can to manage wisely the economy of the nation. I'm sure that he's a fine technician and will go over the budget, particularly the military budget, to see that we are getting value for money spent. I am quite convinced that he will

bring to this government men of quality and women of capacity who will be able to give him good guidance in the reconstruction of a social welfare program which is now ramified to the point no one is really sure how to guage its effectiveness. I am sure that he will put his head down with advisers and will discover and try to publish in effect for us an energy policy which will make us both economically secure and less dependent upon erratic forces in the Arab world. I am sure that all of the technical things that a president is required to do will be done. He is an energetic man, a vigorous man and I am sure that he wills this country to be strong and prosperous.

What I am not so sure about is what I hope and pray will happen, that he will recognize underlying all of these responsibilities there is one pre-eminent responsibility that is his - to be open, to be honest, to speak candidly, to reestablish the confidence of the American people in the Oval Office. He knows the problem. He has shown that he is sensitive to some of the techniques he will have to use in order to achieve his end. Under the administration of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Nixon it was worth a candidate's officer's neck to speak out in criticism on presidential policy, but I have noticed that in recent weeks that some of those who have been appointed quite recently by Mr. Carter have been willing to speak out freely and he is not publically criticized. He was criticized, as you recall, for not appointing a sufficient number of women to significant office and his response through his press secretary was that he could not find a sufficient number of qualified women. One of the qualified women whom he found, the new Secretary of Commerce, Juanita Krebs, was quick to say quite candidly and quite openly, there are plenty of competent women around, the president just didn't look for them. And there was no great thunder of outrage. She was not struck down or denied her appointment. And this week I noticed that at his confirmation hearings before the Senate the Secretary of Labor designate, Roy Marshal, an economist from

the University of Texas, said quite candidly that he believed that the thirty-billion dollar package which President Carter has suggested as a program to bring America out of the recession, the so-called recession, and to bring back a greater degree of employment in the country, policies, remember, which required some minor tax rebates, money for public works and the like, Secretary of Labor Marshal said quite candidly he believed that this was the wrong policy, misguided, that what we needed to do was to find ways to put people to work and not simply put a meaningless hundred or hundred and fifty dollars of tax rebate in each person's pocketbook, and again, there was no great cry of outrage from the White House. That all gears well for a government which is open to criticism from within. It all gears well also that Mr. Carter has seen the importance of consulting openly and easily with the legislature. Before this thirtybillion dollar project was announced, he had a day-long meeting in Plains with the leaders of the Congress and apparently they emerged from that meeting convinced that they had not been simply told what will be but had actually been consulted and a number of them said we were able to make major changes in the program which the president will in fact submit. A few days after this meeting at Plains there was a meeting in the Smithsonian Institute in Washington which leading congressmen and senators who are responsible in the areas of foreign affairs were invited to sit down with Mr. Vance and the others who will be charged with foreign policy, briefed, and a fine discussion apparently took place of the major concerns of the nation in that area. Obviously, Mr. Carter is sensitive to the need, but there's one thing to be sensitive to the need in the early days of your administration when you have a vast majority in the Congress, where the people wish you well, where the pressures of administration have not yet mounted, where in fact you have not yet entered the Oval Office; and quite another to be as patient and as open and as willing to listen to other suggestions

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under the terrible pressure which must inflict any man who occupies that overwhelming job. I am sure that as the days become months and the months become years Mr. Carter will often get impatient. He will know what is right for the nation because it has been made clear to him by his advisers. God willing, he will always have the time to take the time, make the time, to reveal these facts to the nation and to trust to our good judgement. And I know there will be many times when he will be very angry with members of Congress or with other groups in the nation who oppose him on something he knows to be right in some area and God willing he will not try to manipulate public opinion, but simply try to make his case, and when he cannot get his way accept that, do what he can, not to be an imperial president who rules us but a democratic president who guides us and tries to lead us, who ultimately accepts the fact that this is a free society and the people must have their say and ultimately they must have their way.

I find this country, as we approach the next four years, very much in the situation of a young woman, let's say in her early twenties, a quite beautiful woman, who has been romanced by a number of suitors. They have told her many loving things. They have offered her many beautiful trinkets and she has listened and she has fallen in love and they have loved and left. And she is now in her early twenties, no longer a child. She believes herself wise to the ways of the world. She believes herself to be without any confidence whatsoever in men. They are all only after what they can get. For such a young lady to find the right man, a decent man, she must engage, use her will, to deliberately suspend disbelief, deliberately put behind some very bad experiences in the confidence that there are people of decency and honor out there.

That's the position we are in. As a new administration begins, we must deliberately, I believe, suspend our suspicions. We must deliberately put behind us the bad experiences of the last years and give the new suitor a chance. There are honorable men, and until we have ample proof otherwise we must do our share, I believe, towards reknitting the political fabric. If we insist that all politicians are corrupt and all administrations are venal and self-serving, this country is going to break down over the next years into a series of competing special interest groups who will demand more and more because there is no confidence they will receive their fair share, and all sense of community will disappear, and those who govern us will fear us and we will fear those who govern us, and suspicion will begin to corrode and rot the inner soul of the nation. We have to give this new administration a chance. We have to put behind us Watergate and all the exposures of the last years and say that this is more or less a new cast of people. This president understands, he has voiced some of the same things we have been saying. There are good men, God willing, those he appointed are to be numbered among them.

As I look forward to the next four years I am confident they are going to be difficult years, years full of problems, domestic and foreign. I am confident that when these four years are over and this president defends the record of his office you will be able to point to some successful programs which he has initiated and some which were not so successful. You will be able to point to some initiatives and foreign policy which seemed to reduce the degree of tension in the world. His opponents will point to other initiatives which have not been so successful. It will be a mixed bag as it must always be given what life is, but I pray that when we look back on these four years and we approach a new election we will say whatever we want to say about this policy or that or we will be able to say, you know, I feel better about the presidency. I feel better about our political system. What's happened these last four years has renewed my faith.

As the ghostwriters say

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writer who used the pen names of "Caesar" and "Publius." This deed was considered so dastardly that its perpetrators kept is secret lest its common knowledge shock the citizenry to riot.

Abraham Lincoln's most memorable speech was given Nov. 19, 1863, in Gettysburg, Pa. "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation . . ." is familiar territory to every schoolchild.

Later it was discovered that in 1850 one Robert Toombs of Georgia had begun a speech with the words: "Sixty years ago our fathers joined together to form a more perfect Union and to establish justice... We have not met to put that government on trial..."

In 1858, a Boston clergyman named Parker made his contribution to the Gettysburg Address — five years before Lincoln delivered it. In a lecture on slavery (which Mr. Lincoln had read and annotated), the Rev. Mr. Parker asserted: "Democracy is direct self-government, over all the people, for all the people, by all the people."

"the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" becomes less frightening when we know that the phrase was plucked from a newspaper advertisement by one of FDR's ghosts and tacked onto the beginning of the President's first Inaugural Address.

In 1884, Oliver Wendell Holmes told an audience in Keene, N.H., that "It is now the moment when by common consent we pause . . . to recall what our country has done for us, and to ask ourselves what we can do for our country in return."

That moment passed unnoticed, until one of John Kennedy's speech-writers was searching for suitable material for the President's Inaugural Address in 1961. Recast, that phrase now appears as Kennedy's own, arched around the slain leader's colored portrait on ashtrays and coffee mugs.

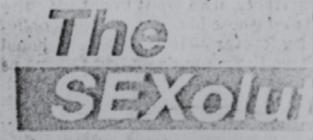
During the spring of 1968, as Robert Kennedy went about the country seeking his party's presidential nomination, he often dreamed of things that never were, and asked, "Why not?" The words were from a play by George Bernard Shaw, written years before Kennedy was born. But so cleverly did the senator's speechwriters weave Shaw into the speech that, in time, the words became the senator's own. Today, they are a staple of souvenir-shop Kennedyanna.

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Ford's words had a familiar ring about them. And well they should. They were spoken by another Republican president, 111 years ago. "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," that President intoned on his second Inaugural Day.

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whether a guy buys sex by wining e and dining some queen to the tune of a 50 bucks or handing her 20 cutright to —Hooked

Answer: Yes; the Restaurant As sociation loses out as middleman in the latter.

Since Eve's first headache, many has been preoccupied with the do's, and undercover solicitings of renting sex. He dictated how a woman should use her body and then violated his own code. He decided that it's okay to give it away but a crime to sell it.

Don't get me wrong. I don't admire the profession. I wouldn't encourage young ladies to seek employment in that canadity not

As the ghostwriters say

By RICHARD BRUNNER News Enterprise Assn.

and and and home

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Walter Lippmann's indictment of tongue-tied politicians still haunts Washington's corridors of power. "Those who cannot speak for themselves," he asserted, "are, with very rare exceptions, not very sure of what they are doing and of what they mean."

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Washington's Farewell Address was drafted by James Madison and polished by Alexander Hamilton, a

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How do you carry five eggs? For centuries the farmers in Japan have found a simple solution: Just make your own container from rice straw. "Tsutsumu," the Japanese verb "to wrap," is the title of an exhibit of 221 ingenious packages that starts Tuesday at the Art Museum. For more about this rapidly disappearing Japanese craft turn to Page.

The State of the S

By Carole Turoff, Esquire

Dear Carole: I'm a victim of reverse discrimination. I'm a guy who applied for a job as a female topless

go-go dancer. I'm a good dancer, and I really go. The money is appealing. But I was told I don't have what it takes. What is your opinion? —Out in the Cold



Answer: I suspect you're putting me on, but I'll give a serious answer. Not having auditioned you, I'm not qualified to rate your performance. However, this might come under the heading of B.F.O.Q. or bona fide occupational qualification. This refers to the few

nurse, and masseuse in a "respectable" lady's massage parlor.

As for a male, female topless go-go dancer, there are many who are of the persuasions that a male has a sexy torso, but a female's is much more so. I am not of this particular persuasion, but perhaps the clientele of the establishment where you endeavor to work are. The management has a right to please its customers.

However, I am told that female spectators now frequent many of these flesh markets. I'm sure you'd go over big there.

Dear Cerole: I married a former call girl. She is a decent human being and I enterstood and accepted her

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