

5/9/80

Folder Citation: Collection: Office of Staff Secretary; Series: Presidential Files; Folder: 5/9/80;
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Friday - May 9, 1980

7:15 Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Oval Office.

7:30 Breakfast with Vice President Walter F. Mondale, Secretaries Edmund S. Muskie and Harold Brown, Deputy Secretary Warren Christopher, Mr. Hedley Donovan, Mr. Hamilton Jordan and Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski - The Cabinet Room.

9:05 Depart South Grounds via Motorcade en route Arlington National Cemetery.

9:30 Military Memorial Service (Hostage Rescue Mission).

10:25 Return to the White House.

11:15 Photograph with Mr. Phillip Spector et al.
(3 min.) The Oval Office.

11:20 Depart South Grounds via Helicopter en route Visit to Pennsylvania.

5:35 Arrive Camp David.

regular foreign affairs breakfast
friday, may 9, 1980

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

For Aff

5-9-80

- Cuban refugees
- > Libyan embassy
 - > Trudeau - grain - Chrysler
 - Fritz funeral
 - > Muskie - Gromyko. us/ru - Afghan -
Juan. Cuba. TNF - MBTR - SALT
Yugo -
 - > bypass Dobrynin - Simonet
Belgium. TNF - Tindemans/Mertens
 - > Mid East - mtg
 - > Iran initiatives incl Capucci
 - > Yugoslavia visit + Spain?
 - Greece - Kallis
 - Oman
 - Costa Rica Conference

MBCS of CONGRESS

1. CHAIRMAN "YARN-ULL", PRESIDENT "BO-DEEN", LADIES & GENTLEMEN:

2. { IT IS A PLEASURE TO BE IN PHILADELPHIA --

3. { FOR THE CITY WHERE OUR NATION WAS BORN IS AN ESPECIALLY APPROPRIATE PLACE ↗

4. { TO DISCUSS THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. /

5. AND IT IS A SPECIAL PLEASURE TO APPEAR BEFORE

THE WORLD-AFFAIRS-COUNCIL-OF-PHILADELPHIA.

6. { I KNOW THE GOOD WORK YOU HAVE DONE ↗

7. { TO HELP MAKE PHILADELPHIA A TRULY INTERNATIONAL CITY --

8. { AND TO FULFILL THE MOTTO OF YOUR ORGANIZATION:

9. { "IN A DEMOCRACY, AGREEMENT IS NOT ESSENTIAL; PARTICIPATION IS."

10. I WOULD ADD THAT INFORMED UNDERSTANDING IS ESSENTIAL AS WELL. //

1. FOR THE PAST 6 MONTHS, ALL OUR POLICIES ABROAD
HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED IN THE GLARE OF TWO CRISES:
3. THE HOLDING OF AMERICAN HOSTAGES IN IRAN,
4. AND THE BRUTAL INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN BY THE SOVIET UNION.
5. IN MEETING THESE CRISES, OUR TACTICS MUST CHANGE WITH CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES.
6. BUT OUR GOALS WILL NOT WAVER:
7. WE WILL NOT REST UNTIL OUR FELLOW AMERICANS HELD CAPTIVE IN IRAN >
8. -- AGAINST EVERY TENET OF LAW & DECENCY --
9. ARE SAFE AND FREE. //
10. ALONG WITH OTHER NATIONS WHO HAVE CONDEMNED SOVIET AGGRESSION,
11. WE WILL CONTINUE TO IMPOSE ECONOMIC & POLITICAL COSTS ON THE SOVIET UNION >
12. UNTIL IT WITHDRAWS ITS ARMED FORCES.
13. AND RESTORES THE INDEPENDENCE OF AFGHANISTAN. //

1. THESE 2 CRISES UNDERLINE THE REALITY THAT OUR WORLD IS A DANGEROUS PLACE,
2. { BUT WHAT I WANT TO EMPHASIZE TODAY
3. { IS THAT AMID THE CRISES OF THE MOMENT,
4. { THE FUNDAMENTALS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ARE BEING CARRIED FORWARD ✓
WITH STRENGTH & DETERMINATION. //
5. { THE CENTRAL REALITY THAT CONFRONTS AMERICA TODAY
6. { IS THAT OF A COMPLEX WORLD --
7. { A WORLD THAT IS TURBULENT BECAUSE IT IS POLITICALLY AWAKENED ✓
FOR THE 1ST TIME IN ITS COLLECTIVE HISTORY.
8. OUR WORLD IS ONE OF CONFLICTING HOPES, IDEOLOGIES & POWERS.
9. { IT IS A ^{REVOLUTIONARY} WORLD WHICH REQUIRES CONFIDENT, STABLE & POWERFUL AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ✓
10. { TO SHIFT THE TREND OF HISTORY AWAY FROM THE SPECTER OF FRAGMENTATION
11. { AND TOWARD THE PROMISE OF GENUINELY GLOBAL COOPERATION & PEACE. /
12. { SO WE MUST STRIVE, IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY,
13. { TO BLEND COMMITMENT TO HIGH IDEALS WITH A SOBER CALCULATION
OF OUR OWN VITAL INTERESTS. /

1. ~~IN THIS COMPLEX AGE, OUR FOREIGN POLICY MUST BLEND MELD~~
2. ~~THESE 2 MAIN STRANDS OF TRADITIONAL AMERICAN THOUGHT~~
3. ~~INTO A STEADY COURSE OF CONDUCT DESIGNED TO SHAPE A MORE DECENT WORLD~~
~~IN A REVOLUTIONARY AGE.~~
4. UNCHANGING AMERICAN IDEALS ARE RELEVANT TO THIS TROUBLING ERA.
5. OUR SOCIETY HAS ALWAYS STOOD FOR POLITICAL FREEDOM,
SOCIAL JUSTICE
AND PLURALISM. /
6. THOSE VALUES OF OURS HAVE REAL MEANING IN A WORLD ↗
7. THAT IS NO LONGER DOMINATED BY A FEW EMPIRES, AND
8. THAT DEMANDS A MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL & ECONOMIC POWER.
9. BUT IN THIS AGE OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE,
10. THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR VIOLENCE & CONFLICT HAVE ALSO GROWN.
11. AMERICAN POWER MUST BE STRONG ENOUGH TO DEAL WITH THAT DANGER,
TO PROMOTE ITS IDEALS,
AND TO DEFEND ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS. //

1. { THAT IS WHY OUR FOREIGN POLICY,
2. { THE POLICY WE HAVE SHAPED OVER THE LAST 3 YEARS,
3. { MUST BE BASED SIMULTANEOUSLY ON THE PRIMACY OF CERTAIN BASIC MORAL PRINCIPLES
4. { -- PRINCIPLES FOUNDED ON THE ENHANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS, --
AND ON THE PRESERVATION OF AN AMERICAN MILITARY STRENGTH
THAT IS 2ND TO NONE.

5. { THIS FUSION OF PRINCIPLE & POWER ✓
6. { IS THE ONLY WAY TO ENSURE GLOBAL STABILITY & PEACE
7. { WHILE WE ACCOMMODATE TO THE REALITY OF GLOBAL CHANGE & PROGRESS. //

8. { THE COMPLEXITY OF INTERRELATED & SOMETIMES DISTURBING EVENTS & CIRCUMSTANCES ✓
9. { REQUIRES THAT WE IN AMERICA INCREASE THE DEGREE OF PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING
AND SUPPORT.

10. { FOREIGN POLICY NO LONGER HAS A SINGLE OR SIMPLE FOCUS,
11. { SUCH AS DEFEATING NAZI AGGRESSION OR REPELLING A MONOLITHIC STALINIST THREAT.
12. { INSTEAD, AMERICANS MUST BE MATURE ENOUGH TO RECOGNIZE ✓
13. { THAT WE NEED TO BE STRONG & TO BE ACCOMMODATING AT THE SAME TIME;
14. { THAT WE NEED TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS VIGOROUSLY
15. { WHILE FINDING HONORABLE WAYS TO ACCOMMODATE THE NEW CLAIMANTS
TO ECONOMIC & POLITICAL POWER. //

1. { THERE ARE 2 OBVIOUS PRECONDITIONS FOR AN EFFECTIVE AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY:
 2. { A STRONG NATIONAL ECONOMY, AND A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE.
 3. { THAT IS WHY I PLACED THE HIGHEST PRIORITY
 4. { ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY.
 5. THAT IS WHY WE MUST WIN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INFLATION.
 6. THE CONGRESS & I ARE MOVING RESOLUTLY TOWARD THIS GOAL.
 7. IN FACT, ALL AMERICANS ARE INVOLVED.
 8. { THIS COMMON EFFORT DOES REQUIRE SOME SACRIFICE,
 9. { AND I AM DETERMINED THAT THE SACRIFICE BE FAIRLY SHARED. /
 10. { THE RESPONSE OF OUR DEMOCRACY TO ECONOMIC CHALLENGES
 11. { WILL DETERMINE WHETHER WE WILL BE ABLE TO MANAGE
 12. { THE CHALLENGE OF OTHER GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE 1980s & BEYOND.
 13. { ALTHOUGH IT WILL NOT BE EASY,
 14. { THE INNATE ADVANTAGES OF OUR NATION'S NATURAL BOUNTY
 15. { AND THE COMMON COMMITMENT OF OUR PEOPLE
- GIVE US ASSURANCE OF SUCCESS.

INT RATES - PPI ++

1. { WE MUST ALSO BE MILITARILY STRONG.
2. { THE FACT IS THAT FOR 15 YEARS
3. { THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN EXPANDING ITS MILITARY CAPABILITIES ↗
4. { FAR OUT OF PROPORTION TO ITS GENUINE DEFENSE NEEDS.
5. { FOR MUCH OF THE SAME PERIOD
6. { OUR SPENDING FOR DEFENSE HAD BEEN GOING DOWN. /
7. { IF THESE ADVERSE TRENDS HAD CONTINUED,
8. { WE WOULD HAVE FOUND OURSELVES FACING A SEVERE MILITARY IMBALANCE,
9. { AN IMBALANCE ALL THE MORE THREATENING BECAUSE OF MOUNTING GLOBAL TURBULENCE.
10. THAT IS WHY I HAVE LAUNCHED A BROAD MODERNIZATION
OF OUR STRATEGIC & CONVENTIONAL FORCES,
AND WORKED TO STRENGTHEN OUR ALLIANCES.
11. { WE & OUR ALLIES HAVE PLEDGED OURSELVES ↗
12. { TO SUSTAINED REAL ANNUAL INCREASES IN OUR DEFENSE SPENDING. /

1. { OUR 1st OBJECTIVE -- SOLIDARITY WITH OUR ALLIES --
2. { IS THE TOUCHSTONE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.
3. WITHOUT SUCH SOLIDARITY, THE WORLD ECONOMY & INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
MAY WELL DEGENERATE INTO DISORDER.
4. { THIS IS WHY WE HAVE LED THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE
5. { IN ITS PROGRAM TO UPGRADE ITS CONVENTIONAL FORCES.
6. { AND LAST WINTER, IN AN HISTORIC DECISION,
7. { "NATO" AGREED TO STRENGTHEN ITS NUCLEAR MISSILES IN EUROPE
IN RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET MISSILE BUILDUP THERE.
8. NEXT MONTH THE 7 LEADING INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES
WILL HOLD A SUMMIT MEETING IN VENICE. *I look fwd*
9. { IT IS OUR COLLECTIVE INTENTION
10. { NOT ONLY TO MAKE THAT SUMMIT ANOTHER MILESTONE FOR GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION,
11. { BUT ALSO TO ADVANCE OUR POLITICAL & STRATEGIC SOLIDARITY. //

1. 2ND, WE WILL PERSEVERE IN OUR EFFORTS
TO WIDEN THE SCOPE OF OUR COOPERATION
WITH THE NEWLY AWAKENED NATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD.
2. { BY THE END OF THIS CENTURY, 85 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION
3. { WILL BE LIVING IN LATIN AMERICA, ASIA, & AFRICA. /
4. IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES,
THROUGH OUR COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE IN AFRICA,
AND THROUGH NORMALIZATION WITH CHINA --
5. WE HAVE VASTLY IMPROVED THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNITED STATES
WITH THESE REGIONS.
6. WE CAN BE PROUD OF OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS
IN BUILDING STRONG NEW BRIDGES TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD. //

1. THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS THE DESIRE OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS
FOR GENUINE NON-ALIGNMENT,
2. AND RESPECTS THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT
AS THE EXPRESSION OF THAT DESIRE. /
3. { NATIONS WHICH VALUE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE
4. { ARE ALREADY RESISTING EFFORTS TO SUBVERT THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT
AND MAKE IT A TOOL OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY.
5. { THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO WORK WITH SUCH NATIONS
6. { FOR THE RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS
7. { AND FOR THE PROMOTION OF GREATER GLOBAL SOCIAL JUSTICE. //
8. 3RD, WE WILL CONTINUE TO WORK FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
9. SUCH PEACE IS ESSENTIAL TO ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED.
10. { ISREAL DESERVES IT
11. { AND ISRAEL NEEDS IT FOR ITS LONG-TERM SURVIVAL. /

1. 4TH, THE WEST MUST DEFEND ITS STRATEGIC INTERESTS
WHEREVER THEY ARE THREATENED.
2. { SINCE 1945 THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN COMMITTED ✓
3. { TO THE DEFENSE OF OUR HEMISPHERE & OF WESTERN EUROPE,
4. { AND THEN OF THE FAR EAST -- NOTABLY JAPAN & KOREA.
5. { IN RECENT YEARS IT HAS BECOME EVIDENT ✓
6. { THAT THE WELL-BEING OF THESE VITAL REGIONS ✓
7. { DEPENDS ON THE PEACE, STABILITY & INDEPENDENCE
8. { OF THE MIDDLE EAST & PERSIAN GULF AREA. ✓
9. { ^{BOTH} YET THE SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN
10. { AND THE PROGRESSIVE POLITICAL DISINTEGRATION OF IRAN
11. { ^{BOTH} PUT THE SECURITY OF THAT REGION IN GRAVE JEOPARDY.

1. I WANT TO REEMPHASIZE WHAT I SAID IN MY STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
ON JANUARY 23:
2. "LET OUR POSITION BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR:
3. "AN ATTEMPT BY ANY OUTSIDE FORCE TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE PERSIAN GULF REGION
4. "WILL BE REGARDED AS AN ASSAULT ON THE VITAL INTERESTS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
5. "AND SUCH AN ASSAULT WILL BE REPELLED BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY,
INCLUDING MILITARY FORCE." //
6. { THE STEPS WE ARE TAKING ON OUR OWN ✓
7. { AND WITH THE COOPERATION OF OTHERS ✓
8. { INVOLVE COMPLICATED MEASURES, CONSIDERABLE EXPENSE, ✓
9. { AND A CAREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN THE URGENCY OF THE ✓
COLLECTIVE SECURITY NEEDS OF THE REGION ✓
AND ITS POLITICAL REALITIES.
10. WE ARE MAKING GOOD PROGRESS.
11. WE MUST -- AND WE WILL -- MAKE MORE. //

1. { THE NECESSITY OF COMMON ACTION IN THAT REGION ✓
2. { IS DICTATED NOT BY ANY BELLIGERENCE ON THE PART OF PEACELOVING NATIONS,
3. { BUT BY THE CLEAR STRATEGIC THREAT THAT STEMS FROM THE
SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. ✓
4. { A FAILURE TO RESPOND CONVINCINGLY TO THAT CONTEMPTUOUS ACT OF AGGRESSION ✓
5. { WOULD ONLY INVITE ITS REPETITION.
6. { BEYOND THE VIOLENCE DONE TO AFGHANISTAN'S INDEPENDENCE & PEOPLE,
7. { THE RED ARMY TROOPS CONSOLIDATING THEIR HOLD THERE ✓
8. { ARE ALSO TAKING POSITIONS FROM WHICH SOVIET IMPERIALISM ✓
9. { COULD BE EXTENDED MORE DEEPLY & MORE DANGEROUSLY ✓
IN THE POLITICS OF THIS VITAL AREA. ✓
10. AFGHANISTAN HAD LONG BEEN A BUFFER AGAINST OUTSIDERS SEEKING TO DOMINATE
THAT REGION.
11. THAT IS THE HISTORIC ROLE TO WHICH AFGHANISTAN MUST BE RESTORED. ✓
12. SOVIET SUCCESS THERE, EVEN AT THE HIGH COST IN BLOOD & RESPECTABILITY
WHICH MOSCOW IS NOW PAYING,
13. { COULD TURN AFGHANISTAN FROM A ROAD BLOCK AGAINST AGGRESSION
14. { INTO A LAUNCHING PAD FOR FURTHER INCURSIONS. //

1. THIS WOULD THREATEN PAKISTAN & IRAN,
2. BUT NOT THOSE NATIONS ALONE.
3. SOVIET AGGRESSION IN AFGHANISTAN -- UNLESS CHECKED --
4. CONFRONTS ALL THE WORLD WITH THE MOST SERIOUS LONG-TERM STRATEGIC CHALLENGE
SINCE THE COLD WAR BEGAN. //
5. { TO UNDER-RATE THE MAGNITUDE OF THAT CHALLENGE ↗
6. { WOULD CONSTITUTE AN HISTORIC ERROR --
7. { AN ERROR WITH PROBABLY HISTORIC CONSEQUENCES. /
8. AMERICA'S POSITION IS CLEAR.
9. { IT IS CONSISTENT, AS WELL, WITH THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES,
10. { WHOSE WELL-BEING -- ALONG WITH OUR OWN --
11. { IS INTIMATELY TIED TO THE SECURITY & INDEPENDENCE
OF THIS STRATEGICALLY VITAL REGION.
12. { WE MUST THEREFORE WORK TOGETHER ↗
13. { IN MEETING THE CHALLENGE WE FACE IN COMMON. //

1. { WITHIN THE REGION ITSELF ✓
2. { THE NATIONS MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT OUR DESIRES MATCH THEIRS --
3. { TO COOPERATE IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE REGION'S INDEPENDENCE & STABILITY. //

4. { 5TH, THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN & REMAINS COMMITTED TO ARMS CONTROL,
5. { ESPECIALLY TO STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS,
6. { AND TO MAINTAIN A FIRM & BALANCED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION.
7. { OUR RESOLVE TO PURSUE THIS GOAL REMAINS AS STRONG AS EVER. /

8. { ARMS CONTROL & STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION ✓
9. { IS OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO US & TO ALL OTHER PEOPLE.
10. { THE "SALT II" AGREEMENT IS A MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENT OF MY ADMINISTRATION.
11. { IT CONTRIBUTES DIRECTLY TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY,
12. { AND WE INTEND TO ABIDE BY THE TREATY'S TERMS ✓
13. { AS LONG AS THE SOVIET UNION COMPLIES WITH THEM AS WELL. /
14. { OF COURSE, WE WILL SEEK ITS RATIFICATION AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNE TIME. //

1. THE TIME IS ALSO FAST APPROACHING WHEN WE MUST THINK BEYOND "SALT II" --
2. { TO NEGOTIATING WIDER, MORE COMPREHENSIVE ARRANGEMENTS ✓
3. { DEALING BOTH WITH ADDITIONAL CATEGORIES OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS ✓
4. { AND WITH WEAPONS OF LESS THAN INTERCONTINENTAL RANGE. /
5. { IF THE DECADE OF THE 80's IS NOT TO BECOME THE DECADE OF VIOLENCE,
6. { WE MUST MAKE RENEWED EFFORTS TO STABILIZE THE ARMS COMPETITION ✓
7. { AND TO WIDEN THE SCOPE OF ARMS CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS.
8. { AFTER CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH OUR ALLIES & THE SOVIET UNION ✓
9. { WE INTEND TO PURSUE THESE EXPANDED EFFORTS. //
10. DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION REMAINS OUR GOAL.
11. BUT DETENTE MUST BE BUILT ON A FIRM FOUNDATION OF DETERRENCE.
12. { THE SOVIETS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THEY CANNOT RECKLESSLY THREATEN WORLD PEACE,
13. { THEY CANNOT COMMIT AGGRESSION,
14. { AND STILL ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF COOPERATION WITH THE WEST. /
15. { THEY MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN
16. { HAS HAD A PROFOUND ADVERSE EFFECT ON AMERICAN PUBLIC ATTITUDES. //

" "

1. THERE CAN BE NO BUSINESS AS USUAL IN THE FACE OF AGGRESSION.
2. { THE SOVIETS WILL NOT SUCCEED IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DIVIDE THE ALLIANCE } ✓
3. { OR TO LULL US INTO A FALSE BELIEF } ✓
4. { THAT SOMEHOW EUROPE CAN BE AN ISLAND OF DETENTE } ✓
5. { WHILE AGGRESSION IS CARRIED OUT ELSEWHERE. }
6. BUT LET ME BE EQUALLY CLEAR THAT THE WAY TO IMPROVED RELATIONS IS OPEN
IF THE SOVIETS ALTER THEIR CONDUCT.
7. THAT IS THE PATH WE PREFER. //
8. { TOGETHER, THESE OBJECTIVES I HAVE OUTLINED }
9. { ARE THE COMPASS POINTS THAT GUIDE AMERICA'S COURSE IN THIS WORLD
OF CHANGE & CHALLENGE. }
10. THEY LINK OUR SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO EACH OTHER,
TO THE PAST,
AND TO THE FUTURE. //

1. { OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS DESIGNED TO BE RESPONSIVE
2. { TO THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE IN WHICH WE LIVE. /
3. TO BE EFFECTIVE IT MUST HAVE THE WISE UNDERSTANDING & WIDE SUPPORT
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.
4. THAT DEPENDS ON PUBLIC REALIZATION THAT FOREIGN POLICY
IS NOT A MATTER OF INSTANT SUCCESSES. /
5. { WE MUST EXPECT PROLONGED MANAGEMENT ✓
6. { OF SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE SITUATIONS & OFTEN CONTRADICTORY REALITIES.
7. TO ^{*our*} PLAY ~~AT~~ HISTORICAL ROLE OF PROTECTING OUR INTERESTS
AND PRESERVING THE PEACE,
8. THE UNITED STATES MUST BE STEADY & CONSTANT.
9. { OUR COMMITMENT TO AMERICAN IDEALS MUST BE UNCHANGING,
10. { AND OUR POWER MUST BE CREDIBLE. //

1. { WHILE WE SEEK TO ATTAIN OUR BROAD ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES,
2. { WE MUST NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF IMMEDIATE HUMAN SUFFERING.
3. WE HAVE NOT FORGOTTEN & WILL NOT FORGET THE 53 AMERICANS IMPRISONED IN IRAN. //
4. { WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT, USING PEACEFUL MEANS IF POSSIBLE,
5. { AND THROUGH COLLECTIVE ACTION WITH OUR ALLIES,
6. { TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF OUR COUNTRYMEN.
7. { AND WE WILL REMIND THE IRANIAN LEADERS ✓
8. { THAT THE INTEGRITY & INDEPENDENCE OF THEIR COUNTRY ✓
9. { CAN ONLY SUFFER FROM POLICIES OF THEIRS ✓
10. THAT LEAD TO INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION & INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION. /
11. WE HAVE NO PERMANENT QUARREL WITH THE IRANIAN PEOPLE.
12. { WE WISH TO FASHION A RELATIONSHIP OF DIGNITY WITH IRAN,
13. { ONCE THIS ILLEGAL ACTION HAS BEEN PUT BEHIND US. //

1. OUR NATION HAS CONTINUED TO ACT RESPONSIBLY & IN GOOD FAITH
TOWARD THE PEOPLE & LEADERS OF IRAN.
2. OUR RESCUE ATTEMPT WAS A MISSION OF MERCY -- NOT A MILITARY ATTACK.
3. ITS ONLY AIM WAS TO RESCUE INNOCENT VICTIMS OF TERRORIST EXPLOITATION.
4. { I REGRET ONLY THAT IT DID NOT SUCCEED,
5. { AND THAT 8 GALLANT MEN DIED IN THE ACCIDENT ✓
AS THE RESCUE TEAM WAS LEAVING ITS DESERT RENDEZVOUS. //
6. { OUR COMMITMENT TO A WORLD THAT REPRESENTS HUMAN RIGHTS
7. { HAS BEEN HEARD BY THE WHOLE WORLD --
8. { BY FREE PEOPLE & BY THOSE WHO ARE OPPRESSED. /
9. { THE EAGERNESS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF CUBANS TO FLEE FROM THEIR COUNTRY
10. { IS ELOQUENT TESTIMONY TO THE FAILURE OF THE CASTRO REGIME. /
11. { WE MUST ENSURE THAT THE CUBANS WHO ARRIVE IN THE "U.S." & THE HAITIANS
12. { WILL BE TREATED WITH ALL THE HUMANITY & THE COMPASSION
13. { WHICH WE HAVE EXTENDED TO OTHER GROUPS & EACH OTHER.

1. { IN ORDER TO BRING AN END TO THE SUFFERING & THE DEATH ON THE HIGH SEAS
2. { AND TO PERMIT US TO BEST ALLOCATE SCARCE FEDERAL RESOURCES,
3. { THE PROCESS MUST BE ORDERLY & IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR LAWS. /
4. { WE ARE WORKING VIGOROUSLY WITH 16 NATIONS & INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,
AT THE CONFERENCE IN COSTA RICA,
5. { TO DEVELOP ALTERNATIVES THAT WILL PERMIT A SAFE & ORDERLY EVACUATION
OF CUBANS SEEKING TO LEAVE. /
6. { FOR OURSELVES, WE WILL GIVE HIGHEST PRIORITY TO FAMILY REUNIFICATIONS, *& WE*
7. { WITH PRE-SCREENING IN CUBA OR A 3RD COUNTRY, SUCH AS COSTA RICA. *PREFER* //

FINALLY,

8. AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY MUST ALWAYS REFLECT THE KIND OF PEOPLE WE ARE.
9. WE ARE A STRONG PEOPLE.
10. AND WE ARE A CARING PEOPLE.
11. { WE CARE ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS;
12. { WE CARE ABOUT DECENT LIVING STANDARDS;
13. { WE CARE ABOUT THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS & THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS.
14. { WE HAVE A SOBER, RESPONSIBLE RECOGNITION THAT AMERICAN POWER ✓
15. { IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT IN A TURBULENT WORLD ✓
16. { WHERE OTHERS DEPEND UPON US FOR THEIR SAFETY & THEIR FREEDOM. /

1. OUR INTERESTS & OUR IDEALS SERVE EACH OTHER.
2. OUR POWER MUST BE USED IN THE SERVICE OF BOTH.
3. THE COURSE I HAVE MAPPED TODAY IS NEITHER SIMPLE NOR EASY,
4. BUT IT IS A SOUND & SAFE COURSE WHICH WE MUST PURSUE. /

5. { OUR FOREIGN POLICY DESERVES YOUR UNDERSTANDING & SUPPORT,
6. { NOT ONLY FOR OUR NATION'S OWN SECURITY,
7. { BUT IN ORDER THAT PEOPLE EVERYWHERE CAN BE CERTAIN OF AMERICA'S COMMITMENT >
8. { TO USE ITS VAST POWER WITH A CLEAR, FIRM, STEADY PURPOSE --
9. { TO SEEK FOR ALL HUMANKIND A FUTURE OF PROGRESS,
OF FREEDOM,
AND OF PEACE. //

#

ADDRESS TO WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL

Chairman Yarnall (YARN-ull), President Bodine (bo-DEEN), to write

ladies and gentlemen:

It is a pleasure to be in Philadelphia -- for the city where our nation was born is an especially appropriate place to discuss the future of this nation's foreign policy.

And it is a special pleasure to appear before the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia. I know the good work you have done to help make Philadelphia a truly international city -- and to fulfill the motto of your organization: "In a democracy, agreement is not essential; participation is."

I would add that informed understanding is essential as well.

For the past six months, all our policies abroad have been conducted in the glare of two crises: the holding of American hostages in Iran, and the brutal invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union.

*Warren, 2/6/80
a hasty job -
Resubmit to me
with differences
in brackets - This is
not a good way
to write
a speech*

*1 5
2*

In meeting these crises, our tactics must change with changing circumstances. But our goals will not ^twaver:

We will not rest until our fellow Americans held captive in Iran -- against every tenet of law and decency -- are safe and free.

Along with other nations who have condemned Soviet aggression, we will continue to impose economic and political costs on the Soviet Union until it withdraws its armed forces and restores the independence of Afghanistan. 2 | 3

These two crises underline the reality that our world is a dangerous place, but what I want to emphasize today is that amid the crises of the moment, the fundamentals of American foreign policy are being carried forward with strength and determination.

The central reality that confronts America today
 is that of a complex world -- a world that ~~seems to be in~~ ^{is turbulent}
~~turnoil~~ because, ~~in fact, for many peoples~~ it is politically
 awakened for the first time in its collective history.

Our world is one of conflicting hopes, ideologies and
 powers. It is a world which requires confident, stable and
 powerful American leadership to shift the trend of history
 away from the specter of fragmentation and toward the promise
 of genuinely global cooperation and peace.

Make the
 point
 simpler --
 now too
 stark

Alternative

~~depend upon us for their safety~~ ^{must} So we strive, in our
 foreign policy, to blend commitment to high ideals with a
 sober ^{Calculation} ~~calculus~~ of our own vital interests. We ~~seek to avoid~~
~~the extremes of a soulless pragmatism on the one hand, or~~
~~sentimentality on the other.~~

Alternative
 above
 attached

(It is
 better)

of sentimentality nor soulless pragmatism

3 4
Neither extreme is workable. In this complex age, our

foreign policy must blend these two main strands of traditional American thought into a steady course of conduct designed to shape a more decent world in a revolutionary age.

Unchanging American ideals are relevant to *this troubling era,* ~~that age~~

Our society has always stood for political freedom, social justice and pluralism. Those values of ours have real meaning in a world that is no longer dominated by a few empires, that demands a more equitable distribution of political and economic power.

But in this age of *revolutionary* ~~ever more rapid~~ change, the opportunities for violence and conflict have also grown. American power must be strong enough to deal with that danger, to promote its ideals and to defend its national interests.

4 } 5 That is why our foreign policy, the policy ^{we} have shaped over the last three years, must be based simultaneously on the primacy of certain basic moral principles -- principles founded on the enhancement of human rights -- and on the preservation of an American military strength that is second to none. This fusion of principle and power is the only way to ensure global stability ^{and peace} while we accommodate to the reality of global change _{and progress}.

interrelated and sometimes disturbing
The complexity of ^{interrelated and sometimes disturbing} rapidly-changing events and circumstances requires that we in America increase the degree of public understanding and support. Foreign policy no longer has a single or simple focus, such as defeating Nazi aggression or repelling a monolithic Stalinist threat. Instead, Americans must be mature enough to recognize that we need to be strong and to be accommodating at the same time -- that we need to protect our interests vigorously while finding honorable ways to accommodate the new claimants to economic and political power.

5 } u

There are two obvious preconditions for an effective American foreign policy: ~~in this age of revolutionary change:~~
a strong national economy and a strong national defense.

That is why I placed the highest priority on the ~~statement~~ ^{development} of a national energy policy. That is why we must win the struggle against inflation. The Congress and I are moving resolutely toward this goal. In fact, all Americans are involved. This common effort ^{does} requires ^{some} sacrifice, and I am determined [~~to see to it~~] that the sacrifice ^{be} is fairly shared. The response of our democracy to ~~the~~ economic challenge, will determine whether we will be able to manage the challenge of ^{other} global change ^{responsibilities} in the 1980s and beyond. Although it will not be easy, the innate advantages of our nation's natural bounty and the common commitment of our people give us assurance of success.

6
7

We must also be militarily strong. The fact is that for 15 years the Soviet Union has been expanding its military capabilities far out of proportion to its genuine defense needs. For much of the same period our spending for defense had been going down. If these adverse trends had continued, we would have found ourselves facing a severe ~~strategic~~ ^{military} imbalance, an imbalance all the more threatening because of mounting global turbulence. That is why I have launched a broad modernization of our strategic and conventional forces, ^{and worked to strengthen our alliances.} ~~and that is why~~ We and our Allies have pledged ourselves to sustained real annual increases in our defense spending.

With a strong economy and a credible national defense, this country can pursue a foreign policy designed to translate a worldwide revolution into a global commonwealth —

a cooperative community of independent nation-states.

← Clarify for Laymen

758

~~such~~ truly cooperative global

Our task is to build a ~~truly cooperative~~ global community,

to compose a global mosaic which embraces the wealth and diversity

of the earth's peoples, cultures and religions. The philosophical

basis of such a community must be ~~respect~~ respect for the human rights ~~of individuals~~ as well as the independence of nations.

In promoting the prospects of that future of peace,

~~my Administration~~ ^{we} will stay on the steady course to which

we have been committed over the last three-and-one-half years.

We pursue five major objectives:

not only economic but also,

First, to enhance political solidarity among the industrial democracies.

add moral commitment based on human rights

Second, to establish a genuinely cooperative relationship with the Third World.

Third, to persevere in our efforts to bring peace to the Middle East and other troubled areas of the world.

Fourth, to defend our strategic interests, especially those now threatened in Southwest Asia.

8/9

Fifth, to advance arms control, especially through agreed strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union, and to maintain a firm ^{and} ~~but~~ balanced relationship with the Soviet Union.

8/9

Our first objective -- solidarity with our Allies -- is the touchstone of our foreign policy. Without such solidarity, the world economy and international politics ^{may well} ~~will~~ degenerate into disorder. → ⊗

insert

This is why We have led the North Atlantic alliance in its program to upgrade its conventional forces. And last winter, in an historic decision, NATO agreed to strengthen its nuclear missiles in Europe in response to the Soviet missile buildup there.

global economic cooperation, but also ~~to assist~~ to advance our political and strategic solidarity.

9/10

SEcond, we will persevere in our efforts to widen the scope of our cooperation with the newly awakened nations of the

Third World. By the end of this century, 85 percent of the world's population will be living in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. In the last several years, through the Panama Canal Treaties, through our commitment to majority rule in Africa, and through normalization with China -- we have vastly improved the relationship of the United States with these regions. We can be ~~justly~~ proud of our accomplishments in building strong new bridges to the developing world.

10 S 11

developing nations

The United States respects the desire of the ~~Third-World~~ *developing nations* for genuine non-alignment, and respects the Non-Aligned Movement as the expression of that desire. Nations which value their own independence are already resisting efforts to subvert the Non-Aligned Movement and ~~to~~ make it a tool of Soviet foreign policy. The United States is prepared to work with such nations for the resolution of conflicts and for the promotion of greater global social justice.

bird, we will continue to work for peace in the Middle East. Such peace is essential to all the parties concerned.

Israel deserves it and Israel needs it for its long-term survival. The Arab nations require peace in order to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and to ensure that their own social development can move forward without disruption and foreign intrusion. The West must have peace in the Middle East or run grave risks that the radicalization of the region will draw outsiders into its explosive conflicts.

he Camp David process has already led to the first peace treaty ever between Israel and an Arab state.

We are
My Administration ~~is~~ determined to reach a more comprehensive settlement, *we* We will not be diverted from that goal.

As we continue our efforts in the Middle East I take pride as well in the contributions we have made in other areas, such as the Panama Canal treaty and the achievement of peace in Zimbabwe. *These are major accomplishments - not only of benefit to the people directly involved but to our ~~state~~ national interest as well.*

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12 } 13

Fourth, the West must defend its strategic interests wherever they are threatened.

Since 1945 the United States has been committed to the defense of our hemisphere and of Western Europe, and then of the Far East, notably Japan and Korea.

In recent years it has become evident that the well-being of these ~~vital~~ ^{the} vital regions depends on peace, stability and independence of ~~a third region~~ the Middle East and Persian Gulf area. Yet the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the progressive political disintegration of Iran both put the security of that region in grave jeopardy.

13
14

I want to reemphasize what I said in my State of the Union Address on January 23:

"Let our position be absolutely clear: an attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region

will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."

The steps we are taking on our ^{own} ~~own~~ and with the cooperation of others involve complicated measures, considerable expense, and a careful balance between the urgency of the collective security needs of the region and its political realities. We are making good progress. We must -- and we will -- make more.

14/

15

The necessity of common action ~~and the timetable for~~ ^{is} ~~is~~ in that region ~~are~~ dictated not by any belligerence on the part of peaceloving nations, but by the clear strategic threat that stems from the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. A failure to respond convincingly to that contemptuous act of aggression would only invite its repetition.

Beyond the violence done to Afghanistan's independence and people, the Red Army troops consolidating their hold there are also taking positions from which Soviet imperialism could be extended more deeply and more dangerously in the politics of this vital area. Afghanistan had long been a ~~barrier~~ ^{suffer} against outsiders seeking to dominate that region. That is the historic role to which Afghanistan must be restored. Soviet success there, even at the high cost in blood and respectability which Moscow is now paying, could turn Afghanistan from a road block against aggression into a launching pad for further incursions.

This would threaten Pakistan and Iran, but not those nations alone. Soviet aggression in Afghanistan -- unless checked -- confronts all the world with the most serious long-term strategic challenge since the Cold War began. To underrate the magnitude of that challenge would constitute an historic error -- ^{an error} ~~one~~ with probably historic consequences.

America's position is clear. It is consistent, as well, with the interests of our Allies, whose well-being -- along with our own -- is intimately tied to the security and independence of this strategically vital region. We must therefore work together in meeting the challenge we face in common.

16 [17

within itself the nations
~~The nations~~ of the region must also realize that our *desires* interests match theirs -- to cooperate in the preservation of the region's independence and stability.

Fifth, this Administration has been and remains committed to arms control, especially to strategic arms limitations, *and to maintain a firm and balanced relationship with the Soviet Union.* Our resolve to pursue this goal remains as strong as ever.

Arms control and strategic arms limitation is of crucial importance to us and to all other people. The SALT II agreement is a major accomplishment of my Administration. It contributes

directly to our national security, and we intend to abide
by the treaty's terms as long as the Soviet Union complies with
them as well. Of course, we will seek its ratification at the
earliest opportune time. 17 } 18

~~but~~ The time is also fast approaching when we must think
beyond SALT II -- to negotiating wider, more comprehensive
arrangements dealing both with additional categories of strategic
weapons and with weapons of less than intercontinental range.
If the decade of the eighties is not to become the decade of
violence, we must make renewed efforts to stabilize the arms
competition, and to widen the scope of arms control arrangements.
After close consultation with our Allies and the Soviet Union
we intend to pursue these expanded efforts.

~~Add attachment~~

~~We have pursued~~ ^{Union} ~~Detente~~ with the Soviets. ~~It~~ remains our goal. But detente must be built on a firm foundation of deterrence. The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace -- they cannot commit aggression -- and still enjoy the benefits of cooperation with the West. *They must understand that their invasion of Afghanistan has had a profound effect on American public attitudes.* *adverse*

If the Soviets are still waging war against the people of Afghanistan in 1981, the penalties for aggression will be every bit as strong as they are in 1980.

And we will not alter our position on the Olympic Games. The European Olympic committees have recognized the moral force of our position; they should back that recognition with resolute action.

There can be no business as usual in the face of aggression. The Soviets will not succeed in their efforts to divide the alliance ^{or} to lull us into a false belief that somehow Europe can be an island of detente while aggression is carried out elsewhere.

But let me be equally clear that the way to ^{improved relations} ~~detente~~ is open if the Soviets alter their conduct. That is the path we prefer.

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for Preservation Purposes

Together, these ~~five~~ objectives I have outlined are the compass points that guide America's course in this world of change and challenge. They link our specific actions to each other, to the past, and to the future.

1952

Our foreign policy is designed to be responsive to the revolutionary age in which we live. To be effective it must have the wise understanding and wide support of the American people. That depends on public realization that foreign policy is not a matter of instant successes. We must expect prolonged management of seemingly intractable situations and often contradictory realities.

To play its historical role of protecting our interests and preserving the peace, the United States must be steady and constant. Our commitment to ^{American} ~~our~~ ideals must be unchanging and our power must be credible.

20
21
While we seek to attain our broad ultimate objectives,
we must never lose sight of immediate human suffering.

We have not forgotten and will not forget the 53 Americans
imprisoned in Iran.

We will continue to make every effort, using peaceful
means if possible, and through collective action with our Allies,
to obtain the release of our countrymen. And we will remind
the Iranian leaders that the integrity and independence of their
country can only suffer from policies of theirs that lead to
international isolation and internal disintegration. We have no
permanent quarrel with the Iranian people. We wish to fashion
a relationship of dignity with Iran, once this illegal action
has been put behind us.

21 22

Our nation has continued to act responsibly and in good
faith toward the people and leaders of Iran.

~~And we certainly have no apologies to make for our~~
~~rescue attempt.~~ *rescue attempt*
~~rescue attempt.~~ It was a mission of mercy -- not a military
attack. Its only aim was to rescue innocent victims of
terrorist exploitation. I regret only that it did not succeed,
and that eight gallant men died in the accident as the
rescue team was leaving its desert rendezvous.

★ →
America's foreign policy must always reflect the kind
of people we are. We are a strong people. And we are a caring
people. We care about human rights; we care about decent
living standards; we care about the ^{independence} freedom of nations and the
rights of individuals. Therefore, ~~We~~ have a sober, responsible
recognition that American power is especially important in a
turbulent world where others depend upon us for their safety
and their freedom.

Our commitment to a world that represents human rights has been heard by the whole world -- by free people and by those who are oppressed. The ^{earnestness} willingness of large numbers of Cubans to ^{flee from their country} leave is eloquent testimony to the failure of the ^{Castro} Cuban regime.

[I applaud the leadership of Costa Rican President Carazo to forge an international response to this very grave situation. We will do our share, and we welcome the pledges of other nations to join in this resettlement effort.]

insert p 19

~~I hope that Americans will welcome Cubans with generosity and with an open heart. I will do everything to ensure that~~ ^{we must} the Cubans who arrive in the U.S. will be treated with all the humanity and the compassion which we have extended to other groups and each other.] 22 23

~~In order to bring an end to the suffering and the death on the high seas and to permit us to best allocate scarce federal resources, the process must be orderly and in accordance with our laws. [The callous and cynical exploitation by Fidel Castro of this situation has created a dangerous and chaotic boat flow exploited by people who seek profit. This must stop. We will enforce the law against those who are exploiting emotions and commercializing a human tragedy. They risk the lives of innocent people and threaten to create disorderly conditions.]~~

We are working vigorously with 16 nations and international organizations, at the conference in Costa Rica, to develop alternatives that will permit a safe and orderly evacuation of Cubans seeking to leave. For ourselves, we will give highest priority to family reunifications, with pre-screening in Cuba or a third country, such as Costa Rica.

23
24
Our interests and our ideals serve each other. Our power must be used in the service of both.

The course I have mapped today is neither simple nor easy,
~~No true course today can be.~~ But it is ^a ~~the most~~ sound and safe
course ^{which} we ~~can~~ ^{must} pursue.

Our foreign policy deserves your understanding and support,
not only for our nation's own security, but in order that people
everywhere can be certain of America's commitment to use its
vast power with a clear, firm, steady purpose -- to seek for all
humankind a future of ^{progress, of freedom and of peace.} ~~peace, a world of freedom.~~

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Bob Rackleff

SUBJECT: Presidential Speech:
Opening Statement at
Philadelphia Town
Meeting

Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, May 9, 3 PM
Temple University
Philadelphia

Your speech for this occasion is
attached.

Clearances

Stu Eizenstat
Alfred Kahn
NSC Staff
Charlie Schultze
Ray Jenkins

[Salutations will be updated
by Bob Dunn in Philadelphia.]

Bob Rackleff
Draft A-1; 5/7/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Fri, May 9, 3 PM

President's Remarks at Philadelphia Town Meeting

Thank you, Bill [Green], for the introduction; President
[Marvin] Wachman [WALK-man], members of Congress, ladies and
gentlemen:

Mayor Green and I have an occasional difference of
opinion [pause], but he has distinguished himself in facing
the real challenges to the city of Philadelphia. This has
been a time of tough decisions, and Bill Green has had the
courage to make them.*

Coming here today has reminded me of something more
Americans find out every year -- how beautiful, friendly,
and full of life the city of Philadelphia is.

I want to begin with a few brief remarks before I ask for
your questions.

*Al McDonald suggests deleting favorable references to
Green, except for a formal thanks to "Mayor Green" for his
introduction. Chris Matthews, I, Anne Wexler and Dick Moe
believe that a small compliment could help to mend fences
with someone we will need in November.

Our overriding concern in 1980 must be the security of this great nation. I am speaking of our international security, our energy security, and our economic security.

That is our responsibility to ourselves -- but most important, to our children and succeeding generations who must live in the future we create for them today.

I spoke downtown earlier today about our foreign policy, and noted that this is a period of great change and instability in the world. It calls for an honest, responsible policy that reflects the ideals and aspirations of our people.

We seek a secure world in which the new generations of every country can look forward to a fuller, better life.

The events in Iran and Afghanistan remind us that our strength and resolve are fundamental to a peaceful world.

We must use our strength wisely, with restraint, and we must

continue to keep American foreign policy an example to the rest of the world.

Recent events also remind us that we must be strong at home.

One of our nation's greatest shocks came in 1973 when we faced an oil embargo and learned how OPEC could dictate prices to us. After a few years of inaction, the tide has turned. Last year, we used five percent less gasoline than the year before. And so far this year, we imported a million barrels a day fewer than the same period last year.

When I became President, I heard from the experts that Americans were too selfish and too short-sighted to do anything about energy.

But you have proved the experts wrong, and we now have nearly completed our nation's first comprehensive energy policy -- the first ever to set out consciously to build a

secure energy base for the future.

Finally, ~~but most important~~, we must seek economic
security.

High inflation and the high interest rates it brings
have been the major causes of the recession now upon us.
The best way to turn the recession around is to attack its
causes, and that is what we are doing.

2 Mos ago

In March, I set forth a tough anti-inflation program
including Federal budget cuts and controls on the excessive
use of credit.

In the past month, interest rates have come down steeply.
High inflation may last for several more months, but then
fall sharply. [Add April producer prices, if good news.]

Lower inflation will halt the erosion of consumer
purchasing power. Lower interest rates will especially help

home building. *& auto sales.*

We must be equally determined to build long-term economic security. We must resume our historic upward trend of productivity. We must save more and invest more. We must invest equally in our human capital. And we must restore and invigorate the discipline of the competitive market.

We have a lot of work ahead of us. But we have also a future of possibilities, the greatest of which is the legacy of people who faced the world as it is -- who faced up to problems honestly -- and left something good and strong behind them.

Let me add a final note: Despite our many challenges, America attracts hundreds of thousands of immigrants every year. They come here seeking freedom and opportunity. They leave behind what were family homelands for centuries.

They come from Cuba, from Southeast Asia, from Eastern Europe, from every continent and every nation. Their customs and languages and religions span the human spectrum.

Their one common denominator is that they believe in America. They believe America is the best nation on earth and offers the best chance for a good life.

Year after year, decade after decade, they have come to America -- and they still arrive, their hearts full of hope and pride that they are now in America.

I want to keep our country that way, and I ask that you join me in that great task.

#

1. THANK YOU, BILL (GREEN), FOR THE INTRODUCTION;
PRESIDENT (MARVIN) "WALK-MAN", MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,
LADIES & GENTLEMEN:
2. { MAYOR GREEN [~~I HAVE AN OCCASIONAL DIFFERENCE OF OPINION,~~
3. { ~~BUT HE~~] HAS DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF IN FACING THE REAL CHALLENGES
TO THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.
4. { THIS HAS BEEN A TIME OF TOUGH DECISIONS,
5. { AND BILL GREEN HAS HAD THE COURAGE TO MAKE THEM.

(=OVER=) (COMING HERE TODAY.....)

1. { COMING HERE TODAY HAS REMINDED ME OF SOMETHING
MORE AMERICANS FIND OUT EVERY YEAR --
2. { HOW BEAUTIFUL, FRIENDLY, & FULL OF LIFE THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA IS.
3. I WANT TO BEGIN WITH A FEW BRIEF REMARKS BEFORE I ASK FOR YOU QUESTIONS.
4. OUR OVERRIDING CONCERN IN 1980 MUST BE THE SECURITY OF THIS GREAT NATION.
5. I AM SPEAKING OF OUR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY,
OUR ENERGY SECURITY, & OUR ECONOMIC SECURITY.
6. { THAT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO OURSELVES --
7. { BUT MOST IMPORTANT, TO OUR CHILDREN & SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS
8. { WHO MUST LIVE IN THE FUTURE WE CREATE FOR THEM TODAY.

(=NEW CARD=) (I SPOKE DOWNTOWN.....)

1. { I SPOKE DOWNTOWN EARLIER TODAY ABOUT OUR FOREIGN POLICY,
2. { AND NOTED THAT THIS IS A PERIOD OF GREAT CHANGE & INSTABILITY IN THE WORLD.
3. { IT CALLS FOR AN HONEST, RESPONSIBLE POLICY
4. { THAT REFLECTS THE IDEALS & ASPIRATIONS OF OUR PEOPLE.
5. { WE SEEK A SECURE WORLD IN WHICH THE NEW GENERATIONS OF EVERY COUNTRY
6. { CAN LOOK FORWARD TO A FULLER, BETTER LIFE.
7. { THE EVENTS IN IRAN & AFGHANISTAN REMIND US
8. { THAT OUR STRENGTH & RESOLVE ARE FUNDAMENTAL TO A PEACEFUL WORLD.
9. { WE MUST USE OUR STRENGTH WISELY, WITH RESTRAINT,
10. { AND WE MUST CONTINUE TO KEEP AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY
11. { AN EXAMPLE TO THE REST OF THE WORLD.

(=OVER=) (RECENT EVENTS ALSO.....)

1. RECENT EVENTS ALSO REMIND US THAT WE MUST BE STRONG AT HOME.
2. { ONE OF OUR NATION'S GREATEST SHOCKS CAME IN 1973
3. { WHEN WE FACED AN OIL EMBARGO & LEARNED HOW "OPEC" COULD DICTATE
PRICES TO US.
4. AFTER A FEW YEARS OF INACTION, THE TIDE HAS TURNED.
5. LAST YEAR, WE USED 5% LESS GASOLINE THAN THE YEAR BEFORE.
6. AND SO FAR THIS YEAR, WE IMPORTED A MILLION BARRELS A DAY FEWER
THAN THE SAME PERIOD LAST YEAR. //
7. { WHEN I BECAME PRESIDENT, I HEARD FROM THE EXPERTS
8. { THAT AMERICANS WERE TOO SELFISH & TOO SHORT-SIGHTED
TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT ENERGY.

(=NEW CARD=) (BUT YOU HAVE PROVED....)

1. { BUT YOU HAVE PROVED THE EXPERTS WRONG,
2. { AND WE NOW HAVE NEARLY COMPLETED
OUR NATION'S 1ST COMPREHENSIVE ENERGY POLICY --
3. { THE 1ST EVER TO SET OUT CONSCIOUSLY
TO BUILD A SECURE ENERGY BASE FOR THE FUTURE.
4. FINALLY, WE MUST SEEK ECONOMIC SECURITY.
5. { HIGH INFLATION & THE HIGH INTEREST RATES IT BRINGS
6. { HAVE BEEN THE MAJOR CAUSES OF THE RECESSION NOW UPON US.
7. { THE BEST WAY TO TURN THE RECESSION AROUND IS TO ATTACK ITS CAUSES,
8. { AND THAT IS WHAT WE ARE DOING.

(=OVER=) (IN MARCH, 2 MONTHS AGO,....)

1. { IN MARCH, 2 MONTHS AGO, I SET FORTH A TOUGH ANTI-INFLATION PROGRAM
2. { INCLUDING FEDERAL BUDGET CUTS & CONTROLS
ON THE EXCESSIVE USE OF CREDIT.
3. IN THE PAST MONTH, INTEREST RATES HAVE COME DOWN STEEPLY.
4. HIGH INFLATION MAY LAST FOR SEVERAL MORE MONTHS, BUT THEN FALL SHARPLY.
5. LOWER INFLATION WILL HALT THE EROSION OF CONSUMER PURCHASING POWER.
6. LOWER INTEREST RATES WILL ESPECIALLY HELP HOME BUILDING & AUTO SALES.

(=NEW CARD=) (WE MUST BE EQUALLY.....)

1. WE MUST BE EQUALLY DETERMINED TO BUILD LONG-TERM ECONOMIC SECURITY.
2. WE MUST RESUME OUR HISTORIC UPWARD TREND OF PRODUCTIVITY.
3. WE MUST SAVE MORE & INVEST MORE.
4. WE MUST INVEST EQUALLY IN OUR HUMAN CAPITAL.
5. AND WE MUST RESTORE & INVIGORATE THE DISCIPLINE OF THE COMPETITIVE MARKET.
6. WE HAVE A LOT OF WORK AHEAD OF US.
7. BUT WE HAVE ALSO A FUTURE OF POSSIBILITIES,
8. { THE GREATEST OF WHICH IS THE LEGACY OF PEOPLE
9. { WHO FACED THE WORLD AS IT IS -- WHO FACED UP TO PROBLEMS HONESTLY --
10. { AND LEFT SOMETHING GOOD & STRONG BEHIND THEM.

(=OVER=) (LET ME ADD.....)

1. LET ME ADD A FINAL NOTE:
2. DESPITE OUR MANY CHALLENGES, AMERICA ATTRACTS
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF IMMIGRANTS EVERY YEAR.
3. THEY COME HERE SEEKING FREEDOM & OPPORTUNITY.
4. THEY LEAVE BEHIND WHAT WERE FAMILY HOMELANDS FOR CENTURIES.
5. THEY COME FROM CUBA, FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA, FROM EASTERN EUROPE,
6. FROM EVERY CONTINENT & EVERY NATION.
7. THEIR CUSTOMS & LANGUAGES & RELIGIONS SPAN THE HUMAN SPECTRUM.

(=NEW CARD) (THEIR ONE COMMON DENOMINATOR.....)

1. THEIR ONE COMMON DENOMINATOR IS THAT THEY BELIEVE IN AMERICA.
2. { THEY BELIEVE AMERICA IS THE BEST NATION ON EARTH
3. { AND OFFERS THE BEST CHANCE FOR A GOOD LIFE.

4. { YEAR AFTER YEAR, DECADE AFTER DECADE, THEY HAVE COME TO AMERICA --
5. { AND THEY STILL ARRIVE,
6. { THEIR HEARTS FULL OF HOPE & PRIDE THAT THEY ARE NOW IN AMERICA.

7. { I WANT TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY THAT WAY,
8. { AND I ASK THAT YOU JOIN ME IN THAT GREAT TASK.

#

Dean McCall -

Jeff - Vance resigned - Why

Ed Ford - Jobs → South

Donny Cantor - Mid East

Thomas Jones - ERA

Coile Johnson - C & S A

John D Bernadino - Og/Ed/2by

Larry Goldman - Sanctions / Dates /
Heli

Charles Cutler - Coal & Oil

John Kease - Econ Policy

Marie Skeretter - Dept of Ed

Elmore Johnson - Minority AFDC -

Min - CETA - Food Stamps Housing

SSI - Soc Sec - Meals on Wheels - Youth
Jobs

Juan Pideau - Tax

Steve Alter - Hostages / M...₁₉₈₄

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

May 8, 1980

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze ^{CLS}

Subject: Producer Prices in April (Released Friday, 9:00 a.m.)

The producer price index for finished goods rose 0.5 percent in April, the smallest rise since May 1979.

Consumer food prices fell 2.8 percent. Wholesale prices of beef, pork, fruits, eggs, dairy products, and sugar all declined.

Finished energy prices rose 3.8 percent, less than in the prior several months, but still a large increase. Petroleum product prices enter the PPI with a one-month lag -- the April PPI is really reflecting the large gasoline and heating oil price rises of March. The actual petroleum price rise in April was much smaller than in March. This deceleration will be picked up in the May PPI.

All other finished goods prices -- i.e. all except food and energy -- rose by a relatively sizable 1.2 percent. (Gold and silver jewelry prices fell substantially; if those are also excluded, the "other" category rises by 1.4 percent.) The prices of automobiles, trucks, machinery and equipment, steel and many other industrial goods rose fairly sharply. April is the first month of the new quarter. Under CWPS price standards firms are limited in the amount of the price increase they can put into effect each quarter, and many firms raise prices in the first month of the quarter. The same kind of a bulge has occurred in the first month of each quarter for the past year or so.

Prices of intermediate goods were stable (rising 0.1 percent). Crude materials prices fell by 3.5 percent -- both farm and nonfarm prices declined.

2/11/85

The table below summarizes the major results in terms of annual rates of inflation:

(percent increase; seasonally adjusted annual rate)

	Dec. 1979 to <u>Dec. 1980</u>	<u>Jan.</u>	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>March</u>	<u>April</u>
Finished goods,					
Total	12.5	20.7	19.1	18.2	6.2
Food	7.5	-9.3	-5.5	13.8	-29.1
Energy	62.7	67.7	136.9	131.1	56.1
Other ^{1/}	8.5	23.0	10.8	10.0	18.4
Intermediate, nonfood	16.3	42.9	22.5	8.2	3.5

^{1/}Also excludes jewelry

The overall performance of the PPI in April was good. But I don't like the increase in finished goods outside of food and energy. It was far too large, even after taking into account the "first month of the quarter" phenomenon.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dr. Brzezinski (Henry Owen)

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Jim McIntyre

2662

FOR STAFFING
FOR INFORMATION
FROM PRESIDENT'S OUTBOX
LOG IN/TO PRESIDENT TODAY
IMMEDIATE TURNAROUND
NO DEADLINE
FOR APPROPRIATE HANDLING
LAST DAY FOR ACTION

ADMIN CONFID
CONFIDENTIAL
SECRET
EYES ONLY

ACTION
FYI

	VICE PRESIDENT
	JORDAN
	CUTLER
	DONOVAN
	EIZENSTAT
	MCDONALD
	MOORE
	POWELL
	WATSON
	WEDDINGTON
	WEXLER
X	BRZEZINSKI / <i>Dover</i>
X	MCINTYRE
	SCHULTZE
	ANDRUS
	ASKEW
	BERGLAND
	BROWN
	CIVILETTI
	DUNCAN
	GOLDSCHMIDT
	HARRIS
	KREPS
	LANDRIEU
	MARSHALL

	MILLER
	VANCE
	BUTLER
	CAMPBELL
	H. CARTER
	CLOUGH
	CRUIKSHANK
	FIRST LADY
	FRANCIS
	HARDEN
	HERTZBERG
	HUTCHESON
	KAHN
	LINDER
	MARTIN
	MILLER
	MOE
	PETERSON
	PRESS
	SANDERS
	SPETH
	STRAUSS
	TORRES
	VOORDE
	WISE



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MAY 8 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: James T. McIntyre, Jr. *J.M.*
Henry Owen *HO*

SUBJECT: U.S. Contribution to the Common Fund

Acting Secretary of State Christopher (Tab A) requests that the U.S. contribution to the multilateral Common Fund for commodities, now in the last stages of negotiation, be increased from the \$60 million that you approved in 1978 to as much as \$75 million. The funds will primarily support buffer stock financing. The contribution will probably be part of the FY 1982 budget; outlays from this increment in FY 1982 are difficult to predict now but will probably be less than \$10 million. Even with the increase, the U.S. share of contributions will be low (i.e., 15 to 16 percent) compared to our share in most other international institutions.

In designing a workable agreement, the negotiators must still resolve several difficult issues. These include:

- The voting distribution.
- Whether our contribution can be used to finance a commodity agreement we have not joined.
- The timing of cash contributions.
- The uses to which interest earned on contributions can be put.

We will have difficulty getting international agreement on a Common Fund unless we make this contribution, and it may help to achieve U.S. goals on these and other substantive issues and bring the negotiations to a successful conclusion.

We recommend that you approve a contribution of up to \$75 million.

Decision: Approve (Recommended by State, Treasury, OMB and Owen) _____
Disapprove _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Jody Powell

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

Fran Voorde
Phil Wise

2661

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1980

*Jody - Newsweek
is one of the worst
now. They have little
regard for accuracy.
I will help*
J

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JODY POWELL *J*

SUBJECT: Newsweek

We have had difficulties from the start with the Newsweek Washington bureau. The principal problem is the bureau chief Mel Elfin. The White House correspondents, Tom DeFrank and Eleanor Clift, are responsible.

The group you saw briefly yesterday is the New York editorial leadership. They are by no means in our pocket but are better to deal with than Mel.

I mentioned to them yesterday that you would like to see them at some time in the future when you had more time to chat. They were excited by the prospect.

I would like to set up a lunch or drinks in the afternoon for 4-5 of them within the next two to three weeks.

Approve _____ ✓

Disapprove _____

Luncheon _____ ✓

Afternoon
cocktails _____

J

11:15 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1980

BRIEF GREETING & PHOTO WITH PHIL SPECTOR & FAMILY

Friday, May 9, 1980
11:15 a.m. (3 minutes)
The Oval Office

From: Phil Spector *PS*

I. PURPOSE

To greet Phil Spector and his fiancée, along with his and her parents, just prior to their wedding on Sunday, May 11.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Phil Spector has been with Anne Wexler at the White House for two years. Immediately prior to joining the White House staff, he was law clerk to Justice Thurgood Marshall. He is from Los Angeles and was active in California Democratic politics.

On Sunday, May 11 (Mother's Day), Phil Spector is marrying Carole Sue Lebbin, an artist and printmaker who grew up in the Washington, D.C., area. The wedding will be a small ceremony at her parents' house, followed by a reception at the Four Seasons Hotel.

B. Participants

Phil Spector

Carole Sue Lebbin, his fiancée

Everett Spector, his father, Los Angeles, California

Rebecca Newman, his mother, Los Angeles, California

Gary Lebbin, her father, Bethesda, Maryland

Bernice Lebbin, her mother, Bethesda, Maryland

C. Press Plan

White House Photographer only.

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for Preservation Purposes**

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 9, 1980

GREETING FOR MRS. JO GARBER

Friday, May 9, 1980
11:15 a.m. (2 minutes)
The Oval Office

From: Frank Moore *F.M. /pd*

I. PURPOSE

To shake hands with Mrs. Jo Garber, Leon Billings' grandmother.

II. BACKGROUND, PARTICIPANTS, AND PRESS PLAN

A. Background: Mrs. Garber was here last evening for Sec. Muskie's swearing-in and had hoped to meet you. She is 85 years old and a staunch supporter of you. She has voted in every election since women got the vote and is proud of the fact that she has never voted for a Republican. At one time, she met President Truman.

B. Participants: Mrs. Garber, Leon Billings, ^{Mrs.} Frank Moore

C. Press Plan: White House Photo

Frank - get me ltr re -
Fed. use
of coal -
send to me
J

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1980

MR. PRESIDENT:

Senator Huddleston called late yesterday, and Frank recommends you return his call. Also, Dan Tate says that Senator Biden would appreciate a call.

PHIL

Bill Green will be gracious.
Eager to repair fences -

2650

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 8, 1980

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD CUTLER *LC*

SUBJECT: CONSTRAINTS ON CAMPAIGN-RELATED COMMENTS
DURING YOUR TRIP TO PHILADELPHIA

It is unclear whether the Federal Election Commission has the authority to rule that an official appearance by you is in fact "campaign-related." However, in order to avoid any circumstances which could lead to such a determination by the Commission, you should refrain from the following types of activity during your appearance in Philadelphia on Friday:

- discussing the campaign or your candidacy;
- assessing your political strengths or weaknesses, vis-a-vis your opponents' strengths or weaknesses;
- asking for political support or endorsements;
- calling for your re-election or the defeat of your opponents.

If you are asked a question about the campaign during the town meeting, you should reply by saying that your intention is not to talk about politics at the meeting but that you instead want to discuss Administration policies.

You may discuss/defend/explain Administration policies and programs during the meeting. You may answer questions comparing your programs with those of your opponents. However, your answers to such questions should focus on the strengths of the Administration's programs and should not directly attack your opponents.

In sum, since the trip is an official trip, you should try to stick to a discussion of issues and avoid discussing the campaign as much as possible.

cc.: Hamilton Jordan
Jody Powell
Phil Wise

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MEMORIAL SERVICE

for

Capt Richard L. Bakke, USAF *Ca*
Capt Harold L. Lewis, Jr., USAF *Cn*
Capt Lyn D. McIntosh, USAF *Ca*
Capt Charles T. McMillan, II, USAF *Tn*
TSgt Joel C. Mayo, USAF *H*
Sgt John D. Harvey, USMC *Va*
SSgt Dewey L. Johnson, USMC *Ga*
Cpl George N. Holmes, Jr., USMC *Ark*

§§

Friday, May Ninth
A. D. 1980
Nine thirty o'clock in the morning

§§

Memorial Amphitheater
Arlington National Cemetery
Arlington, Virginia

MEMORIAL SERVICE
ARLINGTON NATIONAL CEMETERY
MEMORIAL AMPHITHEATER
May 9, 1980, 9:30 a.m.

PRELUDE

The U.S. Marine Band

POSTING OF THE COLORS

Armed Forces Color Guard

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

The U.S. Marine Band

OPENING SENTENCES AND NECROLOGY

Capt George Evans, Jr., CHC, USNR
The Chaplain, U. S. Marine Corps

HYMN ("O God, Our Help in Ages Past")
Congregation

O God, our help in ages past, Our hope for years to come,
Our shelter from the stormy blast,
and our eternal home:

Time, like an ever rolling stream,
Bears all its sons away;
They fly forgotten, as a dream dies at the opening day.

O God, our help in ages past, Our hope for years to come,
Remain our guard while life shall last,
And our eternal home.

Amen.

INVOCATION

RADM Withers M. Moore, CHC, USN
Deputy Chief of Chaplains, USN

SCRIPTURE LESSON

Chaplain (MG) Richard Carr
Chief of Chaplains, USAF

HYMN (Take My Hand, Precious Lord)
The U.S. Air Force Singing Sergeants

EULOGY

The President

MOMENT OF SILENCE

TAPS

Master Sergeant Mastroleo
The U.S. Army Band (Pershing's Own)

FLYOVER

United States Air Force Aerial Demonstration Team
Missing Man Formation

HYMN ("God of Our Fathers")
Congregation

God of our fathers, whose almighty hand
leads forth in beauty all the starry band

Of shining worlds in splendor through the skies
Our grateful sons before thy throne arise.

Thy love divine hath led us in the past,
In this free land by thee our lot is cast;

Be thou our ruler, guardian, guide, and stay;
Thy word our law, thy paths our chosen way.

Refresh thy people on their toilsome way,
Lead us from night to never ending day;

Fill all our lives with love and grace divine,
And glory, laud, and praise be ever thine. Amen.

RETIRING OF THE COLORS

BENEDICTION

Chaplain (MG) Kermit D. Johnson
Chief of Chaplains, USA

POSTLUDE

The U.S. Marine Band

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Boxes

1-8	Immediate families
9	Commanding General, MDW
10-13	Hostage families
14	Administrator of Veterans Affairs
15-19	Veterans groups
20	John Macy, FEMA
21	blank
22	Attorney General of Virginia, Marshall Coleman
23	Lt Governor of Connecticut
24-27	Independent agencies
28	Under Secretaries of the Cabinet
29-31	blank (can't see well because of press; probably will be used for public)
32	Governors of States
33	Leaders of House and Senate
34-35	JCS
36-38	Cabinet
39	Supreme Court
40	Speaker of House and President Pro Tem of Senate
41	Vice President
42	Secretary of Defense Mrs. Carter Service Secretaries

COURAGEOUS

1. { WE COME HERE TODAY TO HONOR 8 BRAVE MEN,
2. { AND TO SHARE IN SOME SMALL WAY THE BURDEN OF THEIR LOVED ONES' GRIEF.
3. { EVEN FOR THOSE OF US WHO KNOW THAT GOD HAS A PURPOSE FOR EACH HUMAN LIFE,
4. { IT IS HARD TO ACCEPT THE LOSS OF ^{BRAVE} ~~DEAR~~ YOUNG MEN
IN THE PEAK OF THEIR LIVES.
5. { YET WE KNOW IT IS NOT THE LENGTH OF LIFE
THAT DETERMINES ITS IMPACT OR ITS QUALITY,
6. { BUT THE DEPTH OF ITS COMMITMENT & THE HEIGHT OF ITS PURPOSE.

(=OVER=) (THEY CAME FROM.....)

1. THEY CAME FROM CALIFORNIA & CONNECTICUT,
FROM TENNESSEE & ARKANSAS,
FROM FLORIDA & VIRGINIA.
2. TWO WERE GEORGIANS -- FROM DUBLIN & VALDOSTA.
3. { THEY DID NOT ASK FOR RECOGNITION, ONLY FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE --
4. { OFTEN AT A SACRIFICE & UNDER DIFFICULT CONDITIONS,
5. { FAR FROM THE PEOPLE THEY LOVED & THE CIVILIZATION THEY PROTECTED.

(=NEW CARD=) (THEY CHOSE A LIFE.....)

1. { THEY CHOSE A LIFE OF MILITARY SERVICE
2. { AT A TIME WHEN IT OFFERED LITTLE GLORY IN OUR LAND,
3. { WHEN THEIR REWARD HAD TO COME FROM KNOWING
4. { THAT THEY HAD DONE A NECESSARY & DANGEROUS JOB --
AND DONE IT WELL.
5. THEY VOLUNTEERED FOR THIS MISSION, KNOWING ITS IMPORTANCE & ITS RISKS.
6. { THEY DID SO -- NOT BECAUSE THEY CARED TOO LITTLE FOR LIFE
TO WANT TO LIVE IT OUT TO FULL OLD AGE,
7. { BUT BECAUSE THEY CARED SO MUCH MORE FOR THE LIVES OF OUR HOSTAGES
8. { AND FOR THE RIGHT OF OUR PEOPLE TO ENJOY THE FREEDOM
FOR WHICH THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED.

(=OVER=) (IT IS FITTING THAT.....)

1. { IT IS FITTING THAT WE SHOULD REMEMBER THEM HERE IN THIS PLACE
2. { WHERE AMERICANS HAVE LONG PAID TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO DIED FOR OUR COUNTRY--
3. { THE KNOWN & THE UNKNOWN,

THOSE WHO LIE IN UNMARKED GRAVES ACROSS THE SEA,
AND THOSE BURIED HERE.

4. THIS VERY LAND ONCE BELONGED TO GENERAL ROBERT E. LEE.

5. { LIKE THESE EIGHT MEN, HE WAS A SOLDIER,
 6. { WHOSE AFFECTION FOR HIS HOME & FAMILY CALLED HIM TO A LIFE OF SERVICE
 7. { THAT OFTEN MEANT HARDSHIP, LONELINESS & LONG SEPARATION
- FROM ALL THAT HE MOST LOVED.

(=NEW CARD=) (LEE LIVED BY.....)

1. LEE LIVED BY THE WORDS HE IS SAID TO HAVE WRITTEN TO HIS SON:
2. "DUTY IS THE SUBLIMEST WORD IN OUR LANGUAGE.
3. "DO YOUR DUTY IN ALL THINGS.
4. "YOU CANNOT DO MORE.
5. "YOU SHOULD NEVER WISH TO DO LESS."
6. { THE AIRMEN & MARINES WE ARE HONORING TODAY
7. { DEMONSTRATED BY THEIR LIVES -- AND FINALLY BY THEIR DEATHS --
8. { THAT THEY UNDERSTOOD & SUBSCRIBED TO THAT AUSTERE & HONORABLE CREED.

(=OVER=) (THE STRENGTH OF OUR NATION.....)

1. THE STRENGTH OF OUR NATION HAS ALWAYS LAIN IN THE ABILITY
OF INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS TO DO WHAT WE MUST,
2. EACH OF US EACH DAY, WHEREVER OUR PARTICULAR DUTY LIES.
3. { FOR THE MEN WE HONOR HERE TODAY,
4. { DUTY REQUIRED BOTH DARING & QUIET COURAGE.
5. { THEY WERE WILLING TO FACE THE RELENTLESS DESERT & THE ANGRY MOBS
6. { TO FREE FELLOW AMERICANS WHO CAN BE ACCUSED OF NOTHING MORE
THAN DOING THEIR OWN DUTY IN A HOSTILE PLACE.

(=NEW CARD=) (WE STAND HERE TODAY.....)

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1. { WE STAND HERE TODAY,
2. { SURROUNDED BY THE GRAVES OF SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS
3. { WHO PERFORMED THEIR DUTY IN THE UNENDING STRUGGLE
TO PRESERVE OUR PEACE & FREEDOM.
4. { LIKE THOSE WHO HAVE GONE BEFORE,
5. { THESE YOUNG MEN DIED TO KEEP THE ANCIENT DREAM OF HUMAN LIBERTY ALIVE.
6. IF WE ARE TO HONOR OUR DEAD, WE MUST DO IT WITH OUR LIVES.
7. WE MUST DEFEND THAT DREAM WITH ALL THE STRENGTH,...ALL THE WISDOM,...
ALL THE COURAGE WE CAN MUSTER.

(=OVER=) (I SPEAK FOR ALL AMERICANS.....)

1. { I SPEAK FOR ALL AMERICANS WHEN I SAY TO THOSE WHO ANONYMOUSLY
2. { RISK THEIR LIVES EACH DAY TO KEEP THE PEACE
AND TO MAINTAIN OUR MILITARY STRENGTH,
3. AND TO THE LOVED ONES OF THOSE WHO DIED ON THE IRANIAN DESERT:
4. YOUR RISK, YOUR SUFFERING, YOUR LOSS
ARE NOT IN VAIN.
5. { I FERVENTLY PRAY THAT THOSE WHO ARE HELD HOSTAGE
WILL BE FREED WITHOUT MORE BLOODSHED,
6. { THAT ALL WHO WOULD USE TERROR TO IMPERIL INNOCENT PEOPLE
7. { WILL SEE THE CRUEL FUTILITY OF THEIR CRIMINAL ACTS.

(=NEW CARD=) (TO THE FAMILIES.....)

1. { TO THE FAMILIES OF THE EIGHT WHO DIED, AS TO THOSE WHO WERE INJURED,
2. { I EXTEND THE HEARTFELT SYMPATHY OF A GRATEFUL NATION,
3. EVERY AMERICAN FEELS YOUR LOSS.
4. { EVERY AMERICAN SHARES YOUR RIGHTFUL PRIDE
5. { IN THE VALOR & THE DEDICATION TO DUTY
6. { OF THOSE WHO DIED IN THE DARK DESERT NIGHT,
7. OF SUCH MEN WAS OUR BELOVED COUNTRY MADE.

#

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in the President's outbox today and is forwarded to you for appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

CC: Secretary Muskie
Lloyd Cutler

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 9, 1980

cc Muskie
Cutler
C
/

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*
SUBJECT: Libyan Diplomats

Charles Duncan and John Sawhill have expressed to me their great concern about the possibility of a Libyan oil cutoff in light of the crisis with their diplomats.

They state that any hope of avoiding a repetition of gasoline lines and another huge runup of oil prices would be vitiated with such a cutoff.

It seems to me that since these individuals (as I understand it) have not yet committed a crime, the crisis could be resolved without this serious result, by stating that these persons will be closely watched by the FBI and/or Secret Service agents and tracked everywhere they go, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, to ensure that they do not carry out any assassinations or other illegal actions. This would avoid an expulsion and a future oil cutoff which would follow. It would also represent strong and affirmative action by you to deal with the problem.

Our economy simply cannot sustain another shock a cutoff would cause. If the Libyans sold an equivalent amount of oil in the world market, a runup in world oil prices would not necessarily occur, since oil is a fungible commodity. But we cannot depend on this occurring and, even then, there still might be some gasoline disruptions in this country until alternate sources are found.

c.c.: Hamilton Jordan
Zbigniew Brzezinski