

**12/4/79 [2]**

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1. I SPEAK TO YOU AT A SOMBER TIME.
2. 50 AMERICANS CONTINUE TO BE HELD CAPTIVE IN IRAN,
3. HOSTAGES OF A MOB AND A GOVERNMENT THAT HAVE BECOME ONE AND THE SAME. /
4. THE CRISIS PRECIPITATED BY THIS UNLAWFUL AND UNPRECEDENTED ACT ↗
5. HAS DEMANDED MY CLOSEST ATTENTION SINCE THE MOMENT IT BEGAN. /
6. BUT THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT ↗
7. IS THE HEART OF OUR LIBERTIES AND OUR STRENGTH, AND IT MUST GO FORWARD. /
8. EVERY FOUR YEARS -- IN GOOD TIMES AND BAD, /
9. IN WAR AND IN PEACE, /
10. IN TIMES OF CRISIS AND TIMES OF CALM --
11. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ELECT THEIR PRESIDENT.
12. SO IT HAS BEEN SINCE 1789;
13. SO IT WILL BE IN 1980. //

1. I HAVE CURTAILED MY POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FOR THE PAST MONTH,
2. AND I WOULD HAVE PREFERRED TO POSTPONE THIS ANNOUNCEMENT UNTIL ANOTHER TIME.
3. HOWEVER ELECTIONS LAWS IN CERTAIN STATES
4. REQUIRE FORMAL DECLARATIONS OF CANDIDACY WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.
5. THEREFORE I <sup>FORMALLY</sup> DECLARE THAT: I AM A CANDIDATE FOR RE-ELECTION  
AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. //
6. I INTEND TO BE RENOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, //
7. AND I INTEND TO ASK THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION
8. TO RENOMINATE THE MOST EFFECTIVE VICE PRESIDENT IN AMERICAN HISTORY --  
WALTER MONDALE. //
9. WE INTEND TO LEAD THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO VICTORY,
10. AND WE INTEND TO LEAD THE NATION IN CONTINUING THE GOOD WORK  
WHICH WITH ALL OF US HAVE BEGUN TOGETHER. //

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1. AS PRESIDENT I-HAVE-MADE-SOME-HARD-DECISIONS,
2. AND I EXPECT TO MAKE MORE. /
3. I HAVE MADE SOME MISTAKES, AND I HAVE LEARNED FROM THEM.
4. I HAVE FOUGHT SOME BITTER FIGHTS AGAINST POWERFUL SPECIAL INTERESTS,
5. AND I EXPECT TO GO ON LEADING THE FIGHT FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF OUR PEOPLE. /
6. I CARRY-SOME-SCARS AND I CARRY-THEM-WITH-PRIDE.
7. I ALSO CARRY THE KNOWLEDGE, STRENGTHENED BY MY EXPERIENCE IN THIS OFFICE,  
THAT THE-GREATNESS-OF-OUR-NATION  
AND THE GOODNESS-OF-OUR PEOPLE WILL PREVAIL. //
8. WE HAVE SET A FIRM AND CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE FOR OUR COUNTRY.
9. IT IS A DIFFICULT-COURSE, BUT IT IS THE RIGHT-ONE,
10. AND WE MUST NOT TURN ASIDE.
11. THE COURSE OF A GREAT NATION IS NOT CHANGED OVERNIGHT. //
12. THE PROBLEMS WE FACE ARE DIFFICULT.
13. THERE ARE NO EASY SOLUTIONS, AND I PROMISE NONE;
14. BUT THERE ARE SOLUTIONS. //

1. IN THE PAST THREE YEARS THE UNITED STATES HAS BEGUN TO MOVE  
IN A-NEW-AND-BETTER-DIRECTION.
2. WE ARE A STRONG NATION -- A-NATION-AT-PEACE.
3. WE ARE ENHANCING OUR NATION'S SECURITY,
4. IMPROVING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE,
5. AND LEADING THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD. //
6. OUR SUPERB SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT AND OUR GREAT NATURAL-AND HUMAN-RESOURCES
7. GIVE US THE STRENGTH AND FLEXIBILITY
8. TO MEET RAPIDLY-CHANGING TIMES.
9. THE WORLD OF THE 1980's WILL BE AS DIFFERENT FROM THE WORLD OF 1960
10. AS THE WORLD OF 1960 WAS FROM THAT OF THE 1930's.
11. AS WE ENTER THE NEXT DECADE,
12. THE WORK WE HAVE BEGUN TOGETHER
13. WILL LET US MEET EVEN-THE-MOST-SERIOUS-CHALLENGES. //

1. WHAT WE DO NOW

WILL BRING US SAFELY TO AN EVEN BETTER TIME OF PEACE AND SECURITY --

2. IF WE HAVE THE DETERMINATION TO SEE IT THROUGH,

3. AND IF WE HAVE THE COURAGE TO CONTINUE MAKING THE HARD DECISIONS. //

4. IN THESE DIFFICULT TIMES OUR GREATEST ALLY IS THE TRUTH.

5. AS PRESIDENT AND AS A CANDIDATE,

I WILL CONTINUE TO ASK YOU TO JOIN ME IN LOOKING SQUARELY

AT THE TRUTH.

6. I WILL CONTINUE TO TALK SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

7. ONLY BY FACING UP TO THE WORLD AS IT IS

8. CAN WE LIFT OURSELVES TOWARD A BETTER FUTURE. //

1. THERE IS NO LONGER SUCH A THING AS CHEAP ENERGY.
2. THAT IS THE TRUTH.
3. WE CANNOT WISH OUR WAY OUT OF INFLATION.
4. THAT IS THE TRUTH.
5. WE CANNOT SPEND OUR WAY OUT OF EVERY PROBLEM.
6. THAT IS THE TRUTH.
7. WE CANNOT TOSS ASIDE A GENERATION'S PATIENT WORK IN THE CONTROL OF NUCLEAR ARMS.
8. THAT IS THE TRUTH.
9. AND WE CANNOT HAVE PEACE WITHOUT A STRONG DEFENSE.
10. THAT IS ALSO THE TRUTH.

1. IF WE ACT TOGETHER IN THE UNIFYING SPIRIT OF OUR DEEP AND UNCHANGING VALUES,
2. WE CAN TRIUMPH TOGETHER.

3. AND THAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TRUTH OF ALL.

4. WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

I PROPOSE TO CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE FOR A SECURE NATION,

A JUST SOCIETY,

AND A PEACEFUL WORLD --

5. AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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#

#

J. Carter  
12/4/79

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I speak to you at a somber time. Fifty Americans continue to be held captive in Iran, / hostages of a mob and a government that have become one and the same. / The crisis precipitated by this <sup>and</sup> unprecedented and unlawful act / has demanded my closest attention since the moment it began.

But the process of democratic self-government / is the heart of our liberties and our strength, and it must go forward. Every four years -- in good times and bad, / in war and in peace, / in times of crisis and times of calm / -- the American people elect their President. / So it has been since 1789; / so ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> it, be in 1980. /

I have curtailed my political activities for the past month, <sup>and</sup> / I would have preferred to postpone this announcement until another time. / However, election laws in certain states require formal declarations of candidacy, <sup>within the next</sup> / ~~in just~~ a few days. /

Therefore I declare that I am a candidate for re-election  
as President of the United States. *(Pause) of America.*

I intend to be renominated by the Democratic Party,  
and I intend to ask the Democratic Convention to renominate the  
most effective Vice President in American history -- Walter Mondale. *(Pause)*

*We* intend to lead the Democratic Party to victory, and  
*we* intend to lead the Nation in continuing the <sup>good</sup> work <sup>which all of us</sup> we have  
begun together.

As President, I have made some hard decisions, and I  
expect to make more. I have made some mistakes, and I have  
learned from them. I have fought some bitter fights against  
powerful special interests -- and I expect to go on leading  
the fight for the common good of our people.

I carry some scars <sup>and</sup> but I carry them with pride. I also  
carry the knowledge, strengthened by my experience in this office,

that the greatness of our Nation and the goodness of our people  
will prevail. /

We have set a firm<sup>and</sup> constructive course for our country. /

It is a difficult course, but it is the right one /-- and we  
must not turn aside. /

~~We have the experience and the determination to keep up~~  
~~on that true course.~~ / *prevail*

The course of a great nation is not changed overnight. /  
The problems we face are difficult. / There are no easy solutions,  
and I promise none -- / but there are solutions. / In the past  
three years, the United States has begun to move in a new and  
better direction. /

We are a strong nation -- <sup>a nation</sup> at peace. /

We are enhancing our nation's security, improving social and economic justice, and leading the struggle for human rights around the world.

Our <sup>superb</sup> system of government and our <sup>great</sup> natural and human resources give us the strength and flexibility to meet rapidly changing times.

The world of the 1980's will be as different from the world of 1960 as the world of 1960 was from that of <sup>The</sup> 1930's. And as we enter the next decade, the work we have begun together will <sup>let</sup> help us meet <sup>even</sup> the <sup>most serious</sup> challenges we <sup>will</sup> <sup>surely</sup> <sup>must</sup> face. What we do now will bring us safely to an even better time of peace and security -- if we have the determination to see it through, and if we have the courage to continue making the hard decisions.

In these difficult times, our greatest ally is the truth. As President, and as a candidate, I will continue to ask you to join me in looking squarely at the truth. I will continue to talk sense to the American people.

Only by facing up to the world as it is / can we live ourselves  
toward a better future. /

There is no longer such a thing as cheap energy. /  
That is the truth. //

We cannot wish our way out of inflation. / That is the  
truth. //

We cannot spend our way out of every problem. / That is the  
truth. //

We cannot toss aside a generation's patient work in the  
control of nuclear arms. / That is the truth. //

And we cannot have peace without a strong defense. /  
That is <sup>also</sup> the truth. //

If we act together, in the unifying spirit of our *deep and*  
*unchanging* deepest values, / we can triumph together. / And that is the most  
important truth of all. //

With the support of the American people, I propose  
to carry on the struggle for a secure nation, a just society,  
and a peaceful world.-- *as President of The United  
States.*

# # #

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President's ~~the~~ working draft  
12/1/79

Hertzberg  
Draft A-2  
11/30/79

Announcement (annotated version)

*[Handwritten initials]*

*Fifty Americans*

I speak to you at a <sup>somber</sup> ~~grave~~ time. ~~Forty nine of our fellow~~  
citizens continue to be held captive in Iran, hostages of a mob  
and a government that have become one and the same. The crisis  
precipitated by this unprecedented and unlawful act ~~has demanded~~  
*highest priority* ~~my~~ <sup>continuous</sup> attention since the moment it began.

But the process of democratic self-government <sup>and it</sup> must go  
forward. ~~That process~~ is at the heart of our liberties and our  
strength. Every four years -- in good times and bad, in war  
and in peace, in times of crisis and times of calm -- the  
American people elect their President. So it has been since  
1789; <sup>will</sup> so ~~shall~~ it be in 1980.

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I have curtailed my political activities for the past month. ~~[and I will continue to curtail them while the crisis in Iran endures]~~ [I would have preferred to postpone this announcement until another time. / However, election laws in certain states <sup>require</sup> ~~set deadlines for~~ formal declarations of candidacy, <sup>in just a few days. /</sup> ~~For this~~ reason, I want to speak briefly about my political plans for the coming year]

Therefore, <sup>I</sup> declare that

I am a candidate for re-election as President of the

United States. ~~\*\*~~ (Pause)

I intend to be renominated ~~as the Presidential candidate~~ <sup>by</sup> of the Democratic Party, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> I intend to ask the Democratic Convention to renominate the most effective Vice President in

\*Jerry Rafshoon would omit. Others feel this is needed.

\*\*Al McDonald would add: "I now formally declare my candidacy."

†Jerry R. would substitute "by".

(Pause) P

American history, Walter Mondale. I intend to lead the  
Democratic Party to victory, <sup>and</sup> I intend to lead the Nation  
in continuing the work we have begun together.

As President, I have made some hard decisions, and I  
expect to make more. [I have made some mistakes, and I have  
learned from them. \*\* [I have fought some bitter fights against  
powerful special interests -- and I expect to go on leading  
the fight for the common good of our people.] †

\*Jerry R. would substitute: "This Administration has faced up  
to the hard decisions. We will continue." He would also  
substitute "we" for all the I's in this and the next ¶.

\*\*Al McDonald feels strongly that this should be omitted. Anne  
Wexler feels just as strongly that it should be kept. Jody  
would keep it.

†Jerry would substitute: "We have fought some bitter fights  
for the common good. We will continue this fight." Rick feels  
that all the changes suggested for this ¶ would deprive it of  
both grace and punch.

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*but I carry them with pride.*

I carry some scars <sup>1</sup> I also carry the knowledge,

strengthened by my experience in this office, that the greatness of our Nation and the goodness of our people will prevail.

~~I am running because I believe we~~ <sup>we</sup> have set a firm, constructive course for our country. / <sup>difficult</sup> It is a ~~hard~~ course, but it is the right one -- / and we must not turn aside. ~~It~~ /

X ~~[ I am running because I believe that I ]~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~\*\*~~ have the experience and the determination to keep us on that true course. After ~~three years as President -- and looking ahead to the problems~~ ]

\*Al McDonald would add "but I carry them with pride."

\*\*Jerry Rafshoon would substitute "we" in these two spots.

†Al McDonald would say: "It is a hard course that requires continuity and a steady hand. It is a course that is criticized by those who would falsely advocate simple solutions to our complex modern problems. It is a course that appropriately calls for consistency, firmness and moderation; for a reorientation of many of our views; and for greater peacetime discipline at all levels of our society than is our custom." Rick feels that these points are adequately covered elsewhere in the statement.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

We are a strong nation -  
~~now~~ at peace.

We are enhancing our  
nation's security, <sup>improving</sup> social and  
economic justice, and leading  
the struggle for human rights  
around the world.

Our ~~national~~ system of  
government and our natural  
and human resources give  
us the strength and  
flexibility to meet rapidly  
changing times.

[we will be facing during the next five years -- I believe I am better qualified than any challenger to be entrusted with the responsibilities of the Presidency.\*]

X I believe too that after a long period of frequent and demoralizing changes in Presidential leadership, the interest of the Nation will be better served by a continuous, sustained and steady effort to deal with our problems.\*]

*The course of a*  
A great nation's <sup>is</sup> course is not changed overnight. [Ours is a vast, sprawling country, and the instruments a President commands are far from perfect] The problems we face are difficult.

\*Jerry R. would add: "I realize this more every day. And I believe the American people realize this more every day."

\*\*Stu would add: "...which a second term provides. Not since Eisenhower have we had a President elected to serve out his second term." Al McDonald would add: "...without erratic changes of course and without simplistic, high-risk experimentations." Rick feels these additions would be redundant.

There are no easy solutions, and I promise none --/but there  
are {solutions.}† In the past three years, the United States  
has begun to move in a new and better direction.\*/

[ We are meeting the challenge of peace in a dangerous world. ]

[ We have sought to restrain the deadly competition in  
nuclear arms and to calm troubled regions of the world. Because  
we are both strong and careful, we have not had to go to war.  
[But we are ready to fight if we must.]† We have reversed a  
ten-year slide by undertaking the rebuilding of our military  
power. The crisis in Iran is proof, if proof were needed,

\*Al would substitute: "steady improvements that we can make and are making." Rick feels this is less crisp.

\*\*Stu would add: "We live in an era of transition and we are developing new policies for the 80's to meet these new challenges -- not the tired solutions of the past."

†Anne Wexler would substitute something like: "But we will not shrink from our responsibilities for the defense of our Allies, our interests and ourselves."

that this effort must not be interrupted.]

[ We are finally beginning to meet the challenge of energy, which is so central to both our national security and our economic health.]

[ The events in Iran are an ugly reminder of the dangers of dependence on foreign oil. That dependence is also by far the largest cause of our serious and persistent inflation. The Congress and the people have begun to respond, and our country is at last ready to bring its vast resources to bear on the problem. This effort, too, must continue without interruption.]

[ Despite the necessary constraints imposed by our fight against inflation, we are meeting the challenge of building a just society.]

[ Through our support for education, for the environment, for our cities, for our Social Security System, we have renewed

the faith of our people that government exists to serve the many, not the powerful few. At the same time,\* we are making government more efficient -- because only a government that works can translate caring into effective action.]

[ And we are meeting the challenge of conscience. ]

[ We have restored the trust of the American people in the basic decency and honesty of their government. Americans know that their government is on their side again. The poor, the oppressed and the silenced throughout the world know that America is on their side again. We are standing up for human rights, both at home and abroad.]

[ This is a record of solid accomplishment. But it is also an unfinished agenda for the future.]

\*Stu would insert: "by eliminating thousands of unnecessary rules, freeing our economy from needless regulation, and overhauling the Civil Service System for the first time in a century..."

*of the 1980's*

By ~~1990~~, The world, will be as different from the world of 1960 as the world of 1960 was from that of 1930. / And as we enter the *next decade,* ~~1980's~~, the work we have begun together / will help us meet the challenges we will surely face. / What we do now will bring us safely to *an even better* a ~~new~~ time of peace and security -- if we have the determination to see it through, / if we have and ~~the~~ courage to *continue* go on making the hard decisions. /

*These*  
In ~~this~~ difficult time<sup>s</sup>, our greatest ally is the truth. /

As President, and as a candidate, I will continue to ask you to join me in looking squarely at the truth. I will continue to talk sense to the American people.

We cannot build a stronger Nation on fantasy. We cannot build a safer world on bluster. We cannot build a just society on self-delusion.

Only by facing up to the world as it is can we lift

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*forward*  
ourselves ~~to~~ a better future.

There is no longer such a thing as cheap energy. ~~And it~~  
~~is no longer wise to think we can [trust to]\*\* the oil companies~~  
~~to take care of the problem for us~~ That is the truth.//

*That is the truth.//*

We cannot wish our way out of inflation. ~~A~~ ~~we~~ cannot  
spend our way out of every problem. That is the truth.

*We cannot toss aside a generation's patient work in  
the context of nuclear arms. That is the truth.//*

~~And~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~we~~ cannot have peace without a strong defense. ~~and we~~  
~~will harm our own security if we casually toss aside a generation's~~

~~patient work in the control of nuclear arms.~~ That is the truth.//

~~But [it is also the truth that]~~ If we act together, in the  
unifying spirit of our deepest values, we can triumph together.//

**AND THAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TRUTH OF ALL.//**

\*Al McDonald would substitute: "build the firm, solid foundation  
for". Jerry would eliminate the whole sentence.

\*\*Al and Bob Strauss would substitute "leave it solely up to".  
Since others disagree, Rick suggests "leave it up to" as a  
possible compromise.

†Jerry would omit this.

[Ours is a time of wrenching change, in the Nation and in the world -- a time of danger -- a time of extraordinary opportunity.]

[As I seek re-election to the Presidency, I offer not a promise but a vision -- not a guarantee of painless solutions, but the practical ideal of a future worthy of our heritage and our values.] With the support of the American people, I propose to carry on the struggle for a secure nation, a just society, and a peaceful world.

# # #

\*Al McDonald would add: "We must recognize and accept reality to sustain the thrust of the positive course of adaptation and triumph that we have embarked upon during the past three years."

Announcement (short version)

This is a somber time. Forty-nine of our fellow citizens continue to be held captive in Iran, hostages of a mob and a government that have become one and the same. The crisis precipitated by this unprecedented and unlawful act has demanded my continuous attention from the moment it began.

I have curtailed my own political activities during this period, and I will continue to do so while the crisis persists. But the democratic process goes forward as it has in our country for 200 years, in war and peace, in good times and bad, in times of crisis and times of calm.

The election laws of certain states set filing deadlines for formal declarations of candidacy. Therefore, I want to speak briefly today about my political plans for the coming year.

I intend to be the Presidential candidate of my party. I intend to ask the Democratic Convention to renominate the most effective Vice President in our history, Walter F. Mondale. And I intend to lead the Nation in continuing the work we have begun together.

During the last three years, the United States has started to move in a new and better direction. We are meeting the challenge of peace in a dangerous world; the challenge of energy, which is so central to both our national security and our economic health; the challenge of building a just society, in which government serves the many, not the powerful few; and the challenge of conscience, with our work on behalf of human rights at home and abroad.

I think an honest appraisal will show that much has been accomplished during these three years. And I know better than anyone that much remains to be done in the next five years.

As President, I have sought always to deal truthfully and honestly with the American people. I will continue to do so.

In the coming campaign, I will make the best effort I can to present my vision of our our common values and our common future -- and of what I believe we must do to make that future a secure and peaceful one for our country. I will ask the American people to weigh my record against those of others who seek this office. Although there are able men among them, I believe that I am better qualified than they to be entrusted with the responsibilities of the Presidency.

With faith in the ultimate judgment of my fellow citizens, and in the earnest hope of their support, I will be a candidate for re-election as President of the United States.

# # #

Announcement (annotated version)

I speak to you at a somber time. Forty-nine of our fellow citizens continue to be held captive in Iran, hostages of a mob and a government that have become one and the same. The crisis precipitated by this unprecedented and unlawful act has demanded my continuous attention since the moment it began.

But the process of democratic self-government must go forward. [That process is at the heart of our liberties and our strength.]\* Every four years -- in good times and bad, in war and in peace, in times of crisis and times of calm -- the American people elect their President. So it has been since 1789; so shall it be in 1980.

I have curtailed my political activities for the past month, and I will continue to curtail them while the crisis in Iran endures. [I would have preferred to postpone this announcement until another time. However, election laws in certain states set deadlines for formal declarations of candidacy.]\* For this reason, I want to speak briefly about my political plans for the coming year.

I am a candidate for re-election as President of the United States.\*\*

I intend to be renominated [as the Presidential candidate of]† the Democratic Party. I intend to ask the Democratic Convention to renominate the most effective Vice President in

\*Jerry Rafshoon would omit. Others feel this is needed.

\*\*Al McDonald would add: "I now formally declare my candidacy."

†Jerry R. would substitute "by".

American history, Walter F. Mondale. I intend to lead the Democratic Party to victory. And I intend to lead the Nation in continuing the work we have begun together.

[As President, I have made some hard decisions, and I expect to make more.]\* [I have made some mistakes, and I have learned from them.]\*\* [I have fought some bitter fights against powerful special interests -- and I expect to go on leading the fight for the common good of our people.]†

\*Jerry R. would substitute: "This Administration has faced up to the hard decisions. We will continue." He would also substitute "we" for all the I's in this and the next ¶.

\*\*Al McDonald feels strongly that this should be omitted. Anne Wexler feels just as strongly that it should be kept. Jody would keep it.

†Jerry would substitute: "We have fought some bitter fights for the common good. We will continue this fight." Rick feels that all the changes suggested for this ¶ would deprive it of both grace and punch.

I carry some scars.\* I also carry the knowledge, strengthened by my experience in this office, that the greatness of our Nation and the goodness of our people will prevail.

[I am running because I believe we]\*\* have set a firm, constructive course for our country. [It is a hard course, but it is the right one -- and we must not turn aside.]†

[I am running because I believe that I]\*\* have the experience and the determination to keep us on that true course. After three years as President -- and looking ahead to the problems

\*Al McDonald would add "but I carry them with pride."

\*\*Jerry Rafshoon would substitute "we" in these two spots.

†Al McDonald would say: "It is a hard course that requires continuity and a steady hand. It is a course that is criticized by those who would falsely advocate simple solutions to our complex modern problems. It is a course that appropriately calls for consistency, firmness and moderation; for a reorientation of many of our views; and for greater peacetime discipline at all levels of our society than is our custom." Rick feels that these points are adequately covered elsewhere in the statement.

we will be facing during the next five years -- I believe I am better qualified than any challenger to be entrusted with the responsibilities of the Presidency.\*

I believe too that after a long period of frequent and demoralizing changes in Presidential leadership, the interest of the Nation will be better served by a continuous, sustained and steady effort to deal with our problems.\*\*

A great nation's course is not changed overnight. Ours is a vast, sprawling country, and the instruments a President commands are far from perfect. The problems we face are difficult.

\*Jerry R. would add: "I realize this more every day. And I believe the American people realize this more every day."

\*\*Stu would add: "...which a second term provides. Not since Eisenhower have we had a President elected to serve out his second term." Al McDonald would add: "...without erratic changes of course and without simplistic, high-risk experimentations." Rick feels these additions would be redundant.

There are no easy solutions, and I promise none -- but there are [solutions.]\* In the past three years, the United States has begun to move in a new and better direction.\*\*

We are meeting the challenge of peace in a dangerous world.

We have sought to restrain the deadly competition in nuclear arms and to calm troubled regions of the world. Because we are both strong and careful, we have not had to go to war.

[But we are ready to fight if we must.]† We have reversed a ten-year slide by undertaking the rebuilding of our military power. The crisis in Iran is proof, if proof were needed,

\*Al would substitute: "steady improvements that we can make and are making." Rick feels this is less crisp.

\*\*Stu would add: "We live in an era of transition and we are developing new policies for the 80's to meet these new challenges -- not the tired solutions of the past."

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that this effort must not be interrupted.

We are finally beginning to meet the challenge of energy, which is so central to both our national security and our economic health.

The events in Iran are an ugly reminder of the dangers of dependence on foreign oil. That dependence is also by far the largest cause of our serious and persistent inflation. The Congress and the people have begun to respond, and our country is at last ready to bring its vast resources to bear on the problem. This effort, too, must continue without interruption.

Despite the necessary constraints imposed by our fight against inflation, we are meeting the challenge of building a just society.

Through our support for education, for the environment, for our cities, for our Social Security System, we have renewed

the faith of our people that government exists to serve the many, not the powerful few. At the same time,\* we are making government more efficient -- because only a government that works can translate caring into effective action.

And we are meeting the challenge of conscience.

We have restored the trust of the American people in the basic decency and honesty of their government. Americans know that their government is on their side again. The poor, the oppressed and the silenced throughout the world know that America is on their side again. We are standing up for human rights, both at home and abroad.

This is a record of solid accomplishment. But it is also an unfinished agenda for the future.

\*Stu would insert: "by eliminating thousands of unnecessary rules, freeing our economy from needless regulation, and overhauling the Civil Service System for the first time in a century..."

By 1990, the world will be as different from the world of 1960 as the world of 1960 was from that of 1930. And as we enter the 1980s, the work we have begun together will help us meet the challenges we will surely face. What we do now will bring us safely to a new time of peace and security -- if we have the determination to see it through, and the courage to go on making the hard decisions.

In this difficult time, our greatest ally is the truth. As President, and as a candidate, I will continue to ask you to join me in looking squarely at the truth. I will continue to talk sense to the American people.

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As I seek re-election to the Presidency, I offer not a promise but a vision -- not a guarantee of painless solutions, but the practical ideal of a future worthy of our heritage and our values. With the support of the American people, I propose to carry on the struggle for a secure nation, a just society, and a peaceful world.

# # #

\*Al McDonald would add: "We must recognize and accept reality to sustain the thrust of the positive course of adaptation and triumph that we have embarked upon during the past three years."

Chris Matthews  
Draft A-1  
11/30/79

Remarks for Carter-Mondale Dinner, Washington

I want to thank each one of you personally for being here tonight -- and for the countless times you have stood up for me these past three years when I had to make hard decisions or take tough stands. I appreciate and draw strength from your loyalty. I will never forget your support, and you will never regret giving it.

Due to the international situation, I have curtailed my campaign activities this week. I had planned tonight to highlight those broad political issues which I believe are so important to our Nation and our Party. For now, I will leave such discussions to others. Instead I want to speak briefly on what immediately concerns us all.

At certain times in our nation's history an event tells

us who we are as a nation. We find a new appreciation of our deepest values and of the principles that guide us. We gain a new measure of common strength and common purpose.

Tonight, 49 American citizens are captives in Iran -- hostages of a mob and a government that have become one and the same. We will not rest in our efforts until every single American is free. I have made it clear to the leaders of Iran that our nation holds them personally and fully responsible for the well-being and safe return of every American in their hands.

I am proud of the restraint the American people have shown in this crisis. But I am proud too of the deep spirit that has been aroused in our people. It reflects our own deep sense of national honor and independence.

We are a free people. We respect our flag because we believe in what it stands for -- freedom and opportunity; human dignity; justice.

We Americans believe in our country, not simply as a great nation, but as a great ideal. We believe in the United States of America as the best hope in mankind's history to protect and advance fundamental human values.

The events in Iran have reminded us that our basic principles of patriotism, independence, freedom, human rights, justice mean as much today as at any time in our nation's history. I thank God for that -- because these principles have never been more important.

Today our nation's will to be free and independent, our desire to build a society of ever-expanding opportunities and ever-expanding justice is being tested -- not just by a mob in Tehran, but by the changing nature of our world.

We believe in world peace. We have demonstrated our concern for peace, good will, and mutual respect among nations -- by our role in the unprecedented treaty between the State of

Israel and her most powerful Arab neighbor, by our support for justice in Africa and human rights throughout the world. But, like it or not, we live in a dangerous and uncertain world that requires us to be strong.

As long as I am President, the United States will show reason and restraint, but it will be a restraint based on fundamental strength -- moral as well as military. We will respect the rights and dignity of other nations. We will demand the same in return.

The events in Iran have dramatized another challenge to us. Our intolerable dependence on foreign oil is a direct, physical menace to our freedom and security. For the first time, the energy crisis stands starkly before all Americans for exactly what it is -- "the moral equivalent of war." We can no longer remain dependent on the undependable or addicted to the unaffordable. The question is not whether we deal with

this challenge, but how -- and more important -- how soon.

As long as I am President, no nation will dictate to our country. No nation will get away with blackmail -- by whatever means, for whatever end. And to make such blackmail unthinkable in the future, we will continue to take those hard, but necessary steps to ensure our nation's energy freedom.

I believe we can meet today's challenges -- and more. We can expand our hopes for America. We can build the kind of society that offers ever-increasing opportunities and justice for our people. We can continue to set a standard of human rights and human aspirations for all the world.

None of these challenges is too great. None of these goals is beyond us -- if we are willing to face up to the real nature of our times, and to confront our times with honesty and courage.

Harry Truman once said that any President who makes decisions about his country on the basis of the public opinion

polls is not worthy to hold the office. Many times in the past three years, I have had to make hard decisions -- decisions that affect not only our own generation, but others to come. I made them because -- popular or not -- they were right.

Today I declared my candidacy for renomination. I also declared my intention to ask the Democratic Convention to renominate the most effective Vice President in our history, Walter F. Mondale.

I intend to lead the ticket and the Democratic Party to victory. As President, I intend to lead the Nation both in finishing the historic work we have begun together and in meeting the great challenges of the 1980's.

I am convinced that when the American people make their choice in 1980, they will stand with me -- with the tough decisions I have made, with the hopeful course I have charted.

Americans want to see our nation strong. They know that

the foundation of that strength is an adequate defense budget.

They want our nation to be energy self-reliant. They want want the oil companies to pay their fair share in ending our dependence.

I do not claim perfection for my Administration. But I will say this: we have not been afraid to face problems. We have not ducked or hidden. We have taken the heat, and we have done what is right.

And we have done something even more important. We have given the American people what they have long hungered for: the truth. They may not have always found it easy to take, but they know I have given it to them straight.

As long as I am President, that is something the American people can count on.

We cannot build a stronger Nation on fantasy. We cannot

build a safer world on bluster. We cannot build a just society on self-delusion.

Only by facing the world as it is can we lift ourselves into a better future.

There is no longer any more cheap energy. Neither can we leave it to the oil companies to take care of the problem for us. That is the truth.

We cannot have peace without a strong defense. Neither can we casually toss aside a generation's work to control nuclear arms. That is the truth.

But it is also the truth that if we act together, in the unifying spirit of our deepest values, we can triumph together.

This is a time of wrenching change, in the Nation and in the world. It is a time of danger. It is also a time of extraordinary opportunity.

We have seized many of those opportunities, and I am proud of that.

We have put government back on the side of the working man and working woman.

We have stood up for the cities, and those who need government the most.

We have put government back on the side of equal opportunity and justice for all our citizens.

We have set our nation on a course toward long-term energy security that will take tens of billions of dollars now sent abroad each year for foreign oil and use them for new energy sources and new American jobs here at home.

Most of all, we have restored a basic sense of values.

Let me leave you with a closing thought.

With all our challenges, our country remains what it has always been, the strongest, most successful nation on earth -- the land of freedom and opportunity. Whether it is oppressed people from the Soviet Union, or hungry and desperate people from Southeast Asia, or people from anywhere in the world just seeking a better life -- they come to America, to our nation to realize their hopes and dreams.

Tonight America is the greatest nation on earth. Together, we shall make it even greater.

# # #

Announcement

I speak to you at a somber time. Forty-nine of our fellow citizens continue to be held captive in Iran, hostages of a mob and a government that have become one and the same. The crisis precipitated by this unprecedented and unlawful act law has demanded my continuous attention since the moment it began.

But the process of democratic self-government must go forward. That process is at the heart of our liberties and our strength. Every four years -- in good times and bad, in war and in peace, in times of crisis and times of calm -- the American people elect their President. So it has been since 1789; so shall it be in 1980.

I have curtailed my political activities for the past month, and I will continue to curtail them while the crisis in Iran endures. I would have preferred to postpone this announcement

until another time. However, election laws in certain states set deadlines for formal declarations of candidacy. For this reason, I want to speak briefly about my political plans for the coming year.

I am a candidate for re-election as President of the United States.

I intend to be renominated as the Presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. I intend to ask the Democratic Convention to renominate the most effective Vice President in American history, Walter F. Mondale. I intend to lead the Democratic Party to victory. And I intend to lead the Nation in continuing the work we have begun together.

As President, I have made some hard decisions, and I expect to make more. I have made some mistakes, and I have learned from them. I have fought some bitter fights against powerful special interests -- and I expect to go on leading

the fight for the common good of our people.

I carry some scars. I also carry the knowledge, strengthened by my experience in this office, that the greatness of our Nation and the goodness of our people will prevail.

I am running because I believe we have set a firm, constructive course for our country. It is a hard course, but it is the right one -- and we must not turn aside.

I am running because I believe that I have the experience and the determination to keep us on that true course. After three years as President -- and looking ahead to the problems we will be facing during the next five years -- I believe I am better qualified than any challenger to be entrusted with the responsibilities of the Presidency.

I believe too that after a long period of frequent and demoralizing changes in Presidential leadership, the interest

of the Nation will be better served by a continuous, sustained and steady effort to deal with our problems.

A great nation's course is not changed overnight. Ours is a vast, sprawling country, and the instruments a President commands are far from perfect. The problems we face are difficult. There are no easy solutions, and I promise none -- but there are solutions. In the past three years, the United States has begun to move in a new and better direction.

We are meeting the challenge of peace in a dangerous world.

We have sought to restrain the deadly competition in nuclear arms and to calm troubled regions of the world. Because we are both strong and careful, we have not had to go to war. But we are ready to fight if we must. We have reversed a ten-year slide by undertaking the rebuilding of our military power. The crisis in Iran is proof, if proof were needed, that this effort must not be interrupted.

We are finally beginning to meet the challenge of energy, which is so central to both our national security and our economic health.

The events in Iran are an ugly reminder of the dangers of dependence on foreign oil. That dependence is also by far the largest cause of our serious and persistent inflation. The Congress and the people have begun to respond, and our country is at last ready to bring its vast resources to bear on the problem. This effort, too, must continue without interruption.

Despite the necessary constraints imposed by our fight against inflation, we are meeting the challenge of building a just society.

Through our support for education, for the environment, for our cities, for our Social Security System, we have renewed the faith of our people that government exists to serve the many, not the powerful few. At the same time, we are making

government more efficient -- because only a government that works can translate caring into effective action.

And we are meeting the challenge of conscience.

We have restored the trust of the American people in the basic decency and honesty of their government. Americans know that their government is on their side again. The poor, the oppressed and the silenced throughout the world know that America is on their side again. We are standing up for human rights, both at home and abroad.

This is a record of solid accomplishment. But it is also an unfinished agenda for the future.

By 1990, the world will be as different from the world of 1960 as the world of 1960 was from that of 1930. And as we enter the 1980s, the work we have begun together will help us meet the challenges we will surely face. What we do now will

bring us safely to a new time of peace and security -- if we have the determination to see it through, and the courage to go on making the hard decisions.

In this difficult time, our greatest ally is the truth. As President, and as a candidate, I will continue to ask you to join me in looking squarely at the truth. I will continue to talk sense to the American people.

We cannot build a stronger Nation on fantasy. We cannot build a safer world on bluster. We cannot build a just society on self-delusion.

Only by facing up to the world as it is can we lift ourselves into a better future.

There is no longer such a thing as cheap energy. And it is no longer wise to think we can trust to the oil companies to take care of the problem for us. That is the truth.

We cannot wish our way out of inflation -- and we cannot spend our way out of every problem. That is the truth.

We cannot have peace without a strong defense -- and we will harm our own security if we casually toss aside a generation's patient work in the control of nuclear arms. That is the truth.

But it is also the truth that if we act together, in the unifying spirit of our deepest values, we can triumph together.

Ours is a time of wrenching change, in the Nation and in the world -- a time of danger -- and a time of extraordinary opportunity.

As I seek re-election to the Presidency, I offer not a promise but a vision -- not a guarantee of painless solutions, but the practical ideal of a future worthy of our heritage and our values. With the support of the American people, I propose to carry on the struggle for a secure nation, a just society, and a peaceful world.

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