

**1/23/80 [Material for State of the Union Address] [2]**

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: 1/23/80  
[Material for State of the Union Address] [2]; Container 148

To See Complete Finding Aid:

[http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff\\_Secretary.pdf](http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Staff_Secretary.pdf)

# 3

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the  
96th Congress, fellow citizens.

As we meet tonight, it has never been more clear  
that the state of our union depends fundamentally on the  
state of the world. And tonight -- as throughout our  
generation -- it is also true that freedom and peace  
*Can and will*  
in the world depend on the state of the American Union.

At this moment in Iran, a brutal crime is being  
perpetrated -- a crime of kidnapping and attempted blackmail.  
Fifty Americans are still held captive, innocent victims  
of terrorism and anarchy.

And also at this moment, massive Soviet invading forces are attempting to subjugate the <sup>fiercely independent</sup> ~~freedom-loving~~ ~~(fiercely independent)~~ people of Afghanistan.

These two acts -- one of international terrorism and one of military aggression -- have presented a serious challenge to the United States and to the other nations of the world. <sup>we will</sup> We must not fail. As we meet these threats to peace, <sup>remain</sup> Our own response must ~~be~~ firm, clear, persistent and wise.

We are determined that the United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but ~~[it must be clear that]~~ our power will <sup>never</sup> ~~[not]~~ pose a threat to the security of any other country, or to the rights of any human being. We seek to be and to remain secure -- a nation at peace in a stable world. But to realize that goal we must <sup>face the truth.</sup> ~~[look at some hard facts.]~~

The 1980s have been born in turmoil and change --  
much of it threatening to our interests and values --  
and we must <sup>mark</sup> ~~mark~~ its beginning as a decade of national resolve.

Three basic developments have led to these most  
serious challenges:

-- the steady growth and increased projection  
<sup>beyond its borders;</sup>  
[abroad] of Soviet military power, ~~power which since the~~  
~~Sixties and until recently has grown faster than our own];~~

-- the overwhelming dependence of the industrial  
democracies on oil supplies from the Middle East; and

-- the press of social, religious and political change  
in many nations of the developing world -- including,  
of course, the year-old revolution in Iran.

- 4 -

Each of these factors is important in its own right. Each interacts with the others. They are particularly focused on one troubled area of the world. All must be faced together, [~~and faced~~] squarely and with courage.

\* \* \*

In response to the abhorrent act in Iran we [~~have~~] continued to pursue a clear [~~and consistent~~] policy with these specific goals:

-- first, to protect the present and future interests of the United States;

--second, to preserve the lives of the American hostages;

--third, to seek in every possible way their safe release;

--fourth, as long as possible to avoid bloodshed, which would <sup>further</sup> ~~likely cost~~ <sup>endanger</sup> the lives of our fellow Americans; and

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

--fifth, to [~~arouse and to~~] sustain supportive action among other nations to help [~~us bring to an~~] end this criminal violation of the moral and legal standards of a civilized world.

Our nation has been aroused<sup>and unified</sup> as never before in peacetime. We will not yield to the pressures of a mob.

We will never rest until every one of [~~our people~~] <sup>the American hostages</sup> ~~is~~ released unharmed.

\* \* \*

Now, as during the last 3½ decades, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are the most critical factor in determining whether the world will have peace or be engulfed in [~~a~~] global conflict.

Since the end of the Second World War, we Americans  
have <sup>lead other</sup> [~~assumed responsibility for leading the industrial~~] nations  
[~~of the West~~] in meeting the challenge of growing Soviet power.

This has not been a simple or static relationship. There  
have been times of cooperation and times of competition --  
even confrontation.

-- In the 1940s, we took the lead in creating the  
Atlantic Alliance in reaction to the Soviet Union's suppression  
and consolidation of its East European empire.

-- In the 1950s, we helped to contain further Soviet  
challenges in Korea and the Middle East, and we rearmed to  
sustain that continent<sup>a</sup>.

-- In the 1960s, following the Berlin and Cuban  
Missile Crises<sup>m</sup>, we sought to engage the Soviet Union in the  
important task of moving beyond<sup>the</sup> <sup>c</sup> Cold War and confrontation<sup>w</sup>.

-- And in the 1970s, we negotiated with the Soviet Union in ~~a major effort~~ <sup>an attempt</sup> to halt the growth of the arms race, to establish rules of behavior that would reduce the risks of conflict, and to develop areas of cooperation that would make our relations ~~truly~~ reciprocal and productive -- not only for our two nations, but for the world community and global peace.

[In all these efforts, we have recognized two ~~great~~ imperatives: the need to meet the challenge of Soviet military power, and the need to develop ways to resolve disputes and to maintain peace ~~between our two nations and in the wider~~ <sup>?</sup> world.] ~~We have succeeded when we have been prepared to meet challenges with strength. We have also succeeded when the Soviet Union has been prepared to exercise restraint instead of exploiting opportunities by the unilateral imposition of force.]~~

We two nations hold in our hands the responsibility for preventing nuclear war. We have negotiated the SALT II Treaty, and especially <sup>now</sup> in a time of tension and confrontation the mutual observance of its terms will be in the best interest of both countries and will help to preserve world peace.

We two superpowers hold in our hands the responsibility for exercising restraint in the use of power, so that the weaker nations may ~~be confident~~ <sup>not be threatened, as they</sup> ~~have confidence~~ <sup>of</sup> that they can maintain their own national integrity and independence.

Yet now the Soviet Union has decided to pursue a radical and threatening course. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the most serious threat to world peace since the Second World War.

The vast majority of the nations of the world  
 have condemned this <sup>latest ~~attempt~~ attempt to ~~span~~ extend its colonial domination of</sup> Soviet <sup>others</sup> ~~aggression~~ and demanded the  
 immediate withdrawal of the invading forces. No <sup>illegitimate</sup> action of  
 a major world power has ever been so overwhelmingly condemned.

*Leave as is* → The Soviet Union must be convinced that such action cannot  
 be taken with impunity. They must suffer the consequences  
 of their oppression. Under these circumstances, other nations  
 cannot continue business as usual with the Soviet Union.

~~[Along with other countries]~~ <sup>other countries</sup> The United States has  
 joined in this political condemnation and has also imposed  
 economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. I have forbidden  
 Soviet fishing in the coastal waters of the United States,  
 stopped the shipments of large quantities of agricultural  
 products and high-technology equipment, and ordered a  
 restraint on other commerce with the Soviet Union. We have

asked other nations not to replace these embargoed items  
 and to join us in similar steps until the Soviets comply  
 with the overwhelming <sup>demand</sup> decision of the United Nations, General  
 Assembly.

# → [ ~~The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is of enormous  
 strategic importance -- both for East-West relations  
 and for the future of Southwest Asia itself.~~ ]

~~The direct use of Soviet armies in Afghanistan  
 is a harsh and ominous departure from past Soviet behavior.  
 It goes beyond the suppression of Hungary and Czechoslovakia --  
 countries that already were under Soviet domination -- and  
 it goes beyond Soviet use of Cuban military proxies in places  
 like Angola and Ethiopia. -- The Soviet Union entered  
 Afghanistan by deceit. Afghanistan's leaders were [brutally]  
 murdered. And Soviet military forces are at this moment~~

~~engaged in a brutal campaign of conquest and destruction  
of a proud, religious, and independent people.~~

~~and demonstrates~~

The Soviet Union has demonstrated to the entire world  
[its] contempt for the principles of non-alignment, for the  
nations of Islam, for the freedom and integrity of  
Third World nations, and contempt for the political and  
religious freedoms it suppresses wherever it rules.

dup

[The harsh fact is that] The Soviet Union has been  
steadily increasing its ability to project military power  
far beyond its borders, and has been more and more willing  
to use that power to gain political ends.

[Before the invasion of Afghanistan, it was our hope  
as we looked to the 1980s that we could build upon the  
patient efforts of the past in developing better U.S.-Soviet  
relations. We wanted to reduce the level of armaments;

~~we wanted to increase the scope of bilateral cooperation.~~

~~All that is still desirable. It still may be possible.~~

~~But it is not for us alone to decide.~~

~~[The Soviet Union should understand that its own security faces no real threat from other nations, but apparently it still fails to recognize that its best security lies in respecting the interests and independence of others -- not in threatening its neighbors.]~~

The Soviet Union must make a basic choice: whether <sup>to</sup> ~~[it will]~~ help promote a more stable global environment where <sup>in</sup> its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued; or whether <sup>to</sup> ~~[it will]~~ continue to expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs, and use that power <sup>colonial</sup> for conquest both at the expense of other countries and at the expense of its own ultimate well-being.

~~#~~  
P10

~~[The Soviet Union must understand that the United States and the world will oppose further violation of international peace. We will oppose Soviet threats to areas of vital interest to us and our Allies. Soviet intervention in these areas would inevitably bring a direct confrontation with the United States. The Middle East, Persian Gulf, and Southwest Asia comprises such an area of vital interest.]~~

*by Soviet troops in Afghanistan*  
*now threatened, is of great strategic importance. It)*  
 The ~~[That]~~ region contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. ~~[Some Most of its nations are now facing~~  
*conflict between* ~~the [problems of] fervent-religious conviction,~~ *and* ~~[confronting]~~  
 rapid modernization, creating the kind of instability which the Soviet Union may be tempted to exploit.]

← The Soviet effort to eliminate Afghanistan as a buffer between ~~[the Soviet Union]~~ *itself and the Persian Gulf* and Pakistan has brought Soviet forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to the Straits of Hormuz -- a waterway through which much of the

- 14 -

free world's oil must flow. Whatever the Soviet Union may claim as motives for invading Afghanistan, it is now consolidating a strategic position that is gravely threatening to the free movement of Middle East oil.

~~[At the same time, Iran is no longer able or willing to play a stabilizing role, and few of the surrounding countries, standing alone, are able to provide for their own security if faced with a powerful challenge.]~~

~~[In summary, we face today a situation in which our nation and our Allies are dependent on oil supplies from a region whose security -- from internal divisions and from external threats -- is now in question. Unresolved, this problem could undermine our economy, our security, the very way we live.]~~

This situation demands careful thought and resolute action -- not only for this year but sustained action over many years, <sup>to come.</sup> It will require ~~[a]~~ joint efforts to meet, <sup>this need</sup> ~~threats~~ to security in the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. It will require the participation of those who rely on oil from the Middle East and are concerned with global peace and stability. And it will require <sup>close consultation</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>and cooperation with</sup> ~~understanding and partnership of~~ countries in the area who might be threatened.

Our approach must combine national will, military capacity, diplomatic skill, political wisdom, and some economic sacrifice. We must call on the best that is in <sup>us</sup> ~~our nation~~ to meet and master this challenge.

During the last three years we have taken steps as part of our overall defense effort which improved our

~~[present and future]~~ ability to enhance security, <sup>around the world, including</sup> ~~[for]~~ the <sup>vital oil producing areas, of the Persian Gulf region.</sup> ~~[Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia.]~~

-- We have increased annually our real budget commitment for defense. This effort will be sustained.

-- We have helped to revitalize our North Atlantic and other alliances. We and our NATO Allies have decided to develop and deploy <sup>t</sup> Theatre <sup>n</sup> Nuclear <sup>f</sup> Forces to meet an unwarranted and increasing threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union.

-- We are working with our Allies to <sup>prevent</sup> ~~[alleviate~~ <sup>conflict</sup> ~~threats to peace]~~ in Southern Africa and in the Middle East.

The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel is a notable achievement in our common effort to strengthen our friends and to enhance prospects for a comprehensive peace.

← We are now [~~deeply~~] engaged in, <sup>further</sup> negotiations to provide full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza, to resolve the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, and to preserve the peace and security of Israel.

*more  
loyalty  
to US*

*leave a  
is*

-- We have expanded our own sphere of friendship whenever possible. Normalization of relations with the people of China can pay rich dividends in increased trade and in helping to preserve peace and stability in Asia.

-- We have increased our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, [~~we will be improving the base at Diego Garcia,~~ <sup>continue to use</sup>]

and we are now arranging with other nations for naval and air facilities to be used by our forces in, <sup>the region of</sup> Northeast Africa and [~~near~~] the Persian Gulf.

-- We have reconfirmed our 1959 agreement -- a firm commitment to the independence and integrity of Pakistan.

In <sup>k</sup>deeper with our own law, the United States will do whatever is necessary (~~--including the use of armed forces--~~) to protect Pakistan against outside aggression. I am asking the Congress to reaffirm this commitment.

-- And we are improving our capability to deploy U.S. forces rapidly to distant areas in order to protect our national interests.

These efforts will be pursued with vigor and determination, and other action will be taken as necessary to preserve our nation's security.

If the international situation worsens further, we may need to draft young people for service of our country. As you know, Americans could be drafted only after Congress passes authorizing legislation. However, as a necessary

precautionary measure I <sup>(feel it is necessary)</sup> ~~intend~~ <sup>consider it necessary,</sup> ~~by~~ under existing law, to  
 revitalize the Selective Service system and to reinstitute  
 registration for the draft as soon as possible. I will  
 forward to the Congress a request for funds to support this  
<sup>decision.</sup>  
 [effort.]

<sup>also</sup>  
 I will be working closely with the Congress to expedite  
 passage of new legislation which will define clearly the  
 legal authority and accountability of the intelligence  
 community. <sup>We need to</sup> [and] remove unwarranted restraints and reduce  
 chances for security violations. An effective intelligence  
 capability is vital to our nation's security.

The meaning of all these efforts is nothing less  
 than a dedication to defend and preserve the vital interests  
 of our nation and our Allies in the part of the world  
 stretching from the Middle East to Southwest Asia. All of

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
 for Preservation Purposes**

us must understand this basic fact, and it must be clearly understood also by any nation tempted to threaten that region.

The time has come to state our position -- clearly and precisely.

Any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the oil fields of the Persian Gulf would be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States. It would be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force.

We <sup>wish</sup> ~~with~~ to live in peace with all nations, and ~~(to~~ broaden areas of cooperation, ~~(among us)~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~We~~ have no desire to impose our will on anyone else.

We are prepared to work with other <sup>countries</sup> ~~nations~~ to shape a cooperative security framework for <sup>this troubled</sup> ~~the~~ region that respects differing values and political attitudes, yet enhances

the independence, security and well-being of all. But *outside* military aggression or political intimidation will be opposed.

*Susan -  
Use this*

*(ok)*  
All people should remember that peace remains America's first goal -- a peace that preserves ~~our~~ freedoms. In the coming years we will <sup>*continue to*</sup> pursue peace through strength --

~~through strong alliances and powerful American defense forces.~~

~~Let no one doubt our will to use them when our vital~~

~~interests are under challenge. We will also pursue peace~~

~~through arms control measures that enhance our security;~~

~~through continued efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear~~

~~devices; and through an activist diplomacy in troubled areas.~~

~~Real progress has been made in recent years -- in our~~

~~defense programs, in strengthening NATO, in closer prospects~~

~~for peace in the Middle East and southern Africa; in~~

~~negotiation of the SALT II Treaty. We must preserve and~~

~~build on these accomplishments.~~

*PEACEFUL  
COMPETITION*

~~In these times of new challenge, as before, we must~~  
 also pursue the goal of improved American ties with other  
 nations around the world. <sup>Our</sup> The policy ~~[we pursue]~~ is one of  
<sup>firmness and</sup> ~~[firm]~~ strength -- but of generous outreach as well. In recent  
 years, our influence has increased as we have <sup>established diplomatic</sup> ~~[strengthened]~~  
 relations with the People's Republic of China and with many  
 Third World nations. We will continue ~~[to pursue]~~ the  
 policies that have produced these gains. ]

~~[At all times, now and in the future, we will promote  
 the compelling goal of human rights. Our nation, today,  
 stands firmly on the side of individual freedom. That is  
 where we still stay.]~~

<sup>but</sup>  
~~But~~  
 [And] we must also face this central truth: we can only  
 project strength abroad if we are strong at home. [we  
 can only support the security of other nations if we ourselves  
 are secure. <sup>protect</sup> So we must strengthen our economy in the face  
 of a global energy crisis. Until we adopt [a strong and

<sup>an</sup> and ~~effective energy program, inflation and our dependence~~  
 on ~~foreign oil will sap our national power as surely as~~  
 they erode the purchasing power of our citizens.

The decade of the 1970s left us with two overriding  
 and closely interrelated economic tasks that we must accomplish  
<sup>early</sup> in the 1980s -- reducing our dangerous dependence on foreign  
 oil, and controlling inflation, and

Final action on energy legislation is long overdue.  
 If the Congress will act promptly ~~[to conclude these final~~  
~~stages of deliberation]~~ we can cut our oil imports in half  
 during the course of the 1980s.

Our new energy policies will <sup>produce give us</sup> ~~produce~~ realistic pricing  
 based on the true value of ~~[the world's dwindling crude]~~ oil,  
<sup>provide</sup> ~~[supply]~~ strong incentives for the production of fossil fuels  
 in America, a major conservation effort, important

initiatives to develop solar power, and our nation's most massive peacetime investment in the development of synthetic forms of energy.

The American people made progress in energy conservation in 1979 -- reducing overall petroleum consumption by 7 percent and ~~reducing~~ gasoline consumption by 5 percent below that of the previous year. To maintain and accelerate this progress and to take further steps to make our nation energy-secure and free of foreign blackmail, I will be <sup>setting</sup> ~~establishing~~ mandatory gasoline conservation goals for each of the 50 states.

In addition, I am establishing <sup>an import</sup> a ceiling for 1980 <sup>of 8.2 million</sup> barrels a day <sup>well</sup> below the level of oil imports during 1977, which ~~will~~ <sup>This new ceiling will</sup> be enforced with an import fee if purchases of foreign oil <sup>are become excessive.</sup> ~~[threaten to exceed this ceiling]~~ I am prepared to lower ~~that~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~goal~~ <sup>ceiling</sup> still further if other oil consuming countries are

willing to join us in a fair and equitable mutual reduction of imports.

Last year the Congress (<sup>authorized</sup> ~~enacted authorization~~ for) standby gasoline rationing ~~[but it can be put into effect only] if we have~~ ~~[in case of]~~ an oil supply shortfall of 20 percent or more. In order to avoid serious disruption of our economy,

~~[we will need protection at a much earlier stages.]~~ I urge the

Congress to grant additional authority so that rationing can be implemented ~~(in case of)~~ <sup>when the</sup> supply shortages <sup>are</sup> ~~[of]~~ much less than 20 percent. I will not hesitate to impose gasoline rationing if necessary.

If we continue to solve our energy problems, we will be attacking one of the root causes of inflation -- our growing dependence on very expensive foreign oil. Practically all ~~[of the]~~ growth in <sup>the</sup> inflation <sup>rate</sup> ~~[in the]~~ last year <sup>was</sup> ~~[has been]~~ from one cause: the increase in world oil prices. We simply must reduce oil consumption in the United States.

I call on you, the people of America, to help our nation. Eliminate waste! Conserve energy! ~~Reduce~~ Cut your own use of oil products in every possible way.

*economic* to *protect* *our* *nations* *economy.*  
 We must take other ~~actions~~ ~~to control inflation.~~

First, we must continue to reduce the Federal deficit.

We cannot spend our way out of inflation. The budget that I am proposing for the coming fiscal year will reduce our deficit by \$50 billion from the time I ran for President and, at 0.6 percent, will represent the lowest portion of our

*we are making progress.*  
 Gross National Product in \_\_\_\_\_ years. Although it is *according to present economic forecasts, if the economy should be strong enough to maintain* unlikely, ~~if~~ unemployment ~~continues~~ at its present level, we would enjoy a respectable budget surplus, *next year.*

This is a tight budget but one that deals responsibly with ~~the~~ <sup>our</sup> social needs ~~of our people~~ and economic conditions

as they now exist. *If ~~that~~* ~~If~~ there should be a sharp turndown in the economy, I will request action to support national output and employment. ~~Our top domestic priority now must be to~~ fight inflation.

Second, as we continue to work with business to *hold down*  
~~keep~~ prices ~~restrained~~, we will build also on the historic  
National Accord ~~[which was signed]~~ with organized labor to  
~~[enlist America's working people as full partners in]~~  
restraining ~~[ing]~~ pay increases in a fair and equitable fight  
against inflation.

Third, we will continue our successful efforts to  
cut paperwork and to dismantle unnecessary <sup>government</sup> regulation;  
to deregulate larger sectors of our economy -- such as the  
railroads, trucking, banking, and the communications  
industries; and to lower the cost of those regulations which  
are <sup>still</sup> necessary. While continuing to protect consumers,  
worker safety and our environment, it is time to get the  
Federal government off the back of private citizens and <sup>out of</sup> the  
free enterprize <sup>s</sup> system.

Fourth, we must continue to build on the <sup>progress</sup> effort

we have made to reduce unemployment. I am proposing a major new program to provide basic skills training and work experience among our young people, particularly <sup>among</sup> ~~minorities~~ youth.

It has been said that "a mind is a terrible thing to waste".

We will give our young people hope in the 1980s.

Fifth, we can use the 1980s to attack the basic structural problems in our economy and I will be proposing measures to increase productivity, savings and investment.

If we move boldly to attack our energy and economic problems we can solve them and make America even stronger at home in this decade, just as our foreign and defense policies will make us stronger and safer throughout the world.

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purpose**

We will not abandon our struggle for a just, <sup>and</sup> decent society that is the heart of America. We can only inspire people to defend their rights abroad if we are struggling to win <sup>those same rights</sup> [them] for all our people here at home.

*Is it an America?* That is why we will press for Affirmative Action for minorities and continue to work for the Equal Rights Amendment for women.

Early in this new decade we will fulfill a generation of pledges by enacting Comprehensive Health Care for all our citizens -- with tough cost controls and within spending limits we can afford.

Together we will continue to fight for better education, for a sound Social Security System, for a decent environment, for revitalized cities and rural communities.

America has always meant more than military might or economic wealth. The real power of America is its promise of peace, liberty, justice, tolerance, and compassion -- for all.

The beginning of a new century <sup>and a new millennium</sup> is now just twenty years away. Whether we enter <sup>the new millennium</sup> ~~that century~~ in control of our own lives and our destiny will depend on what we do in this decade. We will chart our course in the pivotal year of 1980.

We must never flinch from <sup>reality</sup> ~~the truth~~ -- because we can build the world we want only by starting with the truth about the world as it is.

Our material resources, great as they are, are limited. Our problems are too complex to yield to simple slogans or quick solutions. Our world is full of danger. Even our system of government is sometimes divided and cumbersome.

*R. J. [Signature]*

Although our challenges are ~~great~~ formidable,

~~great~~, we must not forget the

greatness of our country. We can

look forward to the 1980's with

confidence and hope. You can join

me in a bright vision of the future

I see an America strong and free

( " " " " ) at peace

( " ) with equal rights for all

( ) with health care and education for every citizen

( ) with a clean environment and beautiful life in its cities and farms

( ) helping to feed the world

( ) secure in filling its own energy needs

( ) of justice, tolerance and compassion.

~~These are facts. But it is also a fact [it is  
 also the truth] that we possess extraordinary strengths --  
 strengths that go beyond anything material.~~

We have the will for hard work. We have the courage  
 to confront the truth. We have the imagination to dream  
 great dreams, and the intelligence and vigor to translate  
 them into reality.

*[Handwritten signature]*

We must remember the admonition <sup>given to us by</sup> ~~of~~ Walter Lippman  
 in 19-1

"You took the good things for granted. Now you  
 must earn them again. For every right that you  
 cherish, you have a duty which you must fulfill.  
 For every hope that you entertain, you have a task to  
 perform. For every good that you wish to preserve,  
 you will have to sacrifice your comfort and your ease.  
 There is nothing for nothing any longer."

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
 for Preservation Purpose**

Together, as one united people, let us work to build our strength at home. Together, as one indivisible union, let us seek peace and security throughout the world, sacrificing as we must.

Together, let us make of this time of <sup>challenge and</sup> danger a decade of national resolve, <sub>x</sub> <sup>notable achievement.</sup>

# # #

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

DRAFT P-1  
STATE OF THE UNION  
January 20, 1980

#2

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the  
96th Congress, fellow citizens.

As we meet tonight, it has never been more clear  
that the state of our union depends fundamentally on the  
state of the world. And tonight -- as throughout our  
generation -- it is also true that freedom and peace  
in the world depend on the state of the American Union.

At this moment in Iran, a brutal crime is being  
perpetrated -- a crime of kidnapping and attempted blackmail.  
Fifty Americans are still held captive, innocent victims of  
terrorism and anarchy.

And also at this moment, <sup>massive</sup> Soviet invading forces  
are attempting to subjugate the <sup>freedom loving</sup> (fiercely independent)  
people of Afghanistan.

*These two acts -- one of international terrorism and one of military aggression -- have ~~provided~~ presented a serious challenge*

*These actions have put our nation on trial. [We must not fail to the United States and to the other nations of the world.]*

*as we fail to meet these challenges. Threats to peace. Our own response must be firm, clear, persistent and wise.*

We are determined that

The United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but <sup>it must be clear that</sup> our power <sup>will</sup> does not pose a threat to the

security of <sup>any</sup> other countries or to the rights of any human

beings. We seek to be and to remain <sup>-- a</sup> a secure nation ~~to~~

at peace in a stable world. But to realize that goal

we must look at some hard facts, [and we must maintain a

clear, firm and careful course.]

*The 1980s have been born in turmoil and change -- much of it threatening to our interests and values --*

[I have to tell you frankly --] this present time of

*and we* national peril, <sup>it</sup> must mark the beginning of a decade of

*as* national resolve.

*to*

*This decade has*

~~The 1980s have~~ been born in turmoil and change --

much of it threatening to our interests and our values,  
~~and these threats must~~

The situation we face in the world today is grave. It calls

for a sustained and firm response. \* (fm P 3)

*These most serious*

Three basic developments have led to <sup>1</sup> this challenges:

-- the steady growth and increased projection

abroad of Soviet military power -- power which since the

Sixties and until recently has grown faster than our own;

-- the overwhelming dependence of the industrial

democracies on [vital] oil supplies from the Middle East; and

-- the press of social, religious and political change

in many nations of the developing world -- including,

of course, the year-old revolution in Iran.

Each of these factors is important in its own right.

*They are particularly focussed on one troubled area of the world.*

Each interacts with the others. <sup>1</sup> All must be faced together,

and faced squarely, *and with courage.*

\* \* \*

- 4 -

In response to ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> abhorrent act in Iran we  
 1 ~~we~~ have continued to pursue a clear and consistent

policy with these specific goals:

first, to protect the present and future interests  
 of the United States;

Second, to preserve the lives of the American hostages;

Third, to seek in every possible way their safe release;

fourth, as long as possible to avoid bloodshed,

which would likely cost the lives of our fellow Americans; and

fifth, to arouse and to <sup>sustain</sup> <sup>supportive</sup> ~~maintain~~ action among other

nations (~~of the world~~) to help <sup>we bring to an end</sup> ~~[in ending]~~ this abhorrent  
 1 <sup>criminal</sup> violation of the moral and legal standards of a civilized

world.

*Our nation has been aroused as never before in  
 peacetime. We will not yield to the pressures of a mob.*

We will never rest until every one of our people  
 is released unharmed.

\* \* \*

*Now:*  
 Tonight, as during the last 3½ decades, relations  
 between the United States and the Soviet Union are the  
 most critical factor in determining whether the world will  
 have peace or be engulfed <sup>in a</sup> by global war. *conflict.*

Since the end of the Second World War, we Americans  
 have assumed responsibility for leading the industrial  
 nations of the West in meeting the challenge of growing  
 Soviet power. *The relationship has not been a simple or static relationship. There have been times of cooperation and times of competition -- even confrontation.*

-- In the 1940s, we took the lead in creating the  
 Atlantic Alliance in reaction to the Soviet Union's <sup>suppression</sup> ~~creation~~  
 and consolidation of its East European empire.

-- In the 1950s, we <sup>helped to</sup> contained further Soviet  
 challenges in Korea and in <sup>the Middle East,</sup> Berlin, and we rearmed to  
 sustain that containment. *?*

-- In the 1960s, following the <sup>Berlin and</sup> Cuban Missile Crises, we sought to engage the Soviet Union in the important task of moving beyond Cold War and confrontation.

-- And in the 1970s, we negotiated with the Soviet Union in a major effort to halt the growth of the arms race, to establish rules of behavior that would reduce the risks of conflict, and to develop ~~[with us]~~ areas of cooperation that would make our relations truly reciprocal and productive -- not only for our two nations, but for the world community and global peace.

In all these efforts, we have recognized two great imperatives: the need to meet the challenge of Soviet <sup>military</sup> power, and the need to develop ways to resolve disputes and <sup>maintain peace</sup> ~~[regulate relations]~~ between our two nations and in the wider world. (We have succeeded when we have been prepared

<sup>challenges with strength.</sup>  
 to meet ~~[power with power]~~ We have also succeeded when  
 the Soviet Union has been prepared to exercise restraint  
 instead of exploiting opportunities by the unilateral  
<sup>imposition</sup>  
~~exercise~~ of force.

We two nations hold in our hands the responsibility  
 for preventing nuclear war. We have negotiated the SALT II  
<sup>especially in a time of tension and confrontation</sup>  
 Treaty, and the mutual observance of its terms will be in  
 the best interest of both <sup>countries and will help to preserve</sup> ~~nations and [the preservation]~~ of  
 world peace.

<sup>super powers</sup>  
 We two ~~nations~~ hold in our hands the responsibility  
 for exercising restraint in the use of power, so that  
<sup>know that they have confidence that they can maintain</sup>  
 weaker nations may ~~[pursue]~~ their own national integrity and  
 independence.

*now* Yet ~~today~~ the Soviet Union, <sup>*has decided to pursue*</sup> ~~[is pursuing]~~ a radical and threatening course. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the most serious threat to world peace since the Second World War.

The vast majority of the nations of the world have condemned this <sup>*Soviet*</sup> ~~aggression~~ and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces. No action of a major world power has ever been so overwhelmingly condemned. The Soviet Union must be convinced that such ~~[aggressive]~~ action cannot be taken with impunity. They must suffer the consequences of their oppression. ↗

*Along with other nations countries* The United States has <sup>*joined in a political condemnation and has also*</sup> imposed economic sanctions against the Soviet Union. I have forbidden Soviet fishing in the <sup>*coastal*</sup> waters of the United States, stopped the shipments of large quantities of agricultural products and

*Under these circumstances, other nations cannot continue business as usual with the Soviet Union.*

high-technology equipment, and ordered a <sup>restraint on</sup> ~~reassessment of~~ other commerce with the Soviet Union. We have asked other nations not to replace these embargoed items and to join us in similar steps <sup>until the Soviets comply with the overwhelming</sup> ~~to carry out the~~ decision of the United Nations General Assembly.

*insert  
reference  
material*

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is of enormous strategic importance -- both for East-West relations and for the future of Southwest Asia itself.

The direct use of Soviet armies in Afghanistan <sup>a harsh and</sup> is an ominous departure from past Soviet behavior. It goes beyond the <sup>suppression</sup> ~~invasions~~ of Hungary and Czechoslovakia -- countries that already were under Soviet domination -- and it goes beyond Soviet use of Cuban military proxies in places like Angola and Ethiopia. The Soviet Union entered Afghanistan by deceit. Afghanistan's leaders were

brutally murdered. And Soviet military forces are <sup>at this moment</sup> ~~now~~  
 engaged in a <sup>brutal</sup> ~~massive~~ campaign of <sup>conquest</sup> ~~suppression~~ and destruction  
<sup>of</sup> ~~against~~ a proud, religious, and independent people.

The Soviet Union has demonstrated to the entire world  
 its contempt for the principles of non-alignment, for the  
 nations of Islam, for the <sup>freedom</sup> ~~independence~~ and integrity of  
 Third World nations, <sup>and contempt</sup> for the political and religious  
 freedoms it ~~suppresses~~ wherever it rules.

The <sup>harsh</sup> ~~stark~~ fact is that the Soviet Union has been  
 steadily increasing its ability to project military power  
 far beyond its borders, and has been more and more willing  
 to use that power to gain political ends.

Before the invasion of Afghanistan, it was our hope  
 as we looked to the 1980s that we could build upon the  
 patient efforts of the past in <sup>farther</sup> ~~developing~~ <sup>better</sup> U.S.-Soviet relations.

We wanted to reduce the level of armaments; we wanted to increase the scope of bilateral cooperation. All that is still desirable. It may still be possible. But it is not for us alone to decide.

The Soviet Union should understand that its own security faces no real ~~(external)~~ threat from other nations, ~~but~~ *but apparently it* ~~yet~~ *It* still fails to recognize that its best security lies in respecting the interests and independence of others, not in threatening its neighbors.

The Soviet Union <sup>must make</sup> ~~thus faces~~ a basic choice: whether it will help promote a more stable global environment where its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued -- or whether it will continue to expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs, and use that power for conquest both at the expense of other countries and at the expense of its own ultimate well-being.

The Soviet Union must understand that the U.S. <sup>and</sup> ~~the~~ world will oppose further violation of international peace. We will oppose Soviet threats to areas of vital interest to <sup>us</sup> ~~our~~ and our Allies. Soviet intervention in these areas would inevitably bring a direct confrontation with the United States. The Middle East, Persian Gulf, and Southwest Asian <sup>comprises</sup> ~~region~~ is such an area of vital interest.

That region contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. Most of its nations are, <sup>now</sup> facing the problems of <sup>fervent deep religious conviction and confronting</sup> rapid modernization, <sup>creating</sup> ~~it is a region of~~ great potential ~~for~~ the kind of instability which the Soviet Union <sup>be tempted to</sup> ~~can~~ exploit.

<sup>Soviet effort to</sup> The <sup>e</sup> ~~elimination of~~ <sup>& neutral</sup> Afghanistan as a buffer between the Soviet Union and Pakistan has brought Soviet forces to within 300 miles of the Indian Ocean and close to the

- 13 -

Straits of Hormuz -- <sup>a waterway</sup> through which much of the free world's  
 oil <sup>must</sup> flows. Whatever the Soviet Union may claim as motives  
 for invading Afghanistan, it is now consolidating a  
 strategic position that is gravely threatening to the <sup>free</sup>  
<sup>movement</sup> security of Middle East oil.

At the same time, Iran is no longer able or willing  
 to play a stabilizing role, <sup>and</sup> ~~in the Gulf.~~ <sup>And</sup> few of the  
<sup>surrounding</sup> regional <sup>standing</sup> countries, ~~if~~ alone, are able to provide for their  
 own security, <sup>if</sup> <sup>faced with a powerful challenge,</sup>

In summary, <sup>our</sup>  
 We face today a situation in which ~~this~~ nation  
 and <sup>our</sup> ~~its~~ Allies are dependent on oil supplies from a region  
 whose security -- from internal divisions and from  
 external threats -- is now in question. Unresolved, this  
 problem could undermine our economy, our security, the  
 very way we live.

Electrostatic Copy Made  
 for Preservation Purposes

- 14 -

This (situation) demands careful thought and resolute action -- not only <sup>for</sup> this year but sustained <sup>action</sup> over many years. It will require a <sup>joint effort to meet threats</sup> ~~new approach~~ to security in the Persian Gulf and Southwest <sup>h</sup>Asia. It will require ~~a collective effort, along with our friends in Europe and Japan~~ <sup>the participation of those</sup> who rely on oil from the Middle East and are concerned with global peace and stability, <sup>and</sup> it will require the understanding and partnership of countries in the ~~region~~ <sup>Area who might be threatened.</sup>

Our approach must combine national will, military capacity, <sup>diplomatic skill</sup> political wisdom, and <sup>some sacrifice</sup> economic ~~effort~~. We must call on the best that is in our nation to meet and master this ~~central~~ challenge.

During the last three years we have taken steps which improved our <sup>present and future</sup> ability to ~~provide~~ <sup>enhance</sup> security for the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia as part of our overall defense effort.

-- We have increased annually our real budget commitment for defense. *This effort will be sustained.*

*We have helped to revitalize*

-- Our North Atlantic and other alliances, ~~have been revitalized~~ <sup>We and</sup> Our NATO Allies have decided to develop and

deploy Theatre Nuclear Forces to meet an unwarranted and increasing threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union.

-- We <sup>are working</sup> ~~have worked~~ with our Allies to alleviate

~~regional~~ threats to peace in Southern Africa and in the Middle East. The peace treaty between Egypt and Israel

is a notable achievement in our common effort to strengthen our friends and to enhance prospects for <sup>a comprehensive</sup> peace. ~~and stability~~

-- We have expanded our own sphere of friendship whenever possible. Normalization of relations with the people of China can pay rich dividends in increased trade and in helping to preserve peace and stability in Asia.

*We are now deeply engaged in negotiations to provide full autonomy for the West Bank and Gaza, to resolve the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, and to preserve the peace and security of Israel.*

-- ~~Recently~~ We have increased our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, we will be improving the base at Diego Garcia, and we are now arranging with other nations for naval and air facilities to be used by our forces in [the ~~region of~~ Northeast Africa and <sup>near</sup> the Persian Gulf.

-- We have reconfirmed our 1959 <sup>agreement -- a firm</sup> commitment to the independence and <sup>integrity</sup> security of Pakistan. In keeping with our own law, the United States will do whatever is necessary [--  
 → including the use of armed forces --] to protect Pakistan against outside aggression. I am asking the Congress to reaffirm this commitment.

-- And we are <sup>improving our</sup> ~~developing a new~~ capability to ~~move~~ <sup>deploy</sup> U.S. forces rapidly to distant areas in order to protect our <sup>national</sup> interests.

These efforts will be pursued with vigor and determination, and other action will be taken ~~to~~ as necessary to preserve our nation's security.

If the international situation worsens further, ~~our~~ <sup>we</sup> ~~country~~ may need to [~~reconstitute the~~]  
draft ~~of~~ young people for service of our  
country ~~as~~ a necessary precautionary measure

I intend, under existing law, to revitalize the  
Selective Service system and to reconstitute registration  
for the draft as soon as possible. I will  
forward to the Congress a request for funds  
to support this effort. As you know, Americans

could be drafted only after Congress passes  
authorizing legislation. However, as

An effective intelligence capability  
is vital ~~for~~ to our nation's security.

I will be working closely with the Congress  
to expedite passage of new legislation which  
will define clearly the <sup>legal</sup> authority and <sup>accountability</sup> limitations  
of the intelligence community, and ~~to~~ remove  
unwarranted restraints and reduce chances for  
security violations. ↑

- 17 -

The meaning of all <sup>those</sup> ~~our~~ efforts is nothing less than a ~~[new]~~ dedication to defend and preserve <sup>the</sup> ~~[our nation's]~~ vital interests, <sup>of our nation and our allies in the part</sup> ~~[in a major region]~~ of the world, stretching from the Middle East to Southwest Asia. ~~[A threat to this zone is a threat to Europe and the Far East as well.]~~ All of us must understand this basic fact, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ it ~~[also]~~ must be clearly understood, <sup>also</sup> by any nation tempted to threaten that region.

The time has come to <sup>state our position</sup> ~~[draw a line]~~ -- clearly and precisely.

Any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the oil fields of the Persian Gulf would be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the U.S. <sup>let</sup> ~~It~~ would be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force.

Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes

We wish to live in peace with all nations, and to broaden areas of cooperation among us. We have no desire to impose our will on anyone else. <sup>but</sup> Military aggression or political intimidation will be opposed, ~~-- and every country in the region that genuinely wishes to preserve its independence can count on us.~~

~~[We are prepared to support any nation in the Middle East-Persian Gulf-Southwest Asian region that desires our friendship and will act to remain free.]~~ We are prepared to work with other nations to shape a cooperative security framework for the region that respects differing values and political attitudes, yet enhances the <sup>independence,</sup> security and well-being of all. ^

~~[Our only interest is to preserve the independence, security and stability of the region.]~~

*All people should remember that*

~~For~~ peace remains America's first goal, a peace that preserves our freedoms. In the coming ~~(year and)~~ years, we will pursue peace through strength -- through strong alliances and powerful American defense forces. Let no one doubt our will to use them when our vital interests are under challenge. We will also pursue peace through arms control measures that enhance our security; through continued efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear devices; and through an activist diplomacy in troubled areas. Real progress has been made in recent years -- in our defense programs, in strengthening NATO, in closer prospects for peace in the Middle East and southern Africa, <sup>*in a new relationship with China, and*</sup> in negotiation of the SALT II Treaty. We must preserve and build on these accomplishments.

In these times of new challenge, as before, we must also pursue the goal of improved American ties with other nations around the world. The policy we pursue is one of firm strength -- but of generous outreach as well. In recent years, our influence has increased as we have strengthened relations with the People's Republic of China and with many Third World nations. We will continue to pursue the policies that have produced these gains.

**Electrostatic Copy Made  
for Preservation Purposes**

At all times, now and in the future, we will promote the compelling goal of human rights. Our nation, today, stands firmly on the side of individual freedom. <sup>That is where</sup> We will stay ~~there~~.

And we must also face this central truth: we can only project strength abroad if we are strong at home. We can only support the security of other nations if we ourselves are secure.

So we must strengthen our economy in the face of a global energy crisis. Until we adopt a strong and effective energy program, inflation and our dependence on foreign oil will sap our national power as surely as they erode the purchasing power of our citizens.

We must also accept the truth that to be strong abroad we must be strong at home. We cannot lead others if we fail to strengthen our economy, pursue our historic mission to provide economic opportunity and justice to the disadvantaged, and curb our appetite for foreign oil.

The decade of the 1970s left us with two overriding *and closely interrelated* economic tasks that we must accomplish in the 1980s -- reducing our dangerous dependence on foreign oil and controlling inflation.

Final action on energy legislation is long overdue. If the Congress will <sup>act</sup> promptly <sup>to</sup> conclude these final stages of deliberation, we can cut our oil imports in half during the course of the 1980s.

<sup>new</sup> Our energy policies will produce realistic pricing based on the true value of the world's dwindling crude oil

supply, strong incentives for the production of <sup>fossil fuels</sup> coal,  
 in America,  
 crude oil, and natural gas, a major conservation effort,  
<sup>important</sup> ~~new~~ initiatives to develop solar <sup>power</sup> energy, and our nation's  
 most massive peacetime investment in the development of  
 synthetic forms of energy.

This nation cannot continue to hide behind price  
 controls on crude oil, however politically attractive  
 they may seem. <sup>Price controls</sup> They have failed us. They are complex and  
<sup>must be enforced by</sup> ~~require~~ a large bureaucracy ~~to run~~. They discourage domestic  
 production at a time when we need every barrel of additional  
 production. They subsidize imports and wasteful consumption  
 of energy -- at a time when we are trying to reduce both.  
<sup>Price controls</sup> ~~They~~ discourage development of alternative sources of  
 energy at a time when we must accelerate this development.  
 This is why I am phasing out controls in an orderly way.  
 We must learn to live in the real world.

The American people made ~~[good]~~ progress in energy conservation in 1979 -- reducing overall petroleum consumption by 7 percent, <sup>and reducing</sup> ~~[In December]~~ gasoline consumption <sup>by 5 percent.</sup> ~~[was 10 percent]~~ below <sup>that of the previous year</sup> ~~[the same month]~~ <sup>a year ago</sup>. To <sup>maintain and accelerate</sup> ~~[build and enhance]~~ this progress and to take further steps to make our nation energy-secure and free of foreign blackmail, ~~(I am declaring an energy emergency under my authority as President.)~~ I will be establishing mandatory gasoline conservation goals for each of the 50 states. ~~(in consultation with the government.~~ It will be up to each American, each Governor, and the Federal government to ensure that this goal is reached.)

In addition, ~~[to fulfill the pledge I made (to you)]~~  
~~that this nation would never import more oil than it did~~  
~~in 1977 -- 8½ million barrels a day --]~~ I am establishing a <sup>well below the level of oil imports during 1977</sup>  
~~[an import]~~ ceiling for 1980 ~~[of 8.2 million barrels a day]~~ which  
 will be <sup>an import</sup> ~~[I will]~~ enforce with a fee if <sup>Purchase of foreign oil</sup> ~~[our imports]~~ threaten to exceed  
<sup>ceiling,</sup>  
 this level. I am prepared to lower that goal still further

if ~~[our discussions with]~~ other oil consuming countries  
<sup>are willing</sup>  
~~[indicate a willingness]~~ to join us in a fair and equitable  
 mutual reduction of imports.

Last year the Congress enacted authorization for  
 standby gasoline rationing <sup>but it</sup> ~~[But the President]~~ <sup>be</sup> can put <sup>[it]</sup>  
 into effect only in case of an oil supply shortfall of  
<sup>In order to avoid serious disruption of our economy, we</sup>  
 20 percent or more. <sup>will</sup> ~~we~~ need protection at <sup>a much</sup> ~~an~~ earlier  
<sup>to avoid</sup>  
 stage, ~~if there is a~~ supply shortage. ~~[And so,]~~ I urge the  
 Congress to <sup>grant</sup> ~~[give me]~~ additional authority <sup>so that rationing can be</sup> ~~[to take action]~~  
 implemented <sup>much</sup>  
 in case of supply shortages of <sup>much</sup> less than 20 percent, since  
<sup>such a severe shortage</sup>  
~~[they]~~ would obviously cause very substantial disruptions <sup>in</sup> ~~[to]~~  
 our economy.

If we continue to solve our energy problems, ~~[so too]~~  
 we will be attacking one of the root causes of inflation --  
 our growing dependence on very expensive foreign oil.  
 Practically all of the growth in inflation in the last year  
 has been from one cause: the increase in world oil prices.

- 23 -

*We must take other action to control inflation.*

*First,*  
~~In addition,~~ we must continue to reduce the Federal

deficit. We cannot spend our way out of inflation. The

budget that I am proposing for the coming fiscal year

will reduce our deficit by \$50 billion from the time I ran

for President and, at 0.6 percent, will represent the

*portion of*  
 lowest deficit ~~as a percentage relative to~~ our Gross National

Product in      years. *Although it is unlikely, if continues at its present*  
~~A~~ *un* ~~employment~~ *could be maintained*  
~~to its level,~~ *we would enjoy a respectable budget surplus.*

This is a tight budget but one that deals responsibly

with the social needs of our people and economic conditions

as they now exist. If there <sup>*should be*</sup> ~~is~~ a sharp turndown in the

economy, I will <sup>*request*</sup> ~~propose~~ action to support national output

and employment. Our top <sup>*domestic*</sup> priority now must be to fight

inflation.

Second, as we continue to work with business to

keep prices restrained, we will build <sup>*also*</sup> on the historic

National Accord which <sup>*was*</sup> ~~we have~~ signed with organized labor

Electrostatic Copy Made  
 for Preservation Purposes

to enlist America's working people as full partners, <sup>in restraining pay increases</sup> in a fair and equitable fight against inflation.

Third, we will continue our successful efforts <sup>to cut paperwork and</sup> to dismantle unnecessary regulation; to deregulate larger sectors of our economy -- such as the railroads, trucking, banking, and the communications industries; and to lower the cost of <sup>those</sup> ~~necessary~~ <sup>which are necessary,</sup> regulations, While continuing <sup>consumers,</sup> to protect worker safety and our environment, it is time to get the Federal government off the back of ~~the~~ private ~~sector.~~ <sup>Citizens and the free enterprise system.</sup>

Fourth, we must continue to build on the ~~major~~ effort we have made to reduce unemployment. I am proposing a major new <sup>program</sup> ~~effort~~ to provide basic skills training and work experience ~~[to attack the problem of unemployment]~~ among our young people, particularly minorities. <sup>It has been said that</sup> ~~As Langston Hughes~~

said,] "A mind is a terrible thing to waste." We <sup>will</sup> ~~must~~ give our young people hope in the 1980s.

Fifth, we <sup>can</sup> ~~must~~ use the 1980s to attack the basic structural problems in our economy and I will be proposing measures to ~~help~~ increase productivity, savings and investment.

If we move boldly to attack our energy and economic problems we can solve them and make America even stronger at home in <sup>this decade,</sup> ~~the 1980s,~~ just as <sup>our</sup> foreign and defense policies will make us stronger and safer throughout the world.

We will not abandon our struggle for a just, decent <sup>inspire people to</sup> society that is the heart of America. We can only defend <sup>their</sup> ~~the~~ rights ~~of peoples~~ abroad if we are struggling to win them for all our people <sup>here</sup> at home.

That is why we will press for Affirmative Action, <sup>for minorities</sup> and  
(~~why we will~~) continue to work for the Equal Rights  
Amendment, <sup>for women.</sup>

Early in this new decade we will fulfill a generation  
of pledges by enacting Comprehensive Health Care -- with  
tough cost controls, <sup>++</sup> for all our citizens!  
*and within spending limits we can afford.*

Together we will continue to fight for better education,  
for a sound Social Security System, for a decent environment,  
for revitalized cities and rural communities.

America has always meant more than military might or  
economic wealth. The real power of America is its promise  
of peace, liberty, justice, tolerance, and compassion --  
for all.

The beginning of a new century is now just twenty years away. Whether we enter that century in control of our own lives and our destiny will depend on what we do in <sup>this</sup> [the] decade, [ahead]. We will chart our course in <sup>the</sup> [this] pivotal year of 1980.

We must never flinch from the truth -- because we can only build the world we want by starting with the truth about the world as it is. *confusing?*

Our material resources, great as they are, are limited. Our problems are too complex to yield to simple slogans or quick solutions. Our world is full of danger and even our system of government is sometimes divided and cumbersome.

These are facts. But it is also a fact -- it is also the truth -- that we possess extraordinary strengths -- strengths that go beyond anything material.

*for hard work.*  
 We have the will ~~to work hard.~~ We have the courage  
 to confront the truth. We have the imagination to dream  
 great dreams, *and the intelligence and vision*  
*to translate them into reality.*

[? ] The greatest of our strengths is in our land tonight,  
 and it speaks to us across the centuries in the Preamble of  
 our Constitution. Listen to its words:

"We the people of the United States, in order to  
 form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure  
 domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense,  
 promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings  
 of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain  
 and establish this Constitution for the United States of  
 of America."

I find in these opening words to the founding charter  
 of this great and now venerable republic of ours the name of  
 the force which can make our government serve us as it was  
 meant to serve us -- now and forever. That force is named  
 right in the Constitution, at the very first!

SUGGESTED INSERT

*We must remember the admonition of Webster  
Lippman:*

"You (We) took the good things for granted. Now you (~~we~~) must earn them again.

"For every right that you (we) cherish, you (we) have a duty which you (we) must fulfill. For every hope that you (we) entertain, you (we) have a task to perform. For every good that you (we) wish to preserve, you (we) will have to sacrifice your (our) comfort and your (our) ease.

"There is nothing for nothing any longer."

"We the people" is its name. ]

Together, as one united people, let us work to build  
our strength at home. Together, as one indivisible union,  
let us seek peace and security througout the world, *sacrificing*  
*so we must.*

Together, let us make of this time of danger  
a decade of national resolve.

# # #