

**[President's Address to the Nation, 7/15/79] [1]**

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

8/2/79 4:00 pm

rick --

latest -- enclosed/attached  
are all versions i have of  
president's editing sequence  
of speech drafts re address  
to the nation -- including  
'master' (final) copy.

i have let the president know  
that you will keep them all  
together and they will be  
eventually sent to his  
handwriting/archives/material  
for presidential library  
(i think!)

thanks--susan

7/14/79

[ ] suggested deletions

Master copy.  
Return to me

J.C.

[ This is a special night.  
Tonight is an <sup>important date</sup> anniversary for me. ]

EXACTLY  
^

~~tonight~~

Three years ago ^ on July 15, 1976 I accepted

the nomination of my party to run for President of the

United States. I promised you a President who is not

isolated from the people, [ ~~but~~ ] who feels your pain and shares

your dreams and <sup>draws</sup> [ ~~takes~~ ] his strength and his wisdom ~~and his~~

~~courage~~ from [you.] ~~years~~.

During the past three years, I have spoken to you on

> many occasions. [ ~~I have talked~~ ] <sup>many</sup> about national concerns --

the energy crisis; reorganizing the government; our nation's

economy and issues of war -- and peace.

But over those [ ~~last three~~ ] years, the subjects of the

speeches, the talks and the press conferences have be-  
come increasingly narrow, focussed more and more <sup>exclusively</sup> on what  
the isolated world of <sup>thinks is important.</sup> ~~they call in~~ Washington <sup>thinks</sup> ~~the issues.~~ Gradually, you have  
heard more and more about what the government <sup>thinks</sup> ~~is doing~~ or  
what the government should be doing -- and less and less  
about our nation's hopes, our dreams and our vision of the  
future.

Ten days ago, I had planned to speak to you again --  
about a very important subject -- energy. For the fifth  
time, I would have described the urgency of the problem  
and laid out a series of legislative recommendations to the  
Congress. But as I was preparing to speak ~~to you~~, I began  
to ask myself the same question that I know has been  
troubling many of you: Why <sup>have we as a</sup> ~~has it been so difficult for~~  
<sup>not been able</sup> ~~our nation~~ <sup>as a nation</sup> to get together <sup>to resolve our</sup> ~~and tackle its~~ serious energy

> <sup>It is clear</sup> ~~And I could see~~ that the true problems of our  
[problem?] <sup>dilemma?</sup>  
<sup>crisis?</sup>

nation are much deeper -- deeper than gasoline lines, <sup>or</sup>  
~~deeper than~~ energy shortages, deeper even than inflation  
or recession. And I realized -- more than ever -- that,  
as President, I need your help.

So I decided to reach out and listen to the voices  
of America. I invited to Camp David people from almost  
every segment of our society -- business and labor; teachers  
and preachers; governors, mayors and private citizens. Then  
I left Camp David to ~~visit private homes and to~~ listen to  
other Americans -- men and women like you. It has been  
an extraordinary ten days, and I want to share with you  
what I have heard.

First of all, I got a lot of personal advice. Let  
me quote a few of the typical comments:

<sup>600 -</sup>  
"Mr. President, you're not leading this nation --  
you're just managing the government."

"You don't see the people enough anymore."

"Some of your Cabinet members don't seem loyal. There is not enough discipline among your disciples."

> "Don't talk <sup>to us</sup> about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of the common good."

"We're in trouble. Talk to us about blood, sweat and tears."

"If you lead, Mr. President, we will follow."

Many people talked about themselves -- and <sup>about</sup> the condition of our nation:

"I feel so far from government. <sup>I feel like people are</sup> ~~The~~ ordinary ~~citizen~~ <sup>is</sup> excluded from political power."

"Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives."

"Some have wasted energy, but others haven't had any-  
thing to waste."

"The big shots are not the only ones who are important.

You can't sell anything on Wall Street unless someone digs

it up somewhere <sup>else</sup> first."

Mr. PRESIDENT,

"We are confronted with a moral and spiritual crisis."

"No material shortage can touch the important things,  
like God's love for us and our love for one another."

Several of our discussions were on energy, and I have  
a notebook full of comments and advice:

"We can't go on consuming 40 per cent more energy  
than we produce."

"When we import oil, we're also importing inflation  
plus unemployment."

"We've got to use what we have."

The Middle East has <sup>only</sup> five per cent of the world's energy, <sup>but</sup> the United States has 24 per cent."

"Our neck is stretched over the fence, and ~~the~~ people in OPEC <sup>has</sup> ~~have~~ the knife."

"There will be other cartels and <sup>other</sup> shortages. American wisdom and courage now can set a path to follow in the future."

"Be bold, Mr. President! We may make mistakes, but we <sup>are ready</sup> have to experiment."

"The real issue is freedom."

"We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing."

"When we enter <sup>the</sup> <sup>equivalent of</sup> moral war, Mr. President, don't issue us BB guns."

**INSERT A**

~~As President, I listen to the wisdom of Americans;~~  
<sup>and as a citizen,</sup>  
<sup>of course,</sup> I know, of course, that ~~but~~ I ~~also~~ know that government actions and legislation

INSERT A

What I heard over these ten days ~~amply~~ confirmed my belief in the decency and strength and wisdom of the American people. But it also bore out some of my ~~deepest~~ <sup>deepest</sup> <sup>longstanding</sup> ~~long-standing~~ concerns about our Nation's underlying problems. difficulties.

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can be very important. That's why I have worked hard to  
> put my campaign promises into law. ~~[We have had]~~ <sup>I</sup> and with mixed  
success. But after listening to the American people I  
have been reminded again that all the legislation in the  
~~is not enough to~~  
world ~~[can't]~~ <sup>^</sup> fix what's wrong with America.

> <sup>want to</sup> So I ~~will~~ speak to you first tonight about a subject  
even more serious than energy or inflation.

-- --  
I want to talk to you <sup>^</sup> right now <sup>^</sup> about a fundamental  
threat to ~~[the survival of]~~ American democracy.

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They  
will endure. And I do not refer to the outward strength  
of America, a nation that is tonight at peace everywhere  
<sup>unmatched economic power</sup>  
in the world; with <sup>^</sup> an ~~[economy, a freedom]~~ and <sup>^</sup> a military  
~~are unmatched.~~  
might, that ~~[is the envy of all.]~~

The threat ~~that I see~~ is nearly invisible in ordinary

ways. It is a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart, soul, and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our nation. The erosion of our confidence in the future is <sup>threatening to</sup> ~~destroying~~ <sup>[ing]</sup> the social and political fabric of ~~our~~ America.

The confidence we have always had as a people is not simply some romantic dream, or a <sup>saying or</sup> ~~platitude~~ <sup>[proverb]</sup> in a dusty book that we <sup>read</sup> ~~used~~ on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which ~~has~~ <sup>our nation on</sup> ~~guided~~ <sup>guided</sup> our advance development <sup>people,</sup> ~~and defined our existence and progress~~ as a nation. Confidence in the future has <sup>sustained</sup> ~~supported~~ everything else -- public institutions and private enterprise, our own families and the very Constitution of the United States.

Confidence has defined our course ~~as a nation~~ and served as the link / between generations. We have always

believed in something called progress; we have always  
had <sup>a</sup> faith that the <sup>times</sup> [days] of our children would be better  
than our own. Our people are losing that faith -- not  
only in government itself, but in the ability <sup>of</sup> [as] citizens  
to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy.

As a people, we know our past and are proud of it.

Our progress has been part of the living history of America.

<sup>always</sup> We believed we were part of a great movement of humanity

called democracy, involved in the search for freedom -- and

that belief <sup>has always</sup> strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we

are losing our confidence in the future, we are also be-

ginning to close the door on our past.

In a

[A] nation that was proud of hard work, strong families,

close-knit communities and <sup>our</sup> [supported by] a faith in God, [has

too many of us now

become a people that tends ~~more and more~~ to worship <sup>self-indulgence</sup> [leisure,

<sup>mobility</sup>] and consumption. Human identity is no longer de-

defined by what a <sup>one</sup> man does, but by what <sup>one</sup> he owns.

But we have discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning.

We have learned that <sup>piling up</sup> ~~even incredible success in producing~~ material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives <sup>which have no</sup> ~~without~~ confidence or purpose.

The symptoms of <sup>a</sup> ~~this~~ crisis <sup>of the American spirit</sup> are all around us.

For the first time, a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the past five years.

Two-thirds of our people do not, <sup>even</sup> vote.

The productivity of American workers is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has <sup>fallen</sup> ~~dropped~~ below that of all other people in the Western world.

There is a growing disrespect <sup>not only</sup> for government, [and] <sup>but</sup>  
<sup>, the news media</sup>  
for churches, schools, and other institutions.

This is not a message of happiness or reassurance,  
but it is the truth and it is a warning.

These changes did not happen overnight. They have  
come upon us gradually, over the last <sup>sixteen</sup> ~~twenty~~ years  
> <sup>generation --</sup>  
years that were filled with shocks and tragedy.

We were sure ours was a nation of the ballot, not  
~~the bullet~~ -- until the murders of John <sup>and</sup> ~~Kennedy~~, Robert  
Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr.,

We were taught that our armies were always invincible  
and our causes always just -- only to suffer the agony of  
Viet Nam.

We respected the Presidency as a place of honor --  
until the shock of Watergate.

*when the phrase*

We remember ~~[that]~~ "sound as a dollar" was an expression of dependability -- until ~~[ten]~~ years of inflation began to shrink our dollar and our savings.

We believed that our resources were limitless -- until

*had come face to face with*

[1973 when] we ~~[realized]~~ our growing dependence on foreign oil.

*still*

These wounds are <sup>still</sup> very deep. They have never been healed.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have

*turned to*

*and found it*

~~found~~ a Federal government <sup>and found it</sup> isolated from the mainstream of our nation's life. *Washington, D.C. has become an*

*island.* The gap between our citizens and our government has never been so wide.

*not easy answers*

The American people are looking for honest answers, --

*clear leadership,*

*and*

not false claims, ~~[not]~~ evasiveness, ~~[not]~~ politics as usual [--

~~but for clear leadership]~~. What ~~they~~ <sup>you</sup> often see in Washington

and elsewhere around the country is a system of government

that ~~which~~ seems incapable of action. ~~They~~ <sup>You</sup> see a Congress

twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-

financed and powerful special interests. ~~They~~ <sup>You</sup> see every

~~entrenched~~ ~~extreme~~ position ~~indefensible~~ defended to the last vote,

almost to the last breath, by one unyielding ~~powerful~~ group

or another. ~~They~~ <sup>You</sup> often see a balanced and fair approach

that demands ~~sacrifice~~ a little sacrifice from everyone [ ]

abandoned ~~like an orphan~~ without support and without friends.

Often ~~they~~ <sup>You</sup> see paralysis, stagnation, and drift. ~~The~~ <sup>You</sup>

~~American people~~ don't like it, and neither do I.

~~My fellow citizens, we~~ what can we do? ~~We~~

^ ~~[we]~~ simply must have faith in each other, faith in ability to govern ourselves, our ~~government,~~ and faith in the future.

First of all, <sup>now</sup> we ~~can~~ <sup>must</sup> face the truth -- then we can change our course.

Restoring that faith and confidence to America is <sup>now</sup> the

most important task ~~which~~ we face ~~tonight~~ -- it is the

true challenge of this generation of Americans.

last

One of the visitors to Camp David ~~this~~ week put it this way: "We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying."

The strength we need will come not from ~~the White House,~~ but from every house in America."

\* We know the strength of America. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats much more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now. Our ~~mothers~~ <sup>mothers</sup> and ~~fathers~~ <sup>fathers</sup> were great men and women who shaped a new society during the great Depression; who fought world wars and carved out a new charter of peace for the world.

*We are strong.  
We can repair ~~our~~ <sup>national</sup> ~~unity,~~ <sup>unity,</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>regain</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> confidence!*

ourselves

just

We are the Americans who ~~only~~ <sup>just</sup> ten years ago put a man on the moon. We are the generation that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human rights and equality. And

we are the generation that will win the war on the energy  
problem -- and in that process rebuild the <sup>unity</sup> ~~unity~~ and confi-  
dence of America.

We are at a turning point in our history.

There are two paths to choose.

One is the path I have warned about tonight -- the path  
that leads to fragmentation and self-interest. Down that  
road lies <sup>a mistaken idea</sup> ~~the illusion~~ of freedom -- the right to grasp  
for ourselves some advantage over others. That path would be  
one of constant conflict between narrow interests, ending  
in chaos <sup>and national</sup> ~~and~~ immobility. ~~It is the route to~~ failure.

All the traditions of our past -- all the lessons of  
our heritage -- all <sup>the promises</sup> ~~the promises~~ of our future -- point to  
another path -- ~~to~~ the path of common purpose and the  
restoration of our values. That path leads to ~~liberty~~.

~~Let us walk it together.~~

true freedom -- for  
our Nation and ourselves.

We can take the first steps down that path as we begin to solve our ~~new~~ energy problem.

- 16 -

~~We face a serious test, practical test.~~

← Energy will be the <sup>immediate</sup> test of our ability to unite <sup>can</sup> the nation.

~~but~~ It ~~will~~ <sup>can</sup> also be the standard around which we rally.

*Leave* [On the battlefield of energy, we can win for our nation

--  
a new confidence and we can seize control of our common

destiny.]

In little more than two decades, we have gone from a position of energy independence to one in which almost half the oil we use comes from foreign <sup>countries</sup> sources -- at prices that are going through the roof. Our dependence on OPEC has already taken a tremendous toll on our economy and our people. It is the direct cause of the long lines which have made millions of you spend <sup>aggravating</sup> ~~countless frustrating~~ hours waiting for gas. It is the cause of the increased inflation ~~in the coming year.~~ and unemployment we [now] face. This intolerable <sup>dependence on</sup> ~~situation~~ <sup>foreign oil</sup> threatens our economic independence and the very security of our nation.

The energy crisis is real. It is worldwide. It is a clear and present danger to our nation. These are facts -- and we simply must face them.

What I have to say to you <sup>now</sup> [tonight] about energy is simple -- and vitally important.

Point one. I am tonight setting a clear goal for the energy policy of the United States. Beginning this moment, this nation will never use more foreign oil than we did in 1977 -- never! From now on, every new addition to our demand for energy will be met from our own production and our own conservation. The generation-long growth in our dependence on foreign oil will be stopped dead in its tracks, right now -- and then reversed as we move through the 1980's. For I am tonight setting the further goal of <sup>cutting</sup> [reducing] our dependence on foreign oil by <sup>more than</sup> [one] half one-half by the end of the next decade -- a saving of over <sup>4 1/2</sup> \$ million

barrels of imported oil per day.

Point two. To insure that we meet these <sup>targets</sup>~~goals~~, I ~~make full use of my power~~ will <sup>limits</sup> [use my Presidential authority] to set import quotas.

I am announcing tonight that for 1979 and 1980, I will forbid the entry into this country of one drop of foreign oil more than these goals allow. These quotas will insure a reduction in imports even below the ambitious levels <sup>we set</sup> [ ~~we set~~ ] at the Tokyo Summit.

Point three. To <sup>give us energy security,</sup> ~~achieve~~ <sup>these vital</sup> [our] goals, I am asking for the most massive peacetime commitment of funds and resources in our nation's history to develop America's own alternative sources of fuel -- from coal, from <sup>oil</sup> shale, <sup>and</sup> from plant products for gasahol, from unconventional gas, from <sup>the sun.</sup> ~~solar~~.

I propose the creation of <sup>an</sup> a ~~publicly chartered~~ [private] Energy Security Corporation to lead this effort, <sup>to produce</sup> ~~with a goal of~~ <sup>replacing</sup> 2.5 million barrels <sup>of imported</sup> ~~of imported~~ oil <sup>by 1990.</sup> ~~per day within a decade.~~ Just as a similar synthetic

INSERT B

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INSERT B

The corporation will issue up to \$5 billion in small-  
denomination bonds ~~which we will call~~ Energy Bonds -- <sup>Security</sup>  
~~in small denominations~~ so that ~~the~~ average Americans can invest directly in  
America's energy security.

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rubber corporation helped us win World War II, so too will

we mobilize American determination and ability to win the

energy war. Moreover, I will soon submit legislation to

Congress calling for <sup>the</sup> creation of this nation's first Solar

Bank -- which will help us achieve the crucial goal of twenty

per cent <sup>of our</sup> solar energy <sup>coming from solar power</sup> by the year 2000. These efforts will

and that is why Congress must enact the Windfall Profits Tax <sup>without delay.</sup>

cost money -- ~~but~~ It will be money well spent. Unlike the

billions of dollars we ship to foreign countries to pay

for foreign oil, these funds will be paid by Americans to

Americans. They will go to fight <sup>-- not to increase</sup> inflation and unemployment. --

~~not fuel them.~~

Point four. I am asking Congress to mandate -- to

require as a matter of law -- that our nation's utilities

cut their massive use of oil by <sup>fifty</sup> ~~sixty-five~~ per cent within

the next decade and switch to other fuels <sup>--</sup> especially coal,

our most abundant energy source.

Point five. To make absolutely certain that nothing stands in the way of achieving these goals, I will urge Congress to create an Energy Mobilization Board which, <sup>our</sup> like [the] War Production Board in World War II, will have the responsibility and authority to cut through the red <sup>the</sup> tape, <sup>s</sup> <sup>the</sup> ~~and endless~~ <sup>roadblocks to completing key</sup> ~~hurdles which now cripple our~~ ~~nation's ability to complete critical~~ energy projects.

**INSERT C**

Point six. I am proposing a bold conservation program <sup>to involve</sup> <sup>^</sup> ~~in which~~ every state, county, and city, <sup>---</sup> and every American citizen ~~can -- and must -- participate if we are to win~~ <sup>-- in</sup> our energy battle. This <sup>effort</sup> ~~program~~ will permit <sup>you</sup> ~~everyone~~ to <sup>build</sup> ~~make investments in~~ conservation <sup>into your</sup> ~~in their~~ homes <sup>and your lives</sup> ~~and apart~~ <sup>at a cost you</sup> ~~ments at prices~~ ~~they~~ can afford. I ask Congress to give me authority for mandatory conservation <sup>for</sup> and <sup>^</sup> standby gasoline rationing. To <sup>further</sup> ~~make it easier for each of you to~~ conserve <sup>energy,</sup> I am proposing <sup>extra</sup> an ~~additional~~ \$10 billion over the next <sup>tonight</sup>

INSERT C

We will protect our environment. But when this Nation  
critically needs <sup>a</sup> refineries or <sup>y</sup> <sup>a</sup> pipelines -- we will  
build <sup>it</sup> them.

decade to strengthen our public transportation systems.

And I am asking you for your ~~own~~ good and for your nation's

security to take no unnecessary trips, to ~~carpool or~~ use

carpools or

public transportation whenever you can, to ~~drive 15 miles~~ <sup>park your car one extra</sup>

~~loss~~ <sup>day</sup> per week, to obey the speed limit and to ~~lower~~ <sup>set</sup> your

thermostats! ~~Each such~~ <sup>to save fuel.</sup> ~~act~~ <sup>in winter.</sup> Every ~~act~~ <sup>like this</sup> of energy conservation, is ~~also~~

more than just

~~an act of common sense~~ <sup>-- it is an act of</sup> ~~and patriotism~~ <sup>which will allow our</sup>

~~nation to meet the goals I have set forth.~~

### Our Nation

~~But sacrifice~~ must be fair to the poorest among us --

so ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> will ~~triple the~~ <sup>increase</sup> ~~resources~~ <sup>aid</sup> we will make available to

~~help~~ <sup>needy</sup> ~~low income~~ Americans <sup>to</sup> cope with rising energy prices.

We have ~~grown used to thinking~~ <sup>often thought think</sup> of conservation only

in terms of sacrifice. In fact it is the most <sup>painless</sup> ~~direct~~ and

immediate way of re-building our nation's strength.

Every gallon of oil each one of us saves is a new

form of production -- it gives us ~~that much~~ more freedom,  
more confidence,  
that much more control over our own lives.

So the solution to our energy crisis can also help US  
<sup>conquer</sup>  
[~~to solve~~] the crisis of the spirit [~~about which I earlier~~  
in our country.

~~talked.~~ It can rekindle our sense of unity, [~~of~~ <sup>our</sup> confidence  
~~about~~ the future, It will shake us from our [~~malaise~~ <sup>doubt</sup> and  
~~passivity~~ and

~~pessimism~~ and give us a <sup>new</sup> sense of purpose. [~~We will solve~~

~~our energy problem and in turn we will solve the broader~~  
<sup>can</sup>

~~crisis of America.~~ <sup>IP</sup> ~~We can do it. We can do it.~~ we have  
oil in our <sup>rock</sup> shale ~~oil~~ than several Saudi Arabias, more coal than any  
nation on earth. <sup>^</sup> ~~We have the world's highest level of~~  
technology. <sup>^</sup> ~~We have the most skilled work force~~ <sup>with</sup> ~~and the~~  
innovative genius, <sup>^</sup> ~~and we have the national will~~ <sup>to solve</sup>  
~~to win this war.~~  
~~the problems which beset us.~~

[~~I know the strength of America. I have a deep and~~  
~~abiding confidence in the ideals and wisdom of our people~~

and the enduring values of our institutions.

It is our task to commit ourselves to a renaissance  
of America -- a rebirth of the American spirit. With a  
common faith, we cannot fail.

See ENDING INSERT

# # #

# ENDING INSERT

I do not promise you that this new struggle for freedom will be <sup>easy.</sup> ~~[easier than any other we have won.]~~

I do not promise a quick way out of our nation's problems -- when the truth is that the only way out is an all-out effort.

What I do promise you is that <sup>I</sup> ~~your government~~ will lead our fight, <sup>I</sup> ~~it~~ will enforce fairness in our struggle, <sup>I</sup> ~~it~~ will ensure honesty -- and above all <sup>I</sup> ~~your government~~ will act.

We can manage the short-term shortages more effectively -- and we will. But there are no short-term solutions to our long-range problems. *There is no way to avoid sacrifice.*

~~Just within the energy area each step involves hundreds of complex choices.~~

~~I will be announcing new decisions week by week -- but only as new programs are truly ready, not in a spirit~~

Ending - 2

of panic.

Twelve hours from now I will speak again -- in Kansas City -- to <sup>expand further upon more specifically</sup> ~~clarify~~ <sup>our</sup> additional specific energy goals.

I will continue to travel the country to hear the people of America. <sup>you can help me develop a national agenda for the 1980's.</sup> I will listen. And I will act. ~~Or rather,~~ we will act together.

Leave in

~~These were the promises I made three years ago -- and I intend to keep them.~~

Just as the search for solutions to our energy shortages has led us to a new awareness of our nation's deeper problems -- so our willingness to work for those solutions can strengthen us to attack those deeper problems.

Little by little we can and must rebuild our confidence. We may spend until we empty our treasuries, we may summon all the wonders of science -- but <sup>we can succeed only if we tap</sup> our greatest resources; are America's people, America's values, and America's confidence.

## Ending - 3

During these past days I have <sup>seen this</sup> rediscovered the  
I ~~see the~~ have seen the  
> strength of America in the inexhaustible resources of  
our people.

In the days to come let us renew that strength in  
the struggle for an energy secure nation.

Let us commit ourselves together to a rebirth of  
the American spirit.

Working together, with  
With our common faith, we cannot fail.

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# # #

In closing, let me say this:  
With ~~God's help~~ God's help  
for the sake of God and for the sake of our nation,  
it is time for us to join hands in America.

~~There is just~~ I will do my best, but ~~mine is~~ I will not do  
~~it alone.~~ just a single voice. Let your voice be heard.  
Whenever you have a chance, say something good  
about our country.