

**Convention Speech Material 8/14/80 [4]**

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Wednesday, July 30, 1980 -- 1 p.m.

Mr. President --

Here is a new draft. It basically (though not slavishly) follows Pat's outline and incorporates a lot of the things you gave me Sunday night.

It makes these points:

1. We are going to win this election -- because we represent the interests of most people and because we tell the truth.
2. This election is crucial because it is a choice between two futures -- surrender, abandonment and risk vs. security, justice and peace.
3. America will choose the right path because of America's inherent greatness.
4. The Republicans live in dreamland, while the Democrats work in the real world.
5. The choice is clear in key specific areas: defense, dealing with the Russians, the Middle East, human rights -- and especially in the area of energy/economy.
6. The people will choose us because we face the tough decisions, understand reality, and have a vision of a mature nation.

Obviously this is at least 15 pages too long. (You told me not to worry too much about length on this go-round, and I took you up on it.)

What I was trying to do here was to get a comprehensive draft on paper so that we can have something to work from. There are a lot of applause lines, but my priority this time was content -- a full selection of the arguments you might use.

One way we might go from here would be for you to call three or four trusted people together and read the draft out loud to them. They can make notes of what works and what doesn't, and the discussion might help us with the job of winnowing this down.

Rick

A c c e p t a n c e     S p e e c h

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Opening

Speaker O'Neill, Vice President Mondale, my fellow  
Democrats and my fellow Americans --

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

Salute to Mondale

oh -  
Brief  
2 or 3  
applause  
lines

And I thank you for once again nominating as my running  
mate [an honest and able man of deep social commitment -- the  
Vice President of the United States, Walter F. Mondale.

Fritz Mondale has been] the best partner any President  
could have [ <sup>and</sup> He is ] the best Vice President our country has  
ever had. <sup>Fritz Mondale.</sup> He was my first choice in 1976 -- and he is <sup>our</sup> [the]  
first choice [of our Party and our people] in 1980.

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Call for party unity

To those who campaigned for Fritz Mondale and me in the primaries, I offer my deepest personal gratitude.

*too generous*

To those who supported other candidates, let me say that America needs all of us working together in November -- and for the next four years.

Senator Kennedy [you] waged a courageous campaign, [You] and demonstrated the commitment to progress that has always made our party the party of hope. We have differed, sincerely and honorably, on how to reach our common goals. But those goals are the same: a secure nation, a just society, and a peaceful world. I am glad that we are working together once more toward the vision we share.

*Prefer to talk about us to him*

The same holds true for the best Governor California has had since Edmund G. Brown, sr. -- Governor Jerry Brown.

*may be ok*

We are going to win

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

First of all -- 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 <sup>with your help</sup> [come November, the Democratic Party is] going to win this election!

Now let me tell you why:

We are going to win because as the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey, we stand for the hopes and struggles of the great majority of Americans.

The Republican Party -- the party of Hoover and Nixon -- stands for affluence at the top and a hard, mean life at the bottom. The Republicans have been the party of privilege since before any of us were born, and they still are.

The Republicans are making a big pitch this year for the votes of working people. Don't let them fool you! They may be trying to dress up in overalls -- but underneath you will find the same cold Republican heart.

Listen to these words *about Republican politicians & 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."

That was Franklin D. Roosevelt talking, back in the  
fall of 1944. He might as well 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. When we Democrats want to quote a great President,  
we don't have to steal one from the other party!

Here is another reason we are going to win: we respect  
the intelligence of the American people. We respect the  
maturity of the American people. We are not here to talk  
down to the American people -- we are here to talk sense to  
them.

We are going to win because we are working for real  
progress in the real world -- and the Republicans are peddling  
a particularly pungent brand of snake oil.

Most of all, we are going to win because we are right  
about what our country must do to build a better world, and  
the Republicans are wrong.

The two futures

SEE MY OUTLINE -  
FIRST WE SHOULD BUILD  
AN IMAGE OF STATESMANSHIP &  
SOUND PROGRESS FOR OUR-  
SELVES = NOT LAUNCH SO  
EARLY AN ALL-  
OUT ATTACK =  
LATER - ok

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

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.

ok

ok

ok

*Delicate or cold war  
SALT or nuclear superiority,  
Windfall Prof Tax - in fact the of companies*

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.

*ok*  
*5*

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

*ok*

1980 is crucial because down one path lies surrender -- the surrender of our energy future to the tender mercies of the oil companies -- 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.

That is the path the Republican party -- now dominated by its most extreme faction -- has charted this year. America must reject that path.

*Points are ok.*

*Follow on line.*

*Important to show EXTREME DIFFERENCES.*

Down the other path lies security -- the true security

*EARLY -- CARTER/REAGAN, BUT ALSO RADICAL DEPARTURE OF R. FM POLICIES OF IKE, FORD.*

that comes from ending our dependence on foreign oil and developing our own supplies of coal and gas and sunlight, the security that comes from making the hard investments now -- in tools, technology, factories and production so that we can renew an economy based on jobs and stable prices for all.

That is the path of the Democratic Party. It is the path that leads to a secure nation. It is the path of hope. It is the path America must choose.

1980 is crucial because down one path lies abandonment -- the abandonment of a half-century's effort to bring economic security to all Americans, working people as well as corporate executives -- the abandonment of the long effort to win full civil rights and equal rights for all Americans.

That is the path the Republican right has charted this year. America must reject that path as well.

Down the other path lies justice -- the justice of a renewed national commitment to decent health care, decent education, and a decent job for every American -- the justice of full civil rights for all people, regardless of color or language -- the simple human justice of equal rights regardless of sex.

That is the path of the Democratic Party. It is the path that leads to a just society. It too is the path of hope. And it is the path America must choose.

1980 is crucial because down one path lies risk -- the risk of an unwarranted new Cold War -- the risk of a short-sighted foreign policy that would turn the developing world into a battlefield -- the risk of an uncontrollable, unwinnable and unaffordable nuclear arms race.

That is the path the Republican right has charted this year. America must reject that path.

SEE MY  
OUTLINE - ERA  
INCL BRIEF,  
STRONG, GIRL'S  
CHECK NATION  
TALK

Down the other path lies 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.

That is the path of the Democratic Party. It is the path that leads to a peaceful world. It too is the path of hope. It is the path America must choose -- and with your help and your commitment, it is the path 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.

[I believe] that we can build a future in which all people lead full, decent lives in harmony with each other and with a habitable planet. [I think] the skills, experience, vision and courage of the American people today make the United

ALWAYS  
OMIT THE  
"I BELIEVE"  
"I THINK"  
etc  
except....

States a natural leader in guiding humanity's course toward a better world tomorrow.

America's greatness

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*--- here*

I believe in America.

For over 200 years, we have had the greatest system of political democracy in all of recorded history. Our Constitution has stood the test of time. It has never been stronger than it is today.

We are a free people defended by a free press. Our courts stand guard against the excesses of government.

Our freedoms and our liberties have never been stronger than they are today.

We are a blessed people. We settled a continent and found God's handiwork in the beauty and majesty of our land.

Today, we are the breadbasket of the world, the world's greatest producer of goods and services.

We know how to realize our dreams. In this century alone, we have split the atom, invented the computer, and gone to the moon.

Refugees and immigrants from all over the world come to America. They come here because the future is here in America -- and that has never been truer than it is today.

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.

Republicans live in dreamland

If there were any lingering doubts about the differences

between the two parties, if there were any doubts about the need for a Democratic victory this year, those doubts were erased in Detroit last month.

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While we Democrats have been grappling with the real problems of renewing our economy, helping our cities and farms, and preserving peace and freedom, the Republicans have been talking about a world of make-believe.

A LOT OF  
THIS CAN  
BE GIVEN  
TO FRITZ

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

I SHOULD  
COME ACROSS  
AS A  
SOBER &  
CONCERNED

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

PRESIDENT =  
MAYBE A LITTLE  
ANGRY

In the Republican version of reality, all problems have simple solutions. What should be done about the economy? Just put in a trillion-dollar tax cut for the rich. Simple

-- just like everything else. 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 economic powers. America can still control everything. The new nations of the Third World do not exist except as proving grounds for gunboat diplomacy. And a dangerous new arms race is something to be welcomed.

VP

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

No disturbing complexity. No difficult choices. No hard 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.

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Democrats live in real world

We Democrats, like most Americans, do not have the luxury of living in a world of fantasy. Our Party spends its full time making this world better.

We Democrats believe that the purpose of an American political party is to improve the real world in which the American people actually live.

In the real world there are real issues -- like energy supplies, economic renewal, nuclear arms, and social justice -- that do not lend themselves to simple solutions.

In the real world there are 150 independent nations, with their own cultures, their own languages, their own destinies, and -- as hard as it is to accept sometimes -- their own legitimate interests.

In the real world there are real people who look to

VP

government to help protect their lives, their health and their safety.

Democratic Party is open, broad-based

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We Democrats are comfortable with reality because our party reflects the magnificent variety of American life.

Walt Whitman called America a Nation of Nations. Just look around you. That Nation of Nations is right here in this convention hall -- and it is the real America.

VP

The world can see that our commitment to equal opportunity is not just words. At the Republican convention, one out of thirty-five of the delegates were black or Hispanic or Asian. At our Democratic convention, it is one out of four.

There is nothing abstract about our commitment to equal rights for the 50 per cent of the American people who are women. Fifty per cent of our delegates are women -- twice

the number as at the Republican convention. We Democrats believe in women's rights without hypocrisy or apology, and we show it in the only way that counts: by fighting for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

*ok  
REWORD*

If we are committed to minimum wage and to safety in the workplace, maybe that is because 25 per cent of our delegates are from the labor movement. At the Republican convention, it was four -- not four per cent, four delegates out of nearly two thousand.

*VP*

If Republican delegates have few arguments over economic policy, maybe that is because their median income was almost \$50,000 a year -- higher than the average income of 99 per cent of Americans. With everyone in the same income bracket, what is there to argue about?

*VP*

Issue: defense policy

Since they don't have anything else to discuss, the

Republicans have spent their time criticizing Democratic achievements. It is up to us to set the record straight.

710

The Republicans criticize our defense policies. They 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. Under the eight years of Nixon-Ford Republican rule, -- even allowing for the end of the Vietnam war -- real defense spending was actually cut -- 37 per cent, to be exact. It has been up to us Democrats -- who get no pleasure from military posturing -- to turn that around.

*Idea  
ok*

[ We have not cut the defense budget. We have not cut back on vital defense programs. ] 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

*too  
defensive*

decline in defense. Our five-year defense plan calls for increasing defense spending 25 per cent by 1985. Under my plan we will continue to match the Soviet Union. We will be second to no nation. This is action, not words. This is fact, not fiction.

The Republican Party says we should spend hundreds more billions of dollars to compete with the Soviet Union for the ability to score a nuclear knockout. Where is their common sense? The United States would never allow the Soviet Union to achieve nuclear superiority over us. Do the Republicans actually believe the Soviet Union would react to our attempt at superiority any differently? The result of this policy can only be an unending, spiraling arms race, in which no country is a winner and all human beings are the losers.

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

NEED  
PAT'S  
GUIDANCE  
ON  
WORDING

Let me state my defense policy and the policy of the Democratic Party clearly for all to judge:

I am committed to a sustained and steady increase in our military capability and for the funding necessary to support these increases in order to protect our nation's security and fulfill leadership responsibilities to the free world.

*say only  
once*

At the same time, I am committed to continue to seek to negotiate reasonable arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union. I believe the very future of our planet demands no less from any President.

For seven years, under three Presidents, we labored to negotiate a treaty to reduce the Soviet nuclear arsenal and to impose balanced limits on the nuclear weapons of both our nations. That treaty -- the SALT II treaty -- is very much in the national security interests of the United States.

*Too  
SPECIFIC*

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This election will set a course for our country and the world in the field of 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.

If I am elected, we will ratify both this agreement and others in the future. We will maintain a stable nuclear balance in the years ahead.

?

← \* \*

The other course -- the <sup>NEW</sup> Republican course -- is to [throw away the SALT II treaty and] abandon the policy of mutual deterrence, which has been supported by both Democratic and Republican Presidents for a generation. This new and radical departure is irresponsible. It would not make us more secure. It would make us -- it would make the whole world -- far less secure.

Military strength and arms control are essential to peace. But maintaining a peaceful world also requires wise

and comprehensive foreign policies -- policies such as a firm response to aggression, support for the Camp David Accords, the Panama Canal Treaties, the opening of diplomatic relations with China, and the pursuit of human rights.

Issue: Afghanistan

The Republican right criticizes our response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But they do not say what they would do. They only say what they would not do. And it is clear that when it comes to the crunch, they are absent without leave.

Too  
CUTE

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

<sup>NEW</sup> The <sup>LEADERS</sup> Republicans <sup>LEADERS</sup> have opposed it.

The Congress and I advocated -- and the U.S. Olympic

Committee decided -- that an American Olympic team would not go to the summer games in Moscow while Soviet troops were occupying Afghanistan. The Republican right disagreed.

(NEW) (S)

The Congress passed -- and I signed into law -- a bill requiring registration of young men. Short of a national emergency and additional legislation, there will be no draft. We will continue to depend on our volunteer armed forces.

But our young men have demonstrated our country's commitment and patriotism. Again, the <sup>NEW</sup> Republicans <sup>LEADERS</sup> have condemned this action.

The Republicans do not seem to know what to do with the Russians. They are not sure if they want to feed them, play with them, or fight them.

IN  
LANGUAGE,  
DON'T FAIL  
TO SEPARATE  
R. from  
OTHER  
REPUBS

Instead, the Republicans offer a dangerous policy based on exaggerations of Soviet strength, an unwillingness to ask the American people to make any sacrifices to meet the threat

that does exist, and a seeming eagerness for a wild escalation of the arms race.

Our country cannot afford that kind of policy. Our country cannot afford that kind of irresolution. *RADICAL APPROACH ?*

Issue: 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 at gunpoint. Today, they are talking face to face across a peace table. I prefer it our way.

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

*Put obvious  
APPLAUSE LINES  
AT END of IP's*

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Issue: what we stand for

The Republicans complain about our human rights policy.

If they get in, they <sup>MAY</sup> will just scrap it.

ALWAYS -  
AT LEAST  
BRIEFLY,  
ESTABLISH  
OUR OWN  
CREDENTIALS.

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 in the eyes of the world -- gunboats, gas guzzlers, and giant corporations? I say, ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union if we should scrap our commitment to human rights. Ask those who are struggling for 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.

If the current set of Republican leaders had been in office for the past four years, we might well have had American boys fighting in Panama and elsewhere in Latin America. We might be facing decades of war on our own

?

doorstep. Instead, we are working to promote democracy and social justice throughout Latin America. We have put America back on the side of America's deepest beliefs -- and we are going to keep it there!

We Democrats have restored the moral basis of American foreign policy. After the bitterness and division of Vietnam, we have become again a nation that is unashamed of its patriotism. We have seen that patriotism when it counts the most -- in times of adversity.

Here is something else the Republicans would prefer to blank out of the American 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

*IN GENERAL,  
TOO MANY  
FEISTY  
ATTACKS ON  
REPUBLICANS*

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. When we have trouble, we start by telling the truth.

Energy and our economic future

The Republicans criticize our energy program. They do not mention that before the Democrats took over in 1977, this Nation did not even have an energy program.

*AGAIN,  
DEFENSIVE  
BEGINNING*

Nothing is more important to our future security than energy. Nothing is more important to our future prosperity. Nothing was so disastrously neglected by my Republican predecessors.

*In a way, we want  
Ford on our side*

The energy crisis is not just oil and gas and electricity. It is part of a larger economic transformation -- a deep convulsion of economic change that is still shaking and

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restructuring the whole world. It is the link that ties together our problems at home and our challenges abroad.

In 1960 we spent a billion dollars for foreign oil. Last year we spent \$90 billion. It is as though we took the *NO* entire earnings of our 500 biggest companies and sent it overseas -- every year!

Those hundreds of billions of dollars that drain away to pay for foreign oil are the main source of economic misery in our country. All of us know that if we do not lick our energy problems, the rest will be just words.

That is why I proposed a massive, comprehensive energy policy way back in April 1977. The Republicans and their *VP* friends the oil lobbyists fought me tooth and nail. Every time they knocked us down, we got up to fight again. We stuck to it -- and now, three and a half years later, we have that comprehensive energy program.

We are building new industries in weatherization, in solar power, in the development and production of synthetic fuels from coal, shale and growing plants. Put together, these efforts will dwarf our programs to send men to the moon and to build our interstate highway system. They will be the largest domestic investment and jobs program in our history.

PART  
8  
"VISION"  
NEAR  
END

And to pay for these bold efforts, we have the bill the experts said could never pass, but our Democratic Congress passed anyway -- the windfall profits tax on the oil companies. We have the tools. Now we must finish the job.

VP

Now let's look at what the Republicans offer as an alternative. They don't brag about their energy program, and when I tell you what it is you'll see why. It is right there in the Republican platform.

,

Basically, their energy program, if you can call it that, 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 old and the poor for their energy 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.

*VP on details  
(I'm not sure on this)*

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. There isn't any more. That's their whole program. If it weren't so sad, it might almost be funny.

But it isn't funny. What it is, is an outrageous fraud. And it's up to us to make sure they don't get away with it.

Building a new economic base

The problem of foreign oil is only the biggest of the ways the world's economy has changed.

A generation ago, Europe and Japan looked to us to help them rebuild their war-devastated economies. Today, with their new and growing industrial plants, they out-compete us in many areas.

Our economy is still the most productive on earth. We produce more per worker than any other country. Our per capita income is higher than it has ever been in our history.

BEING  
DRAFTED  
FOR  
URBAN  
LEAGUE.  
IDEAS ok

But since many of our factories are old, the growth of our productivity has slowed to a halt.

No wonder so many Americans are uneasy about our economic future. No wonder we are faced with unacceptably high unemployment and inflation.

But if American history shows anything, it shows that we Americans do not fear change. We master change. We use change to build a stronger country.

When America does that, it is always the Democratic Party that leads the way. And so it is today. When we took office in 1977, we tackled the long-neglected, long-term job of rebuilding the foundations of American prosperity and revitalizing our economy.

We set out to put free enterprise back into the airline and trucking systems of our country by getting rid of the stifling

web of anti-competitive sweetheart regulation. We initiated a government-wide system of regulatory reform to eliminate regulations wherever possible in the interest of enhancing productivity.

We set out to promote exports aggressively, across the board. And since I took office, our exports have grown dramatically.

Too  
DETAILED

We set out to reverse the Republican decline in basic research and development for economic growth, and we are succeeding.

We have been battling the global disease of inflation stimulated by the surging energy prices and declining productivity of the last ten years. And we have made progress. We have already cut the inflation rate by more than one-third, and in the months ahead, we can expect the inflation rate to fall still more. With inflation receding and our energy

program in place, we can now direct our energies to the task of rebuilding the productive capacity of our economy -- its capacity to create jobs and provide economic security for our people.

These programs take time. They do not pay off overnight. But we have laid a foundation. And in the next decade we are going to build on that foundation.

We are going to target specific job-creating investments, particularly for jobless young people. We are going to encourage competition and innovation and productivity by making changes in our tax laws that will encourage capital formation and the development of new technologies. We are beginning the restructuring of the steel and auto industries through the creation of a new partnership between industry, labor and government which can work together to rebuild these vital industries for the future. We will retool our

I LIKE  
BILL  
MILLER'S  
LIST

auto industry to build fuel-efficient cars. We will expand our port facilities to handle vastly increased exports of coal and other products. We will modernize our basic industries. We are already beginning to build a whole range of new energy industries. We will rebuild our cities and towns, expand and modernize our public transportation. We will build the houses and produce the goods and services needed by a growing America.

In the first three years of my Administration, we added nine million workers to the job rolls. The recession has set us back. But that setback will be temporary. Between now and 1985, we are going to put millions of Americans to work building the new economic base that will take our country into the twenty-first century.

POINT  
OK

The Republican alternative to all this is the biggest tax giveaway to the rich in American history. Let's take a look at it.

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It sounds pretty good -- if you happen to make \$200,000 a year. Someone with that income would get 35 times more than a person making \$20,000 -- and 135 times more than a person making \$8,000!

VP

This Republican tax cut would refuel inflation just when we are beginning to get it under control. Back when he was running against the current Republican Presidential nominee, the current Republican Vice-Presidential nominee said that this proposal would mean an inflation rate of 30 per cent. Just this once, he was right. Maybe the rich people who would get the lion's share of the tax breaks can afford that kind of inflation -- but what about everybody else?

OK

VP

Try putting this Republican tax cut together with Republican pledges to balance the budget and make huge increases in military spending. What you get is an economic policy that couldn't pass a first-grade arithmetic test. When you add it

VP

up, it turns out that if they actually tried to put this Republican program into effect, the entire rest of the government would have to be abolished -- everything from education to farm programs to the U.S. Forest Service. And the Federal budget would still be in the red.

← POINT  
OK

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A time to sow

Our Nation's economic problems are highly complex. So are the solutions to them. But in a broader sense, what we are doing in economic and energy policy -- what our country is doing under the leadership of the Democratic party -- is something that is familiar to all of us in our own lives.

7

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 we are doing in energy policy and economic policy. This is a time to plant the seeds of future energy security. It is a time to plough new ground for economic growth. Throughout our country, this is a time to sow. I wish it were a time to reap. It is not. But that time will come -- and it will come soon.

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With their free-lunch tax promise, the Republicans are proposing to eat the seed corn. That is the meaning of their proposal for a gigantic tax cut. The American people are not going to fall for it.

Questions on Republican policies

Does anyone really believe that our nation's complex economic problems will be solved by a trillion-dollar tax cut?

Does anyone believe that promising election-year tax cuts is a mark of political courage?

7

'

7

VP

Does anyone believe that sneering at energy conservation is a sign of economic wisdom?

I believe that such proposals reflect neither courage nor good sense.

They are the dangerous concoctions of the far-right wing of a political party so starved for victory that it would purchase that victory at any price -- regardless of what it would cost in essential services, regardless of what it would cost in inflation.

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VP

I ask similar questions about the Republican proposals for national security policy.

Does anyone seriously believe that spending untold billions of dollars in a hopeless race for nuclear superiority -- whatever that means -- will guarantee our Nation's security?

Does anyone seriously believe that we can achieve peace

and guarantee our own security by throwing away a generation's patient work in the control of nuclear arms?

Does anyone seriously believe that we can keep the peace by playing a nightmarish game of nuclear "chicken" with the Soviet Union?

ND

Of course not. Of course not.

We did not build our leadership in the world through recklessness or militarism. We did it by looking to our real strengths -- our military strength, yes, but also the strength that comes from wisdom and from our humane values. And that is how we shall stay strong and preserve the peace.

oh

We did not build our economy with an ideology of grabbing it all today and not thinking of tomorrow. We built it by saving. We built it by investing. We built it by working. And together, that is how we will rebuild it.

SEE  
KIRBO  
NOTE

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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.

all  
ok

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.

For all the celebration and festivity, this is serious

business that we do here -- and I have a serious message for the Republican leadership.

Like it or not, the realities of the 1980's are not simple. The challenges of the 1980's are not met by building a fantasy world. The problems of the 1980's are not solved by making irresponsible promises.

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, most challenging job in the world.

It is also the best, most exhilarating job in the world. I don't mind admitting that 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

7

JK

with the American people. It is more important that we hold fast to our highest principles and ideals.

Vision of the 1980's -- A Mature Nation

We are the oldest democracy on earth -- and we are growing stronger. We are the most successful nation on earth -- and our greatest destiny lies ahead.

*cliche*

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.

*sh*

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

*sh*

We have learned the uses and the limits of power.

*sh*

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We have learned the beauty and the responsibility of freedom.

*ll*

We have learned the value and the obligation of justice.

We have learned the necessity of peace.

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.

*ll*

We have paid a price for our maturity. We cannot afford to throw it away. We cannot afford to turn our backs on what we have learned about the world. We cannot afford to act as if the world of the 1980's did not exist.

*ll*

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.

*ok*

*MacLesh quote  
was good  
re dream*

We need to build on what we have learned about the world, not retreat from it.

The Bible tells us --

"When I was a child, I spoke as a child. I understood as a child. I thought as a child. But when I became a man I put away childish things."

*Find  
better  
quote*

A mature nation sees its strengths and knows how to use them. More important, it sees its duty to itself.

Friends, fellow citizens -- like it or not, there is such a word as "must."

*I'm hoping  
for new  
equivalent  
to '9 see  
an America..*

The United States must establish energy supplies that are secure.

The United States must live up to its own conception of itself -- the land of liberty and justice for all.

The United States must use its strength in the world  
to help guide the world toward peace.

This is my vision of our Nation in the 1980's and beyond  
-- a mature nation that knows its strengths, learns from its  
past, and walks boldly, eyes open, into its future.

Let us join hands tonight and face that future together.  
Let us go forth and build -- for ourselves and our children  
-- a secure nation, a just society, and a peaceful world.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Out Box

8/31/80

*mu*

July 31, 1980

MR. PRESIDENT:

Senator Biden will be arriving in Delaware about 8 p.m. tonight and requests that you call him (W.H. operator has number.)

Both Frank and Dan recommend you return the call.

PHIL

July 21, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Rick Hertzberg *Rick*  
Subject: Acceptance speech

Here is the first draft of the acceptance speech. It is intended as a basis for our discussion Thursday.

The basic theme of the speech is that we are leading the country to a better future in the real world, while the Republicans are dealing in fantasy.

It is a fighting speech. I read every incumbent's acceptance speech, and the only good one was Truman's. This takes a leaf from his book, without having you compare yourself with him directly. The idea is to let others draw the comparison.

The speech concentrates on domestic policy. That is what most Americans are thinking about, and that is where the Republicans least expect us to come on strong.

This draft is just a bit shorter than Reagan's acceptance speech -- maybe 10 per cent shorter.

In terms of content, I suspect that what the speech may need is an anecdote or two that will allow you to tell a story and bring alive for the audience the majesty of your experience as President -- something that would bring people into the Oval Office the way Jerry's film tried to.

In terms of process, I am, for the moment, bypassing the usual procedure. The only two people to whom I have given this draft are Jerry Rafshoon and Jack Watson. Because this is a special case, I figured it would be better to have a special procedure, which we can discuss at the meeting. My suggestion is that after we circulate a draft to the senior staff and so on, I should then give you two versions: a clean one, with my idea of what the speech ought to be, and a "Christmas tree" with the remaining staff suggestions collated. This is what we did with the Kennedy Library thing, and it worked pretty well.

In preparing this draft, I consulted widely within the White House. Jack sent out a memo to the senior staff soliciting written suggestions, and I took the responses into account. This draft represents my best judgment at this moment of what the speech ought to be. Gordon Stewart and, especially, Chris Matthews of my staff made significant contributions.

#

A c c e p t a n c e      S p e e c h

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Opening

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Speaker O'Neill, Vice President Mondale, my fellow  
Democrats and my fellow Americans --

From the bottom of my heart, I thank you for your welcome.

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

*I accept*

✓ And I thank you for once again nominating the best Vice  
President our country ever had -- Walter F. Mondale.

Salute to Mondale

Fritz Mondale is a man of absolute honesty, high ability,  
and deep progressive conviction. That is why I chose him as  
my running mate four years ago. That is why he was my first

✓ choice. The last four years have vindicated that choice in full. Fritz Mondale has traveled our country with enthusiasm and eloquence. He has been the best partner any President could have -- the best Vice President our nation could ask for.

Call for party unity

To those who campaigned for me in the primaries, I offer you my deep personal gratitude.

To those whose consciences led them to support other candidates, let me say that America needs [your consciences working] <sup>to work together</sup> for us, in November -- and for the next four years.

✓ Senator Kennedy and Governor Brown, you waged courageous campaigns. You demonstrated the commitment to progress that has always made our party the party of hope. We have differed, ✓ sincerely and honorably, on how to reach our common goals.

But those goals are the same: a secure Nation, a just society,

Ken  
Library

a peaceful world. I am glad we are working together once more toward the vision we share.

We are going to win

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

✓ First, I accept your nomination for President of the United States.

The second thing is this:

I know what the pollsters and the political experts have been saying. I watched that Republican display of smugness and self-congratulation in Detroit last month. Well, I have some bad news for those Republicans, and some good news for the rest of us. Fritz Mondale and I are going to wage the best, most unstinting Presidential campaign you

ever saw. And come November, we are going to win this election!

We are going to win because we are right about what our country must do to build a better future, and the Republicans are wrong.

We are going to win because we stand for the hopes and struggles of the great majority of Americans, and the Republicans stand for affluence at the top and a hard, mean life at the bottom. The Republicans are making a big pitch this year for the votes of working people. Don't let them fool you! They may smile and promise and pay lip service to the interests of ordinary Americans. But they have been the party of privilege since before any of us were born, and they still are. They are trying to dress up in overalls this year. But under that denim still beats a banker's heart.

We are going to win because we respect the intelligence of the American people. We respect the maturity of the

American people. We are not here to talk down to the American people -- we are here to talk sense to them.

Most of all, we are going to win because we are going to finish the job we have begun -- the job of making the hard but necessary investments in a stronger, more productive, more prosperous America.

Republicans live in dreamland

If there were any lingering doubts about the differences between the two parties, if there were any doubts about the need for a Democratic victory this year, those doubts were erased in Detroit last month.

While we Democrats have been grappling with the problems of renewing our economy, helping our cities and farms, and preserving the peace, the Republicans have been talking about a never-never land.

See 6  
Miller  
p 2

✓

*make believe*

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

Theirs is a nation in which life revolves around the country club, where poor people and inner-city people and farm workers just do not exist. As for women, the Republicans still haven't decided if they will let them into their world.

In the Republican version of reality, all problems have simple solutions.

The Republicans have given us the best example of that already: How do they propose to help our economy? Simple.

✓ They will just put in a trillion-dollar tax cut for the rich.

✓ In the Republicans' world, all the complex changes around the globe since World War II have never happened. The new nations of the Third World do not exist except as targets

✓ for gunboat diplomacy. And a dangerous new 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 disturbing complexity. No difficult choices. No hard 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.

Republican Party has gone far-right

I am a lifelong Democrat, but I will say this --

When it began, the Republican Party believed in the need for social progress in our country. There was a time when the party of Lincoln had the conscience of Lincoln.

There was a time -- a more recent time -- when the Republican Party took an interest in fiscal responsibility, or at least fiscal sanity. That time is no more. For the sake of scoring some quick political points, the "party of fiscal responsibility" has overnight become the party of something-for-nothing.

There was a time when the Republican Party and its leaders believed in seeking peace around the world, in improving our relations with other nations, in working for arms control. That time is no more.

If the current leaders of the Republican Party want to live in a world of fantasy, that is their right. Most of them can afford it.

If they want to cash in their party's credibility for short-term politics, that is their right -- even if in the long run their party can't afford it.

But if they expect to govern that way, all of us must say, "Sorry, but America cannot afford it" -- because where they lead, America will follow at her peril.

Democrats live in real world

We Democrats, like most Americans, do not have the luxury of living in a world of fantasy. Our Party spends its full time making this world better.

We Democrats believe that the purpose of an American political party is to improve American government, American society, and American lives. To do that, we need to work in the real world, with all its challenges and all its problems.

In the real world there are real problems -- like energy and economic resurgence -- that do not lend themselves to simple solutions.

In the real world there are real people who need help,

Section etc. In the real world "oh sharp"

people who rely on government to stand up for them.

In the real world there are 150 independent nations, with their own cultures, their own languages, their own destinies, and -- as hard as it is to accept sometimes -- their own legitimate interests.

In the real world, the task of lessening the greatest danger to human life on this planet -- the danger of nuclear war -- requires strength and patience and wisdom.

Democratic Party is open, broad-based

Walt Whitman called America a Nation of Nations. Just look around you. That Nation of Nations is right here in this convention hall.

The world can see that our commitment to equal opportunity is not just words. One out of four of our delegates are black or Hispanic or Asian. At the Republican convention,

it was one out of twenty.

31<sup>7</sup>

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There is nothing abstract about our commitment to equal rights for the 50 per cent of the American people who are women. Fifty per cent of our delegates are women -- twice the number as at the Republican convention. We Democrats believe in women's rights without hypocrisy or apology, and we show it in the only way that counts: by fighting for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

*Teachers*

If we are committed to minimum wage and to safety in the workplace, maybe that is because \_\_\_\_\_ per cent of our delegates are from the labor movement. At the Republican convention, it was four -- not four per cent, four delegates out of nearly two thousand.

If Republican delegates have few arguments over economic policy, maybe that is because their median income was almost

\$50,000 a year. With everyone in the same income bracket, what is there to argue about?

Defense of Record

Since they don't have anything else to discuss, the Republicans have spent their time criticizing Democratic achievements. It is up to us to set the record straight.

¶ The Republicans criticize our defense policies.

They talk about a strong defense. But when they had a chance to do something about defense, it was a different story.

Under the eight years of Nixon-Ford Republican rule, real defense spending was actually cut by more than a third -- 37 per cent, to be exact. It has been up to us Democrats -- who do not enjoy military posturing -- to turn that around.

We have modernized our strategic forces, shored up NATO, and reversed the eight-year Republican decline in defense commitments. That is action, not talk.

¶ The Republicans criticize delays in the Camp David peace process. But before the Democrats took office, there was no Camp David peace process. Look at the difference. Before, Israel and her largest Arab neighbor were confronting each other at gunpoint. Today, they are talking face to face across a peace table. I prefer it our way.

¶ The Republicans complain about our human rights policy. If they get in, they will just 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 in the eyes of the world -- gunboats, gas guzzlers, and giant corporations? I say, ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union if we should scrap our commitment to human rights. Ask those who are struggling for 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.

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Memories are short. Before the Democrats took office in 1977, our government had all but lost sight of the principles and values our Nation represents. A good many Americans -- and not just young people -- had lost faith in our role in the world.

We Democrats have restored the moral basis of American foreign policy. After the bitterness and division of Vietnam, we have become again a nation that is unashamed of its patriotism. We have seen that patriotism when it counts the most -- in times of adversity.

*Watergate*

¶ Here is something else the Republicans would prefer to edit out of the American 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.

Energy and our economic future

¶ The Republicans criticize our energy program. They do not mention that before the Democrats took over in 1977, this Nation did not even have an energy program.

Let me take a moment to talk about this problem -- because nothing is more important to the future security and prosperity of our Nation.

The energy crisis is not just oil and gas and electricity. It is part of a larger economic transformation -- a deep convulsion of economic change that is still shaking and restructuring the whole world.

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In 1960 we spent a billion dollars for foreign oil.

Last year we spent \$90 billion. It is as though we took the  
(income)  
entire worth of our 500 biggest companies and sent it overseas  
-- every year!

Those hundreds of billions of dollars that drain away  
to pay for foreign oil are the main source of economic misery  
in our country. All of us know that if we do not lick our  
energy problems, the rest will be just words.

That is why I proposed a massive, comprehensive energy  
policy way back in April 1977. The Republicans and their  
friends the oil lobbyists fought me tooth and nail. Every  
time they knocked us down, we got up to fight again. We  
stuck to it -- and now, three and a half years later, we  
have that comprehensive energy program. It is the greatest  
collective peacetime effort in our history.

We have a new synthetic fuels industry that eventually

will be one of the biggest industries in the country. We have strong incentives and subsidies for energy conservation, for solar power, for gas<sup>o</sup>hol, for all kinds of alternative sources. We have programs to aid mass transit and to help older people pay their fuel bills. And to pay for this bold effort, we have the bill the experts said could never pass, but our Democratic Congress passed it anyway -- the windfall profits tax on the oil companies.

Now let's look at what the Republicans offer as an alternative. They don't brag about their energy program, and when I tell you what it is you'll see why. But it is right there in the Republican platform.

Basically, their energy program, if you can call it that, 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 old and the poor for their energy 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.

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. There isn't any more. That's their whole  
program. If it weren't so sad, it might almost be funny.

*all ok*

But it isn't funny. What it is, is an outrageous fraud. And it's up to you and me to make sure they don't get away with it.

### Building a new economic base

The problem of foreign oil is only the biggest of the ways the world's economy has changed.

A generation ago, Europe and Japan looked to us to help them rebuild their war-devastated economies. Today, with their new and growing industrial plants, they out-compete us in many areas.

Our economy is still the most productive on earth. We produce more per worker than any other country. But since many of our factories are old, the growth of our productivity has slowed to a halt.

No wonder so many Americans are uneasy about our economic

future. No wonder we are faced with unacceptably high unemployment and inflation.

But if American history shows anything, it shows that we Americans do not fear change. We master change. We use change to build a stronger country.

When America does that, it is always the Democratic Party that leads the way. And so it is today. When we took office in 1977, we tackled the long-neglected, long-term job of rebuilding the foundations of American prosperity.

We set out to put free enterprise back into the airline and trucking systems of our country by getting rid of the stifling web of anti-competitive sweetheart regulation.

We set out to promote exports aggressively, across the board.

We set out to reverse the Republican decline in basic

research and development for economic growth.

*US, Japan  
Germany*

*Current accts*

It takes time. It doesn't pay off overnight. But we have laid a foundation. And in the next four years, we are going to build on that foundation. We are going to shift toward job-creating investment. We are going to encourage competition and innovation and productivity. We are going to put millions of Americans to work building the new economic base that will take our country into the twenty-first century.

Bill  
Miller  
memo

The Republican alternative to all this is the biggest tax giveaway to the rich in American history. Let's take a look at it.

It sounds pretty good -- if you happen to make \$200,000 a year. Someone with that income would get 35 times more than a person making \$20,000 -- and 135 times more than a person making \$8,000!

100 X?

This Republican tax cut would refuel inflation just when we are beginning to get it under control. Back when he was

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running against the current Republican Presidential nominee, the current Republican Vice-Presidential nominee said that this proposal would mean an inflation rate of 30 per cent. He has since done a flip-flop on it. Just this once, he was right to begin with. Maybe the rich people who would get the lion's share of the tax breaks can afford that kind of inflation -- but what about everybody else?

Try putting this Republican tax cut together with Republican pledges to balance the budget, preserve social security, and make huge increases in military spending. What you get is an economic policy that couldn't pass a first-grade arithmetic test. We ran a study on this, and it turned out that if they actually tried to put this Republican program into effect, the entire rest of the government would have to be abolished. And the Federal budget would still be in the red.

It's not very realistic -- to put it mildly.

Good -  
abbreviate

A time to sow

Our Nation's economic problems are highly complex. So are the solutions to them. But in a broader sense, what we are doing in economic and energy policy -- what our country is doing under the leadership of the Democratic party -- is something that is familiar to all of us in our own lives.

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 we are doing in energy policy and economic policy. This is a time to plant the seeds of future energy security. It is a time to plough new ground for economic growth. Throughout our country, this is a time to sow. I wish it were a time to reap. It is not. But that time will come, and you can depend on it.

With their free-lunch tax promise, the Republicans are proposing to eat the seed corn. That is the meaning of their proposal for a gigantic tax cut. The American people are not going to fall for it.

Questions on Republican policies

✓ Does anyone really believe that our nation's complex economic problems will be solved by a <sup>2</sup> trillion-dollar tax cut?

If this were the solution, does anyone seriously believe that I -- or any incumbent President -- would not propose such a cut? Or that Congress wouldn't pass it?

Does anyone believe that promising election-year tax cuts is a mark of political courage?

Does anyone believe that sneering at energy conservation and promising cheap, unlimited gasoline are signs of economic wisdom?

I believe that such proposals reflect neither courage nor good sense.

They are the dangerous concoctions of the far-right wing of a political party so starved for victory that it would purchase that victory at any price -- regardless of what it would cost in essential services, regardless of what it would cost in inflation.

I ask similar questions about the Republican proposals for national security policy.

Does anyone seriously believe that spending untold billions of dollars in a hopeless race for nuclear superiority -- whatever that means -- will guarantee our Nation's security?

Does anyone seriously believe that we can achieve peace and guarantee our own security by throwing away a generation's patient work in the control of nuclear arms?

Does anyone seriously believe that we can keep the peace by playing a nightmarish game of nuclear "chicken" with the Soviet Union?

Of course not. Of course not.

We did not build our leadership in the world through recklessness or militarism. We did it by looking to our real strengths -- our military strength, yes, but also the strength that comes from wisdom and from our humane values. And that is how we shall stay strong and preserve the peace.

We did not build our economy with an ideology of grabbing it all today and not thinking of tomorrow. We built it by saving. We built it by investing. We built it by working. And together, that is how we will rebuild it.

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.

For all the celebration and festivity, this is serious business that we do here -- and I have a serious message for the Republican leadership.

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Like it or not, the realities of the 1980's are not simple. The challenges of the 1980's are not met by building a fantasy world. The problems of the 1980's are not solved by making irresponsible promises.

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 simply the toughest job in the world.

Vision of the 1980's -- A Mature Nation

✓ We are the oldest democracy on earth -- and we are growing stronger. We are the most successful nation on earth -- and our greatest destiny lies ahead.

✓ 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, Vietnam, the twilight peace of nuclear terror.

Wgate

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 cost and the obligation of justice.

We have learned the necessity of peace.

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. We cannot afford to turn our backs on  
what we have learned about the world. We cannot afford to  
act as if the world of the 1980's did not exist.

We need to build on what we have learned about the world, not retreat from it.

The Bible tells us --

"When I was a child, I spoke as a child. I understood as a child. I thought as a child. But when I became a man I put away childish things."

A mature nation sees its strengths and knows how to use them. More important, it sees its duty to itself.

My friends, my fellow Americans -- like it or not, there is such a word as "must."

The United States must establish energy supplies that are secure.

The United States must live up to its own conception of itself -- the land of liberty and justice for all.

The United States must use its strength in the world  
to help guide the world toward peace.

This is my vision of our Nation in the 1980's and beyond  
-- a mature nation that knows its strengths, learns from its  
past, and walks boldly, eyes open, into its future.

Let us join hands tonight and face that future together.  
Let us go forth and build -- for ourselves and our children  
-- a secure nation, a just society, and a peaceful world.

# # #