

[President's Address to the Nation, 7/15/79] [2]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 12, 1979

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JERRY RAFSHOON

SUBJECT: The Speech

also ()
his []

I have gone over your draft with the speechwriters and we have these comments:

1. On the quotes: The first set of quotes is very powerful; the second and fourth are also good. We suggest:

- ok - but let me approve specific deletions - put in brackets*
- a. That you combine the energy and economic analyses clusters into one, and make the resulting cluster short.
 - b. That the quotes in that resulting cluster be selected to say things you want to get across to the American people.

2. On the energy portion:

- She is drafting 2 pages of hard. tough. specific rhetoric with emphasis on individual responsibility. I told him he could use only one figure (5 mbd)*
- a. Rather than saying at the beginning (p. 6) that we may make mistakes, I suggest you only emphasize boldness and innovation.
 - b. The section needs either a series of brief, clear specific directives and proposals ("I will propose..." "I will direct...")
or
a more explicit summary of categories of effort to be outlined the next day, e.g., "I will propose a series of steps designed to increase conservation, step up domestic production, and unleash the unlimited creativity, ingenuity and enterprise of America to find and develop alternative sources of energy."

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(The objective is to assure people that you are ready to take decisive energy actions so that they will pay close attention to the larger issues you wish to discuss.)

ok
3. The phrase at the top of page 8 is correct, but the way it is stated might minimize the importance of the war on the energy problem. You should consider saying that meeting the threat to America requires a successful war on the energy problem -- but more, because the threat is deeper than energy alone.

put some harshness back in
4. On p. 12, having deleted most the harsh criticisms of society, is it still valid to say you have "sounded a warning in the harshest of terms?"

try it
5. On p. 14, where you're talking about the generation we are, you could add that we are the generation that will win the energy war.

pretty good
Energy will be the test of our ability to unite, but it will also be the standard around which we will unite. On the battlefield of energy, we can rally our nation to a new confidence that we can seize control of our common destiny.

6. The speech lacks reference to governmental or Presidential actions that will be taken as a result of the Camp David reflections -- it needs a stronger sense of your response to what you have heard and learned.

If this is the route you want to go, I suggest you go over this draft again, return it to me Friday and let us edit your draft.

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

(1)

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On the fourth of July, I cancelled what would have
been my fifth speech to you on energy. If I had given
that speech ^{then for the fifth time} ~~[ten days ago]~~ I would have ~~[as I had done four~~
~~times before]~~ described the problem and laid out a series
of legislative recommendations to the Congress.

But as I reflected on what I might say to you, I
realized that the problems ^{of our nation} are much deeper -- deeper than
gasoline lines, deeper than energy shortages, deeper even
than inflation or recession. And I realized ~~that~~ -- *more*
than ever -- I need your help.
That, as President,

So I decided to reach out and listen to the voices of
America. I brought to Camp David ^{people from} ~~[leaders of]~~ almost every

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segment of our society -- businessmen and labor; ~~leaders,~~

teachers and ^{preachers} ~~[religious leaders]~~; governors, ~~and~~ mayors, ~~and~~ private citizens.

Then ~~[most important]~~ I left Camp David to seek out and listen to ^{other Americans who must be a lot} ~~[citizens of our country]~~ like each of you. It

has been an extraordinary ten days, and I want to share

what I have learned ^{first of all, I got a lot of adoration.} ~~with you.~~ ^{at random} ~~let me quote a few of these comments:~~

[I am now more convinced than ever that legislation alone, programs alone cannot fix what's really wrong with America.

Tonight I must speak to you about the real threat to the survival of American democracy.

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They endure. Indeed they flourish. And I do not mean the outward strength of America, a Nation strong and at peace tonight everywhere in the world; with an economy, a freedom and a military might that are unsurpassed.

The threat I see is nearly invisible in ordinary ways. But when we step back and look at the texture of our national life, that threat comes sharply into focus.

The threat that haunts America today is a crisis of confidence. It strikes at the very heart, soul and spirit of our Nation. We can see it in a dwindling belief in a significant meaning for our individual lives; and in a decline of unity of purpose for our country.

The erosion of confidence in the future is destroying undermining the social and political fabric of our America. I regard that erosion ^{of faith in the future} as the most dangerous of the many perils which confront America.

Confidence in the future has always been the very bedrock of our national life. It is the faith that has forged the links between generations. We have always believed in something called "progress" -- the conviction

that the days of our children would be better than our own. Now our people are losing that faith -- not only in government itself, but in their own ability as citizens to be the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy.

As a people, we knew our past and were proud of it. It flowed without break into the living stream of the American present and the American future. That certainty strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in our future, we are closing the door on our past.

The virtues of hard work, strong families, close knit communities and faith in God find fewer defenders. Too many have come to worship self-indulgence, escapism and over consumption.

Too many have embraced the creed of "me first, me last and me always."

We know in our hearts that this is not the kind of nation we want to be. Yet disturbing symptoms are all around us.

Two-thirds of our people do not vote. Millions of young people do not even register.

Personal borrowing has reached astronomical proportions, as if we must satisfy every impulse today as though there were no tomorrow. A nation whose touchstone was building for the future now has the lowest rate of savings in the Western world.

Productivity growth has almost halted. Never have so many worked as long to produce so little. We have been stealing from the future to satisfy the craving of the present. Charity declines as self-interest rises. And as we lose touch with our sense of community, we find it ever

easier to turn away from the poor, the sick, and the old among us.

This is not a message of comfort. This is not a message of reassurance. But it is the truth, and it is a warning.

These things did not happen overnight. They have come upon us gradually, over two decades through an exhausting route of assassinations, war, uncertainty, and deceit.

We were sure we would always be a nation of the ballot, not the bullet -- until the murders of John Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King, ~~and others.~~

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

We respected the Presidency as a place of honor --

until the profound trauma of Watergate.

We saw our currency as strong and our economy as stable. We thought that persistent inflation was a disease inflicted only on countries far away. And we remember when "sound as a dollar" was a byword for dependability. *until*

We were comfortable in the belief that our resources were limitless -- until the shock that has come with our dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are very deep. They have barely been acknowledged. They have never been healed. They have engendered a crisis of confidence in our democracy that is little understood by our government.

The people, losing their vision, turned to the government for sight. But the government, ravaged by the same forces and traumas, was unable to respond.

A people looking for a way out of this crisis of the spirit have found instead a Federal government isolated from the mainstream of their country's life.

A people seeking participation and yearning to be heard have found a Federal government that is a self-perpetuating empire. A people searching for a definition of the future have been met with a government whose horizons are measured by the next election. A people wanting to be healed have too often been given only the conventional responses of government -- the passage of a bill, the establishment of a program, the increase of a budget.

The gap between our citizens and their leaders may never have been so wide. The American people see a Congress twisted and pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and powerful special interests. They see every extreme position imaginable defended almost to the

D R A F T / 7 - 2 - 7 9

Tonight is an anniversary for me:

Three years ago ~~tonight~~ -- 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} ~~s~~ not isolated from the
people, but who feels your pain and shares your dreams and takes
his strength and his wisdom and his courage from you. During
the past three years, I have spoken to you on ~~countless~~ ^{many} occasions.
I have talked about ~~many~~ national concerns -- the energy crisis;
reorganizing the government; our Nation's economy and issues of
peace and war -- *and peace.*

But over those last three years, the subjects of the
speeches, the talks and the press conferences ~~topics~~ have become
increasingly narrow, *focussed more and more on* ~~The words have come to be almost always~~
~~about~~ what they call in Washington "the issues." Gradually,
~~[almost imperceptibly,]~~ you have heard more and more about what
the government ^{doing what the government} is, or, should be doing -- and less and less about
^{nation's} our hopes, our dreams and our vision of the future.

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(Ten days ago, I had planned to speak)

~~[On the fourth of July, I cancelled what would have
been my fifth speech]~~ ^{again -- about a very important subject -- energy.} to you, ~~an~~ energy. ~~[If I had given~~

~~that speech then]~~ ^F For the fifth time, I would have described
(urgency of the)

the problem and laid out a series of legislative recommenda-
tions to the Congress.

~~I~~ ^{But I began to ask} ~~asked~~ myself the same question that I know
it been so difficult ^{serious} for our nation to get
together and tackle its energy problem? And)

*was preparing
to speak*

But as I reflected on what I might say to you, I could see
(true)

realized that the problems of our nation are much deeper --
deeper than gasoline lines, 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} brought to Camp David people from almost every

segment of our society -- business ~~men~~ and labor; teachers
and preachers; governors, mayors and private citizens.

Then I left Camp David to ^{visit private homes} ~~seek out~~ ^{to} listen to other
-- men and women --
Americans ~~[who must be]~~ a lot like ~~each~~ of you. It has been
an extraordinary ten days, and I want to share with you
what I have ~~learned~~ *heard*.

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

"Mr. President, you're not leading ^{this} ~~the~~ nation -- you're
just managing the government."

"You don't see the people enough *any more*."

"Some of your Cabinet members ^{don't seem} ~~are not~~ loyal. There is
not enough discipline among your disciples."

*(quote -
arrange in
better order)*

~~"Don't be a professor or a preacher, just talk to the
American people."~~

"Don't talk about politics or the mechanics of government, but about an understanding of the common good."

"were in trouble."

"Talk to us about blood, sweat and tears."

~~"The President should feel humility, not talk about it."~~

~~"America is a nation with the soul of a church."~~

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

(--and the condition of our nation:)

Many people talked about themselves.

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

"I feel so far from government."

"The ordinary citizen is excluded from political power."

"We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying; the strength we need will not come from the White House, but from my house."

~~"We American Jews have got to do something about the Palestinian refugees."~~

(NOTE: We suggest using this text on page 14, as marked.)

~~["With nuclear weapons, we're the first generation to
know we may be the last."]~~

~~["There were complicated economic analyses, and some
simple ones."]~~

~~["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 ~~nothing~~ be sold on Wall Street unless someone
digs it up somewhere."]~~ *sell anything*

~~"The American cup will not always run over."~~

~~["We talked a lot about the condition of our nation."]~~

~~"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."]~~

~~["We are overly intimidated by a cynical press."]~~

INSERT A

("We Americans don't like to be victims -- that's why it's so hard for us to face the facts about energy."

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

"The energy crisis can help us learn to use all the gifts of nature with a more becoming frugality that will reflect our own dignity and our love of creation.")

(NOTE: First two quotes from Rabbi Tannenbaum; second from Cardinal Cooke.)

~~"We must avoid any concept of a second rate power."~~

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

Insert A →

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

~~"The Middle East has 5% of the world's energy, the United States
has 24%."~~

(neck is)
"Our ~~vital organs~~ stretched over the fence, and
~~the people~~ ^{the people} in OPEC have the knife."

~~"The ^{base} fibre of our nation has not been damaged or even
threatened."~~

~~"Staying home every now and then may remind us of the
blessings of our family."~~

"There will be other cartels and shortages. American
^{now} courage can set a path ~~new~~ to follow in the future."

~~(INSERT A)~~

DRAFT

As President, I listen to the wisdom of Americans, but I also know that Government actions and legislation ^{can be very} ~~are~~ important.

That's why I ^{have worked hard to} ~~made sure that we took the necessary steps to~~ try and put my campaign promises into law. We have had ~~at~~ ^{after listening to the American people I have been reminded again} best mixed success. But, I ~~have come to realize~~ ^{in the recent} ~~months and weeks~~ that all the legislation in the world can't fix what's wrong with America.

Reverted to positive

So I will speak to you ^{first} tonight about a subject even more serious than energy ^{or} inflation, ~~or the strategic arms limitation treaty.~~

Will incl. brief part energy

~~Instead,~~ I want to talk to you ^{right now} about ^a the fundamental threat to the survival of American democracy.

may be too negative

I do not mean our political and civil liberties. They will endure. ~~Indeed they flourish.~~ And I do not refer to the outward strength of America, a Nation that is tonight at peace everywhere in the world; with an economy, a freedom and a military 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

Handwritten mark at bottom right corner.

*It is
confidence*

DRAFT

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strikes at the very heart, soul, and spirit of our national

will. This crisis ~~we~~ can see in the ~~dwindling belief in a~~ ^{growing doubt about} the

~~significant~~ meaning ^{of our own} to our lives ^{and in the loss of a} ~~the decline in~~ unity of

purpose for our Nation. The erosion of our confidence in the

future is destroying 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 proverb ⁱⁿ ~~plucked from~~ a dusty

book used on the Fourth of July. It is the idea which has

founded and defined our existence and progress as a Nation.

Confidence in the future has ~~justified, explained and~~ supported

everything else -- public institutions and private enterprise,

our own families and ^{the} ~~our~~ very Constitution, ^{of the United States.}

Confidence has defined our course as a Nation and ^{served as} ~~forged~~

the links between generations. We have always believed in

something called progress; ^{we always had} a faith that the days of our children

would be better than our own. Our people ^{are losing} ~~have lost~~ that

faith -- not only in government itself, but in their ~~own~~ ability

DRAFT

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as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy.

As a people, we know our past and ~~we~~^{are} proud of it. The ~~our~~^{has been} progress we ~~had made~~ part of the living history of America.

We believed we were part of a great movement of humanity called democracy, involved in the search for freedom -- and that belief strengthened us in our purpose. But just as we are losing our confidence in the future, we are also ~~closing~~^{beginning to close} the door on our past.

A Nation that was proud of hard work, strong families, close knit communities and supported by a faith in God has become a people that ~~worships~~^{tends more and more to worship} leisure, mobility and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what a man does, ~~rather by~~^{but by} what he ~~can amass~~^{owns.}

~~But~~^{Part} We have discovered that ~~acquiring~~^{owning things} and consuming ~~do~~^{things does} not satisfy our longings~~g~~^{even} for meaning. We have learned that ~~incredible~~^{even} success in producing material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives without ~~purpose~~^{confidence or}.

p. 9 insert

11

(need transition)

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~~INSERT D~~

The symptoms of this crisis are all around us. ★

For the first time, a ~~large~~ 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 vote.

The ^{of American workers} ~~American~~ productivity is actually dropping, and the willingness of Americans to save for the future has dropped ^{that of} below all other people in the Western world. ★

There is a growing disrespect for government, and ~~The virtues of hard work, strong families, close-knit for churches, schools and other institutions, communities and a faith in God find fewer defenders. Too~~ many have come to worship escapism and self-indulgence. ★

(NOTE: this is partly a rearrangement--
the starred IPs are new.)

-9-

[The willingness of Americans to save for the future has dropped below all other people in the Western world. For the first time a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the last five years. American productivity is actually dropping. Two-thirds of our people do not vote.]

(INSERT)

This is not a message of ^{happiness} confidence 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 ^{twenty years} ~~two decades~~ []
{ -- 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 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.

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
1973 when we realized our ^{growing} dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are very deep. They have never been ^{healed}.
(~~And the government has never faced up to the need for healing. That neglect has~~
~~completely healed.~~ [^] ~~They have caused a~~ crisis of confi-
~~dence in our democracy.~~) worsened them

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have
found a Federal government isolated from the mainstream of
our nation's life. [~~Focused only on programs and
budgets, our government has failed to impart a
vision of the future.~~]

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

sense of how it would work -- and no sense of whether it
would work -- and no sense of whether it would succeed.

The American people are looking ~~to their government~~ for
honest answers -- not false claims, not evasiveness, not
politics as usual -- but for clear leadership. What they often
see in Washington and elsewhere ^{around the country} is a system of government which
seems incapable of action. They see a Congress twisted and
pulled in every direction by hundreds of well-financed and
powerful special interests. They see every extreme position
imaginable defended to the last ^{vote} breath, almost, to the last
breath ~~vote~~, by one unyielding powerful group or another. They often
see a balanced and fair approach ^{that} demands sacrifice, a little
sacrifice from everyone, ^{and} abandoned like an orphan without
support and without friends. Often they see paralysis, stagna-
tion, and drift. *The American people don't like it,
and neither do I.*

We debate the issues as if the shocks and turbulence of this
decade and the last had never come to pass.

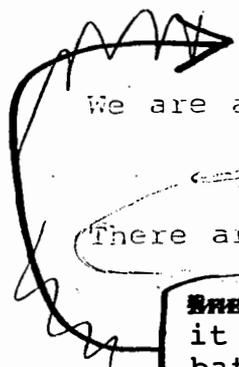
*We simply must have faith in each other,
faith in our government, and faith in the
future.*

of the visitors to Camp David this week. "We've got to stop crying it this way: "We've got to stop crying and start pra. 6. king; stop ~~sweating~~ cursing and start pra. 6. The strength we need will come not from the White House, but from every house in America."

Restoring that faith and confidence to America is the most important task ^{which we face} ~~each and every one of us faces~~ tonight -- it is the true challenge of this generation of Americans.



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 and fathers} ~~We are the heirs~~ ^{were great} ~~of 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. ^P We are the Americans who only 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. ^(that will win the war on the energy problem--and) And we are the generation ^{in that process rebuild} ~~[who will] rebuild~~ the faith and confidence of America.



We are at a turning point in our history.

There are two paths to choose. ^{do} ~~the first path leads to the end~~

~~Energy~~ Energy will be the test of our ability to unite, but it will also be the standard around which we rally. On the battlefield of energy, we can win for our nation a new confidence ~~that we can~~ seize control of our common destiny.)

To p 16 and we can (State's energy)

(is the) (I have warned about tonight -- the path that leads to)

One path ~~[is that of]~~ fragmentation and self-interest.

(~~false freedom~~)

Down that road lies the illusion of freedom -- the ~~[rights]~~

to grasp for ourselves some advantage over others. ~~[and]~~

(~~But~~) (That path ^{would be} is one of constant)

~~the reality of /fruitless/~~ conflict between narrow interests,

ending in chaos and immobility. (It is the route to ^{failure.} tyranny.)

~~all the traditions of our past -- all the lessons~~
~~But there is another path. ~~[and]~~ we will choose it if~~

~~of our heritage -- point the other way, to the road~~
we listen to the voice of our nation's spirit -- a voice
of common purpose.

more powerful than all the calculations of economists or

battle plans of generals.

(find a
place for
this)

Our strength is in our confidence and in our human
values. If we neglect these, we may ^{spend until we} empty our treasuries
and ^{we may} surmount all the wonders of science; but we will act in
vain.

All the traditions of our past -- all the lessons of
our heritage -- all the promises of our future -- point ^{to}
^{another path --}
to the path of common purpose and the restoration of our

(That path leads to liberty. ^{- 16 -}) (it) = together --

values. ^ Let us walk [that road] with strength and courage and conviction and confidence.

[Let us walk to freedom.]

[Let me close by quoting one other of our fellow countrymen who came to help me at Camp David this past week:

"Mr. President, It is an exciting time for an American to be alive."]

- a) Energy
- b) Stu

HP for P 14 15 14

ENERGY INSERT

should we export
about gas lines
going away? do we
sacrifice? deal with shortages
over next 5-10 yrs?

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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 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 countless frustrating hours waiting for gas. It is the cause of the increased inflation and unemployment we now face. This intolerable situation 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 tonight about energy is

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~~clear and~~ 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 reducing our dependence on foreign oil by one-half by the end of the next decade -- a saving of over 5 million barrels of imported oil per day.

Point two. To insure that we meet these goals, I will 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 ~~more~~ drop of foreign oil

more
than these goals allow. These quotas will insure a reduction
in imports even below the ambitious levels I agreed to at
the Tokyo Summit.

Point three. To achieve 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 shale, from plant
products *for gasoline,* from unconventional gas, from solar. I propose
the creation of a [*private* publicly chartered] Energy Security Corpora-
tion to lead this effort with a goal of 3 million barrels
per day within a decade. Just as a similar synthetic rubber
corporation helped us win World War II, so too will we
mobilize American determination and *ability* ~~know-how~~ to win the
energy war. Moreover, I will soon submit legislation to
Congress calling for creation of this nation's first Solar
Bank -- which will help us achieve the crucial goal of 20
per cent solar energy by the year 2000. These efforts will

*check with
Stu
re bond
sales*

cost money -- but it will be money well spent. Unlike
the billions ^{of dollars} we ship ^{to foreign countries} ~~abroad~~ to pay for foreign oil, these
funds will be paid by Americans to Americans. They will
go to fight 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 65 per cent within the next
decade and switch to other fuels, 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, like
the War Production Board in World War II, will have the
responsibility and authority to cut through the red tape,
delay, and endless hurdles which now cripple our nation's
ability to complete critical energy projects.

Point Six. I am proposing a bold conservation program in which every state, county, and city, and every American citizen can -- and must -- participate if we are to win our energy battle. This program will permit everyone to make investments in conservation in their homes and apartments at prices they can afford. I ask Congress to give me authority for mandatory conservation and standby rationing. To make it easier for each of you to conserve, I am proposing an additional \$10 billion over the next 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 public transportation whenever you can, to drive 15 miles less per week, *to obey the speed limit and* to lower your thermostats. Each such act of energy conservation is also an act of common sense and patriotism which will allow our nation to meet the goals I have set forth.

But sacrifice must be fair to the poorest among us -- so I will triple the resources we will make available to

help low income Americans cope with rising energy prices.

We have grown used to thinking of conservation only in terms of sacrifice. In fact it is the most 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, that much more control over our own lives.

So the solution to our energy crisis can also ^{help to} solve the crisis of the spirit about which I earlier talked. It can rekindle our sense of unity, of confidence about the future. It will shake us from our malaise and pessimism and give us a sense of purpose. We will solve our energy problem and in turn we will solve the broader crisis of America. We have the natural resources -- more shale oil than several Saudi Arabias, more coal than any nation on earth -- we have the world's highest level of technology -- we have the most skilled work force and the innovative

genius -- and we have the national will to solve the
problems which beset us.

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the more basic national needs.

[Three years ago tonight, -- on July 15, 1976 -- I
accepted the nomination of my party to run for President
of the United States. I promised to be a President close
to the people -- a President who feels your pain and shares
your dreams and joins his strength and his wisdom and his
courage with yours. In these three years, I have spoken
to you many times. I have talked about many national con-
cerns -- the energy crisis, reorganizing the government,
our Nation's economy, and issues of peace and war.

But [~~ever those last three years,~~] the subjects of the
speeches, the talks and the press conferences have become
increasingly narrow. The words have come to be almost
always about what Washington defines as "the issues."

Gradually, you have heard more and more about what a few
public officials
[~~office holders~~] are or should be doing -- and less and

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less about America's hopes, dreams and vision of the future.

My energy proposals to the Congress tomorrow will
~~[Three weeks ago I sent a message to the Congress that~~
complete the list of
~~completes my action on [every] legislative proposal in this~~

book of campaign promises. But the one promise I have failed to keep is not in this book -- it is the promise I made in my acceptance speech and a hundred times during my campaign -- the promise to describe for you and ^{to} carry forward the vision of this Nation that I hold in my heart.

I want to begin to redeem that promise tonight.

I am speaking with you about our Nation in a time of crisis. I have sounded a warning in the harshest of terms -- terms not often used by a President.

It is important to understand that I do not speak from hopelessness or despair.

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I speak this way because it is the truth, and we must understand the truth if we are to build the future ~~[in the shape]~~ that you and I have ~~[shared and]~~ talked about in the past.

Only by facing up to the truth -- about my Presidency and about our Nation -- can I redeem that promise I made three years ago tonight.

~~[You have a right to expect the truth.]~~

~~It is distortion and deception and it is the proclamation of hopes as realities and illusions as facts that are destroying the confidence of America.]~~

In a time of shadowy dread and fear, of growing anger and frustration -- the only firm ground on which we can regroup and rebuild our confidence is the plain truth about ourselves. And ^a ~~that~~ lack of ^{your} confidence can make failure

inevitable. For Presidents and Congresses don't solve problems by themselves. People do -- by working with common purpose [~~within the society~~] toward universal goals.

Without faith in our ability to shape our future, we *can* have no shared national purpose, no sense of common effort in pursuit of common objectives.

Restoring that faith and confidence to America is the most important task each and every one of us faces tonight -- it is the true challenge of this generation of Americans.

We know the strength of America. We are the heirs of generations who survived threats ^{*much*} [~~even~~] more powerful and awesome than those that challenge us now. We are the heirs of 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 the Americans who only ten years ago put a man on the moon. We are the genera-

tion that dedicated our society to the pursuit of human

rights and equality, ~~and fulfilled a martyr's dream.~~ And

rebuild our faith in ourselves.
we are the generation who will ~~reforge the shattered sword~~

~~of America.~~ *rebuild the faith and confidence of America.*

[These are not random, scattered dreams. Our history is full of consistent proof of what can be accomplished by a people united in confidence and inspired by a common purpose.

Because the truth is that not only does our nation face great dangers -- but we possess the strength to meet those dangers.

We can restore our confidence and our sense of a future worth fighting for.

We can revitalize our values. We can turn again to the honorable concept of work as pride; to a belief in

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~~our route with care.~~

We are at ^{a turning point} ~~[another crossroad]~~ in our history now.

There are two paths to choose.

One path is that of ^{fragmentation and} ~~unrestrained~~ self-interest. Down ^{the right to grasp for} that road lies the illusion of freedom -- and the reality ^{ourselves some advantage} ~~over others~~

improve of [fruitless] conflict between narrow interests, ending in chaos and immobility.

But there is another path -- and we will choose it if we listen to the voice of our Nation's spirit -- a voice more powerful than all the calculations of economists or battle plans of generals.

Our strength is in our ^{confidence} [spirit] and in our ^{human} values. If we neglect ^{these,} [them], we may empty our treasuries and summon all the wonders of science; but we will act in vain.

All the traditions of our past -- all the lessons of

our heritage -- all the promises of our future -- point
to the path of common purpose and the restoration of our
values. Let us walk that road with strength and courage.
Let us walk to freedom.

Let me close by quoting one other ^{of our fellows} average
~~American citizen~~ ^{Country man} who came to help me at
Camp David this past week:

"Mr. President, It is an exciting time
for an American to be alive".

#

③

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

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Mr President,
You're not leading the nation -- ^{you're} just managing
the govt

You don't see the people enough

Some of your cabinet members are not loyal. There
is ~~very~~ little not enough discipline among your
disciples.

Don't be a professor or a preacher, just talk to the
American people.

Don't talk about politics or the mechanics of government,
but about an understanding of the common good.

Talk to us about blood, sweat and tears

The President should feel humility, not talk about it.

America is a nation with the soul of a church.

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

Many people talked about themselves:

Some of us have suffered from recession all our lives

The ordinary citizen is excluded from political power

We've got to stop crying and start sweating; stop talking and start walking; stop cursing and start praying; the strength we need will not come from the White House, but from my house.

We American Jews have got to do something about the Palestinian refugees.

With nuclear weapons, we're the first generation to know we may be the ~~1~~ last.

⑥

There were complicated economic analyses, and
some simple ones

Some have wasted energy, but others haven't had
anything to waste

Can't nothing be sold on Wall St. unless someone
digs it up somewhere.

The American cup will not always run over.

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We talked a lot about the condition of our nation:

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.

We're still a blessed nation; we cannot turn to ouper.

We are overly intimidated by a cynical press.

We must avoid any concept of a second rate power.

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

Were importing oil plus inflation plus unemployment

The Middle East has 57% of the world's energy, the U.S. 28%.

Our vital organs are stretched over the fence, and
our neighbors in OPEC have the knife.

The fibre of our nation has not been damaged or even
threatened.

Staying home every now and then may remind us of
the blessings of our family

There will be other cartels and shortages. American courage
can set a path now to follow in the future

Let us covenant together, we are on earth to share,
not to grab and waste

We must deal with the energy problem on a war footing

The real issue is freedom

Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute

Be bold! We may make mistakes, but we must experiment.

Mr. President,
When we enter moral war, don't issue BB guns.

Tomorrow, in Kansas City, I will present in detail a sound energy program for the Congress and for the people of America. I will not issue BB guns. My proposals will be bold, and we may make some mistakes. I will not let ^{oil} imports rise between now and 1985, after which the tremendous strength and technology of our nation will drive imports down. Our national security will be protected; our economy can stay strong. Coal, solar, ^{conservation} and the production of new synthetic fuels will provide the way. This massive national effort to achieve energy security will be expensive, costing ^{more than} perhaps \$100 billion in the next decade. ~~But~~ Unlike payments for foreign oil, these funds will not flow out of our country, but will be paid by Americans to Americans.

Federal government money will come from the windfall profit tax on oil. This will, indeed, be money well spent.

I am calling for a mobilization of American will and genius and daring as great as the effort which put our men on the moon -- but with a major difference. Most of us participated in the moon program only as taxpayers, but in reaching the goal of energy security, every person in our land can participate every day.

But I am convinced that even a bold and successful war on the energy program problem will not meet the real threat to ~~cannot sure what is really wrong with~~ America.

I do not mean our civil and political liberties. They will endure. I do not mean the outward strength of America, a nation strong and at peace tonight everywhere on earth; with an economy and a military might that are unsurpassed.

The threat which haunts us is a crisis of confidence. It can strike at the very heart and soul of our country. This lack of confidence [in the future] causes a decline of unity among our people, a dwindling belief in the significance of our individual lives, a loss of faith in government and other institutions-- the family, churches, schools,

the free enterprise system, ethical and moral standards.

The ^{willingness} desire of Americans to save for the future has dropped, alarmingly. For the first time below all other people in the Western world. a majority of our people believe that the next five years will be worse than the last five years. American productivity is actually dropping. Two-thirds of our people do not vote.

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

These changes did not happen overnight.

They have come upon us gradually, with more
than ~~ten~~ ^{five years of} years of inflation and a growing
energy shortages just the latest factors
over the last two decades.

We were sure ours was a nation of the
ballot, not the bullet -- until the murders of
John 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.

We remember that "Sound as a dollar" was an expression of dependability -- until ten years of inflation began to shrink our savings.

We believed that our resources were limitless -- until 1973 when we realized our dependence on foreign oil.

These wounds are very deep. They have never been [completely] healed. They have caused a crisis of confidence in our democracy.

Looking for a way out of this crisis, our people have found a Federal government isolated from the mainstream of our nation's life.

As President, I share in that failure.

pick up p 10

- Our country is in trouble and I need your help
- The real issue is freedom
- Millions for defense, not one cent for liberte
- When we enter moral war, don't issue 88 guns
- Must experiment, may make mistakes
- Blood, sweat & tears
- First priority - oil from coal (agreement)
- Move on Canadian gas pipeline
- Move on Mexican gas contract
- Set quota for '85, '90 -- then go positive
- Eliminate delays, red tape
- Rationing authority vs decentral
- Complete Sohio pipeline
- National Energy Mobilization Board
- Set conservation goal for every agency

Let BUS assess energy data, productivity

Accelerate federal leasing

After 1985, cut imports 10%/year

Coal seam gas now being vented

EPA may ban diesel engine, cost 25% efficiency

Need intermittent standards on clean air

Consider govt as single purchasing agent for oil

Show compassion, concern about poor

> Admin filled with people who don't agree w President

Poor nations plighted by OPEC

Let state environ standards not > U.S. (1/2 mbd)

Explore horizontal divestiture in energy

Maintain stability of economic policy

Must encourage savings

Need home fuel oil rebate (Tip)

Need to bust the meat distributors

Productivity of U.S. worker highest in the world

US govt deficits are lowest

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Best long term investment (in '80's) will be in U.S.

Force development of held energy concessions

- Bob Bellah said use the word "covenant"
- We're on earth to share, not grasp & waste
- No material shortage can touch the important things like God's love for us or our love for one another.
- We're still a blessed nation... don't turn to anger
- Fibre of our nation not damaged or even threatened
 - > Need to revive our joy in producing, sharing, giving
- Staying home may remind us of family blessings
 - > Let ethics, morality guide technology
- We're overly intimidated by a cynical press
- First generation which knows it may be the last
- There will be other shortages, cartels... setting path
 - > Speak to sustainability of earth. i.e. equity.

We've controlled others lives > OPEC controls ours

Time to address problems as positive challenges

> Hardship should lead to sharing, caring for others

→ Not politics, mechanics, but understanding of Common Good

→ Avoid any concept of a 2nd rate power

→ Some have wasted, others have suffered in want

→ Pres. should feel humility, not talk about it

→ Don't be a lecturer ^{not professor}, nor a preacher - just talk to the American people.

→ America is a nation with the soul of a church

Each Governor create "Impact Assault Team"

→ It is an exciting time to be alive

We can no longer depend on increased oil production

→ We're importing oil plus inflation plus unemployment

→ Must deal with energy problem on a war footing

> Get ^{your} Cabinet out of Washington for next 2 months

Non-govt Bd of Inquiry to certify energy facts

- Some have suffered from recession all their lives
- "Can't nothing ^{be said} happen on Wall St. unless someone ^{dis} 'up something' somewhere"
- Say where we're going, & why-- not how or when
- We are confronted with a moral & spiritual crisis
- The Middle East has 4⁶% of world's energy, the US 24%.
- We American Jews must do some thing about the Palestinian refugees.
- Stop crying & start sweating. Stop talking & start walking. Stop cursing and start praying. The strength we need will not come from the White House but from my house.
- The American cup will not always run over
- The ordinary citizen has been excluded from political power
- Our vital organs are stretched over the fence, and our neighbors in OPEC have the knife
- The media present as political choices the current state of Washington gossip.
- You have very little discipline among your disciples
- You don't see enough of the nation

① MR. PRES., YOU'RE NOT LEADING THIS NATION -- YOU'RE JUST
MANAGING THE GOVT

USED IN TV TALK
7-15-79

② YOU DON'T SEE THE PEOPLE ENOUGH ANYMORE

③ SOME OF YOUR CABINET MEMBERS DON'T SEEM LOYAL.
THERE IS NOT ENOUGH DISCIPLINE AMONG YOUR
DISCIPLES

④ DON'T TALK TO US ABOUT POLITICS OR THE ~~MANAGEMENT~~
MECHANICS OF GOV'T, BUT ABOUT AN UNDERSTANDING
OF THE COMMON GOOD.

⑤ MR. PRES., WE'RE IN TROUBLE. TALK TO US ABOUT
BLOOD, SWEAT & TEARS.

⑥ IF YOU LEAD, MR. PRES., WE WILL FOLLOW.

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- ⑦ I FEEL SO FAR FROM GOVT. I FEEL LIKE ORDINARY PEOPLE ARE EXCLUDED FROM POLITICAL POWER
- ⑧ SOME OF US HAVE SUFFERED FROM RECESSION ALL OUR LIVES.
- ⑨ SOME PEOPLE HAVE WASTED ENERGY, BUT OTHERS HAVEN'T HAD ANYTHING TO WASTE.
- ⑩ NO MATERIAL SHORTAGE CAN TOUCH THE REALLY IMPORTANT THINGS, LIKE GOD'S LOVE FOR US AND OUR LOVE FOR ONE ANOTHER.
- ⑪ THE BIG SHOTS ARE NOT THE ONLY ONES WHO ARE IMPORTANT. REMEMBER, YOU CAN'T SELL ANYTHING ON WALL ST. UNLESS SOMEONE DIGS IT UP SOMEWHERE ELSE FIRST

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- ⑫ MR. PRES., WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH A MORAL & SPIRITUAL CRISIS.
- ⑬ WE CAN'T GO ON CONSUMING 40% MORE ENERGY THAN WE PRODUCE
- ⑭ WHEN WE IMPORT OIL, WE'RE ALSO IMPORTING INFLATION PLUS UNEMPLOYMENT.
- ⑮ WE'VE GOT TO USE WHAT WE HAVE. THE M.E. HAS ONLY 5% OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY, BUT THE U.S. HAS 24%.
- ⑯ OUR NECK IS STRETCHED ~~OVER~~ OVER THE FENCE, & OPEC HAS THE KNIFE.

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(17) THERE WILL BE OTHER CARTELS & OTHER SHORTAGES. AM. WISDOM & COURAGE NOW CAN SET A PATH TO FOLLOW IN THE FUTURE.

(18) BE BOLD. MISTAKES. EXPERIMENT

(19) THE REAL ISSUE IS FREEDOM

(20) WAR FOOTING

(21) BB GUNS

CRYING/SWEATING = TALKING/WALKING = CURSING/PRAYING
NOT WH - EVERY HOUSE.

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