

Convention Speech Material 8/14/80 [3]

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9:40

Ken - Congratulate Labou!
Name not ⁱⁿ nomination
Work out differences
No 100% agreement
Delegates decide

To Ham

No \$ promise
Care in statement

telephone calls from/at
Camp David, Monday, 8/12/80
(Ted Kennedy)
(Ham Jordan)

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for Preservation Purposes**

To Pat & Jerry
I'm beginning to feel
good about the speech.
See you all Monday
night -

July 31, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Pat Caddell
Jerry Rafshoon

Attached:

1. Menu of revised excerpts adapted per your comments from last draft and your notes.
2. Our more detailed outline of Pat's original outline which you approved. Outline picks up after opening section in menu.

Our plan is:

1. Get this back from you in the morning to see if we're on the right track. *ok*
2. Assign Rick, Gordon, Wayne, Harry to work on new draft over weekend. *ok*
3. Hand you new draft after Monday press conference. *ok*

If you want to meet between now and time you go to Camp David, call Rafshoon and I'll set up. *no*

Outline

- OPENING AS IS -

I. Two Futures

A. -- 3 1/2 years as President. Learned much.

-- Not always right, not always successful, but worked hard, told the truth, did best for the country.

-- One important thing learned -- no matter which groups clamor today, no matter what immediate issues dominate today;

THE PRESIDENT'S CONSTITUENCY IS THE FUTURE.

-- President's primary responsibility to our children, and our children's children.

-- Decisions made today effect the future 20 years, 10 years. Often more important than impact today of decisions.

-- Year 2000 -- new millennium, -- distance 1960-1980-1960/1940-1980/2000.

-- As President have glimpsed ahead, and am convinced that in year 2000 America will have one of two futures.

B. -- Good Future

(1) Energy and Economic -- new technology -- computers, communications, oil imports down, new sources -- synfuels, solar, etc., conservation, new economic base and structure -- productivity, etc., revitalized transportation. Inflation/unemployment controlled.

(2) Social relations -- justice, home, better education, fairness, cities, elderly -- are aided by renewed wealth from energy/economic efforts.

(3) Peace -- US and Third World -- arms control, Third World/developed countries, relations led by US. US/Soviet-major powers competition -- in balance. Pressure from economic/energy relieved to great extent.

There is another future -- just as possible, more frightening.

C. -- Bad Future

This is going to be difficult. No meaning unless tied to Reagan in listeners' minds. Not good to be shrill or to exaggerate.

(1) Energy/economics -- not self-sufficient. Imports high (if we can get oil). National treasure depleted for scarce imports. US held hostage -- interests by countries holding our energy supplies and wealth. No synthetic fuels, no solar. Economic systems breaking down under strain. Substructures for heavy industry, transportation (highways and ports) badly eroded. Massive inflation due to cycle of energy cost and lesser economic production.

(2) Social impact -- dirtier air, lower quality of life. Cities eroded for lack of resources, etc. More conflict as groups fight each other as pie shrinks -- inflation rises; unity of nation hurt.

(3) International -- since not led by US -- nations quarrel. Dangerous divisions industrial countries/ Third World. Nuclear missiles in hands of many nations -- struggle for scarce resources, food, water, etc. Great economic disparity (see Global 2000 study). In short, world of surrender/abandonment. Don't like, but untruthful not to acknowledge this possibility.

D. Good Future Is Not Automatic -- We All Want, But Future Not Purchased Yet.

-- As much as anytime in our history -- the future 2000 will depend on decisions made now, next few years -- not 1990-1995, but now.

"Sharpest division between two Presidential candidates in my lifetime" (Pos. s.ble exception, 1964)

-- This is a critical election. This election will make a difference -- a profound difference. The decision cannot be recalled -- this election more urgent than individuals, personalities, even parties. It is about which future we go. It is an election about American principles and goals. It will affect the life of every American and every human being in the world.

II. The Presidency

Every office is important, but the Presidency is different. It is the vital center. (points on Presidency)

-- The President can make the difference.

-- He can determine which voices are heard, he sets the agenda.

The Congress -- as it has with Republican Presidents and a responsible Democratic Congress -- can protect and defend working people of the nation. However, there are decisions and policies that a President sets alone. His decisions can affect everyone here and in the world/now and future.

(Presidential anecdotes go here. Suggested:

1. Alone at Camp David/or Middle East Trip.
2. Making decision on human services program in face of budget cuts.
3. Visiting the Nimitz -- feelings/responsibility tie into rescue attempt.)

-- The most important job that of war/peace.

-- Enormous power and responsibility every human being. A political leader can call for blockade of Cuba but some decision made by President of US in Oval Office might well precipitate a major power confrontation, lead to war.

This office is crucial. Not Chairman of the Board -- not same speech every night (Rick's themes, etc.).

III. Purchasing the Good Future (a short section)

-- Tough decisions made that make the good future possible. The decisions have been often difficult, rarely popular.

-- This has been true in national security, energy, economic, social programs, helping people, (please, no laundry list here).

-- Responsible approach -- Democratic approach, historical example. That's what often separates us from Republicans -- party difference.

-- Difficult times but yield the future we want. Only way. Nothing free.

IV. Dangers to Good Future

A. Self interest vs national interest (maybe delete/you choose).

B. Greatest danger -- the easy answer, simplicity, something for nothing.

C. For half a century, both parties, Democrat or Republican, have journeyed to the same destination with different road maps. But the same goals and principles. Unfortunately, this has changed. We have a critical departure at a critical juncture in our history. Those who have taken over the Republican party and seek to take

sometimes

ok - but Rick's language was somewhat obscure as to Reagan reference -

Use Kirk's language re "hard work" etc

Key point of speech

in general now

over the nation would have us follow a road to our certain bad future.

The vehicle on this road is the *abandonment of principles* easy answer, the quick fix, and something-for-nothing. *special interest influence*

(Mr. President, now we position us and mainstream Republicans against the proposals of the new GOP leaders in four ways.)

(1) Peace: arms control, (Republicans and Democrats together), Middle-East/Afghanistan, boycott/national defense.

(2) Concern for People: working women, ERA, minorities, cities, judges, education.

(3) Energy: Dismantling your work of 3 1/2 years, especially Windfall Profits Tax, 55 mph, etc.

(4) Economics: Steady progress by us vs radical, Reagan Kemp-Roth.

(5) Inflation: Refer to Reagan's "Voodoo Economics" (Bush quote).

After the laugh, we say: "We can laugh at that phrase, but its not funny. As fantastic as they sound, these are serious proposals by people who really mean business, etc."

V. Consequences of this Republican Danger

Let's don't be repetitive

- Leads to the bad future.
- Hard choices are not made.
- Unravel half century of responsible Republican and Democratic leadership.
- Deprive children, their children, of opportunity and the America we inherited.
- Again, the choice is grave and urgent.

VI. Our Commitment

- Have told the two futures, our commitment is clear.
- This campaign will lead us to the good future if we rely on the truth not fantasy -- maturity of America rather than easy answer.
- Mature nation -- how we have developed.

-- must and will win this battle -- will fight with every fiber, resource, etc. -- no matter the odds.

VII. Ending

-- I fight for our vision.

-- I see an America

Opening

Fellow Democrats, fellow citizens:

I thank you for the honor you have given me, the highest honor the Democratic Party can bestow.

And I thank you for once again nominating as my running mate the best partner any President could have -- the best Vice President our country ever had -- Fritz Mondale. He was my first choice in 1976 -- and he is our first choice in 1980.

I have a lot to say to you tonight, but I want to get two things straight right at the start.

First -- with a full heart -- I accept your nomination.

The second thing is this:

Fritz Mondale and I are going to wage the best, most unstinting campaign you ever saw. And with your help, we are going to win this election!

Now let me tell you why:

We are going to win because we are the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, Adlai Stevenson and Hubert Humphrey -- and we are the party of Jerry Brown and Edward M. Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy waged a courageous campaign. We differed, sincerely and honorably, on how to reach our common goals.

opening/2

But those goals are the same: a secure nation, a just society,
and a peaceful world. I am glad we are working together
once more toward the vision we share.

The same holds true for California's best Governor
since Edmund G. Brown, sr. -- Edmund G. Brown, jr.

What a contrast when we look at the Republican Party --
the party of Harding and Coolidge, ^{Dewey,} Hoover and Nixon [^]-- and,
in the same great tradition, Reagan and Bush.

The Republicans are masquerading as something else this
year -- but there is nothing new about that.

Listen to these words about Republican politicians and
working people:

"We all know that there are certain people who make it a
practice to deprecate the accomplishments of labor, who even
attack labor as unpatriotic. They keep this up usually for
three years and six months in a row. But then, for some
strange reason, they change their tune -- every four years --
just before election day. When votes are at stake, they
suddenly discover that they really love labor, and that they
are anxious to protect labor from its old friends [the Democrats!]
The whole purpose of Republican oratory these days seems to
be to switch labels. ...Now imitation may be the sincerest
form of flattery -- but I am afraid that in this case it is
the most obvious common or garden variety of fraud."

repetitive
ok to distinguish Rep from Dem parties, but lets don't even acknowledge that RR represents historical Rep party.

-- ? reduces impact of "radical departure"

That was Franklin D. Roosevelt talking, back in the fall of 1944. He might have been predicting the future, because here it is 1980 and the Republicans are still at it. This time they are even quoting FDR himself as part of their disguise.

Well, it won't work. It takes more than rhetoric to turn a Republican into a Democrat. The Republicans have been the party of privilege since before any of us were born, and they still are. They may be trying to dress up in overalls -- but underneath is the same cold Republican heart.

The Republicans stand for affluence at the top and a hard, mean life at the bottom -- while we Democrats stand for the hopes and struggles of the great majority of Americans.

Here is another reason we are going to win: we respect the intelligence of the American people. We are going to talk sense. We are going to tell the truth.

The Two Futures

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This election is a choice between two individuals --
-- two parties -- two totally different visions of America
and the world. But it is more than that.

It is a choice between two futures.

As much as any in our history, this election of 1980 is
an election about the future. The year 2000, a new millennium,
is less than twenty years away.

The time to look forward to the world we want in the
year 2000 is now. For the choices made in the next few
years will set our course -- and the most important choice
of all will be made by the American people at the polls less
than three months from tonight.

That choice could not be more stark -- or more crucial.

In one of the futures before us, I see abandonment --
the abandonment of the long effort to win economic opportunity,
civil rights and equal rights for all Americans.

I see surrender -- the surrender of our energy future to
the merchants of foreign oil, the surrender of our economic
future to a bizarre program of massive tax cuts for the rich,
massive service cuts for the poor and massive inflation for
everyone.

*Pat chose key words
from poll results - let's grab
the voters where they feel it.*

.?
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I see risk -- the risk of a world turned into a battlefield
-- the risk of an uncontrollable, unwinnable and unaffordable
nuclear arms race.

Good

That is one possible future -- the future charted by
the Republican party, now dominated by its most extreme
faction. America must reject it.

Excessive?

But there is another future we can choose -- a brighter
future -- a future of security, of justice and of peace.

*I have a
question as to
which comes
first. feel
that we
should cover
the
positive
future
ourselves
first.
Then hit
RR*

I see our Nation moving toward the year 2000 with real
security -- the security that comes from developing our own
supplies of coal and gas and sunlight, that comes from building
the tools, technology and factories for a revitalized economy
based on jobs and stable prices for all.

I see a future of justice -- the justice of a renewed
national commitment to decent health care and education --
full participation for all people, regardless of color or
language or religion -- the simple human justice of equal
rights for men and women, enshrined in the Constitution of
the United States.

And I see a future of peace -- a peace grounded in
fairness and wisdom toward all the countries of the world --
a peace protected both by American military strength and by
American leadership in arms control.

two futures/3

That is the future our people can have under the leadership of the Democratic Party. It is a future of hope. It is the future America must choose -- and with your help and your commitment, it is the future America will choose.

Some say it makes no difference who wins this election. That is wrong. The choice this year -- the choice between these two futures for our people -- makes all the difference in the world -- all the difference in the whole world.

Defense

The difference between the two parties on defense is the difference between talk and action. Where Republicans talk, Democrats act.

The Republicans always talk about a strong defense. But they were in office for eight out of the last 11 years -- and when they had a chance to do something about defense, it was a different story. During those eight Republican years -- *in the face of a growing Soviet threat to peace* -- Even allowing for the end of the Vietnam war -- real defense spending was actually cut -- by more than a third.

We Democrats have turned that around.

Under my Administration, we have modernized our strategic nuclear forces, shored up NATO, developed the Trident submarine and the cruise missile, started up a rapid deployment force and reversed the Republican decline in defense. Our five-year defense plan calls for increasing defense spending 25 per cent by 1985. Under my plan we will be second to no nation. This is action, not words -- fact, not fiction.

The new leaders of the Republican Party say we should spend hundreds more billions of dollars [racing with the Soviet Union for the ability to score a nuclear knockout.]

*Prefer
"to launch a
new nuclear
arms race"*

What a sad and dangerous future this policy offers America and the world!

Where is their common sense? The United States would never allow the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear superiority over us. Do the Republicans think the Russians would react any differently? The result of this senseless new Republican policy could only be an [unending, terribly dangerous nuclear arms race, with no winner --] and the losers would be every human being on earth.

a radical abandonment of our bipartisan effort to control nuclear weapons. pursued by every President - Dem or Rep. since Ike

We must continue to build our own defenses. But at the same time, we must continue to seek reasonable arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union. The security of our country demands no less from any President.

This election will set a course for our country and the world in the field of nuclear arms control -- a course that will endure far into the future -- a course that may well determine if indeed we have a future at all.

mutual & balanced on

If I am elected, we will continue to seek to ^{on} limit the nuclear arsenals of the superpowers. We will continue to fight the spread of nuclear weapons to countries that do not now have them.

The other course -- advocated by the new leaders of the Republican party -- is abandon the policy of mutual deterrence, which has been supported by both Republican and Democratic Presidents for a generation. This new and radical departure is irresponsible. It would not damage our security -- and it would endanger the whole world. We must not allow it.

ok - covers above note

The winds of change

unpredictable
The winds of change that blow across the world make this a time of testing for America and its people. These winds will buffet us. But they should not frighten us into seeking escape in the false refuge from reality the Republicans are constructing.

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While we Democrats grapple with the real challenges of a real world, the Republicans talk about a world of make-believe.

Let's look for a moment at the [fantasy fantastic picture] they have conjured up for us.

"fantastic"
for many
young people
means "great"
or "wonderful"

Theirs is a nation in which poor people and inner-city people and farm workers are invisible. Women, like children, are seen but not heard. Working women simply do not exist.

Simplistic
In the Republican version of reality, all problems have simple solutions. Simple -- and wrong.

In the Republicans' world, all the complex changes around the globe since World War II have never happened. Our allies have not grown to become world powers. America can still control everything. The Third World exists only as a proving ground for gunboat diplomacy. And a nuclear arms race is something to be welcomed.

It is a world of good guys and bad guys, where politicians shoot first and ask questions later.

No shades of grey. No hard choices. No tough decisions. It sounds too good to be true -- and it is.

For anyone to hold such a simple view of the world is unfortunate. For someone who seeks to lead our country to cling to such naive notions is potentially disastrous.

Afghanistan

When armed aggression threatens world peace, tough-sounding talk is not enough. An American President must act -- even if it means sacrifice.

When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, I moved quickly to take peaceful but forceful action. I cut grain sales to the Soviet Union. I restricted sales of high technology. I led the worldwide movement to boycott the biggest Soviet propaganda show in history, the Moscow Olympics -- because it would have been obscene for American athletes to be throwing javelins in Moscow while Russian planes were bombing villages and killing people in Afghanistan.

The current Republican leader immediately opposed all these actions. But when asked what he would be willing to do, he suggested blockading Cuba.

This ^{new} Republican leader does not seem to know what to do with the Russians. He is not sure if he wants to feed them, play with them, or go to war with them. *good*

The ^{new} Republicans are offering a dangerous policy -- a policy that is unwilling to take careful, measured action but seemingly eager for dangerous military confrontation.

A policy that combines irresolution and recklessness is extremely dangerous. We cannot afford to turn the power of life and death over to those who would pursue such a policy.

A time to sow

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A secure and peaceful future demands highly complex solutions. But in a broader sense, what our country is doing to prepare for that future is simple common sense.

I am a farmer. I know that you don't expect a crop the day after planting. You expect hard work. You keep on working -- and when harvest time comes, you have something to show for it.

That is what our country is doing today. This is a time to plant the seeds of future energy security -- a time to plough new ground for future economic growth -- a time to fertilize the soil in which peace can grow.

This is a time to sow. I wish it were a time to reap. It is not. But that time is coming -- and it will come soon.

With their irresponsible promises, the Republicans are proposing to eat the seed corn. That would be a disaster for our country. The American people are not going to fall for it.

*Joe had a
"blah" feeling
re this - I
may change*

Integrity

Here is something else the Republicans would prefer to blank out of America's memory.

By the time we Democrats got back into office, many Americans had all but given up on the integrity of our political process. The Republicans had made a shambles of public faith in constitutional government.

This Administration has done the slow, step-by-step job of restoring trust in the integrity of our highest government offices: judges, Cabinet members -- and Presidents. People may not agree with us all of the time; but at least they trust us to give it to them straight, and not to play tricks with the system itself.

Human rights

If freedom is to have a future around the world, America must continue to defend human rights.

The new Republican leaders oppose my human rights policy. If they get in, they will scrap it.

They seem to think it is naive for America to stand up for freedom and democracy. What do they think our country should stand for -- gunboats, gas guzzlers, and giant corporations? }

- ?

Ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union if the United States should scrap its commitment to human rights. Ask those who are suffering for the sake of justice and liberty around the world. And ask the American people if America should speak out for American principles. I think I know what the answer will be.

No war

I am proud to be the first President since Franklin D. Roosevelt who can look back at the end of his first term in office at a full four years of peace for our country.

Middle East peace

The Republicans criticize delays in the Middle East peace process. But before the Democrats took office, there was no Middle East peace process. Look at the difference. Before, Israel and her largest Arab neighbor were confronting each other with guns and tanks and planes. Today, Israel and Egypt are talking face to face about the implementation of the peace treaty. I prefer it our way.

My policy on the Middle East is clear. Our commitment is to peace between Israel and all of its neighbors. Israel's security is not for sale.

Energy

Nothing is more important to our future security than energy. Nothing is more important to our future prosperity. Nothing was so disastrously neglected in the past.

The energy crisis is not just oil and gas and electricity. It is the link that ties together our problems at home and our challenges abroad.

Dependence on foreign oil threatens our independence abroad. The hundreds of billions of dollars that drain away to pay for foreign oil buy us economic misery at home. All of us know that if we do not lick this problem, the rest will be just words.

Too long

That is why I fought so hard to win a massive, comprehensive energy program for our country. Now, after three years of struggle, we have that comprehensive energy program.

It includes weatherization -- solar power -- synthetic fuels from coal and growing plants -- and much, much more. It is financed by the windfall profits tax on the oil companies. It has only just begun -- but it will become the largest domestic investment and jobs program in our history.

Now let's look at what the Republicans offer as an alternative. They don't brag about it, and when I tell you what it is you'll see why.

Basically, the Republican energy program has two parts.

The first part is to get rid of everything we have managed to build after so much struggle.

They want to get rid of the synthetic fuels program. Get rid of the solar energy incentives. Get rid of the conservation programs. Get rid of aid to mass transit. Get rid of aid to the elderly for their fuel bills. Get rid of utility conversion from oil to coal. Get rid of the windfall profits tax, because the oil companies object to it. And while they are at it, kind of as an afterthought, the Republicans also want to get rid of the Clean Air Act. They never liked it to begin with.

*ok,
but
/100
long*

That's the first part of their program.

The second part is worse.

To replace what we have built, here is what they propose: higher and higher prices, with all the money going to OPEC and the oil companies.

That's it. That is their whole program. If it weren't so sad, it might almost be funny.

But it isn't funny. It is an outrageous fraud. And it our job to make sure they don't get away with it.

Extremism

Good idea - I
? the word
"preservation"

Most Americans are not very ideological. We want both progress and preservation.

Progress is the very essence of the American dream -- the belief that each generation, through hard work, can give a better life to its children. A proper function of government is to help make that dream come true.

But we do not want reckless change. We want to preserve the best of our past as guideposts to our future. To walk the line between progress and preservation, between too much change and too little, is no easy task. It cannot be achieved by the extremists of either side, by those who scorn the past or those who fear the future.

This election will determine whether we have a government that looks confidently to the future -- or one that clings fearfully to the past.

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Presidency

I have been President of the United States for three and a half years. It is not like being a chairman of the board. It is not like giving the same old speech every night.

It is the toughest job in the world.

It is also the best, most ^{challenging & gratifying} [exhilarating] job in the world -- and I don't mind admitting that I want to keep it. Being re-elected President is very important to me. But it is not the most important thing. It is more important that we win by telling the truth. It is more important that we face the facts and deal honestly with the American people. It is more important that we hold fast to our highest principles and ideals.

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A Mature Nation

Look what this land of ours has been through in this century -- two world wars, a great depression, the technological explosion, the civil rights revolution, the bitterness of Vietnam, the shame of Watergate, the twilight peace of nuclear terror.

Through each of these great experiences we have learned something about the world, and about ourselves. We have matured as a nation.

We have learned the uses and the limits of power.
We have learned the beauty and the responsibility of freedom.
We have learned the value and the obligation of justice.
We have learned the necessity of peace.

Good P

Some would argue that to master these lessons is somehow to limit our potential. I do not think so. A nation which knows its true strengths, sees its true challenges, understands its true constraints -- that nation is far stronger than one which takes refuge in wishful thinking or nostalgia.

We have paid a price for our maturity. We cannot afford to throw it away.

The choice -- the choice between the two futures -- could not be clearer. We can start with reality and fight for our dream -- or we can submit to a childish dreamworld and wake in a nightmare.

Tough decisions, hard truths

I do not claim perfection for our Party. I do not claim that every decision we have made has been right or popular. Certainly they have not all been easy. But I will say this:

We have been tested under fire. We have neither ducked nor hidden. We have tackled the great, central challenges to our nation, the historic challenges of energy and peace, which had been ignored for years. We have made tough decisions and we have taken the heat for them. We have made mistakes, and we have learned from them.

We have done something else -- something even more important. In good times and bad, in the valleys and on the peaks, we have told people the truth -- the hard, sometimes complicated truth -- the truth they need to know.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Truth vs fantasy

During campaign - We will let

elderly
farmers
etc know - -

the world know - -

peace

SAET

Mid East

energy

I see an America - -

Bill Miller econ summary,
Urban League language

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Thanks for nomination
" for VP. 1st choice
Accept - Party unity
Will win

— Profound importance of election
Continuity: to American principles & goals

Peace, detente

SALT

Econ - dereg - jobs

Human Lts - ERA

Energy

Defense

— Difficulty, complexity facing President
What we have done/will do vs
Radical departure by Reagan
(Contrast subtly = Ford, Kiss, Nixon)

— President can make the difference
Whose voice is heard? Special int
vs Labor, Educ, Minorities, Small bus, farm

Cambridge Survey Research

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM PATRICK H. CADDELL
RE ACCEPTANCE SPEECH THEMES
DATE JULY 25, 1980

Much of my thinking about the acceptance speech is ground in the first initial findings of our surveys. Until we finish the state analysis and get back the more comprehensive national analysis any survey conclusions are at best tentative. Therefore I will not attempt any exhaustive survey report but rather put forth some summary points that suggest certain approaches for the acceptance speech.

I. Some Survey Points

The initial regression analysis on states (which may be drastically altered by the national survey) suggests that those qualities having the biggest impact on vote are:

- ✓ 1. Who can best handle world crisis - This is the largest factor by far. Reagan receives at present a slight edge on this because it is the biggest component in vote decisions, a movement in concern about Reagan would bring major vote shifts.
- ✓ 2. Carter competence/Reagan competence - the perception of Carter competence (which is very negative) and Reagan competence (which is fairly positive) combine to be a large factor. It is a factor that adds much to Reagan's vote. (Thus while world crisis is bigger, the difference between the candidates is small, a slight Reagan edge -- competence is a smaller factor but the difference is vast and Reagan gets many more votes from it.)
3. Trustworthy - Carter has a solid edge here and gains heavily from this although not as much as in the primaries.
4. Inflation - Reagan has a big edge on this factor. In every state Reagan gains 4 to 5 points from this factor.

IN CAMBRIDGE
875 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139
(617) 661-3212

- ✓ 5. Party - A very important Carter edge, particularly in the South. It has less than anticipated impact in some of the northern big states which may suggest that we need to refocus it and thus raise its importance and vote impact.
- ✓ 6. Carter Cares/Reagan Cares - A smaller than 1976 factor but a Carter edge nonetheless.
- ✓ 7. Who best keep us out of war - A big Carter margin but alas a much, much smaller factor than, say, handling world crisis. If it were to rise in importance the edge would produce a major vote swing for Carter.

These results suggest some very specific thrusts which must be integrated into an overall strategy.

First, we must undermine both the misperceptions of Reagan's competence -- that he truly understands and can handle the job -- and the idea that he can handle world crisis. The latter point is quite at odds with the same personal perceptions of Reagan also held which will be enumerated shortly. In fact, it is through those factors rather than a direct assault on the crisis point that will undermine confidence in Reagan.

Second, the inflation variable strongly points toward a steady continual attack on the Reagan/Kemp-Roth Bill and the infaltionary impact of the Republican proposals and platform.

Third, the Democratic Party must be reemphasized to maximize the benefit.

When we look at the candidates, some other specific points arise. (These are general summaries -- the results differ by states, often drastically.)

REAGAN POSITIVES

1. Effective
2. Has Vision
3. Qualified
4. Understands how things work (less so in the North)
5. Cares (less so in the North)

REAGAN NEGATIVES

- Kirbo* -
1. Criticizes, but doesn't tell his plans (very big)
 2. Shoots from the hip
 3. Risk as President, don't know what he would do
 4. Too old (although fails overall - does worry significant percentages)

CARTER POSITIVES

1. Has learned a lot , be a better president in second term (by large margins)
2. Cares (also big)
3. Shown qualified (close but slight positive edge)

CARTER NEGATIVES

1. Job rating
2. Can't handle Presidency
3. Vision
4. Economic/Energy policies (splits between right/wrong, edge to wrong)

Comparisons - Carter/Reagan

Reagan wins

Effective (big)
Handle inflation (big)
Strong defense (big)
Reduce unemployment (big)
Foreign policy
Best deal complex issues (small)

Carter wins

Trustworthy (big)
Keep us out of war (big)
Cares about people like
me (big)
Best qualified (small)

Splits

Close on issues
Handle world
crisis

The specific candidate suggests several other approaches:

First, exploiting the concern over Reagan's lack of answers, hip shooting, and risk.

Second, emphasizing the idea that Carter has gained valuable and often painful experience that will serve him well in a second term.

Third, emphasize the Carter advantage on cares, trust-worthy, etc.

Fourth, undermine the Reagan advantage on issues that is much a reflection of present disaffection by emphasizing the poor Republican solutions and the disastrous consequences of those policies.

There are two minor discoveries that have application for the speech.

1. Economy - People give the economy the worst rating at present I have ever seen. However, in the last three months there has been a major turn around in future expectations.

For both the national economy and personal economic situations in the next year there is a very high belief that things will

be better -- optimism for the future. With those people who feel optimistic, Carter does substantially better.

2. The Future - In our special tests of the Republican Convention, respondents were scoring everything -- speeches, introductions, and commercials -- on a "feeling" gauge. By accident we found that all the ads at the Republican convention having to do with computers, new technology, and future development received incredibly high positive reactions compared to anything else watched in the several hours of measurement. This suggests the power of future direction and development.

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II. Concepts/Themes

Since the focus of this memorandum is the acceptance speech, I will outline some suggested concept themes. They are not by definition a set of final campaign themes/subthemes although for the most part they overlap. The campaign themes contain some strategic thrusts that are not applicable to the speech (i.e. Reagan advisors). In any event, those theme structures will be ready as soon as the national survey is completed and analyzed.

A. The Definition

As I recommended in my campaign memo, the idea with which we shroud all our themes ought to be the concept of the Presidency. We ought to reference in every point made, the nature of the office, the consequences of the decisions made, the crucible that it is. Our underlying subtle and occasionally explicit message must be:

THE PRESIDENCY IS THE VITAL CENTER. THE DECISIONS MADE HERE WILL DETERMINE THE FUTURE COURSE OF THE WORLD AND THE UNITED STATES. THIS IS THE MOST CRUCIAL, MOST DIFFICULT JOB IN THE WORLD, ONLY THE MOST COMPLEX, COMPLICATED, AND DANGEROUS TASKS COME TO THIS OFFICE. THERE ARE NO EASY ANSWERS HERE, THE EASY ONES NEVER GET HERE. THE POWER FOR BUILDING AND THE POWER FOR DESTRUCTION ARE AWESOME. LITERALLY, THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE WORLD RESIDE IN THIS OFFICE.

✓
but not
onerous!

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THE JOB DEMANDS INTELLIGENCE, INCREDIBLE STAMINA,
PATIENCE, REFLECTION, AND COOLNESS UNDER PRESSURE. THE
JOB CANNOT BE DELEGATED.

EVERYONE'S WORLD DEPENDS ON THE MAN WHO SITS HERE.

One can get the general gist. You of course must be more
circumspect than others can be about the description or literal
use of the definition. However there are a host of past
Presidents' quotes that can be utilized with taste to make
the point.

Rick

B. Concepts/Themes

1. Critical Election - This is a critical election.
In Reagan and Carter there is forged a choice that will
determine the future of America and the western world.
Their beliefs, their visions, their programs are so
different that the decisions made this year will be more
vital than normal. It does make a difference who wins.
There are major principles as well as personalities at
stake.

2. The Future - This is an election about the
future. 1980 is as close to 2000, a new millennium,
as it is to 1960. As close to 1960, as that year was to
1940. This election is about the kind of future America
and the world will face in 2000. That future is still to
be purchased -- it is not inevitable. This is the Decision

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✓ Decade. The decisions made in the next few years will
inextricably set the course -- 2000 will be more decided
in the 1980s than the 1990s. This is the Decision Decade.

✓ 3. Carter is a safe choice -- Reagan is a Risk -
We know what kind of president Carter is. Whatever his
faults he is trustworthy, concerned, honest, prudent,
intelligent, capable of tough decisions. Reagan is
simplistic, shoots from the hip, is not very deep, very
rigid in his actions and views. He is not good under
pressure. He is not very well informed. His views are
alarming. Reagan is a risk.

✓ 4. Carter is for Average People - Reagan is for the
Rich - Carter stands with the Democratic Party -- record,
proposals, philosophies, Reagan is for Big Oil (windfall
tax, let loose), Auto Executive, Big Business, Anti-Labor,
anti-working people, he is insensitive to Blacks, Hispanics,
etc. He opposes the things that have worked. He is not
concerned with ordinary Americans.

✓ 5. Carter is a Democrat/Reagan is a Republican -
The party records through the years topped off with this
year's platforms suffice.

✓ 6. The forces around Reagan seeking control -
Reagan is a nice man. He is friendly and honest. However,
he is known to rely on his advisors. He listens to those
around him and he is surrounded by right-wing forces -

not 9

who across the board, the Presidency, the Congress, the Judiciary, are attempting to seize power behind the cloak of Reagan and general discontent. These are forces committed to undoing a half century of American progress. They are out of step with the American people. They are dangerous, deceptive, and dedicated. They seek to make the 1980s "this decade." The result would be catastrophic. Many are far right wingers and others are unreconstructed Nixonites attempting to restore "the interrupted Presidency." They seek to use Reagan. This success would lead to Domestic, Economic, and Foreign Policy disaster.

✓
7. Carter has gained experience, learned from mistakes, would be a better second term President -
The message speaks for itself. Carter has got the experience and insights, with more time and not facing politics he can carry through the valuable and needed efforts to get us through the transition to the bright future we can have.

others
8. The substance of Reagan's Record and Positions -
This election is a battle over issues. Reagan says he's against taxes but raised them three times in California. His record is much different than that claimed. It's an insight for the Presidency. Reagan criticizes but doesn't tell us what he would really do. Yet his vague positions are frightening.

Kirbo's point

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Economics - Reagan plans: tax cuts, vague, unclear spending cuts, "unleash" business, high military spending vs. Carter dealing tough problems, painful answers but now get better.

Energy - The contrast is drastic -- no windfall profits tax, deregulation of prices, let industry run rampant, repeal 55 mile per hour speed limit vs. Carter and Democrats real success.

National Security - Reagan massive buildup -- costs -- seek ^{military} superiority - opposition to arms control, naive approach Third World, etc. vs. Carter, human rights, delicate moves, peace in Mid East, etc.

Domestic - Contrast across board Education, Health, consumer spending, Environment, cities, etc.

9. Consequences of Reagan/Republican Proposals - In each of the areas outlined in (8) - the consequences of these acts. Disastrous. Not thought out. Bizarre. Dangerous. Example after specific example. What kind of future that would mean. Most important Inflation, International (world crisis), and Energy. Could bankrupt the country. How would they pay? What would they abolish? What would be the consequences?

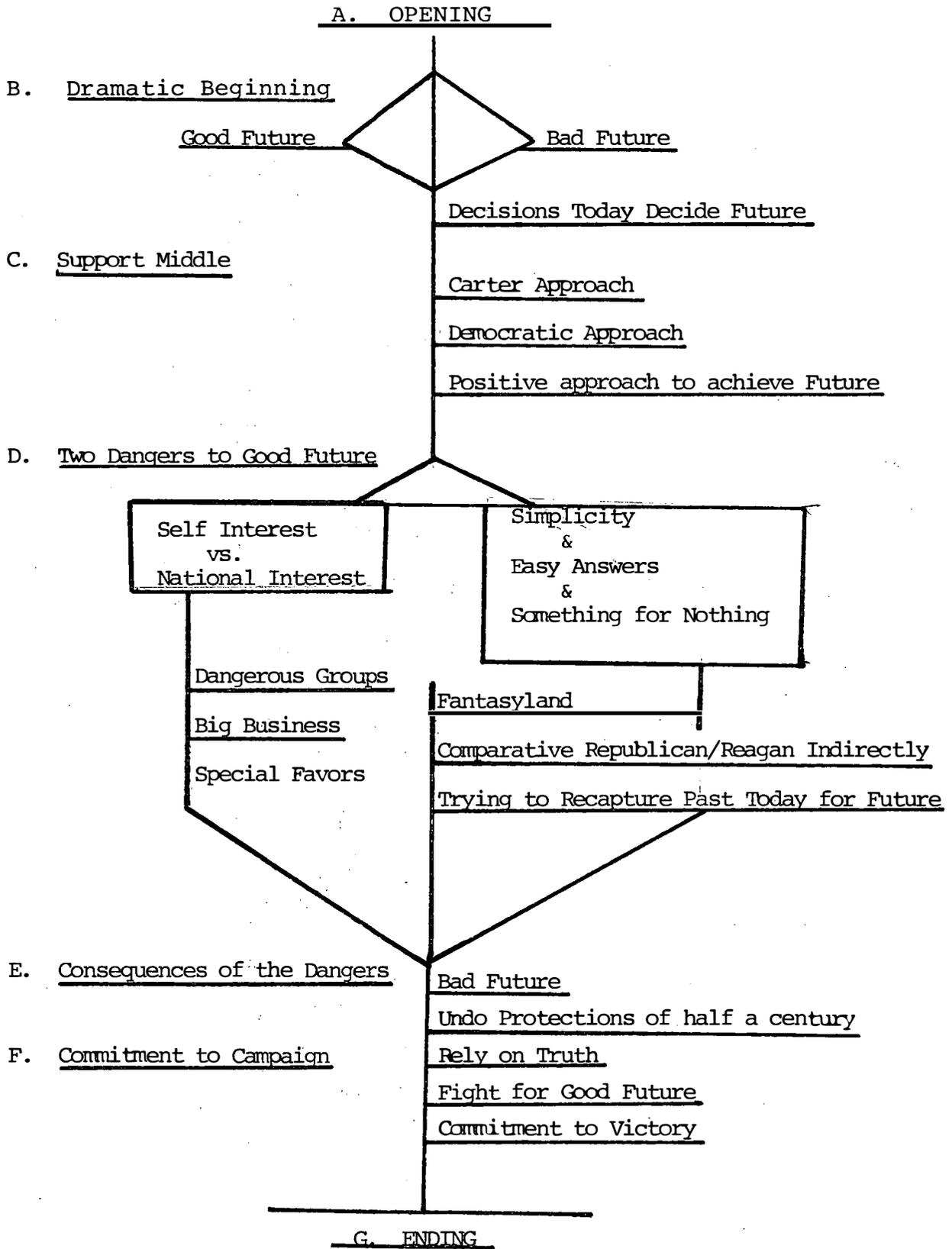
10. The Truth vs. Fantasy - We have always told the hard truth even when it has hurt us politically. Jimmy Carter does what is right. We treat the American people like mature grownups. Reagan/Republicans offer "easy,

facile" answer, "something for nothing", a fantasy land clothed in nostalgia. They pander to and denigrate the American people in the process.

III. An Outline for the Acceptance Speech

This is not meant as a complete or detailed outline but rather a dramatic and thematic structure for the speech. It attempts to incorporate the dramatic requirements of such a speech, the special nature of the address, and the thematic thrusts. It is by no means an exhaustive, complete or exclusive idea. But it can be as already described a starting framework.

I envision a structure like this:



The Steps

A. Opening - Normal opening, accept nomination, shorten Mondale part, Kennedy/Brown party unity.

B. Dramatic Beginning - Two Futures - Year 2000 - distance 1980-1960, describe both good and bad. That is the stakes of this election. This is a critical election, what we are, what we believe, what we can be are at stake. This is the Decisive Decade of Decision. We will determine the world and America in year 2000.

C. Support Middle - What we do today decides future - We have been in a difficult transition. Republicans left us this from their rule of 8 of the last 11 years. We made tough choices needed to purchase the Future. Democrats always do this -- our principles and our responsibilities, what we have done, Economy - working, Energy - oil imports 1990, Peaceful world - change/existence, National Security - reinvigorated, Domestic - meeting the agenda fairly.

Our approach to achieve future new initiatives Economy. Challenge of Global 2000. What oulines of approach will be. Our vision and pledge.

D. Two Dangers to Good Future - First, self interest overriding National interest. Dangerous groups grasping for control - extremists. Efforts by powerful and rich second, simple answers, easy answers, the idea of something for nothing. Republicans fantasy land. Easy answers, dangerous consequences of substantive proposals. Not the truth. Given song of

Recapturing a Past to make a future.

E. Consequence of Dangers - Leads to Bad Future. The consequences undo the protections of safety, environment, economic of last half century.

F. Commitment to Campaign - We pledge to fight to achieve Good Future. History is at stake. We will fight with every fiber, every tool, every resource. Our strongest weapon will be the truth and the maturity/good sense of the American people. We pledge Victory.

G. Ending - Positive emotional note.

JIMMY CARTER

HST Possible turning point in history
Blessed are the peacemakers
Can be time of achievement, excitement
FDR - "national troubles: "They concern,
Thank god, only material things."
Met - the leaders of the great nations
Things for which we struggle - Civ Rts -
Environment, etc.

Δ - not afraid to face
Regul failures inherited: W'gate, energy, etc.
(We need a great common cause)
JFK - "the same revolutionary beliefs for
which our forebears fought are still at
issue around the globe."

Each generation is tested
Ours is the world of the future
Face future - confidence & anticipation
Much of world depends on US strength, conviction
→ "I will continue to work for: ---- SALT, peace, etc

OUR COUNTRY, IN OUR FAMILIES, IN OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

LET US REMEMBER ALSO OUR VALUES -- (THOSE THINGS THAT ARE IMPORTANT IN THE WORLD -- FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, JUSTICE, LOVE,) AND OUR HERITAGE AS WE WORK TOGETHER - TOGETHER WITH ALL THE DIVERSITY THAT IS AMERICA, TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY EVEN GREATER THAN IT ALREADY IS.

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We can be ONE LAST THING -- WONDERFUL COUNTRY, WONDERFUL PEOPLE,
OPTIMISTIC. about the future -

WE MAY HAVE PROBLEMS, BUT THIS IS A TIME OF EXTRAORDINARY
OPPORTUNITY. WE ARE UNITED AS WE HAVE NOT BEEN FOR A LONG
TIME. A UNITED AMERICA IS THE MOST POWERFUL FORCE ON EARTH.

WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY NOT ONLY TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY
STRONG AND AT PEACE -- TO OVERCOME OUR PROBLEMS OF INFLATION
AND ENERGY SHORTAGES -- BUT THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY ARE GOOD,
CAPABLE OF GREAT CHARITY AND COMPASSION -- AND WE HAVE THE
OPPORTUNITY TO MEET OUR HUMAN CHALLENGES.....

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- TO CARE FOR OUR OLDER CITIZENS
- TO HELP THE POOR, THE WEAK, THE MENTALLY AFFLICTED,
THE HANDICAPPED, THE VULNERABLE IN OUR SOCIETY

WE HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO REACH BEYOND OURSELVES -- TO
MAKE OUR COUNTRY A SYMBOL/FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE/OF WHAT IS
GOOD AND RIGHT - BASED ON OUR MORALITY AND COMPASSION AND
CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL PEOPLE.

WE ARE ENTERING A NEW DECADE - THE 1980s. SO AS WE
MOVE FORWARD, LET US ABOVE ALL KEEP OUR FAITH -- IN GOD, IN

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HE HAS BEEN COURAGEOUS, CALM, STEADY, AND PERSISTENT.

I THINK HE IS A GREAT PRESIDENT.

REMEMBER JIMMY AND I BOTH CARE FOR YOU AND ARE WORKING EVERY DAY IN WASHINGTON WITH YOUR THOUGHTS AND CONCERNS IN MIND.

ONE OTHER THING I WOULD LIKE TO SAY --

One other thing I would like to say We may v some problems
~~THESE ARE DIFFICULT AND CHALLENGING TIMES~~ BUT THESE ARE *challenging*
~~ALSO~~ ¹ EXCITING TIMES. ² WE CAN BE OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE.

~~BECAUSE~~ WE IN OUR COUNTRY ARE UNITED AS WE HAVE NOT BEEN FOR A LONG TIME ... AND A UNITED AMERICA IS THE MOST POWERFUL FORCE ON EARTH.

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WE CAN DO ANYTHING WHEN WE JOIN TOGETHER AND WORK TOGETHER. WE AMERICANS HAVE A HISTORY OF BINDING OURSELVES TOGETHER IN TIMES OF CRISIS, AND WE CAN DO IT AGAIN.

I DON'T KNOW OF ANY PROBLEM WE CAN'T SOLVE, ANY OBSTACLE WE CAN'T OVERCOME, IF WE ALL WORK TOGETHER.

WE HAVE A WONDERFUL COUNTRY AND WONDERFUL PEOPLE. ~~AND IT IS IMPORTANT~~ AS WE GO INTO THE NEW DECADE -- THE 1980'S -- ~~TO REMEMBER OUR VALUES AND TO~~ KEEP OUR FAITH -- OUR FAITH IN GOD, OUR FAITH IN OUR COUNTRY, OUR FAITH IN OUR FAMILIES AND OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.

Let us above all
Let us remember our values and our heritage
as we work together - with all our wonderful diversity -
to make this co. even greater. . . .

Freedom, justice, love

During this Campaign we must let
the farmers know that
teachers
elderly
minorities
workers

During this Campaign we must let the
world know that
peace
SALT
Mid East
energy

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I have a ~~sobriety~~ realization based on
experience, ↓ of the limitations on the powers
and authority of the president. But I
also have a sober realization of his duties
and influence.

For a political leader's call for a
naval blockade of Cuba gets a cute
headline in Hollywood but that same
decision made by the President of the
U.S. in the Oval Office might very
well precipitate a ~~to~~ major power
confrontation and lead to war.

A majority of
Republicans have historically opposed proposals for
fair minimum wage, ^{and the initiation of} Social Security, medical
and medicare, ^{RCA & 7-D} etc. More recently we
have heard the Republican standard bearer
speak out against the WPT, for letting
the oil companies set energy policy ---

opposition
to SALT

These beliefs may be modified during the election campaign weeks ahead, and a responsible Democratic majority in the Congress has ~~always~~ ^{often} proven able to defend the working people of this nation even when Republicans have occupied the White House. However, ^{a President can set} some decisions and policies which can effect the lives of almost every human being on earth.

This ~~next~~ election and the next few years will set the course of our nation into the future. This profound ^{choice} decision will be almost impossible to reverse. It will effect the life of anyone listening to my voice, and indeed,

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For 7 years, under three presidents we labored to negotiate a treaty with the SU to reduce ~~and~~ the Soviet nuclear arsenal and to impose balanced limits on the atomic weapons of both our nations. This election will set a course ^{if I am elected} to ratify this agreement and others in the future and to maintain a stable nuclear balance in the years ahead. The other course would be to carry out the commitment to oppose the SALT II treaty and to embark on a nuclear arms race in a futile effort to achieve nuclear superiority. Again, this decision will determine the shape of world events during the remainder of this century.

In order to meet the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan with forceful but peaceful action I restricted grain sales to the Soviet Union. Our allies & friends have joined this effort. The Republicans have opposed

The Congress and I advocated and the US Olympic Committee decided that an American ~~athletes~~ Olympic team would not go the Summer Games in Moscow ~~until~~ while Soviet troops were occupying Afghan. The Republicans disagreed.

The Congress has passed a bill which I signed into law which requires registration of young men. It is clear that short of a national emergency and additional legislation there will be no draft and we will continue to depend on volunteers armed forces, but our nation has rallied strongly to this demonstration of commitment and patriotism. The Republicans have condemned this action.

For eight years ^{before I became President} our budget allocations ^{constant dollar} for national defense ~~as~~ went down -- a total reduction of more than 35%. Since January 1977 we have sustained real growth in this crucial commitment to our national security. This is an important element in the maintenance of peace -- through strength.

The next few years will not be easy ones, but they can be a time of challenge, excitement and achievement.

A united America is the most powerful force on earth.

We will continue to be firm in our effort to contain Soviet expansion. In Venice we and our major allies re-committed ourselves to the proposition that the Soviet occupation is not acceptable to the peace-loving nations of the world. It is to the advantage to prove to the Soviet aggressors ^{leaders} that aggression does not pay. It is also to our advantage to limit the nuclear missile arsenals of the superpowers. We must promote detente, including ^{mutual & balanced} arms control agreements.

Week 1011
7/23

Reagan has argued that the US must first challenge the Soviets to an accelerated arms race before Moscow will agree to real arms control.

"unleash"

The Repub energy policy is to repeal lift the 55 mph speed limit, repeal the windfall profit tax, and to let ^{"loose"} the oil companies ^{"run"} make the decisions for us on oil price and distribution.

We can have a good life, but we must earn a good life.

We must work hard, be productive, and able to compete.

We must be willing to serve our country and to maintain a strong defense.

We must help others to have peace and a better life.

We are building our defenses by careful, prudent and sound increases -- not with an arms race and the resumption of the Cold War. The call for "military superiority" would change the policy of parity and mutual deterrence which has been supported by both Democratic and Republican presidents for many years. This new and radical departure is irresponsible, and ^{particularly} dangerous in this nuclear age.

I see an America --

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We have been through too much in too short a time - JFK - RFK - MLK - VN - Watergate - energy -

Most Americans are not very ideological. We want both progress and preservation. Progress is the very essence of the American dream -- the belief that each generation, through hard work, can give a better life to its children. A proper function of government is to help make that dream come true. But we do not want reckless change. We want to preserve what is best in

What are the major challenges?
Why are they important?
What have we done that is correct?
What else must we do?

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L.A.
8/23/76

our past -- our political traditions, our cultural heritage, our physical resources -- as guideposts to our future. To walk the line between progress and preservation, between too much change and too little, is no easy task. It cannot be achieved by the extremists of either side, by those who scorn the past or those who fear the future.

The basic issue in this campaign is going to be whether we want a government that looks confidently to the future, or govt that clings fearfully to the past.

For an incumbent Democratic president this will be the most difficult reelection campaign since 1948.

I intend to win. Being reelected President is very important to me. But it is not the most important thing. It is more important that we win by telling the truth -- that we face the facts and ~~are~~ be honest with the American people. We must give the clearest possible vision of the future. We must never betray our highest principles and ideals.

3 1/2 years ago we inherited a Republican mess.

(Energy - Pres/Cong stalemate - Defense -

Truman: "There was still unfinished business of confronting the most successful 15 years of Demo administration in the history of our country."

Our efforts in conservation, the use of solar power, the development and production of synthetic fuels from coal, shale and from growing plants will generate the largest

domestic investment and jobs program in
~~American~~ history. It will channel our efforts
to send men to the moon and to
build our interstate highway system. We
have the exciting opportunity to mobilize
the great natural, technical and human
resources of America in order to become
energy secure. Congress After 3 1/2 years
of hard labor, Congress has now given
me the legal tools for this job. I
want to (am determined to) finish this
mammoth job we have begun.

The Republican ^{leaders and party} platform ~~and~~ threaten
the progress we are making in education,
health care for the elderly, clean air
and water, jobs etc. —

The overly simplistic approach or action
based on (Hollywood) fantasy could
bring our nation to economic or
political disaster.

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We cannot afford to be satisfied -- we must
continue -- we must do better -- we have
not done enough.

In the first 3 years we increased US
employment more than the total of W
Europe and Japan combined -- in the
last 10 years

Check
Schultze

Full Commitment as a party and as
a nation to EPA

32 years ago a Democratic president stood before
a convention like this ^{in Philadelphia} to accept the nomination of
his party for reelection. Later he said "we will tell
the truth & the Red will ^{think it's free} give the Regs hell, & when the people
know the truth, we will win." We're going
to do the same thing in 1980 & in November
we'll will have the same ^{kind of} victory that gave us
Larry Thurman in 1948.

I accept your nomination, and appreciate your choice
of Fritz Mondale to be the next vice President.
I might add that in 1976 and now, he
has always been my first choice.

For the last 3 1/2 yrs I have shared with you the challenges
I have ~~sewed~~ ~~now~~ ~~as~~ ~~president~~ ~~for~~ ~~3 1/2~~ ~~years~~
during of difficult and troubling times. We have
met every challenge ^{test}. We have faced every issue.
We have never flinched. We have ~~add~~ always told
the truth. We have not always been successful, but
we ^(I) have ^{we have made a lot of progress} learned a lot from ^{our} experience.

for Preservation Purposes

JHK
lib

"Change is the law of life. The world of 1980 is as
different from what it was in 1960 as the world
of 1960 was from that of 1940"

Now, with this election, we must look to ^{the} year 2000

We have come from a time of blood,
sweat and tears of Vietnam and '68
and we now seek to find peace among
ourselves and with others.

FDR re nation's troubles: "They concern,
Thank God, only material things."

JFK: "Blessed are the peacemakers ---"

I will continue to work for: SDET
Peace, etc

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My name is Jimmy Carter & I'm
running for re-election!

And I intend to fight in every
corner of this Co. and carry the
torch for those Democratic principles
that have made our Co great &
for which my admin stands -

We'll win in Nov. & realize the
promise of the future of our Co in
the 1980's & the "good life" for all
our people -

2 Roads ?

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We look to the future with
optimism & enthusiasm - ^{for a year now} We've
~~been~~ ^{exploring, planning,} ~~working~~ & preparing for the
~~last year~~ the great future before us -
challenge of 1980's -

We have goals for:

names } Health, etc
Science
Space
Energy -

with easily understood & simply stated
examples - that I find exciting to listening audience

Cable TV, etc

We v a good foundation(?) -
~~Difficult decisions~~ accomplishment
of last 4 yrs - v made.
for a better tomorrow -
"good life"

And with help. I called for
sacrifice - conservation, etc. you (American
people) v responded -
We can continue

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We cannot afford to be satisfied
We must do better "not enough"

8 Servicemen → Peace

SAIT II negotiated → Control nuclear

Energy bills → Exciting future

8th mil jobs → Full employment

> BA/Women/Minorities → Full equal

GRN. full commitment, party nation

Drift, Int ↓ → Revitalization of US Int

women, Infants, Children, CMMS → Nat Health

Cities revitalized → Federalism revived, strong

NATO → alliances

China → all

Blood, sweat, tears

V Nam, Wgate → peace & ourselves

No president will have magic answers
or easy solutions

John Sears

Reagan: How He Decides

By the time a man reaches the age of 69, a large portion of his predictability can be discovered by studying those experiences that were important to him.

If you're an actor, you get up in the middle of the night to go to work. Your place of business is a set designed to look real. You get into a costume, people bring your coffee, you're made up. A crew in charge of cameras, lighting, scripts and other details moves about. You don't question what they're doing. Someone explains today's scene. You perform. Then you do the same thing over and over again until the director is satisfied. Critics ultimately review the picture. You become used to receiving the credit or taking the blame for a product that was not wholly yours.

Presidents are writers, directors, producers and actors rolled into one. They're the whole show. They take advice but only at their own risk. It's their own neck, nobody else's. Just as an actor can't blame a poor performance on poor direction, a president can't blame his foreign policy on the secretary of state. There's no way to hide; the buck stops there.

Reagan is comfortable with the essential responsibility of the presidency. He is prepared by the discipline of his former profession to let the critics judge his performance. But can he adjust to a situation where there are no retakes, where others will be looking to him to describe the scene? And can he also play the role that is now demanded of him? The first substantial test of

this will come tomorrow when he announces his selection of a vice president.

I have been asked many times how Reagan goes about making a decision. The answer is that his decisions rarely originate with him. He is an endorser. It is fair to say that on some occasions he is presented with options and selects one; but it is also true that in other instances he simply looks to someone to tell him what to do.

It is this endorsing process that accounts for the difference between Reagan the campaigner and Reagan's more moderate record as governor of California. The white-carded stump speeches are Reagan the performer playing to a known audience and sending the crowd away with its money's worth. As governor, there was no crowd, merely decisions to be made, only a few of which were very exciting. Reagan sat with his California Cabinet more as an equal than as its leader. Once consensus was derived or conflict resolved, he emerged as the spokesman, as the performer.

It didn't bother him that many decisions reached during his governorship were in severe conflict with his campaign oratory. While he was running for governor, one of his pledges was to hold the line on state taxes; one of his first acts as governor was to raise taxes. Reagan sees no conflict in this; it simply had to be done. His advisers had no option that would allow the pledge to be kept.

I would point out that there are indeed limits to the advice that Reagan will accept. Had his director in "Bedtime for Bonzo" demanded that he play a pivotal scene in the nude, he would have refused. If nuclear war were suggested as one option to President Reagan, he'd pick something short of it. If his advisers are adequate, there is nothing to fear from President Reagan.

But he can be guided, and presidents who are too easily guided run the risk of losing the confidence of the people. This is one of President Carter's problems: people don't think he's in charge.

Indeed, this is the difference between being governor of California and being president. It's not just that the job is bigger; it's more that you must dominate it. You don't come to terms with the presidency; you grab it by the neck and you never let go. You must ride the tiger or you'll wind up on the inside. You can't be civil with the presidency; it doesn't fight fairly.

I have been amused this past week to read the newspaper accounts depicting Reagan pondering over his choice of a vice president. Reagan hasn't been losing any sleep over the vice presidency; he's been off somewhere working on his acceptance speech. Such are his priorities, developed long before he entered politics. The audience must first get its money's worth.

Sometime tonight, the options on the vice presidency were finally reviewed. It won't matter if Reagan's oft-stated campaign pledge to pick a vice president who fully agrees with him on the issues may have been breached. Reagan will endorse the collective wisdom.



The writer, a Washington attorney, was formerly campaign manager for Ronald Reagan's presidential campaigns.

Administration Willing to Confront Reagan on Arms Limits

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Staff Writer

Despite the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the uncertain future of U.S.-Soviet relations, the Carter administration seems ready to confront Republican presidential challenger Ronald Reagan on the question of moving ahead with arms control agreements with Moscow.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the president's national security affairs adviser, says the arms control issue will be "perhaps the key question" in the election.

Brzezinski believes that as long as the United States is "firm" in containing Soviet expansionism, this country can safely move ahead with talks to control atomic arms with Moscow even though Soviet troops remain in Afghanistan.

He argues that limitations on the nuclear-tipped missile arsenals of both superpowers remain in the U.S. national interest, despite Moscow's invasion, and that those who reject this notion are toying with a dangerous new arms race with an uncertain outcome.

Brzezinski outlined his views in a recent discussion with this reporter and later agreed to make some of his remarks public.

The platform approved at last week's Republican convention rejects, as "fatally flawed," the strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT II) with Moscow, which has been signed by Carter and Soviet chief Leonid I. Brezhnev but has not been approved by the Senate.

Reagan has argued that the United States must first challenge the Soviets to an accelerated arms race—which he believes the United States will win—before Moscow will agree to real arms control.

The GOP platform calls for overall U.S. military superiority against the Soviets. But Brzezinski counters that "those who reject arms control arrangements, and only talk about going

back to nuclear superiority, are doing two things which are undesirable."

"One, they are harking back to an age which cannot be retrieved, namely the situation in the 1950s" when the United States emerged from World War II with overwhelming atomic superiority over Moscow.

"Secondly," he says, "they are fueling the arms race, which is destabilizing and, in the short run, perhaps even advantageous to the Soviets because they have the momentum," meaning Moscow has many more missile-producing lines operating than does the United States.

SALT II essentially puts equal limits on the number of missiles on both sides.

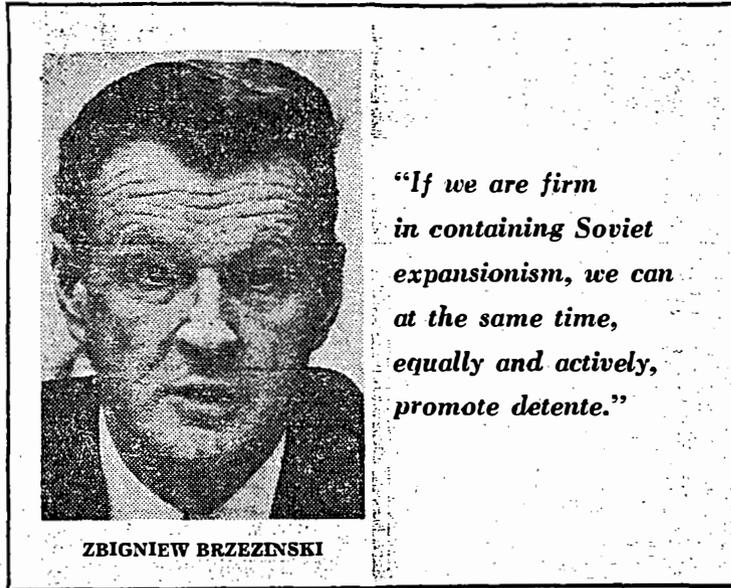
At a breakfast meeting with reporters yesterday, Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie said he thought SALT was "indispensable" to U.S. security and that the Soviets would never accept U.S. superiority, and thus such talk was certain to trigger a continued arms race of "enormous cost that can't be won."

"My view throughout," Brzezinski says, "has been that if we are firm in containing Soviet expansionism, we can at the same time, equally and actively, promote detente, including arms control arrangements."

"We believe certain aspects of the [U.S.-Soviet] relationship such as arms control can and should be developed irrespective of other issues."

Muskie told reporters last month that he believed the Afghan situation and arms control were "separable" and that the conflict in Afghanistan had "even elevated the ques on of arms control as an important security issue" in his mind.

Thus, the two key supporting figures in the administration appear to be ready to defend continued arms control talks with Moscow, even though they say political conditions here are highly unlikely to allow any movement in those talks—certainly



ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

*"If we are firm
in containing Soviet
expansionism, we can
at the same time,
equally and actively,
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in the main negotiation, the stalled SALT II talks—before the November election.

Brzezinski believes the U.S. public is prepared to support this dual policy of arms control and firmness toward Moscow, but only if it is convinced that the policy of firmness "is genuine and effective."

He believes Carter's response to the Soviet invasion—including the Olympic boycott, grain and technology embargoes and a regional defense buildup—has been firm and that the president has credibility on this point.

"Because of that," Brzezinski says. "I think we are in a good position to argue that we should go ahead with those arms control arrangements which are feasible."

Aside from SALT II, the United

States has taken the first small steps toward responding to recent indications from Brezhnev that Moscow may be willing to negotiate limits on medium-range nuclear missiles based in Europe.

Though nothing is apt to happen before the November election in either negotiations, the reasons are different.

In the case of the Euromissiles, Brzezinski says there is no political impediment to moving ahead quickly. Rather, it is a practical matter because the issue is extremely complex and will take prolonged study within the administration and among U.S. allies before the western position on such talks can be hammered out.

"It certainly will not be easy to be ready before the elections to have ini-

tial explorations [with the Soviets], but it's not inconceivable that enough sorting out will be done so that some preliminary contact will take place," Brzezinski says.

For SALT, however, the question is whether it can be approved by the Senate and "that, as a practical matter, is not likely before the elections simply because the congressional calendar doesn't permit it," he says.

Furthermore, he adds, "the Republicans right now are committed by their platform to be against it, and I think in any vote before the elections they'll have to be very heavily affected by that. After the elections, there is going to be more of an inclination to look at SALT on its own merits."

In Muskie's view, it will be "a very steep, uphill climb" politically to get SALT ratified.

Unstated is the fact that many Democrats who favor SALT are also not anxious to see it come to a vote before the election, sensing a possible political liability in being perceived as advocating doing any sort of business with Moscow at this time.

While believing that arms control with Moscow can, and should, go forward, Brzezinski takes a dark view of the global situation if the Soviets do not withdraw their troops from Afghanistan.

"Between 1945 and 1955," Brzezinski argues, "we stopped Soviet expansionism westward and eastward and we created a system of deterrence which then made detente possible."

"For reasons perhaps connected with Soviet power, perhaps connected with a crisis in America, the Soviets are now pushing southward through Afghanistan at natural resources vital to the survival of Western Europe and the Far East, and through Cambodia and Thailand potentially to vital sea lanes."

"If we can contain this push and deter it, we can resurrect detente. If we do not, we're likely to have a very unstable situation in the 1980s, one in which our vital interests would be generally jeopardized."

"Afghanistan, in a sense, is a litmus test of whether American-Soviet relations can go quickly back to normal through a constructive and decent resolution of the issue, or whether Afghanistan is the symptom of the deeper manifestation—Soviet expansionism—which will take many more years to work itself out."

But the Soviets show every sign of digging in for the long haul in Afghanistan, and disengaging from a battlefield is a hard chore for any country.

Brzezinski agrees and estimates the chances as probably less than 50-50 that the Soviets will reconsider. Still, he believes that international condemnation of Soviet policy has been so widespread and the costs so high that there is at least a chance that Soviet leadership might take a new course.

But is the United States capable of sustaining a long-term defense buildup over the Afghanistan situation—especially if the issue fades from the front pages and if the U.S. hostages are returned from Iran, another factor that could lower the national temperature here?

On the one hand, Brzezinski acknowledges that public opinion often shifts quickly.

"But I think the public today senses that our strategic position is being threatened, that there has to be a sustained response . . . to a challenge that itself is highly sustained and extensive in scope," he says.

"I don't believe this trend is going to be totally reversed, even if there is some sudden improvement in the immediate situation. I think the country, the public, doesn't want the United States to be in an inferior position and is prepared to make the necessary sacrifice, provided these sacrifices are clearly stated and the reasons for them articulated."

'The United States of America is the greatest nation on earth now . . . and it will be even greater'

President is at his best on a folksy Fourth

By Peter H. King
Examiner Staff Writer

MERCED — The president of the United States stood beneath a backboard in the junior college gymnasium, his suit coat off, his white sleeves folded up to his elbows, listening carefully as a Republican farmer lashed out at the government's policies on illegal aliens.

When 53-year-old Les McCabe had finished his attack, the president paused a beat and then, to the delight of the 2,000 persons gathered for a Fourth of July Town Hall, casually asked:

"Les, how's your crop?"

McCabe allowed how his persimmons were doing just fine and then pressed on with his line of inquiry: Why was the United States barring Mexicans from coming here to work while farmers cry for help?

"We once had a bracero program," McCabe said, standing in front of a microphone in the middle of the gym. "... but your immigration service has taken my picking crews several times."

"I might say," the president shot back, smiling, "that it's your immigration service, too."

"Good," McCabe said drolly. "I'll tell them to leave next time."

Laughter filled the tiny, crammed gym, and a fair share of it belonged to Jimmy Carter.

* * *

Roosevelt had his comforting Fireside Chats. Kennedy had his friendly, often sparkling press conferences. Nixon had Ron Ziegler. And now, Carter has his town halls.

They are, perhaps, his top political tool, a forum that allows him to roll up his sleeves and operate at his populist best, at the same time addressing major issues and attracting heavy press attention — a colorful and palpable way to state his policy positions and make news.

The folksy meetings are a major part of Carter's attempt to project an image of a president and government in close touch with the American people, reminiscent of a pre-television era of whistle stops and Sunday debates in the park.

At the same time, however, the orchestration, well-regimented logistics and extremely tight security serve as reminders that this is 1980.

But still it works. Carter's Fourth of July Town Hall in this San Joaquin Valley farm town of 35,000 was the 19th he has thrown as president, and he left with more supporters than he had when Marine One, the presidential helicopter, touched down at precisely 8:45 a.m.

As one woman said after Carter had snaked through the crowd, squeezing every hand he could grab and frown off for Modesto: "TV just doesn't do him any justice at all."

* * *

For all the breezy informality of the town hall meeting, it was the product of 10 days of intensive preparation to ensure it would move with the accuracy of the digital clock installed on the president's special lectern.

Carter came to Merced at the urging of Rep. Tony Coelho, D-Merced, who argued convincingly that, for Carter to take California — a state in which he has yet to win an election — he must score a victory in the bellwether San Joaquin Valley.

Ten days ago Jerry R. Schaffer, the 46-year-old dean of community services at Merced Community College, received a mysterious telephone call from the government office.



Examiner/Katy Raddatz

President Carter, in his element, greets some of the folks outside the Merced College gym, which was packed for an old-fashioned town hall

a chance we can have a big political meeting? They coughed it in terms so I did not know it was the president.

"I said, 'Sure, as long as we are paid.' And they said the White House would pay for it. That's when I knew it was the president who was coming."

In the next few days, a White House advance team set up headquarters at the Pine Cone Inn on Highway 99 and went to work.

A telephone switchboard was installed to accommodate 50 phones, and seven long-distance trunk lines were laid.

Special telephones that would be directly connected to the White House at all times were placed strategically at both ends of the gym and out at the helicopter landing site, ensuring that Carter would always be just a few steps away should he need contact with Washington.

The Sun-Star, Merced's daily newspaper, was enlisted to print coupons that would serve as entry forms for the lottery needed to pare the audience to 2,000. (Four thousand more persons gathered at the campus just to watch Carter arrive.)

The gymnasium was completely rewired to quadruple its electrical capacity and allow for the invasion of television cameras, klieg lights and microphones.

College carpenters built stages for Carter and the press at opposite ends of the gym. A

Election year portrait



AMERICA
1980

Examiner Staff Writer Peter H. King is traveling through the West to sample the mood of the country. This is one of a series of articles that will appear from time to time.

high school band, a community band, three choirs and a piano player were found to pep up the crowd prior to Carter's entrance. The

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earliest of the birds arrived at 2 a.m. and the gym was filled a half hour before the president arrived.

The Secret Service cased the campus

Said Schaffer: "They searched the entire gym, every rafter, every air duct, every locker. The lockers they couldn't get open, they just cut off the lock. They are a non-trusting bunch, but I guess they have to be."

Volunteers decorated the gym with numerous banners — "A Big Howdy From a Small Town," read one — and a passel of American flags.

In the last hours before the town hall began, the campus print shop finished churning out cards for members of the audience to use for jotting down questions they wanted Carter to answer by mail. This was done after complaints from other town halls that too few people had a chance to question the president.

On the eve of Carter's visit, several rehearsals were held to map out exactly where the president would walk as he left the helicopter, entered the gym, conducted the meeting, milled with the audience shaking hands and then returned to Marine One.

"Everything was planned out to the minute," said Schaffer, whose role was to act as the campus liaison to the advance team. "It was amazing. And to think they do this every time."

Twenty-five persons were selected at random to ask the president a question, but there was only time for 10, as Carter used each query to expand on a number of issues.

And while he freighted his answers with enough newsy meat to keep the press corps happy, the president also made sure to add a personal touch for each interrogator.

When a little girl from Merced asked, in a bold voice, whether the United States would go to the Summer Olympics in Moscow, Carter replied:

"How old are you, Joy?"

"Eleven," she answered.

"Amy's 12. You'll have to come see her sometime."

When a neatly dressed young man asked a question loaded with bleak references to America's declining stature in the world, his president admonished: "Don't be concerned about the United States of America. It's the greatest nation on earth now, and when you are old enough to run for president, it will be even greater."

Carter's blue coat came off when he was asked a double-barreled question about the filling of the New Melones Dam and the embargo of grain to Russia.

"Those are two difficult questions," he said, "and before I answer them I'll take off my coat. It's getting kind of hot up here."

The crowd ate it all up like so much apple pie.

Rosenbhal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Everything hangs in balance
(Pres can get up to move to
new ideas, issues, goals)

Terry Feisty -

Reagan - not lies, but fantasy

Al Better vision → victory

Time of Nixon

History will judge record
Movement backward not good
for minorities, etc.

Pat Fantasy → disaster

Rick not over loftiness but grit

("Energy" good in 1st draft)

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Jackson Moynihan

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Ham-

Importance of presidency, 80 Elect

Pat-

Diff JC vs RR - Critical choice

Consequences for future

Grab center for R.

Energy - Security - Labor/people

- Office - difficulty, importance

- Special interests

- "Simplicity" - delusion.

- World for our children

Direction, principles

- JC - higher planes - crusade

Jody

Truth -

Pat '60 → '80 → '00 Crossroads/fork

2 futures = positive vs consequences

Reagan In Foreign Affairs

By Anthony Lewis

DETROIT, July 16 — The fundamental responsibility of an American President is in foreign policy. There, as in economic affairs, this Republican convention has had a unifying theme: the incompetence of Jimmy Carter. Henry Kissinger put it: "Another four years like the last four will make disaster irretrievable."

The Carter record is plenty vulnerable. But is the alternative prospect reassuring? Not when you look at the words of Ronald Reagan. On his record there is too much of the silly and the scary.

"Let's not delude ourselves," he told Karen Elliott House of The Wall Street Journal last month. "The Soviet Union underlies all the unrest that is going on. If they weren't engaged in this game of dominoes, there wouldn't be any hot spots in the world."

In Reagan's mind, then, race and poverty and religion and nationalism do not figure as basic causes of conflict. The Arab-Israel dispute, terrorism in Ireland, unrest in South Africa and India and Turkey — the Russians are behind them all. It is a view divorced from reality.

When Ecuador seized American tuna boats in 1975 for fishing inside its declared sea limit, Reagan wrote in a newspaper column that he would have dispatched destroyers "to cruise, say, 13 miles off the shore of Ecuador."

His answer to North Korea's taking of the Pueblo, he said, would have been this message: "Send our ship and our men out within six hours or we're coming in to get them; and we'll use planes, guns, torpedoes, whatever it takes."

Off-the-hip comments of that kind were cited by aides to President Ford during the 1976 nomination battle to show that Reagan was "bellicose." Another adjective for them would be simple-minded. And even as Reagan has become more deliberate in his remarks on foreign affairs over recent months, that quality has remained — a sense that he is somehow not connected with the world as it is.

In an interview published by the National Journal last March he said, "Egypt is kind of on the outs with all of its Arab allies." The United States should move into bases in Egypt, he said, and if possible get Saudi Arabia to join in — "it would be a signal to the rest of the Arab world of some acceptability of Egypt and help

to solve that Middle East problem."

The simplicity of that approach to an extremely difficult set of relationships was breathtaking. So was Reagan's next suggestion, that NATO extend its treaty area to cover the Middle East.

In the same interview, warning against the Finlandization of Europe, he said: "I happen to know that the Soviet Union has been appealing to West Germany to break away and sign its own agreement and treaty with them, and the bait that they have been holding out is Iranian and Saudi Arabian oil. I know that for a fact." Where did he get that amazing intelligence?

Despite his expressed determination to resist Soviet expansionism — to "eyeball it with Russia," as he said in 1976 — he seemed for a long time to be prepared for a break in U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China. But lately his advisers have explained that he would not insist on restoring formal diplomatic relations with Taiwan, a step that would move Peking to break relations; and the platform reflects that view.

Another inconsistency in the anti-Soviet posture remains, however. Both Reagan and the Republican platform call for the lifting of the grain embargo imposed by President Carter when the Soviets occupied Afghanistan.

The excuse for this curious position is that the embargo is incomplete and is unfair to the American farmer. In fact, the embargo has put a significant burden on the Soviets; Argentina has made up some but much less than half of the shortfall. The real reason for the Reagan view is evidently just politics: to get farm votes. For that he is ready to kill one U.S. policy that has actually demonstrated a will to respond to Soviet aggression.

Reagan and the platform seem to share one large and dangerously wrong-headed assumption: that the United States has or can acquire the power to act effectively on its own in the world. There is talk about working with our allies. But there is little recognition that they have real interests, in some ways different from ours: that, for example, the Europeans have important trading relationships with the Soviet Union.

Supporters of Governor Reagan have been trying to persuade friends around the world that he is a shrewd man with sound views on foreign policy. They have not made much progress. Politicians and diplomats in Western Europe and elsewhere are frankly scared, of his ignorance as much as of any specific views. One Israeli politician who knows him remarked: "I find him as knowledgeable on the Middle East as I am on the Hollywood movie industry."

It is his failure, almost his refusal to learn, that is remarkable. No one, American or friend of this country, can have any illusions about Jimmy Carter's skills or steadfastness in foreign policy. But Ronald Reagan, over many years as a Presidential candidate, has not made himself even basally informed. And that is scary.

There was still "unfinished business" confronting
the most successful 15 yrs of Demo admin in history
of our ed.

Reforms earned

The hard-earned reforms which assured
a better life for more people on every walk
of American life were taking permanent root
in '40's. These benefits still vulnerable to
political attack by reactionaries & could be lost
if not safeguarded by a vigilant Demo admin.

No time for a new & inexperienced ~~admin~~ ^{hand}
to take over the govt. A risky interruption of
our domestic program & put a dangerous
strain on our delicately balanced foreign policy.

Jefferson

Jackson

Lincoln

Wm Jennings Bryan

Woodrow Wilson

"New Freedom"

F. Roosevelt

Repub Party had always been & continued to be party
of special privilege

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YOU ASKED FOR SOME THOUGHTS ON A VISION FOR THE FUTURE. THESE ARE DISJOINTED, BUT HERE THEY ARE.

FIRST YOU NEED TO BREAK IT DOWN INTO AT LEAST A COUPLE OF TOPICS. OUR "PLACE IN THE WORLD" AND OUR "ECONOMY" ARE TWO THAT COME TO MIND. SECOND YOU NEED TO BE RECONCILED TO THE FACT ~~THE FACT~~ THAT THE VISION CANNOT BE COMPREHENSIVE, IN THAT IT CANNOT INCLUDE EVERY ITEM OR ACTION THAT WILL BE INVOLVED IN MAKING IT A REALITY.

IN EACH AREA, I THINK YOU MIGHT FIND IT EASIER TO BEGIN BY IDENTIFYING THE MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS WE FACE. THE INCREASE IN SOVIET POWER, OUR OWN AMBIVALENCE ABOUT MILITARY POWER, THE COMPLEX ASPIRATIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD, THE INEVITABLE AND CONTINUAL TENSIONS IN A DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE ARE EXAMPLES IN THE "PLACE IN THE WORLD" SECTION. THE CONFLICT OF PROSPERITY AND INFLATION, THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF A DEMOCRACY IN DEALING WITH INFLATION, OUR DECLINING PRODUCTIVITY AND INDUSTRIAL BASE ARE EXAMPLES IN THE ECONOMY ~~SIDE TOPIC~~ SECTION.

THE NEXT STEP IS TO IDENTIFY WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO BEGIN TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS. (THAT IS WHY I LIKE THE "PRESIDENT CARTER HAS ALREADY BEGUN" ~~THEM EX FROM~~ THEME FROM RAFSHOON'S PAMPHLET.) THIS LIST NEEDS TO BE SOMEWHAT GENERAL IN NATURE WITH SPECIFICS USED TO ILLUSTRATE A POINT RATHER THAN IN AN ATTEMPT TO BE EXHAUSTIVE.

FINALLY, COMES THE HARDEST PART. WHAT DO WE DO NEXT? FORGET ABOUT SPECIFIC PROGRAMS AND BUDGET ALLOCATIONS AT THE OUTSET. THE QUESTION IS WHERE DO WE WANT TO GO. HOW DO WE SEE THE WORLD DEVELOPING WITH EUROPE AND CHINA PLAYING A MORE MAJOR ROLE AND NATURAL RESOURCES BECOMING INCREASINGLY SCARCE/

EXPENSIVE? WHAT IS GOING TO COME OF THIS SETBACK TO DETENTE CAUSED BY SOVIET AGGRESSION? AND IN EACH CASE WHAT CAN WE DO TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME?

A LAUNDRY LIST WILL NOT DO HERE, ALTHOUGH YOU CAN BEGIN THAT WAY IF IT SEEMS EASIER. FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS CAMPAIGN, EXPLAINING CONCISELY BUT CONVINCINGLY WHY THE CHALLENGES ARE SERIOUS, WHY WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS CORRECT, AND WHY WHAT YOU PROPOSE IS NECESSARY IS THE MOST IMPORTANT TASK. THAT TASK IS ALMOST MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE PARTICULAR PROBLEMS YOU IDENTIFY OR THE SOLUTIONS YOU PROPOSE.

FINALLY, WE WILL NEED TO SUM IT ALL UP WITH A GRAPH OR TWO THAT SINGS, LIKE THE "I SEE AN AMERICA" SEGMENT FROM 76. BUT YOU DON'T NEED TO WORRY TOO MUCH ABOUT THAT PART. A GOOD SPEECH WRITER CAN DO THAT ONCE HE KNOWS THE COMPONENTS.

IN SHORT, THE QUESTION IS, "MR. PRESIDENT, IN THE AREAS YOU CONSIDER TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT, WHERE ARE YOU TAKING US AND WHY?" THAT IS THE QUESTION WE HAVE NOT TAKEN THE TIME TO ANSWER SATISFACTORILY FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OVER THE PAST 40 MONTHS. I SOMETIMES THINK WE ARE A LITTLE UNSURE ABOUT THE ANSWER OURSELVES. IF WE CAN ANSWER IT CONVINCINGLY DURING THE NEXT THREE AND ONE HALF MONTHS, CADDELL'S DREAM OF A LANDSLIDE VICTORY JUST MIGHT COME TRUE.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be the initials 'JSP' or similar, located at the bottom right of the page.

General statements on acceptance
Speech.

1. ~~we should~~ Between now & the convention
we should try and stay on a steady course
and not let our advisers panic or appear to
be taking unwise ~~for~~ actions just for
political ~~to~~ purposes.
2. If at the economy get, where drastic actions
or major programs are required ~~you~~ should
work out a program and ~~wait~~ then carefully
~~wait~~ get the Congress to go with you. ~~Some~~ Some
planning could be in progress now just in case.
3. ~~the~~ we should not spend time blaming others
for problems but accept as your responsibility
any problems the ~~the~~ country faced when you became
president and exist today -
4. Next take up other major problems, show
what has been attempted, ~~for~~ have for creative gathering
~~what we see for the future~~ - but this is
not enough - Then our vision for the future
good examples peace - where we lost
of soldiers the best record since before
Roosevelt - but not good enough -
Energy - not for enough but much progress
then the vision for the future.

he is still making up his mind about a running mate, and will talk with party leaders about it at the convention. He says he has a tough decision to make because his choices are "all good people." A/1:08

Striking Detroit municipal workers ratify a new contract. A/:28

The main task for GOP delegates at the convention is to coronate Reagan and to ratify the party's conservative platform, correspondent says, but they are hoping for a little excitement in Reagan's vice presidential choice. Lugar, shown, says he would like to be on the Reagan ticket, but adds that Baker would also be a good choice. Kissinger and Ford are shown arriving separately; Ford is also shown saying he is "very much opposed" to the platform stand on the ERA. The former president is considered the most popular choice of all Reagan's running-mate possibilities, but Ford still does not want the job. Jim Cummins/1:40

The Republican Women's Task Force Committee will try on the convention floor to fight the platform stand on abortion. A/:22

The GOP rules committee, controlled by Reaganites, passes a freedom of conscience rule that will allow Bush or Baker delegates to vote for Reagan on the first vote. Although some members loudly oppose the rule, it passes easily, correspondent says. Reagan forces plan to push for a measure that would end Brock's term as early as January; they say they can count on 75 of the 106 votes cast by the committee, so it appears they will get whatever they wish. Robert Hager/1:40

A NBC-AP poll shows that if the election were held now 42 percent would vote for Reagan, 27 percent for Carter, 18 percent for Anderson and 11 percent are undecided. A/:30

VOLCANO--A hazard watch is declared at Mt. Hood, Oregon, in the wake of several earthquakes. Bill Sternoff/1:50

SALVADOR--Mexican authorities arrest a man believed to be involved in the failed attempt to smuggle El Salvadorans into the U.S. Correspondent reviews the route taken by the aliens and smugglers. Frank Bourgholtzer/2:30

TAX--The Fed's board of governors is opposed to a tax cut because they feel such a move will undermine their efforts to fight inflation. They say a cut would give consumers more money to spend and would raise prices. Volcker apparently is responsible for tightening the money supply and raising interest rates -- moves which have caused angry consumers to demonstrate. Irving R. Levine/2:58

HOUSE--An empty house is stolen in Sugarland, Texas. A/:26

ELECTION--Conventioneers and the media are not all staying in Detroit; some will be commuting from Ohio and Canada. But a Detroit tourist bureau spokesman says there are still rooms available in the city. Jessica Savitch/3:08

Reagan's refusal to attend the recent NAACP convention. But the percentage of blacks who have registered as independents has nearly tripled in the last four years, and black disillusionment with Carter has increased, giving the GOP hope. Reagan aides worry about the convention seeming to be a "for whites only" club. Bob Faw/3:18

Correspondent looks at the European view of Reagan. Vintage Reagan movies are enjoying a sudden boom on British television. In France, the government tries to explain who Reagan is; it leaves the impression Reagan is a dangerous ex-movie star. In West Germany, the popular attitude is that it's better to stay with a devil you know (Carter) than to switch to a devil you don't know (Reagan). The West German government hints that Reagan could hardly be worse than Carter. If Europeans could vote for the American president, it's a fairly safe bet that Reagan would be at the bottom of the list. But the favorite would probably be Nixon -- which shows how little Europeans know about American politics, correspondent says. Tom Fenton/3:18

An Anderson-for-President headquarters opens in Detroit. Anderson, meanwhile, meets with Sadat in Egypt; they are shown together. Sadat says he was worried about Anderson's stand on Jerusalem, but he says Anderson assured him that the future of Jerusalem has to be negotiated between Egypt and Israel. Anderson, when pressed, softens his stand on Jerusalem. Anderson angered Palestinians by his walk through East Jerusalem. The walk is shown. It's becoming clear that Anderson's new politics look a lot like the old, correspondent says. The political courage he espoused earlier has largely been abandoned in favor of saying whatever suits the occasion and the audience wherever he goes. Bob McNamara/2:20

VOLCANO--Oregon's Mt. Hood may erupt. A/:26

WEIGHT--Statford, Iowa, residents have been involved in a contest to see who can lose the most weight. Derrick Blakely/2:08

NBC Nightly News

IRAN--The parents of released hostage Richard Queen arrive in Zurich to accompany their son to a U.S. military hospital in Frankfurt. After two meetings, Mr. Queen says their son "is not as we knew him" and that he needs treatment. They did not ask him for any details on his captivity. Mrs. Queen says her son is not bitter about his ordeal. Jim Bitterman/2:00

The Queens receive a low-key welcome in Frankfurt. Queen appears in good spirits as he is carried on a stretcher from the plane. He will stay in the hospital in Germany for a few days. Upon Queen's arrival, the hospital is closed to all visitors. There will be no press briefings as the government makes an effort to give the Queens privacy, from making public any information that Queen may give them and to maintain the safety of the other hostages. John Cochran/1:20

ELECTION--Reagan proposes an economic recovery program that would benefit the auto industry by: placing a moratorium on future regulations, implementing a tax cut and repealing federal allocation rules. He also says

5. we should show the people we are on a good path that leads to the good ^{life} they wish, but it is sometimes a tough path, that requires sacrifice but we are making some progress, we have confidence in them and we will reach our goals - the good life.

2 will develop something else particularly as specific and give it to you now.

NETWORK NEWS

Saturday evening, July 12, 1980

CBS Evening News

ELECTION--CBS's news is anchored from the GOP Detroit convention center, which is being prepared for Monday's opening of the convention. A/:30

IRAN--Richard Queen is transferred to a U.S. Air Force hospital in Germany after being reunited with his parents. Queen's father, shown, says his son's improvement has been tremendous. Queen is shown boarding the airplane himself, and later being carried off the plane on a stretcher. Queen says he won't feel at peace until all the hostages are released. State wanted Queen moved to put him under total American control, and so that he would be technically on American soil. Queen will undergo more tests for an unspecified time. There's much speculation over Queen's health, but there's been no firm diagnosis from American doctors. Susan Peterson/2:36

More than 350 Iranian military officers have reportedly been arrested for plotting to overthrow Khomeini. A/:22

ELECTION--The GOP convention will be Reagan's show from beginning to end, anchor says. Reagan remains in seclusion at his California home, where he is seeing a steady stream of people. It appears Reagan has yet to make his final choice on a vice presidential candidate. Jerry Bowen/1:13

The only real suspense at the convention is over Reagan's choice of a running mate, anchor says. According to Reagan aides, no one has been eliminated. Sources say Reagan is now pondering the decision by himself; he is expected to meet with all the candidates during the week. Bush remains the clear favorite of the delegates. All the possible candidates are shown. Reagan's staff has gone out of his way to keep the suspense alive. Many think it won't make much difference whom Reagan chooses. Bill Plante/2:24

If Bush, or another moderate, is nominated, North Carolina's delegation will challenge the decision by nominating Sen. Helms as vice president. Helms is shown in a TV spot with Reagan. Helms' backers have raised and spent more than \$100,000 to promote the senator. Helms is shown saying Reagan's success in November hinges on his vice presidential choice. Phil Jones/2:33

All Southern GOP state chairmen, except the one from North Carolina, say Bush would help Reagan's chances. A/:15

Gerald and Betty Ford are shown arriving in Detroit. Ford is shown saying he's unhappy about the decision to withdraw support for the ERA. A/:32

Detroit municipal workers end their strike. Teamsters workers at the Detroit Free Press strike. A/:25

With only 3 percent of the GOP delegates being black the party is having trouble wooing the black vote. The RNC has hired a consulting firm to get blacks to vote Republican. Many blacks are insulted by