

1/23/80 [Material for State of the Union Address] [3]

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1/20/80

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#1

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EB

State of the Union

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} ~~the~~ union depends fundamentally on the state
of the world. And tonight -- as throughout our generation
--it is also true that [~~the state of~~] freedom and peace in
the world depends ^{the} on the state of ~~our~~ American Union.

outward

This new decade has been born in turmoil and change -- much of it threatening to our interests and our values.

At this moment in Iran, a brutal crime is being perpetrated -- a crime of kidnapping and attempted blackmail. 50 Americans are still held captive, innocent victims of terrorism and anarchy.

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, ~~to~~ as long as possible to avoid blockades, which would likely cost the lives of our fellow Americans; and

Fifth, to arouse and to maintain ^{stead} support
action among
from the other nations [of the world] to help
in ^{ending} ~~settling~~ this abhorrent violation of the
moral and legal standards of a civilized world.

We will not yield to the pressures of
a mob.

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

And also at this moment, Soviet
invading forces are attempting to subjugate
the fiercely independent people of
Afghanistan.

These actions have put our nation
on trial. We must not fail to meet these
challenges.

~~This new decade has been born in
turmoil and change -- much of it threatening
to our interests and our values.~~

The United States
~~is~~, will remain the strongest of all
nations,
[nations], but our power does ^{not} pose a threat to
the security of other countries
~~other nations~~ or to the rights of ^{any} human
beings. We seek to be and to remain
a secure ^{nation and} [nation] -- at peace in a stable world.
But to realize that goal we must look
at some hard facts, and ~~then~~ we must
maintain a clear, firm and careful course.
~~for our nation.~~

I have to ^{frankly}
~~must~~ tell you ~~honestly~~ -- This ^{present}

a time of national peril must mark the beginning of a decade of national re-evaluation.

¶ The 1980's have been torn in turmoil and change -- much of it threatening to our interests and our values.

The situation we face in the world today is grave. It calls for a sustained and firm response.

But to realize that goal we must see the world as it truly is. **I** We must look at some hard facts. Then we must fix a clear, firm and careful course for our nation. I am here tonight to ~~lay it on the line~~ -- this time of national peril must mark the beginning of a decade of national resolve.

Cut

Tell you directly

The situation we face in the world today is ~~without~~ ^{grave}

~~precedent in our time~~. It therefore calls for ~~unprecedented~~ ^{a sustained and}

firm response
action.

Three basic developments have led to this challenge:

¶ the steady growth and increased projection abroad of Soviet military power -- power which ~~is recent~~ ^{since the victory achieved recently} has grown ~~[much]~~ faster than our own;

*build-up against
made for our
defense*

¶ the overwhelming dependence of ~~Western nations~~ ^{the industrial democracies} on vital oil supplies from the Middle East; and

¶ the press of change in many nations of the developing world, including the year-old revolution in Iran, ~~and uncertainty~~ ^{of course,} ~~about the future in many other countries.~~

*social adjustment
political*

Each of these factors is important in its own right.

Each interacts with the others. All must be faced ^{together, and faced} squarely.

~~and together~~

* * *

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during the past 3 1/2 decades,
Tonight, as ever since the end of World War II, 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 by global war.

Handwritten scribble

Since the end of the Second World War, we Americans
have assumed responsibility for ~~organizing~~ *leading the industrial* nations of the
West ~~to~~ *in in* meet the challenge of ~~emerging~~ *primary* Soviet power.

we took the lead in creating

¶ In the 1940s, we ~~built~~ *^* the Atlantic Alliance, in
reaction to the Soviet Union's creation and consolidation
of its East European empire.

¶ In the 1950s, we contained further Soviet challenges,
and ~~in the expansion of its nuclear forces~~ *and we reformed to sustain that containment.*
in Korea, in Berlin,

¶ In the 1960s, following the Cuban Missile Crisis, 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 ~~coexistence~~ ^{our relations} truly ~~possible~~ ^{requisite} 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 power ~~on its own terms~~, and the need to develop ways to resolve disputes and regulate relations between our two nations and in the wider world. We have succeeded when we have been prepared to meet power with power, ^{We have also succeeded} and when the Soviet Union has been prepared to exercise restraint instead of exploiting opportunities ~~for~~ ^{by} the unilateral exercise of force.

forces in the region of N.E. Africa
and the Persian Gulf.

-- We have reconfirmed our
commitment to the independence and security of
1959. ~~Agreement with~~ Pakistan. In

keeping with our own laws, 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 developing a new capability
to move U.S. forces ^{to distant areas} rapidly in order to
protect our interests.

^{we} These two nations hold

^{our} in their hands the responsibility for preventing nuclear war. We have negotiated the SALT II treaty and the mutual absence of the terms will be in the best interest of both nations and the preservation of world peace. ^{We two nations} They hold in their hands the responsibility for exercising restraint in the use of power, so that weaker nations may pursue their own national integrity and independence.

fm
P 6.7
⊗

Yet today the Soviet Union is pursuing a ^{radical and} ~~more~~ ^{threatening} ~~different~~ course. ^{of} 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 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~~ Soviet Union must be convinced ^{aggressive} ~~that~~ such a ~~violation~~ of action cannot be taken with impunity. They

must suffer the consequences of their oppression. ^{The United States has ~~not~~ imposed economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.} I have forbidden Soviet fishing in ~~the~~ the coastal waters of the United

States, stopped the sale of high-tech-
nology equipment, ^{with} to the Soviet Union, and

ordered a reassessment of other commerce, and

~~embargoed further shipments of large quantities~~
of agricultural products. We have asked

other nations not to replace these embargoed
items and to join us in similar steps
to carry out the decision of the United
Nations General Assembly.

The Soviet

~~enormous~~

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

The direct use of Soviet armies in Afghanistan is an ominous departure from past Soviet behavior. It goes beyond

the invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia -- countries ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~previously~~ ^{already were} under Soviet ~~military~~ ^{domination} occupation -- and it goes

beyond Soviet use of Cuban ~~proxies~~ ^{military} in places like Angola and Ethiopia. The Soviet Union entered Afghanistan by deceit.

Afghanistan's leaders were brutally murdered. And, ^{prejudiced} Soviet ^{military} forces are now engaged in a massive campaign of ~~(terror)~~ ^{suppression} and destruction against a [~~fiercely~~ ^{religious,}] proud, and independent people.

The Soviet Union has demonstrated to the entire world its contempt for the principles of non-alignment -- ~~its contempt~~ for the nations of Islam -- ~~its contempt~~ for the independence and integrity of Third World nations -- ~~its contempt~~ for the

political and religious freedoms it suppresses wherever it rules.

The 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 ends} ~~for political purposes~~.

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

7
disagreements
99

← SALT II

The Soviet Union ^{long since} ~~has now~~ reached a point in its development where it should understand that its own security faces no ^{extend from other nations} ~~real threat from the west~~. Yet it still ~~(too often)~~ fails to recognize that its best security lies in respecting the ^{interests and} ~~(security~~ ^{independence} ~~needs)~~ of others, not in ^{threatening} ~~posing threats to~~ its neighbors.

The Soviet Union thus faces a ^{basic} ~~momentous~~ choice: whether it will help promote a more stable global environment, where

But ~~such~~ ^{comparative} a relationship must be based on clear Soviet

recognition and acceptance of ^{actions} [rules of behavior that are ~~imposed~~

~~in the UN Charter~~

~~enforceable to others~~ and that contribute to a more stable,

peaceful world. The Soviet Union must understand that, ^{and} ~~this~~ ^{the world will oppose}

~~country~~ ^{not accept} cannot and will ^{oppose} not accept further violation of

~~and~~ international peace.

[these rules,] We will not accept it in Southwest Asia or in

~~or in the Middle East.~~

the Persian Gulf, We will not accept it in the Caribbean.

We will not accept it in Yugoslavia. ^{The United States} We will ^{oppose} not accept ^{secret threats to peace} it

~~Soviet threats to~~

~~in other~~ areas of vital interest to us and our Allies.

Soviet intervention in [any of] these areas would inevitably

~~a direct military~~

bring confrontation with the United States. ^{The Middle East, and}

~~Persian Gulf,~~ ^{and SW Asian} region is ^{such} an area of vital interest. ~~[to us and to our~~

To make this point clear, I announced three weeks ago a

~~response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan,~~

series of steps to impress upon the Soviet leaders that they

cannot expect to be able to set their own standard of conduct

at others' expense, and still do business as usual with the

United States. These steps -- including the embargo on

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} ~~to pursue~~

~~narrow Soviet interests~~ ^{both} at the expense [not only] of other

^{and at the expense} countries, [but] of its own ultimate well-being.

*Am
N*

[We in the United States must continue to try to influence Soviet policy and behavior in constructive directions, as we have sought to do for the past 35 years. This is particularly important now because of the ^{coming generation's} ~~impending~~ change of leadership ^{in the Soviet Union} ~~in the Soviet Union~~, setting a course that may endure for years to come.]

We [earnestly] desire ~~to have~~ a peaceful, productive, and cooperative relationship with the Soviet Union. We want to move forward with arms control -- ~~and~~ especially SALT II -- not as a favor we and the Soviets do for one another, but as a vital ^{contribution to the national security of both} ~~necessity to preserve global peace.~~

duplicated

SALT

Countries of the entire world.

our own security is inextricably bound up with that of Western Europe and our Pacific Allies. Our commitments to nations in those two regions are backed up by military forces, formal treaties, and the closest possible cooperation with our Allies. *It will be honored.* ~~We have done and will continue to do all that we must to make those commitments clear and unambiguous.~~

It is [now] plain that there is a third strategic zone that is vitally important to the United States and its Allies: the region of Southwest Asia, ~~and~~ the Persian Gulf, *and the Middle East.*

That region contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. Most of its nations are facing the problems of rapid modernization. It is a region of great potential for the kind of instability which the Soviet Union can exploit.

The elimination of Afghanistan as a buffer between the Soviet Union and Pakistan has brought Soviet forces to within

*and close to the Straits of Hormuz -
through which must go*

claimant as
300 miles of the Indian Ocean. Whatever the Soviet Union's *may* motives for invading Afghanistan, it is now consolidating a strategic position that is gravely threatening to the security of Middle East oil.

*to
the
world's
oil
flow*

A buffer ~~is~~ *is* ~~become~~ *ing* a wedge. That wedge could become a dagger, poised to cut the flow of energy to the West.

other nations

(Japan)

At the same time, Iran is no longer able or willing to play a stabilizing role in the Gulf. And few of the regional *, if alone,* countries are able to provide for their own security.

We face today a situation in which this nation and 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 ~~security~~ problem could undermine our economy, our security -- the very way we live.

This [situation] demands careful thought and resolute action -- not only this year but sustained over many years. It will require a new approach to security in the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia. It will require a collective effort, ^{along} ~~with~~ ~~including~~ our friends in Europe and Japan who rely on oil from the Middle East and are concerned with global peace and stability. It will require the understanding and partnership of countries in the region.

Our approach must combine national will, military capacity, political wisdom, and economic effort. ~~In short,~~ ^{we must} we will call on the best that is in our nation to meet and master this central challenge.

During the last three years we
~~Since the beginning of this Administration, we~~ have ^{already} taken steps, ^{which} ~~to~~ improve our ability to provide security for ~~the~~ ^{the Middle East,} the Persian Gulf and Southwest Asia as part of our overall defense effort. [~~U.S. defense budgets declined between 1968~~]

Egypt and Israel is a notable achievement
in our common effort to strengthen our friends
and to enhance prospects for peace and
stability.

-- We have expanded our own sphere
of friendships wherever possible. Normalization of
relations with the people of China can pay
great dividends in increased trade and in
~~preserving~~ helping to preserve ^{peace and} stability
in Asia.

-- Recently we have increased our
naval presence in the Indian Ocean, <sup>we will be improving
the fleet base
at Diego Garcia,</sup> and
we are now arranging ^{with other nations} for naval and
air facilities to be used by our

During the last three years we have strengthened ~~[our nations]~~ ^{our} ability to defend our nation's interests:

-- We have increased annually our real ~~to~~ budget commitment for defense by:

-- Our North Atlantic and other alliances have been revitalized. ^{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 have worked ^{with our allies} to alleviate regional threats to peace in Southern Africa and in the Middle East. The peace treaty between

The meaning of all our efforts is nothing less than a new dedication to defend and preserve our nation's vital interests in a major region of the world,

~~[The United States has a vital interest in the independence, security, and well-being of the region]~~ 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; and it must also be clearly understood by any nation tempted to threaten that region.

Specifically:

I reaffirm tonight our commitment to the ~~security~~ ^{independence and integrity} of Pakistan. Under the 1959 agreement, and in keeping with our laws, the United States will do whatever is necessary -- including the use of armed force -- to protect Pakistan against outside aggression.

I am asking Congress to reaffirm this commitment.

The time has come to draw a line-- clearly
and precisely.

Any Soviet attempt ^{by any outside} ~~to use~~ 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. It would be repelled
by use of any means necessary, including
military force.

~~The time has come to draw a line -- clearly and precisely.~~
We wish to live in peace with ^{all nations} ~~the Soviet Union~~, and ^{to} broaden
areas of cooperation ^{among} between us. We have no desire to impose
our will on anyone else. But ~~we will not stand idly by when~~
~~armed force is used to impose Soviet rule on peoples who~~
~~desire to remain free.~~ ^m Military aggression or political
intimidation will be ~~repaid~~ ^{opposed} -- and every country in the
region that genuinely wishes to preserve its independence
can count on us.

This nation will continue to stand for the principles
and ideals of freedom and independence that won us our own
liberty and which have given so much hope to the world.

If peace and our security are challenged, we will use
our strength -- with our friends and allies where possible, ^{but}
alone if necessary.

¹¹
674 We are prepared to support
any nation in the Middle East - Persian

Gulf - SW 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 security and
well being of all. ^P Our only interest
is to preserve the independence, security
and stability of the region.

Let every nation understand this message
from a strong and unified America:

~~And this nation will use every power at its command to
make clear to all countries that wish to ill; that their
interests and security lie ^{not} in turning away from the exploitation
^{but in} of power to genuine cooperation for peace.~~

We must also accept the truth that we can only project
strength abroad if we are strong at home. We can only protect
other nations if we ourselves are secure. ~~The events of the
last few weeks are, once again, a warning. Let us pledge
tonight to ensure that it will be the last such warning this
nation ever needs.~~

Our dangerous dependence on imported oil is our greatest
weakness as a nation. Never has this truth been more blazingly
illuminated. Even the firm, essential steps we take to protect
our vital interest abroad will not solve our energy problem at
home. Only we ourselves can do 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 1970's left us with two overriding economic tasks that we must ^{accomplish} ~~deal with~~ in the 1980's--reducing our dangerous dependence on foreign oil and controlling inflation.

~~Final action on energy legislation is long overdue.~~
~~[Based on the energy policies which I have proposed and which the Congress has enacted since 1977, we will reduce our imports of foreign oil by the end of this decade.]~~ If the Congress will promptly enact ^{conclude these} ~~the balance of my energy legislation,~~ which is now in the final stages of deliberation, we can ^{cut} reduce our oil imports by another ^{in half} ~~4 1/2 million barrels per day~~ during the course of the ¹⁹ ~~'80's~~.

Our energy policies ^{will} have produced realistic pricing based on the true value of the world's dwindling crude oil supply, strong incentives for the production of coal, crude oil, and natural gas, a major conservation effort, new initiatives to develop solar energy, and, ^{our nation's} the most massive peacetime investment in the development of synthetic forms of energy.

~~This~~ This nation cannot continue to hide behind ^{price} ~~price~~ controls on crude oil--however politically attractive they may seem. They have failed us. They are complex and 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. They discourage development of alternative sources of energy at a time when we must accelerate this development. This is why I am ~~(dropping controls and~~ ^{controls} phasing them out in an orderly way. ~~[We must learn to live in the real world. While this will mean higher costs in the short-run it will mean energy security for our nation in the long-run. In the short-run, conservation by all of us, low income assistance for the poor, and price restraint by the oil industry are all essential.]~~

The American people made ^{good} great progress in energy conservation in 1979, reducing overall petroleum consumption by 7 percent. ^{In December} and gasoline consumption ^{was 10% below the same month a year ago.} by 5 percent. To build and enhance this progress and to take further steps to make this 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 fifty 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--8 1/2 million barrels a day--I am establishing ^{an import} a ~~binding~~ ceiling for ^{of} 1980+8.2 million barrels a day ~~[of foreign oil]~~ which I will ~~[if necessary]~~ enforce with a fee if our imports threaten to exceed this level. I am prepared to lower that goal still further if our discussions with other oil consuming countries 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. But the President can put it into effect only in case of an oil supply shortfall of 20 percent or more. We need protection at an earlier stage if there is a supply shortage. And so, ^{I urge} ~~[this year] I will propose to~~ the Congress ^{to give me} ~~[that I be given]~~ additional authority to take action in case of supply shortages of less than 20 percent, since they ^{would obviously} ~~can~~ ~~still~~ cause very substantial disruptions 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.}

In addition, ~~(the economic policy for the 1980's will make America strong internally by the following steps:~~

^{we must continue to reduce}

First, ~~a continued reduction in~~ 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%,} will represent the lowest ^{deficit as a} percentage relative to our gross national product in _____ years.

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 is a sharp turndown in the economy, I will ^{propose} ~~[be prepared to take]~~ action to support national output and employment, ~~in ways that are consistent with our fight against~~ inflation. Our top priority now must be ^{to fight inflation.} ~~reducing the deficit.~~

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

Third, we will continue our successful efforts 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 necessary regulations. While continuing to protect worker safety and our environment, it is time to get the Federal government off the back of the private sector.

Fourth, we must continue to build on the major effort we have made to reduce [youth] unemployment. I am proposing a major new effort to provide basic skills training and work experience [in^{to} an innovative program to dramatically] attack the problem of unemployment among our young people, particularly minorities. As Langston Hughes said, "A mind is a terrible thing to waste." We must give our young people hope in the 1980's.

Fifth, we must use the 1980's 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 [all^{Even} the] stronger [internally^{at home}] in the 1980's, just as [my] foreign and defense policies will make us stronger [externally] and safer throughout the world.

-- can we realize the kind of vision that looks as good with our eyes open as ~~with our eyes shut.~~

~~(Doing our job does not mean that for one moment will)~~ We *will not* abandon ^{our} ~~the~~ struggle for a just, decent society that is the heart of America. We can only defend the rights of peoples abroad if we are struggling to win them for all our people at home. ~~[- women and men, black, brown and white alike]~~

we will press for affirmative action and continue to work for
That is why ~~[- again call on the legislatures of the~~
~~several states to ratify]~~ the Equal Rights Amendment. ~~[and make~~
~~it part of the Constitution of the United States.]~~

~~[~~ That is why I pledge to you that as long as I am President, this government will press for affirmative action to achieve full equality of opportunity. ~~]~~

That is why I am asking the Congress this year to join me in making a historic investment in our country's most

precious, most underused resource: the energies and talents of our young people.

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.

Early in
[And] ~~in~~, this new decade, we will fulfill a generation of pledges by enacting comprehensive health care -- with tough cost controls -- for all our citizens.

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 ~~less than~~ ^{just} twenty years away. Whether we enter that century in control of our destiny will depend on what we do in the decade ahead. We will chart our course in this pivotal year of 1980.

We must never flinch from
[Unflinchingly, we must seize] the truth -- because we

can only build the world we want 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; 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.

We have the will to work hard. We have the courage to confront the truth. We have the imagination to dream great dreams.

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:

Cut 2

"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 America."

2.
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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!

"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 throughout the world.

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

#4

+ Serial (#5)

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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 ~~[can and will]~~ 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 ^{and deeply religious} are attempting to subjugate the 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.

Our ~~own~~^{joint} response must remain firm, clear, persistent and wise.

As ~~we~~^{we will} meet these threats to peace, ~~we will not fail.~~

~~We are~~^{I am} determined that the United States will remain

the strongest of all nations, but our power will never ~~pose a~~^{be used to}

~~initiate a~~¹ 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 face ~~the truth,~~^{the world as it is.} ~~about what is happening in the world~~
~~around us.~~

The 1980s have been born in turmoil and change -- ~~it is~~^{a time of challenge}

~~[much of it threatening]~~ to our interests and values, ~~and we~~

-- a test of our wisdom and our will.

~~must mark its beginning as a decade of national resolve, to defend~~

~~these interests and uphold these values.~~

- 3 -

shaped

Three basic developments have led to these ~~most serious~~

challenges:

-- the steady growth and ^{its} increased projection of of

(20 15) / ~~19~~ Soviet military power beyond its borders;

-- the overwhelming dependence of the industrial

democracies on oil supplies from the Middle East; and

-- the press of social, religious, ^{economic} 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.

Each interacts with the others. ^{All three are now} ~~They are particularly~~ focused

on one troubled area of the world. All must be faced together --

squarely and ^{convergently} ~~with courage~~ ~~with the help of Congress and~~
~~with the support of the American people~~ ~~We will face these~~
 challenges -- and we will not fail!

* * *

In response to the abhorrent act in Iran, ^{RP} We continue to

pursue ~~[a clear 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, and

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

^(leave as is) -- ~~fourth~~, ^{third} ~~(as long as possible)~~ to avoid bloodshed, which

would further endanger the lives of our fellow Americans; and

-- ~~fifth~~, to ^{insist that} ~~[sustain supportive action among]~~ other nations to

^{work} ~~to help~~ end this criminal violation of the moral and legal

standards of a civilized world; and

-- ~~fifth~~, to persuade the Iranian leaders that the real danger to their nation lies to the north, and that their ~~own~~ unwarranted quarrel with us hampers their response to their greater danger.

Our nation has been aroused and unified as never before in peacetime. We will not yield to ^{blackmail.} ~~the pressures of a mob.~~

We will never rest until every one of the ^{The victims} ~~American hostages~~

is released unharmed. A severe price will be paid if

the ^{American} ~~hostages~~ are harmed.

* * *

- 5 -

region because of the ~~We~~ now face a broader, more strategic challenge in the ~~region, involuntarily~~ recent action of the Soviet Union.

Now, as during the last 3½ decades, ^{the} relations ^{hip} between the United States and the Soviet Union ^{is} ~~are~~ the most critical factor in determining whether the world will ~~have~~ ^{enjoy} peace or be engulfed in global conflict.

Since the end of the Second World War, ~~we~~ Americans ~~have~~ ^{led} lead other nations in meeting the challenge of ^{mounting} ~~growing~~ Soviet power. This has not been a simple or static relationship. There ~~have~~ ^{has} been ~~times~~ of cooperation and ~~times~~ ^{-- and there has been} of competition -- ^{and} ~~even~~ ^{times of} confrontation.

-- In the 1940s, we took the lead in creating the Atlantic Alliance in ~~reaction~~ ^{response} 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~~ ^{assure} that containment.

-- In the 1960s, ^{we met Soviet challenges in} following the Berlin and Cuban missile crises, ^{and then} we sought to engage the Soviet Union in the important task of moving beyond the cold war and confrontation.

-- And in the 1970s, ^{under three presidents, this nation} we negotiated with the Soviet Union in an attempt 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 reciprocal and productive -- not only for ^{the security of} our two nations, but for the world community and global peace.

In all these efforts, we have ^{had to} recognized two imperatives: ~~the need~~ to meet ^{any} ~~the~~ challenge ^{by} of Soviet military power, and ~~the need~~ to develop ways to resolve disputes, ^{to limit the risk of a nuclear catastrophe,} and to maintain peace.

We two ^{super powers} nations hold in our hands the responsibility for preventing nuclear war. We have negotiated the ^{SALT I and} SALT II

~~Treaty~~ Treaty, and especially now in a time of tension and confrontation

~~the mutual observance of its terms~~ ^{the constraints imposed by the of the treaties} will be in the best interest

of both countries and will help to preserve world peace. I will consult closely with the Congress as we continue our effort to control nuclear weapons.

We two superpowers hold in our hands the responsibility ^{military} for exercising restraint in the use of power, so that the national integrity and independence of weaker nations may not be threatened.

^{But} ~~Yet~~ now the Soviet Union has ^{undoubtedly} ~~decided to pursue a~~ radical and threatening ^{step by using its great power against a weaker nation.} ~~course~~. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan ^{may pose} [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 latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others and ^{have} demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces. No ~~[illegitimate]~~ ^{aggression} action of a world power has ever been so ^{quickly and} overwhelmingly condemned. ^{I am determined to let the} ~~The~~ Soviet Union

The Moslem world is especially and justifiably outraged by this aggression against an Islamic people

Electrostatic Copy Made for Preservation Purposes

must suffer the consequences.
~~must be convinced that such action cannot be taken with impunity.~~
 Resolutions of condemnation are not enough, while the
 invasion continues, we and
~~Under these circumstances,~~ other nations cannot continue
 business as usual with the Soviet Union.

The United States has joined in this political condemnation
 and ~~we have~~ ^{we have} also imposed economic sanctions against the Soviet Union.

~~I have forbidden Soviet fishing~~ ^{I will not permit Soviet ships to fish}
 in the coastal waters of the
 United States. ~~stopped the shipments of large quantities of~~
~~agricultural products and high-technology equipment,~~ ^{I will limit}
~~and we~~ ^{have sharply limited} Soviet access to our

agricultural products and high-technology equipment, ~~and~~ ^{I have} ordered
 a ~~restraint~~ ^{limited} on other commerce with the Soviet Union, ~~and we~~
 We have

asked ~~other nations~~ ^{our allies and friends} not to replace these embargoed items
 invading forces in Afghanistan, neither the American people nor
 and to join us in similar steps until the Soviets comply with
 I will support sending ~~our athletes~~ ^{I have notified the Olympic Committees that} an Olympic team to Moscow,
 the overwhelming demand of the United Nations. ~~I expect many other~~
~~freedom loving nations to join us in this decision.~~ ^{with Soviet}
 to

The Soviet Union must make a basic choice: ~~whether to~~ ^{will it}
 help promote a more stable, ^{international} ~~global~~ environment ^{in which} ~~wherein~~ its own
 legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued? ^{or will it} ~~or~~ ^{whether} to continue to
 expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs,

^{using}
 [and use] that power for colonial conquest [both] at the expense
 of other countries? ^{The Soviet Union must realize that ^{this} decision to use}
~~and at the expense of its own ultimate~~
~~and military force will be costly to every political and economic~~
~~well-being.] ^{relationship of USSR,}~~

The region now threatened by Soviet troops in Afghanistan
 is of great strategic importance. It contains more than
 two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. The Soviet effort
 to ^{dominate} ~~eliminate~~ Afghanistan ^{with force} ~~[as a buffer between itself and the~~
~~Persian Gulf and Pakistan]~~ ^{-troops} 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 free world's
 oil must flow. ~~[Whatever]~~ The Soviet Union ~~[may claim as motives~~
~~for invading Afghanistan, it]~~ ^{attempting to} is now consolidating a strategic
^{poses a} position that is gravely ~~threatening~~ to the free movement of
 Middle East oil.

^{alternate}
 The move of Soviet troops into Afghanistan
 is of great strategic importance because the ~~at~~ entire
 region is threatened, including much of the oil supply
 for the free world.

Abbreviate

This situation demands careful thought, ^{steady nerves} and resolute action -- not only for this year but sustained action over many years to come. It will require ^{collective} ~~joint~~ efforts to meet this new threat 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 close consultation and cooperation with countries in the area who might be threatened.

Our approach must combine national will, ^{and, of course} military capability capacity, diplomatic skill, political wisdom, ~~and some~~ economic sacrifice. We must call on the best that is in us to meet and master this challenge.

During the last three years, we have ^{acted to improve} ~~taken steps~~ ^{our our own security} as part of our ~~overall defense effort~~ which improved our and prospects for peace ~~ability to enhance security~~ around the world, including the vital oil producing areas of the Persian Gulf region.

~~In each of the last three~~ -- and will continue to increase over our ~~Five Year~~
 -- We have increased annually our real budget commitment) ^{throughout} ~~our~~ ~~Five~~
 and we will sustain this increased effort ~~in our~~ ~~Five~~
 for defense, ~~[This effort will be sustained.]~~ Year Defense Program.

from p 12. X

~~we~~ strengthen NATO
 -- We have helped to ~~revitalize our North Atlantic~~ and our
 other alliances. We and our NATO Allies have decided to
 modernized intermediate - range
 develop and deploy ~~theatre~~ nuclear forces to meet an unwarranted
 and increasing threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet
 Union.

-- We are working with our Allies to prevent conflict
~~[in Southern Africa and]~~ in the Middle East. The peace treaty
 between Egypt and Israel is a notable achievement, ^{which represents a} ~~[in our~~
 strategic asset for America which enhances ~~enhancing~~
 common effort to strengthen our friends and to enhance] prospects
 regional and world
 for ~~[a comprehensive]~~ peace. We are now engaged in further
 negotiations to provide full autonomy for the ^{people of the} West Bank and
 Gaza, to resolve the Palestinian issue in all its aspects, and
 to preserve the peace and security of Israel.

Our deep commitment to human rights has improved our relationship with much of the third world.

-- We have expanded our own sphere of friendship.

My decision to ~~whenever possible~~ Normalization of relations with the Republic of China ^{will} pay rich dividends ~~in increased trade~~ and in helping to preserve peace and stability in Asia, and in the Western Pacific.

I -- We have increased ^{and strengthened} our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, and we are now arranging ~~with other nations~~ ^{key} for naval and air facilities to be used by our forces in the region of Northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf.

-- We have reconfirmed our 1959 agreement, ^{to assist Pakistan} -- a ~~firm~~ ^{that provides} commitment ^{and its forces} to preserve its independence and integrity, of Pakistan.

In keeping with our own law, the United States ^{in resisting} will ~~do whatever~~ take action to help ~~is necessary to protect~~ Pakistan, ~~against~~ outside aggression.

I am asking the Congress, ^{specifically} to reaffirm this commitment. I am also working with other nations to provide additional military and economic aid for Pakistan.

-- ~~And~~ We are improving our ^{strike force} capability to deploy U.S. forces rapidly to distant areas. ~~in order to protect our national~~ interests.]

to P11

This should really be added - otherwise it's very thin brew. And then the 2nd # on p. 15 could be skipped. It also is a good

22A

Susan - Type on separate page

preliminary to you big surprise on the draft.

¶ In the weeks ahead, we will further develop political and military ties with a number of nations in the region. Our relations with Israel, and also with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, are -- and will continue to be -- particularly important. They ~~are~~ can count on our support and our commitment to their security.

¶ We believe that there are no irreconcilable differences between us and any Islamic country. We respect the faith of Islam, and ~~we abhor the Soviet suppression of the Muslim people of Afghanistan.~~ ^{and} We are ready to cooperate politically and otherwise with all Muslim countries, including ~~we hope eventually Iran.~~

very important

¶ Finally, we are prepared to work with other nations to shape a cooperative security framework for the region that respects differing values and political outlooks, yet enhances the security and prosperity of all. Our only interest is to preserve the independence, security, and stability of the region.

needed strategic goal

- 13 -

~~At~~ I will pursue

These efforts ~~[will be pursued]~~ with vigor and

I will recommend
determination, and other action ~~will be taken~~ as necessary
to preserve our nation's security.

If the international situation ^{should} ~~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 ^{new} authorizing legislation. However, ~~as~~ a necessary

precautionary measure ~~I~~ consider it necessary ^{now now} ~~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 decision.

We also need quick

~~[also will be working closely with the Congress to~~

~~expedite]~~ passage of new legislation ^{to} ~~which will~~ define clearly

the legal authority and accountability of the intelligence

community. ^{While guaranteeing that abuses will not recur, we} ~~We~~ need to remove unwarranted restraints, and ^{to} reduce
ability to collect
on our intelligence

tighten our controls on sensitive intelligence information.
~~chances for security violations.~~ An effective intelligence
 capability is vital to our nation's security.

The ~~meaning of~~ ^{emphasize our} All these efforts is ~~nothing less~~
 than a dedication to defend and preserve the vital interests
 of our nation and ^{(not only in Europe and the Pacific, but also} ~~our~~ ^{those of} Allies in the part of the world stretching
 from the Middle East to Southwest Asia. [All of us must
 understand this basic fact, and it must be clearly understood
 also by any nation tempted to threaten that region.]

Let our position be absolutely clear:
~~The time has come to state our position — clearly and~~
 precisely.

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

* To be strong abroad we must be
strong at home

And we can be -

But in order to do so

~~But~~ we must continue to face up to
the difficult issues that confront us as
a nation today - - -

~~controlling inflation &
reducing our dangerous dependence
on foreign oil~~

The ^{crises} ~~circumstances~~ in Iran & Afghanistan
have brought ~~home~~ ^{dramatized vividly} to us dramatically
a very important lesson! Our dependence on
foreign oil is a clear & present danger
to our national security.

We must have a clear, comprehensive
energy policy for our country.

I have been working with Congress in
a concentrated & persistent way over the
past 3 yrs to develop a good energy
program.

We have made progress but I
ask Congress to act promptly to complete
final action on this ^{important} energy legislation.

~~Subjected to insert p. 15~~

In this region and others, the decade ahead will be a time of rapid change, as nations around the world seek to deal with new problems and age-old tensions. But ~~never let us believe that because change sometimes comes with turmoil, it threatens America's future.~~ For America can thrive in a world of change ... if we remain true to our values and actively engaged in ^{promoting} the world, ^{peace.}

We must continue to pursue activist policies, working -- as we have in the Middle East and Southern Africa -- to resolve regional disputes. We will continue to build our ties with developing nations, respecting and helping to strengthen the national independence they have struggled to achieve. And we will continue to support the growth of democracy and human rights -- because it is in our national character and because it is in our national interest. For democratic, open societies are best able to deal with the economic and political aspirations of their people before frustrations explode in violent and radical directions.

^{other} -- and we ourselves --

All people, should remember that peace remains America's first goal -- a peace that preserves freedom. In the coming years we will continue to pursue peace through strength, [but ~~we must also face this central truth: we can only project strength abroad if we are strong at home.~~

~~The decade of the 1970s left us with two overriding and closely interrelated economic tasks that we must accomplish~~

- 16 -

early in the 1980s. ^{We must} ~~++~~, ^{controlling} ~~ing~~ inflation, ^{We must} ~~and~~, ^{reducing} ~~ing~~ our dangerous dependence on foreign oil.

Final action on energy legislation is long overdue. If the Congress will act promptly we can cut our oil imports in half during the course of the 1980s.]

~~Our new energy politics will give us~~ ^{We will then have} realistic pricing based on the true value of oil, 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 ^{are making} ~~made~~ progress in energy conservation ^{last year} ~~[in 1979]~~ --, reducing overall petroleum consumption by 7 percent and gasoline consumption by 5 percent below that of the previous year. ~~[To maintain and accelerate this progress~~

I will ^{Conserve energy} and to] take further steps to [~~make our nation energy-secure~~
~~and free of foreign blackmail~~] I will ^{set} [~~be setting~~] mandatory
 gasoline conservation goals for each of the 50 states, ^{after}
~~full~~ consultations with the governors.

I will establish
 [~~In addition, I am establishing~~] an import ceiling for
 1980 of 8.2 million barrels a day, ⁻⁻ well below the level of oil
 imports during 1977. I expect our imports to be much lower than this, but
 This ^{new} ~~new~~ ^{the} ceiling will be enforced with
 an import fee if ^{necessary.} ~~purchases of foreign oil become excessive.~~
 I am prepared to lower our ^{ceiling} ~~goal~~ still further if other oil
 consuming countries ^{will} [~~are willing to~~] join us in a fair and
 [~~equitable~~] mutual reduction of imports.

Last year the Congress authorized standby gasoline
 rationing ^{but only} if we have an oil supply shortfall of 20 percent or
 more. In order to avoid serious disruption of our economy,
 I urge the Congress to [~~grant additional authority so that~~]
 rationing [~~can be implemented~~] when ^{permit} the supply shortages are

much less than 20 percent. I will not hesitate to impose gasoline rationing if necessary.

We must take whatever actions are necessary to
~~[If we continue to solve our energy problems, we will~~
reduce our dependence on foreign oil -- and to reduce inflation,
~~be attacking one of the root causes of inflation -- our~~
excessive
~~[growing] dependence on very expensive foreign oil.]~~ Practically

all growth in the inflation rate last year was from one cause:

the increase in world ^{{energy} oil prices. ^{Working together, we will}
~~We simply must~~ reduce oil consumption in the United States.

^{Tonight} ^{on all the}
 I call on you, ~~the~~ people of America, to help our nation.

^{Save} ^{Let us make 1980 the year of energy}
 Eliminate waste! ~~[Conserve]~~ energy! ~~[Cut your own use of oil~~ ^{Consideration,}
~~products in every possible way.]~~

We must take other actions to ^{strengthen} ~~protect~~ our nation's economy.

^{will}
 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 Gross National Product in 7 years. We are making ^{good} progress ₁ toward a balanced budget. Although it is unlikely according to present economic forecasts, if the economy should be strong enough to maintain at its present level we would enjoy a respectable budget surplus next year.

This is a tight budget but one that deals responsibly with our social needs and economic conditions. [~~as they now exist~~] If there should be a sharp turndown in the economy, I will request action to support national output and employment.]

Second, as we continue to work with business to hold down prices, we will build also on the historic ⁿ National ^a Accord with organized labor to restrain pay increaeases in a fair (~~and equitable~~) fight against inflation.

Third, we will continue our successful efforts to cut paperwork and to dismantle unnecessary government 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 still necessary. ~~[While continuing to~~ ^{We can} protect consumers, worker safety and our environment, ^{without destroying the productivity of our industries.} It is time to get the Federal government off the back of private citizens and out ~~of the free enterprise system.]~~

Fourth, we ^{will} ~~must~~ continue ^{our progress in providing jobs for America,} to ~~build on the progress we have~~ ^{concentrating on a major} ~~made to~~ reduce unemployment, ^{can} ~~[I am proposing a major new~~ ^{new program to provide} program to provide basic skills] training and work ^{for} ~~[experience~~ among] our young people ^{especially} ~~[particularly among]~~ minority youth.

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

We will give our young people ^{new} hope ^{for jobs and a better life} in the 1980s.

must use the decade of the 1980s to
Fifth, we ~~[can use the 1980s to]~~ attack the basic

structural problems in our economy, ~~[and I will be proposing]~~ through
measures to increase productivity, savings and investment.

follow these
If we ~~[move boldly to attack our]~~ energy and economic *policies,*
we can
~~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.

We will ~~[not]~~ *never* abandon our struggle for a just and decent
society that is the heart of America, *just as we will continue to*
We ~~can only~~ inspire
people to defend their rights abroad. *continue our struggle*
~~[if we are struggling]~~
upheld
to ~~[win]~~ those same rights for all our people here at home.]

ERA?

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

~~We must never flinch from reality -- 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.]~~

Although our challenges are formidable, we must not forget the greatness of our country. *There is a new spirit of unity and resolve in America.* ~~We can look forward~~
We move into ~~to the 1980s with confidence and hope -- [You can join me in]~~ *with*

a bright vision of the future:

~~[The future is bright.]~~
 I see an America ^{strong enough to remain} ~~strong and free, and at peace and strong enough~~ ^{strong and free.}

I see an America at peace.

I see an America with equal rights for ~~all~~ ^{all} women -- ^{for all citizens.}

I see an America ^{fully employed, with good} ~~with~~ health care and education

for every citizen.

need some work

~~I see~~ an America with a clean and bountiful life
in its cities and farms.

~~I see~~ an America helping to feed the world.

~~I see~~ an America secure in filling its own energy needs.

~~I see~~ an America of justice, tolerance and compassion.

For this vision to come true we must be prepared for
Some sacrifice and for a national commitment, but it will be
an exciting enterprise that will unify our people.
~~We have the will for hard work.~~

~~We must remember the admonition given to us by~~

reminded us:

As Walter Lippman, ~~(in 19____) (____ years ago):~~

"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."

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 challenge and danger a decade of national resolve and ^{great}~~notable~~ achievement.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Preliminary notes

State of the Union

1980

Audience: Corp; US; Allies; LDC's; SU

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

S of Union

- Equiv to Turkey/Greece threat in '47
- '59 agreement - Pakistan
- Concern re India
- > Aid to Pakistan - US & others
- > TP re US hopes for all nations, incl Iran
- > All nations interest in stability (Japan, etc)
- > Navy/air facilities
- > Diego Garcia
- > Level of naval forces
- > RDT
- > Olympus
- > Reason for grain embargo
- > Economic penalties / Military deterrence
- > SU vs LDC/NAR
- > Allies - fishing, technology
- > SALT II, arms control
- su peace offensive ("dissect" Afghan)
- Confrontation - out war
- > PRC vs U.S.
- Defense commitment
- NATO

- > State of union → state of world
- > Peace thru strength
- Energy
- > Human rights - freedom
- > Mid East Peace
- > Work in international law, with others
- > Importance of friendship, alliances
- > Preserve American values
- > Sustained response
- New opportunities, LDC's - Security, ^{social} energy
- > Growth, set power
- > Inc dependence on Mid E oil
- > Religious & other turbulence
- > Significance, set invasion of Afghan
- > List what we've done in 3 yrs, before ^{zone}
- > Meet challenges & avoid/resolve disputes
- > West no threat to set
- > US will protect interests
- > use of power - to meet set use of power
- > Iran no longer stabilizing force
- > Energy surplus - Western - LDC - East

26.5 p 9, 10, 11, 12

Audience: Congress, U.S., Allies, NAM, S. Union

Points to be made:

State of Union \leftrightarrow State of the world

Strategic change: Growth, Soviet power

Increased dependence of world on M.East oil

Turbulence, nationalistic & religious

Special responsibilities of U.S.

Need for stability, SW Asia, Persian Gulf
for all nations

US hopes for all nations, incl SU, Iran

Importance of friendships, alliances

Work within international law, with others

Preserve American values: Peace = Human Rts

Peace through strength

Middle East peace process

Palestine

Significance, Invasion of Afghanistan

US response - sustained (UN action)

What we've done 3 years (before invasion)

Meet challenges, resolve disputes without war

West no threat to S.U.

US will protect interests

Use of power if needed

Iran no longer a stabilizing factor

Future, ^{global} energy supplies - U.S. - West - EDC - East

Aid to Pakistan - US & others - '59 agreement

Navy/air facilities - Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Diego Garcia

Level of naval forces - Indian Ocean

RDF

Response: Economic penalties - military deterrence

~~Still~~ Reason for grain embargo, Hi-tech, etc

Olympics

SALT II, arms ~~embargo~~ ^{control} - future

PRC

Defend vital interests
Honor commitments
Independence, integrity of Iran, Pakistan
Strengthen political relations

Domestic strength:

Energy

Economic

Unity

Defense

Iran & hostages

Remove shadows from intelligence

Contrary to US interests for SA to control Pers. G. oil

US willing to stand alone if necessary

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Susan - add sentence at
bottom -

It is imperative that
the Congress approve this
strong defense budget
request without any
reduction

Ann
(p. 12)

PS

These two ~~facts~~ -- one of international terrorism and one of military aggression -- present a serious challenge to the United States and to the other nations of the world. Together, we will meet these threats to peace.

I am determined that the United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but our power will never be used ~~... (against) (to initiate a threat to)~~ the security of any 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 be secure we must face the world as it is.

Three basic developments have helped to shape ~~(these challenges:)~~ ~~(the reality we confront:)~~

-- the steady growth and increased projection of Soviet military power beyond its own borders;

- 15 -

consistent with our own laws -- to assist Pakistan in resisting any outside aggression. I am asking the Congress specifically to reaffirm this commitment. I am also working ^{along} with other nations, to provide additional military and economic aid for Pakistan.

-- In the weeks ahead, we will further strengthen political and military ties with other nations in the region.

-- We believe that there are no irreconcilable differences between us and any Islamic people. We respect the faith of Islam, and are ready to cooperate with all Moslem countries.

-- Finally, we are prepared to work with other nations to shape a cooperative security framework for the region that respects differing values and political (beliefs), (outlooks), yet enhances the independence, security and prosperity of all.

with Israel, and also with Egypt and Saudi Arabia, are -- and will continue to be -- particularly important. They can count on our support and our commitment to their security.

-- We have expanded our own sphere of friendship.

Our deep commitment to human rights and to meeting human needs has improved our relationship with much of the third world. My decision to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China will help to preserve peace and stability in Asia and in the Western Pacific.

-- I have increased and strengthened our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, and we are now ^{making arrangements} ~~arranging~~ for key naval and air facilities to be used by our forces in the region of Northeast Africa and the Persian Gulf.

-- We have reconfirmed our 1959 agreement to help Pakistan preserve its independence and integrity. (~~In-keeping with our own law,~~) The United States will take action --

DRAFT P3
STATE OF THE UNION
January 21, 1980

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- Copy to
1. V. P.
 2. Vance
 3. Zbig
 4. Jody
 5. Stu
 6. Ham (AI)
 7. Lloyd
 8. Rafshoon
 9. Harold

Return ASAP with marginal notes or editing by midnight Monday

J
(or to my desk by 5:00 am Tues)

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 can and will 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 fiercely independent people of Afghanistan.

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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. Our own response must remain firm, clear, persistent and wise. As we meet these threats to peace we will not fail.

We are determined that the United States will remain the strongest of all nations, but our power will never 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 face the truth.

The 1980s have been born in turmoil and change -- much of it threatening to our interests and values -- and we must 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 of Soviet military power beyond its borders;
- 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.

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 -- squarely and with courage.

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In response to the abhorrent act in Iran we continue to pursue a clear 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 further endanger the lives of our fellow Americans; and
- fifth, to sustain supportive action among other nations to help end this criminal violation of the moral and legal standards of a civilized world.

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

We will never rest until every one of the American hostages 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 global conflict.

Since the end of the Second World War, we Americans have lead other nations 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 containment.

-- In the 1960s, following the Berlin and Cuban missile crises, we sought to engage the Soviet Union in the important task of moving beyond the cold war and confrontation.

-- And in the 1970s, we negotiated with the Soviet Union in an attempt 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 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 imperatives: the need to meet the challenge of Soviet military power, and the need to develop ways to resolve disputes and to maintain peace.

We two nations hold in our hands the responsibility for preventing nuclear war. We have negotiated the SALT II

Treaty, and especially now 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 national integrity and independence of weaker nations may not be threatened.

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 latest Soviet attempt to extend its colonial domination of others and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces. No illegitimate action of a world power has ever been so overwhelmingly condemned. The Soviet Union

must be convinced that such action cannot be taken with impunity. Under these circumstances, other nations cannot continue business as usual with the Soviet Union.

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 demand of the United Nations.

The Soviet Union must make a basic choice: whether to help promote a more stable global environment wherein its own legitimate, peaceful concerns can be pursued; or to continue to expand its military power far beyond its genuine security needs,

and use that power for colonial conquest both at the expense of other countries and at the expense of its own ultimate well-being.

The region now threatened by Soviet troops in Afghanistan is of great strategic importance. It contains more than two-thirds of the world's exportable oil. The Soviet effort to ^{dominate} ~~eliminate~~ Afghanistan ^{with force} ~~as a buffer between itself and the Persian Gulf and Pakistan~~ ^{troops} 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 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.

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This situation demands careful thought and resolute action -- not only for this year but sustained action over many years to come. It will require joint efforts to meet this new threat 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 close consultation and cooperation with 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 us 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 ability to enhance security around the world, including the vital oil producing areas of the Persian Gulf region.

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-- 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 theatre nuclear forces to meet an unwarranted and increasing threat from the nuclear weapons of the Soviet Union.

-- We are working with our Allies to prevent conflict [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 engaged in further 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.

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-- 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, 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 the Persian Gulf.

-- We have reconfirmed our 1959 agreement -- a firm commitment to the independence and integrity of Pakistan. In keeping with our own law, the United States will do whatever is necessary 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.

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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 consider it necessary, 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 decision.

I also 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. We need to 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 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.

An 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.

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We wish to live in peace with all nations, and we have no desire to impose our will on anyone else.

(duplicated)

We are prepared to work with other countries to shape a cooperative security framework for this troubled 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.

All people should remember that peace remains America's first goal -- a peace that preserves freedom. In the coming years we will continue to pursue peace through strength, but we must also face this central truth: we can only project strength abroad if we are strong at home.

The decade of the 1970s left us with two overriding and closely interrelated economic tasks that we must accomplish

early in the 1980s -- controlling inflation and reducing our dangerous dependence on foreign oil.

Final action on energy legislation is long overdue.

If the Congress will act promptly we can cut our oil imports in half during the course of the 1980s.

Our new energy politics will give us realistic pricing based on the true value of oil, 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 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 setting mandatory gasoline conservation goals for each of the 50 states.

In addition, I am establishing an import ceiling for 1980 of 8.2 million barrels a day well below the level of oil imports during 1977. This new ceiling will be enforced with an import fee if purchases of foreign oil become excessive. I am prepared to lower our goal 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 authorized standby gasoline rationing if we have an oil supply shortfall of 20 percent or more. In order to avoid serious disruption of our economy, I urge the Congress to grant additional authority so that rationing can be implemented when the supply shortages are

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 ^{excessive} ~~growing~~ dependence on very expensive foreign oil. Practically all growth in the inflation rate last year was 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! Cut your own use of oil products in every possible way.

We must take other actions to protect our nation's economy.

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

This is a tight budget but one that deals responsibly with our social needs and economic conditions as they now exist. If there should be a sharp turndown in the economy, I will request action to support national output and employment.

Second, as we continue to work with business to hold down prices, we will build also on the historic ⁿNational ^aAccord with organized labor to restrain pay increaeases in a fair and equitable fight against inflation.

Third, we will continue our successful efforts to cut paperwork and to dismantle unnecessary government 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 still 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 out of the free enterprise system.

Fourth, we must continue to build on the progress 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 among minority 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.

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

The beginning of a new century is now just twenty years away. Whether we enter the new millennium 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 reality -- 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.

Although our challenges are formidable, we must not forget the greatness of our country. We can look forward to the 1980s with confidence and hope. You can join me in a bright vision of the future.

I see an America strong and free.

I see an America at peace.

I see an America with equal rights for all.

I see an America with health care and education for every citizen.

Need some work

I see an America with a clean and bountiful life
in its cities and farms.

I see an America helping to feed the world.

I see an America secure in filling its own energy needs.

I see an America of justice, tolerance and compassion.

We have the will for hard work.

We must remember the admonition given to us by

Walter Lippman (in 19____) (_____ years ago):

"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."

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 challenge and danger a decade of national resolve and notable achievement.

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