

Convention Speech Material 8/14/80 [5]

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A c c e p t a n c e S p e e c h

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Fellow Democrats, fellow citizens:

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

And I especially thank you for renominating as my running mate the best ^{running mate} ~~Vice-President~~ any President has ever had -- our first and only choice -- Fritz Mondale.

~~We have a lot of ground to cover tonight, but~~ I want to get two things straight right at the start.

First, I accept your nomination.

The second thing is this:

Fritz ~~Mondale~~ and I are going to wage the ^{most effective} ~~best~~ campaign

have seen
you ^{ever} saw -- a campaign that respects the intelligence of
the American people -- a campaign that talks sense. And
we are going to win this election!

*

Now let me tell you why --

We are going to win because we are the party that is
proud of its principles. We are the party of Franklin D.
Roosevelt -- ^{a great President} who knew how to get re-elected. We are the

party of Harry Truman -- who knew how to give 'em Hell! -- *or who just told the truth, and the Republicans thought it was hell..*
We are the party of John F. Kennedy, ^{the man of spirit} and Lyndon Johnson, ~~and~~ leader of
Compassion, and who should have been President & would have
Hubert Humphrey ~~and Fritz Mondale~~ -- and we are the party
been one of the greatest Presidents of all time -- and were the
of Governor Jerry Brown and Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

party

We're Democrats, &

~~[In the time-honored tradition of the Democratic Party,]~~

we have just come through the final rounds of ^{typical} a rough-and-

tumble fight for the nomination. ~~[Ted Kennedy and Jerry Brown~~

~~waged strong and vigorous campaigns.]~~ We have had our differences.

But ~~[let no one imagine that]~~ we ~~[dis]~~agree on goals for America.

Forty years ago President Franklin Roosevelt said that there are times in our history when concerns over our personal lives are overshadowed by a broader worry as to "what will happen to the country we have known." Now is such a time.

We share ~~[and all Democrats share]~~ a ^{bright} vision of America's

future. It is a vision of a secure nation -- a just society -- a

good life for all our people -- a

-- a peaceful world. It is a vision of a strong America --

Confident and united.

~~proud of its commitment to human beings and human rights.~~

~~The choice will be profound~~ ^{in 1980} ~~we must not fail our~~ ^{its Democratic}

~~And I am grateful that once again we are working together to~~

~~country now.~~

make that vision come true.]

good life
Must not fail country now

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*

During the last campaign

[In 1975 and 1976,] I criss-crossed our country and listened

to many, many thousands of people -- ~~[individual people --]~~

housewives and farmers, teachers and ^{small} business ^{leaders} people, workers

and students, ^{the elderly and the poor} -- people of every race and background and walk

of life. It was ^{a wonderful} ~~[an amazing and beautiful]~~ experience -- a

total immersion in the vast human reality of America.

poor elderly
great

Since then, I have had another kind of total immersion --

~~[a total immersion]~~ in the job of being President of the United

States. I want to talk for a moment about what that job is

like and what I have learned from it.

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I have learned that only the most complex and ^{difficult} [dangerous] tasks end up in the Oval Office. There are no easy answers in that office, because ~~[there are]~~ ^{come} no easy questions [^] there.



I have learned that despite all the checks and limitations that are woven into our system, the President's power for building and his power for destruction are awesome. Through ^{My own heart is burdened for troubled Americans. The poor, the jobless and the afflicted become part of me. My thoughts and prayers for our hostages in Iran are as though they were my own sons and daughters.} [his] judicial appointments, his philosophy ^{will} endures far beyond his own time. And his power is greatest precisely ⁴ ⁵ where the stakes are highest -- in matters of war and peace. The life of every human being on earth can depend on the ^{knowledge} [^] patience, vigilance and judgment of the person in ^{The Oval} ~~[that]~~ office.

I have learned something else -- something that I have come to see with extraordinary clarity. As President, I must -- of course -- ^{deal with hundreds of current problems and decisions.} ~~[serve all the people.]~~ But my duty goes ^{far} ^{forward} ~~[even]~~ beyond that. Above all, I must look ~~[to the future]~~ -- because the President of the United States is the guardian of the future of the United States.



The President, more than anyone else, is the steward
of the Nation's destiny. [He must look beyond this year or _____] ^{of later}
next year or ^{even} the year after that. He must ^{Speak and act for} ~~consider~~ our
children -- and the children they will have in their time --
and the children of generations to follow. [The President
~~must speak and act for them~~] That is his burden and his glory. 5 6

That is why ^a [the] President cannot ^{yield to} ~~give in~~ the short-sighted
demands of special interests, however rich or powerful. [That
is why] The President cannot bend to the passions of the
moment, however popular. [That is why] The President must
sometimes ask for sacrifice when his listeners would prefer
to hear him speak of comfort.

The President is the servant of [all] the people. But
his true constituency is the future.

This election ^{will provide} ^{stark} ^{men} [is] a choice between two [individuals] --
Some have said it makes no difference what happens
in this election. They are wrong.



-- two parties -- two ^{sharply} ~~totally~~ different visions of America

to same
vision



and the world. But it is more than that. ^{Co} 7

totally different
~~It is~~ a choice between two futures.

As much as any in our history, ^{the} this election of 1980 is

~~[an election about the future.]~~ The year 2000 ~~[a new millennium]~~

children
born
come of
age

is ~~[less than twenty years away]~~ just four Presidential
elections from this one. Children born this year will come of
age in the 21st century.

^{choose} ^{future}
The time to ~~[look forward to]~~ the ~~[world]~~ we want ~~[in the~~
^[We are ready to]
year 2000] is now. ~~[The choices of the next few years will]~~

^{We must now}
set our course, ^{this} ~~[perhaps irrevocably]~~ -- and the most important

choice ~~[of all]~~ will be made by the American people, ^{just 82 days from now.} at the
polls less than three months from tonight.

I like this
better

That choice could not be more ^{clear} ~~[stark]~~ -- or more crucial.

clear
profound

In ~~[one of the futures we we can choose]~~ the future we have

been building together -- I see security, justice and peace.



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Word
pictures

^{economic}
I see ~~our Nation moving toward the year 2000 with real~~
~~security -- the~~ security that ^{will come} ~~[comes]~~ from ^{tapping our own} ~~[developing our own]~~
^{oil and gas,} resources of ^{and} coal and sunlight, ~~[that comes]~~ from building the
tools, technology and factories for a revitalized economy
based on jobs and stable prices for all.

↓
orig

I see a future of justice -- the justice ^{good jobs,} of decent
^{quality} health care and ^{opportunity} education, and full ~~[participation]~~ for all
people, regardless of color or language or religion; ~~++~~ the
simple human justice of equal rights for all men ^{-- for} and ^{all}
women, ~~++~~ guaranteed ~~at last~~ in the Equal Rights Amendment to
the Constitution of the United States.

work
jobs →

Red
official
in
name

And I see a future of peace -- a peace grounded in
fairness and wisdom toward all the countries of the world --
a peace ^{guaranteed} ~~[protected]~~ both by American military strength and ~~[by]~~
^{guaranteed} American moral strength.

↓
this best

^{that I want for}
That is the future, our people. ~~[can have]~~ ~~[under the continued]~~

~~leadership of the Democratic Party.]~~ and a good life.

Confidence and

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.

* 8 59.

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But there is another possible future.

In that other future, I see despair -- the despair of

millions who would have to struggle for ^{a better life and for} ~~(economic opportunity)~~,

~~[civil rights and]~~ equal rights ^{little} ~~[with [no] help from their~~ ^{own} ~~government.]~~ -- and struggle alone.

gout? →

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.

I see risk -- the risk ^{of international confrontation} ~~[of a world] [turned into a battlefield]~~ -- the risk of an uncontrollable, unaffordable, and unwinnable nuclear arms race.



No one, Democrat or Republican, would consciously seek
my opponent
such a future. I am sure that [Mr. Reagan] does not. No one

questions his intentions, ^{but the disturbing commitments are} [~~What I do question~~ ~~is the ideas~~
~~already made~~
~~that are espoused~~] by him and his associates who have ^{now} captured

control of the Republican Party. [~~What I do question~~ ~~is the~~
~~have pledged to~~
~~policies they would implement.~~] It is the consequences of

^{commitments} those [~~ideas~~] and policies that would ^{drive} ^{down} [~~pull~~] us [~~toward~~] the wrong
road.

[~~future.~~] [~~Theirs is a future that America must reject.~~] It is
^{rejects this alarming and perhaps}
up to all of us to make sure America [~~does reject it.~~]
^{dangerous future.}

^{have even said}
Some [~~say~~] it makes no difference what happens in this
election. They are wrong.

erase
cancel
reverse
stronger

The choice this year [~~-- the choice between these two~~
~~-- the choice which we might not then reverse --~~
futures [~~for our people~~] -- makes all the difference in the
world -- all the difference in the whole world.

irrevocable

*

The path to the future must begin with the realities
of the present. But while we Democrats grapple with the

real challenges of a real world, others talk about a world
of ^{fantasy and} make-believe.

Let's look for a moment at this make-believe world.

In this fantasy America, inner-city people and farm
workers are ^{forgotten} [invisible]. Women, like children, are ^{to be} seen ^{but}
not heard. ^{The problems of} Working women simply do not exist. The elderly
do not need medicare. The young do not need ^{more help for a} better education.
Workers do not need ^{the guarantee of} healthy and safe workplaces.

In ^{this} [Ronald Reagan's] fantasy world, all the complex global
changes since World War II have never happened. All problems
have ^{simple} [simplistic] solutions. Simplistic -- and wrong.

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

^{No sacrifice.}
[No-shades-of-grey] No hard choices. No tough decisions.

It sounds too good to be true -- and it is.

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future and danger,
and peace,

already
said
danger
said
say
two
much

The path of fantasy is the path of irresponsibility.

The path of reality is the path of hope. The two paths
could not be more different -- and neither could the futures
to which they lead.

Let's take a hard, specific look at these two futures.

11
* 12

We have worked towards a secure future by rebuilding
our military strength -- steadily, carefully, and responsibly.

The Republicans like to talk about military strength.

^{while}
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 -- real

defense spending ^{steadily} was actually cut -- by more than a third.

too many
words in
down
every
year?

We have reversed the Republican decline in defense. Every year
since I have been President we have ^{had} real increases in our ^{Commitment}
to a stronger defense -- increases which are steady, balanced and rational.
Our modernized strategic nuclear forces, a revitalized NATO,

There is no doubt that we can meet any challenge from the
Soviet Union.

the Trident submarine, the cruise missile, the rapid deployment force -- all these ~~[and more]~~ guarantee that we will be second to no nation. This is action, not words -- fact, not fiction.

12
13

To ^{close} ~~[make-up]~~ the gap between their ~~[saber-rattling]~~ rhetoric and their record, the new leaders of the Republican Party ^{have now} ~~promised~~ ^{promised} ~~[propose]~~ a sudden, massive spending spree to launch an all-out nuclear arms race.

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What a ^{dismal} ~~[sad and dangerous]~~ future ^{this} ~~[they]~~ offer, America!

There ^{can be} ~~[are]~~ no winners in such an arms race -- and the losers could be every human being on earth.

~~[Clearly]~~ ^{and we will} We must continue to build our own defenses -- especially our conventional defenses. But just as clearly, we must continue to seek ^{balanced} ~~reasonable~~ nuclear arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union. The security of our country demands it. So does the peace of the world.

novel and radical
 The ~~other~~ course -- advocated by the new ^{Republican} leaders ~~of the~~
~~Republican party~~ -- is to abandon the ^{arms control} policies supported by
 every Democratic President since Truman and ¹³ every Republican
¹⁴ President since Eisenhower. This ~~new and radical~~ ^{irresponsible decision} departure
 would ~~be irresponsible. It would damage~~ ^{damage} our security -- and
 it ^c would ^{put} ~~endanger~~ the whole world ^a in peril.

*what
policy?*

*repetition?
debate?*

~~[This election will set a course 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.]~~

*

simple It is ~~easy~~ to call for a ^{new} ~~nuclear~~ arms race. But when
 armed aggression threatens world peace, tough-sounding
 talk is not enough. ~~(not if we want a secure future.)~~

*more
this part*

An American President must act -- *responsibly.*

When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, I moved quickly

to take forceful but peaceful action. I cut grain sales to
 the Soviet Union, ^{called for draft registration, and} ~~I~~ ^{and} restricted sales of high technology, joined The
 Congress and The U.S. Olympic Committee in leading
~~I led~~ the worldwide movement to boycott the biggest Soviet
 propaganda show in history, the Moscow Olympics.

The current Republican leader opposed every one of
 these ^{forceful but peaceful} ~~direct~~ actions. But when asked what he ^{14 15} would be willing
 to do, ^{about aggression in SW Asia} he suggested blockading Cuba, ^{... here in the Caribbean!} Even his running mate
 could not go along with that!

I like →
Opposed

^{He}
~~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 ^{fight} ~~go to war~~ with them.

→?
war

*

I am proud to be able to look back at the end of my
 first term at a full four years of peace for our country.
 And that is what we want for the next four years -- peace!

And it is only common sense that if America is to stay
 at peace, we must encourage others to ^{be peaceful} ~~stay at peace~~ as well.

We have helped in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. Some have
 We have helped.
~~[We are doing that]~~ in the Middle East. ~~[The Republicans]~~
 criticize ~~[delays in]~~ the Middle East peace ~~process~~. But before
 Camp David accords and delays in the implementation of the
 I took office, there was no ~~[Middle-East]~~ peace ~~[process]~~. ^{treaty} Just
 Camp David accord, and there was no
 Look

at the difference. Before, Israel and Egypt were poised
 across barbed wire, confronting each other with guns and
 tanks and planes. ^{Afterward they have faced each other across}
~~[Today, they]~~ ~~[are at]~~ a peace table, talking
 and through ^{their} Ambassadors in Cairo and Tel Aviv.
 face to face ~~[about the implementation of their peace treaty]~~

^{kind of}
 That is the future we Democrats offer ~~[Our policy on]~~

in the Middle East ~~[is clear]~~
 Joined by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin,
 permanent Israel's security, to

Our commitment is to peace between Israel and all of her
 and to the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all
~~[its]~~ neighbors -- ~~[because Israel's security is not for sale]~~ its
 aspects.

*

If the world is to have a future of freedom as well as
 peace, America must continue to defend human rights.

The new Republican leaders oppose ^{our} ~~[my]~~ human rights policy.

They have promised to 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?

Ask the former ^{political} prisoners who now live in freedom about our
stand on human rights.

Ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union if the United
States should scrap its commitment to human rights. Ask ^{the Hungarian-Americans, the Polish-Americans. Listen to Pope John Paul II.}

those who are suffering for the sake of justice and liberty
around the world. And ask the millions who have fled tyranny
if America should stop speaking out for American principles.

We all
[I think] I know what the answer will be.

*

Here at home, the choice between the two futures is just
as important. And in the long run, nothing is more crucial
to our future than energy. Nothing was so disastrously

neglected in the past. Three years after the 1973 Arab oil
embargo the Republicans had done nothing about this threat
to our nation's security. Their policy was shaped by the big oil
companies.

That is why, ^{we had to fight} [I fought] so hard to rally ^{our} [a-skeptical] nation

behind a massive, comprehensive energy program. Now, after

50
600
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
3500
4000
4500
5000
5500
6000
6500
7000
7500
8000
8500
9000
9500
10000

what I
did

three years of struggle, we have that program, a foundation for
challenging and exciting progress.

The battle to secure America's energy future has been
fully and finally joined. ~~We will~~ produce more, discover

more, ^{create more and conserve more energy --} and we will
use American resources, American technology, and millions

of American workers to do it. ~~And~~ We have already begun. ^{Our people have responded -- well. We have reversed}

^{Republicans} What do the ~~new Republican leaders~~ propose as an

alternative? ~~[It is in their platform, but they do not 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 over the last three ~~and a half~~ years.

They want to ^{reduce or abolish} ~~get rid of~~ the synthetic fuels program,
~~Get rid of~~ the solar energy incentives, ~~Get rid of~~ the
^{and} conservation programs, ~~Get rid of~~ aid to mass transit.

Word
pictures

Patriotic
Americans

<sup>decades of dangerous and growing dependence
on foreign oil. We are now importing 20%
less oil -- 1 1/2 million barrels ^{less} every day --
than when I
took office.</sup>

More
pictures

accuracy?

They want to ^{and eliminate}
Get rid of aid to the elderly to help pay fuel bills, ~~Get~~

~~rid of~~ the 55-mile speed limit. ~~[Get rid of the windfall~~
~~profits tax.]~~ And while they are at it, ~~[kind of as an~~

emphasize
wpt

~~afterthought,]~~ the Republicans ^{would like} ~~[also want]~~ to get rid of the
Clean Air Act. They never liked it to begin with. 19
520

That's the first part of their program.

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The second part is worse.

To replace what we have built, here is what they propose:
~~to reduce or abolish the windfall profit tax, and to~~
~~unleash the oil companies and let them solve the~~ ^{energy} ~~problem.~~
~~That is not what America needs, and we Democrats will fight~~
~~[higher and higher prices, with [all] the money going to OPEC~~
~~it every step of the way,~~
~~and the oil companies.]~~

That's it. That is their whole program. ~~[If it weren't~~

Why
problems?
Rep wouldn't
take on it
to's

~~so sad, it might almost be funny.~~

~~But it is not funny.]~~ It is an outrageous fraud. And

it is our job to make sure they don't get away with it. We
Democrats will fight it every step of the way --

> energy

Economic insert

Mr. President -- This has been cleared by Stu, Jim McIntyre, Bill Miller, and Charlie Schultze.

Rick Hertzberg
Gordon Stewart

~~[We cannot let them get away with it --]~~ because our nation's energy security is the key link between our strength abroad and our health at home.

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~~[Energy dependence is the number one cause of the rapid rise in inflation. Ending it is chief among the cures -- and we are doing that. After thirty years of constant increases in oil imports, our energy program has actually cut oil imports -- cut them by 20 per cent from last year, cut them by one and a half million barrels per day.]~~

* 20 }
21

When I took office, America faced a long agenda of serious economic problems besides energy -- and we ^{have} met them head-on.

have cut government regulation and
We put free enterprise back into the airline, trucking
and banking systems of our country -- and we are doing the
same for the railroads. This is the greatest ^{change in} ~~restructuring~~
~~of~~ the relationship between business and government since
the New Deal. ~~We forged a government-wide system to cut~~
~~unnecessary regulation wherever we find it.~~ ^{have} We increased
our Nation's exports dramatically. We reversed the ~~Republican~~
decline in basic research and development. ^{have} We created nine
million new jobs -- the biggest three-year increase on record.

But last year's huge increase in OPEC oil prices ^{helped to} ~~---~~
~~along with stalled productivity---~~ triggered a severe inflation
crisis. -NO-

^{and}
~~Because~~ We took forceful action, ^{and} interest rates ~~since~~
~~then~~ have fallen, the dollar is stable, and above all inflation
has been reduced sharply -- and you are going to see it
fall still more.

21
22

[Our progress has been jolted by the nation's seventh recession since World War II. High unemployment has always been unacceptable to the Democratic Party -- it is unacceptable to me -- and I am proposing responsible action to end it.]

ready to face a
We are now [at one of the most] critical turning points in our economic history. We have the opportunity to rebuild our great economic base -- and we will seize that opportunity.

Our economic renewal program for the 1980's will meet ^{the} [our] immediate need for jobs by attacking the ^{same} [very] long-term problems that cause unemployment and inflation in the first place. It will move America towards our five great economic goals -- lower inflation, better productivity, revitalization of American industry, energy security, and jobs.

It is time to put all America back to work -- not in make-work, but in real work.

There is real work [ⁱⁿto do] modernizing American industry
and making it more competitive in the world.

There is real work [ⁱⁿto do on] projects that produce and
conserve energy, such as public transit, solar power, synthetic
fuels, ^{using and} exporting more coal, and weatherizing homes and buildings.

22
23

~~[We will develop a new partnership among government,
business and labor [to encourage teamwork, not antagonism]
-- [we will] encourage research and development [to ensure
America's technological edge] -- [we will] promote greater
export of American goods [to create jobs and fight inflation]
-- [we will] offer job training to thousands of workers [to
help those displaced by economic change] -- and [we will]
channel investment to areas where jobs are needed most.*]~~

too long

^{are ready to} We, ~~[will]~~ build, ^{and to} ~~[we will]~~ modernize. We will become more

*Stu would add the bracketed language -- he feels it's needed to give a point to each item on the list. The others don't necessarily oppose this, they just haven't seen it.

competitive in the world, ^{as we} [~~I ask you to~~] join [~~me~~] in the exciting enterprise of making the 1980's a decade of growth for America.

*

The Republican alternative is the biggest tax giveaway to the rich in American history. They call it Reagan-Kemp-Roth. ^{have called} I [~~call~~] it sugar-coated poison ^{It is} ~~--- a~~ free lunch America cannot afford. *I don't know*

The Republican tax program offers rebates to the rich and fierce inflation to the rest of us. ^{Their own} ~~Ronald Reagan's own~~ ^{nominee} ~~running-mate~~ ^{be} ~~said~~ ^{sure} that Reagan-Kemp-Roth would mean an inflation rate of 30 per cent. He called it "voodoo economics." Then, ^{But} for some reason, he suddenly changed his mind. ¹ He was right the first time. ¹

On top of this gigantic ^{tax} cut, the new Republican leaders ^{merely} promise to protect retirement and health programs, ^{and to} make massive increases in defense spending, [~~and~~ ^{to} ~~balance the budget.~~] ²³ 24

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Whom are they trying to fool?

If they are serious about these promises -- and they say they are -- ~~they are going to have a problem. If they actually tried to put this Republican program into effect,~~ ^{Then a close analysis shows that} ~~the entire~~ rest of the government would have to be abolished -- everything from education to farm programs ^{to veterans}, to the night watchman at the Lincoln Memorial! And the Federal budget would still be in the red.

*sounds
implausible
→*

The only alternative would be to

~~if they mean to make wholesale cuts in Federal services,~~

~~why don't they tell us which ones? Or will they just~~ run

the presses 24 hours a day to print ~~the~~ money. Either way,

the American people lose. ~~This offer of a free lunch is one and we won't stand for it!~~

~~no one in America can afford. We cannot let it happen. We won't stand for it!~~ *

~~The Democratic Party has always embodied the hope of the people of this country for justice...~~

Along with those drastic cuts, Republicans promise massive new defense spending. And they promise to balance the budget.

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Who are they trying to fool?

If they are serious about these promises -- and they say they are -- would they cut all Federal help for all other programs? Or would they run the money-printing presses until inflation is so overheated we can never cool it down?

If they mean to eliminate half of all Federal programs, why can't they tell us which ones? Where would the massive budget cuts come from? What are they afraid of? The truth?

*

The Democratic party has always embodied the hope of ^{our} [the] people [~~of this country~~] for justice, opportunity, and a ^{better} [decent] life -- and ^{we have} [it has] always led the fight to realize those dreams.

We have worked to strengthen the American family, and to care for the ^{the} personal needs of Americans. We have strived to assure that no child goes to bed hungry, that no elderly couple lives in a substandard home, and that no young person is excluded from college because the family is poor.

What do the Republicans propose to do to advance those hopes?

Again, very little -- except the same simplistic notion of a tax cut for the wealthy [~~a few high-sounding words for the rest of the American people,~~] and an attack on almost

every achievement in social justice and decency we have won

Franklin Roosevelt's
in the last 50 years since ^{FDR's} first term. They would

reverse our progress on the minimum wage, ^{full employment laws, housing,} [~~Humphrey-Hawkins,~~]
^{Medicare for senior citizens} ~~health care,~~ ^{in the work place} [~~social security,~~] safety, and ^{a healthy} ~~the~~ environment.

And they would replace our progress towards ^{a fair and professional} ~~an open~~ judiciary

^{narrow minded} with [~~ideological~~] loyalty oaths for judges chosen in their own image. *24* *26*

~~[In every field of actual public policy, in every real walk of American life, the new Republicanism is the wrong way to the wrong future. Indeed, for the vast majority of Americans, it offers ^{little} [no] future at all.]~~

summary
→

[The Republican standard-bearer this year likes to quote his Democratic betters. For instance, Mr. Reagan quotes Franklin D. Roosevelt every chance he gets. Recently, Mr. Reagan borrowed FDR's line about America having a rendezvous with destiny.

Well, this year Mr. Reagan has a rendezvous with the truth. I plan to arrange it myself. In our face-to-face debates, I am going to introduce Mr. Reagan to the facts.

We are hearing a lot of borrowed rhetoric from the Republicans these days. But who can blame them? Whom would you rather quote -- Herbert Hoover or FDR? Richard Nixon or John F. Kennedy?

The borrowed phrases of the new Republican leaders are designed to make us believe they have magically turned into Democrats. It's a nice disguise -- but it won't work. They make believe that they are friends of the working people.



~~They may be trying to dress up in overalls -- but underneath there is the same old cold Republican heart.~~

The Republicans have always been the party of privilege, but this year their new leaders have gone even further. In their own platform, they have repudiated the best traditions of their own party.

Where is the conscience of Lincoln in the party of Lincoln? Whatever became of the traditional Republican belief in fiscal responsibility? What has happened to their commitment to safe and sane arms control?

~~[The Republican Party has been captured by leaders who have abandoned their own party's principles. They are adrift in a sea of easy answers and simplistic theories -- headed for a fantasy land of make-believe.]~~

*

I do not claim perfection for the Democratic Party.

I do not claim that every decision we have made has been right or popular. Certainly they have not all been easy.

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But I will say this:

We have been tested under fire. We have neither ducked nor hidden. We have tackled the great, central ^{issues in} [challenges to] our nation, the historic challenges of energy and peace, which ²⁶ ₂₇

had been ignored for years. We have made tough decisions and we have taken the heat for them. We ^{may} have made ^{some} mistakes, ^{but} ~~and~~

we have learned from them -- and our accomplishments are there, on which all Americans can now build a better future. ^{to build a better future}

We have done something else -- something ^{perhaps} even more important. In good times and bad, in the valleys and on the peaks, we have told people the truth -- the hard truth -- the truth that sometimes hurts.

Being President is ^{one of the} the toughest ^{and most lonely} jobs in the world. It is also the best, most challenging and gratifying job in the world -- and I don't mind admitting that I want to keep it.

Winning this election

~~Being re-elected President~~ is very important to me. But it

is not the most important thing. 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 ^{nation's} highest principles and ideals. - *That we move forward, together with confidence and courage.* 27 28

~~[Those principles and ideals are rooted in a history of turmoil and greatness. We need not fear the future or scorn the past. The tree that is our nation has stood tall amid the unpredictable winds of change.]~~

~~[Two hundred years ago we were a struggling new country of two million people -- stretched out in thirteen little states along the eastern shore of an unknown continent. Today we are a mighty nation of two hundred and forty million. Guided by the same document that gave birth to the American dream, we are tonight, more than ever before, what our founders hoped we would become -- the land of ^{freedom} [the free], where justice prevails and reason rules.]~~

131

of progress, and peace.

We have earned our dream, Look what our land has been through just in this century alone -- 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.

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Through each of these ^{momentous} [great] experiences we have learned something about the world, and about ourselves. We have *and grown stronger* matured, as a nation.

over a century of struggling Legitimacy has made us stronger 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.

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. ²⁸ ₅₂₉

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

~~[I believe that]~~ the American people have understood ^{these} ~~this~~
fundamental truths. All of us can sympathize with the desire
for easy answers. ^{We are all tempted now and then to substitute}
~~[No one is immune to the temptation of~~
^{wishful thinking for hard reality.}
~~a sugar-coated substitute for hard reality.]~~

The new Republican leaders are hoping that this year
America will give in to that temptation. They profoundly
misunderstand the character of the American people.

Winston Churchill -- who was himself an American on his
mother's side -- once said:

"We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries,
across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies
because we are made of sugar candy."

[~~Four years ago, I was elected President because you had~~
~~come to know me as a man who understood what kind of people~~
~~we Americans are -- and what kind of Nation we can be.~~]



[~~I have learned a great deal since 1976. But I am the~~
~~same man you elected then.~~]

Four years ago, I talked about "a government as good as
 the American people."* [~~I have sought as President to stay in~~
~~touch with the American people -- through town meetings and~~
~~conversations with citizens all across the country.~~] I still



want what all of ^{you} ~~[us]~~ want --, work for the ^{self-reliant neighborhoods and strong families;} able-bodied and

^{good medical} ~~[competent]~~ care for the sick; opportunity for our youth and
 dignity for the old; equal rights, ^{and justice} for all ~~[of our citizens]~~
 and ~~justice for all of~~ our people.

*neighborhoods
etc.* →

^{eager to describe}
 I want teachers ~~[ready and able to teach]~~ what a civilization

*Pat and Jerry have a difference of opinion on this. Jerry is strongly for it -- because it will remind people of how they felt about you in '76. Pat is just as strongly against it -- for the same reason. I'm neutral on this one. --Rick



really is. I want students to understand their own needs
and their own aims, but also the ^{yearnings and dreams} ~~needs~~ of their neighbors.

I want women to be free to pursue ^{without limit the full} ~~the kind of~~ life they
^{want} ~~choose~~ for themselves.

I want workers to see meaning in the labor they perform
-- and work enough to guarantee a job for every worker. I
want people in business to be ^{bold and free to pursue} ~~free to strike out imaginatively~~ ?

~~when they see~~ a new idea. I want the ~~majority of Americans~~
~~who are~~ ^{fully} members of minority groups ^{I want} to join the mainstream of
and ^{and} the blight of discrimination to be removed from our land.
American life, ~~I want priests and ministers and rabbis free~~

~~to teach about the eternal meaning of human experience.~~] I
and the world,
want farmers growing crops to feed the nation, secure in the

Families
Exertment

knowledge that the family farm will remain an important part
of the American scene, and with a fair return on the investment ³⁰ }
They make for all of us. I want all Americans to have ³¹ }
a good life, filled with excitement and achievement -- in a nation strong
and secure.

Above all, I want us to ^{continue} be ^{living in} as we have been -- the land
^{freedom.}
of ~~the free~~

That is the vision ~~[of the future]~~ ^{us} that unites ~~(Americans)~~.

~~[That is the future that can be achieved by a government as~~

good as the American people.] That is the ^{life} future we ^{can have.} ~~[are working~~

toward.]

The choice -- the choice between the two ^{paths to the} futures --

could not be ^{more} clear[er]. ~~[We need not submit to]~~ a dreamworld we will ^{improve} ~~wake with~~

~~[and wake in]~~ a nightmare. ^{To answer the question of President Roosevelt, if we} ~~[We can]~~ start with reality and

then good things will happen to the country we have known,

fight for our dream. ^{must} ~~And together, that is what we will do.]~~

Thank you, ~~[and]~~ God bless you, and good night.

#

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8/18/80

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TO :

Samuel Beale

FROM: Carolyn Shields

These are drafts
of acceptance speech
from which I worked
Thursday. Returning
because of P's handwriting.

3

Susan -
Put in speech
notebook &
teleprompter

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

J

change writing
and 2 copies
8/13/72

Fellow Democrats, fellow citizens:

I thank you for the nomination you have offered me.

And I especially thank you for choosing as my running mate
the best partner any President has ever had -- our first
and only choice -- Fritz Mondale.

With gratitude and with determination, I accept
your nomination.

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Fritz and I ~~want you to know that we are going to~~ wage

a campaign that defines the real issues -- a campaign that respects
the intelligence of the American people -- a campaign that talks
sense. And we are going to win this election!

*

will win/because we
We are the party of a great President who knew how to

T1 T2
get re-elected -- Franklin D. Roosevelt. We are the party

of a courageous fighter who knew how to give 'em Hell --

^{Truman 2 -}
~~As Truman said,~~
Harry Truman. ¹ He said he just told the truth ² and the
Republicans ¹ thought it was Hell. ² We are the party ¹ of a
gallant man of spirit -- ¹ John F. Kennedy. ² And a leader of
compassion -- ¹ Lyndon Johnson. ² And a big-hearted man ¹ who should-
have been President ² and would have been ¹ one of the greatest
^{idents}
~~Presidents~~ of all time -- ¹ Hubert Humphrey. ² We are the party ¹
that honors its principles. ² And we are the party ¹ of
Governor ~~Jerry~~ Jerry Brown ² and Senator ~~Edward~~ Edward M. Kennedy. ¹

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2 3

¹ Let me say a personal word ² to Senator ~~Kennedy~~ Kennedy. ¹
Ted, you ¹ are a tough competitor ² and a superb campaigner -- ¹
^{12 13}
¹ I can attest to that. ² There is no doubt ¹ that even ~~more~~ greater
service ² lies ahead of you ¹ and we are grateful ² to have ¹ your
strong partnership now ² in the larger cause ¹ ~~for which your~~
~~brothers became martyrs~~ ² and to which ¹ your own life has been
dedicated. ²

3 4

¹ Your speech before this Convention was a magnificent
statement of what the Democratic party has meant to the people
of our country -- and why a Democratic victory is so important
this year. I reach out tonight to those who supported you
in your valiant and passionate campaign. Ted, your party
needs -- and I need -- your idealism and dedication working
for us in November.

Insert

We're Democrats^o and we have just come through^{thru} the
~~final rounds of a typical rough-and-tumble fight for the nomina-~~
~~tion.~~ We have had our differences, ~~But we agree on our goals~~
~~for America.~~ ^{but} We share a bright vision of America's future --
 a vision of a good life for all our people -- a vision of a
^{T3/74} secure nation, a just society, a peaceful world -- a strong
 America, confident and proud and united. //

(4 spaces)

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⁴⁰Forty years ago President Franklin Roosevelt said that

there are times in our history when concerns over our personal
lives are overshadowed by concern for "what will happen to the

country we have known." This is such a time! // 4 5

And I tell you that the choice to be made this year
 * I criss-crossed from both our personal lives and the life of our country.

During the last presidential campaign I criss-crossed

our country and listened to ^{many} ~~thousands and~~ thousands of

people -- housewives and farmers, teachers and small business

leaders, workers and students, the elderly and the poor --

people of every race and background^o and walk of life. It was

a powerful experience -- a total immersion in the vast human

reality of America. /

I have ^{now} had another kind of total immersion -- being President of the United States. // Let me talk for a moment about what that job is like and what I have learned from it. // 56

I have learned that only the most complex and difficult tasks end up in the Oval Office. / No-easy-answers-are-found-there / because no-easy-questions-come-there. //

I have learned that ^{for a} ~~in the~~ Presidential experience is the best guide to right decisions. / I am wiser tonight than I was four years ago. //

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I have learned that the Presidency is a place of compassion. // ^{75/16} My own heart is burdened for troubled Americans. / The poor, the jobless and the afflicted. / They have become part of me. / My thoughts and prayers for our hostages in Iran are as though they were my own sons and daughters. // 67

4 spaces

The life of every human being on earth can depend on the judgment, ~~knowledge~~, ^{and} [and] vigilance and experience of ^{the} [that] person in the Oval Office. / The President's power for building and his

power for destruction are awesome. And that power is greatest exactly where the stakes are highest in matters of war and peace.

16/17

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I have learned something else something that I have come to see with extraordinary clarity. As President I must, of course, deal with hundreds of current problems and decisions.

today's

But my duty goes far beyond that. Above all, I must look ahead --

because the President of the United States is the guardian of the future of the United States.

~~is the guardian of the future of the United States~~

~~the future of the United States.~~

Handwritten scribble

More than anyone else, is the steward of the nation's destiny. He must look beyond the present.

7/8

He must protect our children and the children they will have and the children of generations to follow. He must speak and act for them. That is his burden -- and his glory.

And that is why a President cannot yield to the short-sighted demands of special interests, no matter how rich or powerful they are. That is why the President cannot bend to

17/18

the passions of the moment, / however popular they ^{may be.} are. / That is why / the President must sometimes ask for sacrifice / when his listeners would rather hear the promise of comfort. // 859

The President is the servant of today. / But his true constituency is the future. / That is why this election of 1980 is so important. /

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*

Some have said it makes no difference what happens in this election. / They are wrong. //

This election is a stark choice / between two ² men -- / two ² parties -- / two ² sharply-different ^{pictures} [visions] of America and the world. / But it is more than that. //

It is a choice between two futures. / The year 2000 is less than 20 years away -- / just ⁴ four Presidential elections / ~~from~~ ^{after} this one. / Children born this year will come of age in the 21st century. /

9 / 10

The time to shape the world ~~that most of us will live~~
~~to see in~~ ^{of} the year 2000 is now. The ^{decisions} ~~choices~~ of the next few
 years will set our course, perhaps ^{an irreversible course --} ~~irrevocably --~~ and the most
 important of all ^{choices} will be made by the American people at the
 polls less than three ³ months from tonight.

The choice could not be more clear -- ^{more crucial.} ~~or more crucial.~~ ^{Max the consequence} T9 T10

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In one of the futures we can choose -- the future we have
 been building together -- I see security, justice and peace. 15 / 11

I see a future of economic security -- security that
 will come from tapping our own great resouces of oil and gas,
 coal and sunlight -- and from building the tools, technology
 and factories for a revitalized economy based on jobs and
 stable prices for all.

^{I see} ~~We can have~~ a future of justice -- the justice of good
 jobs, decent health care and quality education, and full
 opportunity for all-people, regardless of color or language or 10 / 11

religion; the simple human justice of equal rights for all
men -- and for all women, guaranteed Equal Rights at last,
in the Constitution of the United States. U.S. 11/5/12

I see
And ~~we can have~~ a future of peace -- a peace born
of wisdom and based on fairness toward all the countries of
the world -- a peace guaranteed both by American military
strength and by American moral strength. //

That is the future I want for all people -- a future
of confidence and hope and a good life. It is the future
America must choose -- and with your help and your commitment,
it is the future America will choose. //

* 12/13

But there is another possible future. /

In that other future, I see despair -- the despair of
millions who would have to struggle for equal opportunity and
a better life -- and struggle alone. //

I see surrender --/the surrender of our energy future /
to the merchants of 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. /

I see risk --/the risk of ^{T₁₂} international confrontation; /
the risk of an uncontrollable, 'unaffordable, 'and ^{T₁₃} unwinnable
nuclear arms race. // ¹³ 14

No one, Democrat or Republican /consciously seeks such
a future. / ^{do not claim} I am ~~sure~~ that my opponent does. ~~not~~ / ~~No one questions~~
~~his intentions~~ / ^{But} I do question the disturbing commitments ~~and~~
policies /already made by him ^{and} by those ^{with him} who have now captured
control of the Republican party. /The consequences of those
commitments and policies / would drive us down the wrong
road. /It is up to all of us /to make-sure America rejects this -
alarming - even - perilous ^{- destiny} future.

*

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14 / 15

The only way to build a better future is to start with the realities of the present. But while we Democrats grapple with the real challenges of a real-world, others talk about a world of ^{hinsel and} make-believe.

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Let's look for a moment at their make-believe world.

In their fantasy America, inner-city people and farm ^{and laborers} workers are forgotten. Women, like children, are to be seen but not heard. The problems of working women simply do not exist. The elderly do not need Medicare. The young do not need more help for a better education. Workers do not require the guarantee of a healthy and safe place to work.

15
5 16

In their fantasy world, all the complex global changes since World War II have never happened. In their fantasy America, all problems have simple solutions. Simple -- and wrong!

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

No hard choices. / No sacrifice. / No tough decisions. /

It sounds too good to be true -- / and it is. / 1145 / 17

The path of fantasy / leads to irresponsibility. / The path of reality / leads to hope and peace. / The two paths could not be more different. / Nor could the futures / to which they lead. //

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Let's take a hard, ~~specific~~ look at ~~these two futures.~~ // See consequences of our choice. //

*

You and I have been working toward a secure future / by rebuilding our military strength -- / steadily, carefully, and responsibly. /

The Republicans talk / about military strength. /

But they were in office / for 8 out of the last 11 years -- / and in the face / of a growing Soviet threat / they steadily cut real defense spending -- / by more than a third! // 1175 // 18

We have reversed the Republican decline in defense. Every year since I have ^ebeen President we have made real increases in our commitment to a stronger defense -- increases which are prudent and rational. There is no doubt that the United States can meet any threat from the Soviet Union. Our modernized strategic forces, a revitalized NATO, the Trident submarine, the cruise missile, the rapid deployment force -- all these guarantee that we will never be second to any nation. Deeds, not words -- fact, not fiction.

We must and will continue to build our own defenses. We must and will continue to seek balanced *reductions in* nuclear arms. ~~reduction agreements.~~ [The security of our country demands ~~it~~ ~~The peace of the world demands it.~~]

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* 18 19

The new leaders of the Republican party, / in order to close the gap / between their rhetoric and their record, / have now promised / to launch an all-out nuclear arms race. / This would

negate any further effort to negotiate a strategic arms limitation agreement. ^{chance for a mutual + balanced reduction in nuclear weapons.}
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There can be no winners in such an arms race -- and all the people on earth could be the losers. You and I must never let this come to pass.

The Republican nominee advocates abandoning arms control policies which have been supported by every Democratic President since Truman and every Republican President since Eisenhower. This radical and irresponsible course would threaten our security -- and could put the whole world in peril.

* 19520

It is simple to call for a new arms race. But when armed aggression threatens world peace, tough-sounding talk is not enough. A President must act -- responsibly.

(Insert)

~~When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, I moved quickly to take action. I restricted sales of high technology and~~

SEE INSERT

When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, ^{we} I moved quickly
to take action. I suspended ^{some} grain sales to the Soviet Union,
called for draft registration, and -- joined wholeheartedly
by the Congress -- ^{and the U.S. Olympic Committee} led ~~the U.S. and~~ ^{more than} 60 other national ~~Olympic~~
~~Committees~~ in boycotting the big Soviet propaganda show --
the Moscow Olympics. / 20 } 21

The ~~current~~ Republican leader opposed two of these
forceful but peaceful actions, and waffled on the third.
But when asked what he would do ...

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~~reduced grain sales to the Soviet Union. I called for
draft registration, and joined the Congress and the
U.S. Olympic Committee in leading the worldwide movement to
boycott the big Soviet propaganda show -- the Moscow Olympics.~~

~~The current Republican leader opposed every one of these
forceful but peaceful actions. When asked what he would do~~

+ about aggression in South West Asia, he suggested blockading
Cuba! Even his running mate could not go along with that!

He 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
fight with them.

As I look back at my first term I am grateful that we have
had a full four years of peace for our country. ^{And} That is what we
want for the next four years -- peace!

It is only common sense that if America is to stay secure and at peace, we must encourage others to be peaceful as well.

We have helped in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, where we stood firm for racial justice and democracy. We have helped in the Middle East. Some have criticized the Camp David Accords and delays in the implementation of the Middle East peace treaty. Before I became President there was no Camp David Accord and there was no peace treaty! Before, Israel and Egypt were poised across barbed wire, confronting each other with guns and tanks and planes. Afterward they talked, face-to-face with each other across a peace table, and now they also communicate through their own Ambassadors in Cairo and Tel Aviv.

That is the kind of future we Democrats are working to bring to the Middle East.

I am proud that fully half of the aid that our country has given Israel in the 32 years of her existence has come during my Administration. Unlike our Republican predecessors, we have never stopped or slowed that aid. Our commitment is clear: security and peace for Israel peace, for all the peoples of the Middle East. //

As long as I am President we will not do so

*

If the world is to have a future of freedom as well as peace, America must continue to defend human rights.

The new Republican leaders oppose our human rights policy. They ~~have promised~~ ^{want} to scrap it.

They seem to think it is naive for America to stand up for freedom and democracy. Just what do they think our country should stand for? //

11/24/25

Ask the former political prisoners who now live in freedom if we should abandon our stand on human rights.

Ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union about our
commitment to human rights.

Ask the Hungarian-Americans, the Polish-Americans.
Listen to Pope John Paul II.

Ask those who are suffering for the sake of justice
and liberty around the world.

Ask the millions who have fled tyranny if America
should stop speaking out for American principles.

Ask the American people! *As long as I am President,*
We will hold high the banner
of human rights!

* 25
26

Here at home, the choice between the two futures is
equally important.

In the long run, nothing is more crucial to our future
than energy. And nothing was so disastrously neglected in
the past. Long after the 1973 Arab oil embargo, the Republicans

in the White House had still done nothing to meet this threat to our nation's security. Then, as now, their policy was dictated by the big oil companies. //

We Democrats fought hard to rally our nation behind a comprehensive energy program -- a new foundation for challenging and exciting progress. Now, after ³ three years of struggle, we have that program.

245 27

The battle to secure America's energy future has been fully and finally joined. Americans have cooperated -- with dramatic results. We have reversed decades of dangerous and growing dependence on foreign oil. We are now importing 20% less oil. That is 1½ million barrels less every day than when I ^{first} took office. And now with our ^{new} energy policy ^{finally} in place we can discover more, produce more, create more and conserve more energy -- and we will use American resources, American technology, and millions of American workers to do it.

27 }
28

What do the Republicans propose? /

Basically, their energy program has two parts. /

The first part is to get rid of almost everything we have accomplished for the American public over the last three years. /

They want to reduce or abolish the synthetic fuels program, /

They want to slash /

the solar energy incentives, the conservation programs, and

aid to mass transit, ^{and} ~~They want to cut~~ aid to the elderly

to help pay fuel bills, They want to ~~and~~ eliminate the 55-mile speed limit. /

And while they are at it, the Republicans would like to ^{get} ~~get rid~~

of the Clean Air Act. / They never liked it to begin with. //

28
29

That's one part of their program. /

The other part is worse. //

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To replace what we have built, here is what they propose: / To destroy the windfall profits tax, and to "unleash" the oil companies and let them solve the energy

problem for us! //

That's it. / That is their whole program. / There isn't
any more. //

Can this nation accept such an outrageous program? //
No! / We Democrats will fight it / every step of the way! /

*29 30

When I took office, / ~~America faced a heavy agenda of~~ *I inherited a ~~lot of~~ heavy load of*
serious economic problems besides energy -- / and we have met
them head-on. /

We have slashed government regulation / ^{gov't} and put free
enterprise back into the airline, / trucking and financial systems /
of our country -- / and we are now doing the same for the railroads. /
This is the greatest change in the relationship between business
and government since the New Deal. / ^{gov't} We have increased our
nation's exports dramatically. / We reversed the decline in
basic research and development. / We have created nine million
new jobs -- / the biggest three-year increase in history. /

30/31

But the road has been bumpy, and last year's skyrocketing OPEC oil prices helped to trigger a ~~severe~~ worldwide-inflation crisis.

We took forceful action, and interest rates have now fallen, the dollar is stable and, above all, inflation has been reduced sharply -- and you are going to see ~~it~~ ^{inflation} fall still more. //

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We are now at a critical turning point in our economic history. Because we made the hard decisions -- because we guided our economy through a rough but ~~absolutely~~ essential period of transition -- we have laid the groundwork for a new economic age. 31/32

Our economic renewal program for the 1980s will meet our immediate need for jobs by attacking the very ^{same} long-term problems that caused unemployment and inflation in the first place. It will move America simultaneously towards our

5
five-great economic goals --/lower inflation, better
productivity, /revitalization of American industry, /energy
security, /and jobs. /

It is time /to put all America back to work --/not in
make-work, /but in real work. /

22/33

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There is real work /in modernizing American industry /
and creating new industries /for America. /

Here are just a few things /~~I see in our economic~~
~~future.~~ /we will build together: /

-- new industries /to turn our coal and shale and
farm products /into fuel for our cars and trucks /and to turn
the light of the sun /into heat and electricity for our homes; /

-- a modern transportation system of railbeds and
ports /to make American coal /into a powerful rival of OPEC oil. /
~~as a worldwide energy source;~~

33/34

-- industries that will provide the convenience of *communications*
and futuristic ~~computer~~ computer technology and ~~communications~~ to serve

millions of American homes, offices and factories;

offices
factories

-- job training for workers displaced by economic changes;

-- new investment pinpointed in regions and neighborhoods /
where jobs are needed most; /

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-- better mass transit in our cities and between them; and

-- a whole new generation of American homes and vehicles
and buildings that will house us and move us in comfort -- on
a lot less energy.

345
35

I have no doubt that the ingenuity and dedication of
the American people can make every single one of these things
happen. We are talking about the United States of America --
and those who count this country out as an economic
superpower are going to find out how wrong they are.

We will share
~~[Let us join together]~~ in the exciting enterprise of
making the 1980s a time of growth for America.

*

The Republican alternative is the biggest tax giveaway
in American history. They call it Reagan-Kemp-Roth. I call
it a free lunch Americans cannot afford.

35
36

The Republican tax program offers rebates to the rich,
deprivation to the poor,
and fierce inflation to the rest of us. Their party's own
vice-presidential nominee said that Reagan-Kemp-Roth would
mean an inflation rate of more than 30%. He called it
"voodoo economics." ~~Then, recently,~~ He suddenly changed his
toward the end of the Republican Convention.
mind. But he was right the first time!

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~~Along with this gigantic tax cut, the new Republican
leaders promise to protect some retirement and health programs,
and to make massive increases in defense spending.~~

36
37

If they are serious about these promises -- and they
say they are -- then a close analysis shows that the entire

10

rest of the government/would have to be abolished --/everything
from education to farm programs/to the G.I. Bill/to the night
watchman at the Lincoln Memorial! / And the federal budget would
still-be-in-the-red. /

build more

The only alternative would be to ~~run~~ the printing presses
~~full-time~~ to print cheap money. / Either way, the American people
lose. / We cannot let it happen. / *But the American people*
We won't stand for it!

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*
37 } 38

The Democratic party has always embodied the hope of
our people / for justice, opportunity, and a better life --/and
~~we have always led the fight to realize those dreams.~~ / We have
worked in ^{ev} very way / to strengthen the American family, / to
encourage self-reliance, / and to follow the Old Testament
admonition: / "Defend the poor and fatherless: / do justice to
the afflicted and needy."* / We have struggled / to assure that
no child in America goes to bed hungry, / that no elderly couple
lives in a substandard home, / and that no young person is excluded

*Psalms 82:3

from college because the family is poor.

38
39

What ^{have} ~~do~~ the Republicans proposed to do to fulfill those kinds of hopes?

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Again, very little -- ~~except the tax cut for the wealthy~~
~~and~~ ^{Just} an attack on almost every achievement in social justice and decency we have won in the last 50 years -- since Franklin

Roosevelt's first term. They would make Social Security voluntary. They would reverse our progress on

the minimum wage, full employment laws, ~~housing, Medicare for senior citizens,~~ safety in the work place, and a healthy environment. ~~And they would replace our progress towards a~~

~~fair and professional judiciary with narrow-minded loyalty oaths for judges chosen in their own image. The founders of our country would not have accepted that, and neither will the American people!~~

* 39
40

Lately the Republicans have been quoting Democratic presidents ~~who~~ but who can blame them? Whom would you rather

quote --/ Herbert Hoover or FDR? / Richard Nixon or John F. Kennedy? /

The Republicans have always been the party of privilege, /
but this year their new leaders have gone even further. / In
their own platform, / they have repudiated the best traditions
of their own party. /

Where is the conscience of Lincoln in the party of
Lincoln? / What has become of the traditional Republican belief
in fiscal responsibility? / What has happened to their
commitment / to safe and sane arms control? /

* 40 541

I do not claim perfection for the Democratic 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 issues / in 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. Now we have built the foundation for a better future.

41542

We have done something else -- something perhaps even more important. In good times and bad, in the valleys and on the peaks, we have told people the truth -- the hard truth -- the truth that sometimes hurts.

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~~Being President is one of the toughest jobs in the world. It is also the best, most challenging and gratifying job in the world -- and I don't mind admitting that I want to keep it. Winning this election is very important to me. But it is not the most important thing. 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 nation's highest principles and ideals -- that we move forward together with confidence and courage.~~

?

The Truth is That

22/43

Americans

We have earned our dream of progress and peace. / Look

what our land has been through / just within our own memory --

1/24 { a great Depression, a World War, 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 momentous experiences / we have
 learned something about the world, and about ourselves. /

We have matured and grown stronger 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. /

43
44

Some would argue / that to master these lessons is somehow
 to limit our potential. / That is not so. / A nation which knows its
 true strengths, / sees its true challenges, / understands legitimate

constraints -- that nation -- our nation -- is far stronger than
one which takes refuge in wishful thinking or nostalgia.

The Democratic party -- and the American people --
have understood these fundamental truths.

All of us can sympathize with the desire for easy
answers. There is often the temptation to substitute idle
dreams for hard reality.

44
415

The new Republican leaders are hoping that this year
America will give in to that temptation. But they profoundly
misunderstand the character of the American people.

Three weeks after Pearl Harbor,
Winston Churchill -- who was himself an American on
came to North America -- and said:
~~his mother's side~~ once said:

"We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries
across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies
because we are made of sugar candy."

We Americans have courage

45 / 44
Americans have always been on the cutting edge of change. We have always looked forward with anticipation and confidence. I still want what all of you want -- self-reliant neighborhoods and strong families; work for the able-bodied and good medical care for the sick; opportunity for our youth and dignity for the old; equal rights and justice for all our people.

I want teachers eager to ^{explain} [teach] what a civilization really is -- and students to understand their own needs and their own aims, but also the yearnings and dreams of their neighbors. I want ^women free to pursue without limit the full life they want for themselves. 46 / 47

I want our farmers growing crops to feed the nation and the world, secure in the knowledge that the family farm will thrive and with a fair return on the work they do for all of us. ~~I want workers to see meaning in the labor they perform -- and work enough to guarantee a job for every worker. I want~~ I want workers to see meaning in the labor they perform -- and work enough to guarantee a job for every worker. I want people in business to be bold and free to pursue new ideas.

I want minority citizens fully to join the mainstream of American life, and I want the blight of discrimination forever

wiped away from our land. ~~I want our farmers growing crops to feed the nation and the world, secure in the knowledge that the family farm will thrive and with a fair return on the work they do for all of us.~~

Join me in the fulfilling of that vision.

The choice -- the choice between the two paths to the future -- could not be more clear. If we succumb to a ~~dreamworld~~ *world of fantasy*

we will wake up to a nightmare. But if we start with reality

To make our dreams a reality --
and fight ~~for our dream~~ -- all Americans will have a good life,

a life of ~~purpose~~ meaning and purpose --
~~filled with excitement and achievement~~ -- in a nation strong

a life
and secure.

Above all, I want us to be what our founders meant us to become -- the land of freedom, the land of peace, the land of hope.

~~[Thank you. God bless you. And good night.]~~

#

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8/15/80

for staff secretary

(one of the drafts)

--SSC

(2)

A C C E P T A N C E S P E E C H

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Fellow Democrats, fellow citizens:

I thank you for the ^{nomination} ~~honor~~ you have offered me, the
highest honor the Democratic Party can bestow.

And I especially thank you for ^{choosing} ~~renominating~~ ^{as my running} ~~as my running~~
^{mate} ~~mate~~ the best ^{partner} ~~running-mate~~ any President has ever had --
our first and only choice -- Fritz Mondale.

I want to get two things straight right at the start.

First, I accept your nomination.

The second ~~thing~~ is this:

Fritz and I are going to wage the most effective campaign
you have ~~never~~ seen -- a campaign that respects the intelligence
of the American people -- a campaign that talks sense. And
we are going to win this election!

8/11/80

NOTES ON DRAFT P - 1

Page 2

In litany of past Democratic greats, putting names at end may get better applause.

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Page 3

NOTE INSERT: Pat, Jerry and I are totally convinced that you need something like this here:

[Let me say a personal word to Senator Kennedy.
Ted, you are a tough competitor and a superb campaigner
-- I can attest to that.

Now I reach out to you. Your country and your party needs you. There is ^{no doubt that} greatness ^{lies} ahead of you [in the years that will come.] [But the Democratic Party needs] ^{but we need} your strong voice now in the larger cause for which your brothers ^{became} ~~were~~ martyred and to which your own long life of public service has been dedicated. ~~We~~ ^{we} will be truly grateful for your * support.

*
This has nothing to do with personal feelings -- neutralizing EMK and winning over most of his supporters is important to your re-election and therefore to the good of the country. He will have a thousand delegates and maybe another thousand supporters in the hall. You must offer something to them.

Praising EMK for his campaign skills is safe. Also, it's what he's vain about. Invoking his brothers this way will put him on the spot like nothing else could, and it is not in bad taste.

*p3 insert
if OK
Please ~~use~~
brackets in*

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Now let me tell you why --

We are going to win because we are the party that is
^{honors}
~~proud of~~ its principles. We are the party of Franklin D.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Roosevelt --] a great President who knew how to get re-elected. --

We are the party of Harry Truman -- ^{a courageous fighter} who knew how to give 'em

Hell he said, who -- or who just told the truth, and the Republicans

thought it was Hell. We are the party of John F. Kennedy. --

^{a gallant man}
the ~~mark~~ of spirit. -- ^a And Lyndon Johnson ^a leader of compassion. --

^{a big-hearted man}
And Hubert Humphrey ^a who should have been President and

would have been one of the greatest Presidents of all time. --

And we're the party of Governor Jerry Brown and Senator Edward M. Kennedy.

*

P3
insert →

We're Democrats, and we have just come through the final rounds of a typical rough-and-tumble fight for the nomination. We have had our differences. But we agree on our goals for America. We share a bright vision of America's

future. It is a vision of a good life for all our people, -- a vision of
a secure nation, a just society, a peaceful world, [It is] a
and proud
vision of a strong America, ++ confident, and united.

Handwritten initials

→

Forty years ago President Franklin Roosevelt said that
there are times in our history when concerns over our
personal lives are overshadowed by a broader worry as to

3 54

"what will happen to the country we have known." Now is

such a time. *Americans now face two roads from which
to choose. The future hangs in the balance.*

2 roads

*

presidential

During the last, *presidential* campaign, I criss-crossed our country
and listened to many, many thousands of people --
housewives and farmers, teachers and small business leaders,
workers and students, the elderly and the poor -- people of
every race and background and walk of life. It was a
wonderful experience -- a total immersion in the vast human
reality of America.

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NOTE INSERT: Based on Pat's thinking, I'd insert this language:

I have learned that the Presidency is a solitary ^{job} ~~[place]~~ where ~~[the occupant quickly finds that]~~ experience is ~~[on the job]~~ ~~[will be]~~ the best guide to right decisions.

and understanding.

Experience is a pathway to knowledge, I am wiser tonight than I was four years ago -- and better equipped to do the job.

I have learned that the Presidency is a place of compassion, not of refuge. My own heart...

Pat feels strongly that there must be an acknowledgement early in the speech that everything has not been perfect. This is the way to do it, because it hooks to something people already believe and accept -- that while you've made mistakes, you have learned from them and will be a better President for it in the second term.

The last line is to keep the "I have learned..." litany consistent as a guide for the listener through this section.

Page 5

This change improves the rhythm -- try reading it out loud. It gives a little pause for re-emphasis just before the point is driven home.

Page 6

I think the repeated "That is why's" increase the power of these lines, while also setting up the listener for the drama of the "constituency is the future" line.

*pd
insert*

Since then, I have had another kind of total immersion --

~~[in the job of]~~ being President of the United States.

I want to talk for a moment about what that job is like
and what I have learned from it.

4 5

I have learned that only the most complex and difficult
tasks end up in the Oval Office. There are no easy answers
~~[in that office]~~, because no easy questions come there.

p 4
insert

→

~~[My own heart]~~ is burdened for troubled Americans.

The poor, the jobless and the afflicted, ^{have} become part of me.

My thoughts and prayers for our hostages in Iran are as

though they were my own sons and daughters.

also learned

I have ~~learned~~ that despite all the checks and limitations

that are woven into our system, the President's power for

building and his power for destruction are awesome. ⁵ ⁶ ~~Through~~

~~his, ^{actions and his} judicial appointments, his philosophy [will] endure far~~

~~beyond his own time.]~~ And his power is greatest precisely

where the stakes are highest -- in matters of war and peace.

The life of every human being on earth can depend on the
experience,
, knowledge, patience, ^{vigilance} ~~vigilance~~ and judgment of the person
in the Oval Office.

I have learned something else -- something that I have
come to see with extraordinary clarity. As President, I must --
of course -- deal with hundreds of current problems and
decisions. But my duty goes far beyond that. Above all,
I must look forward -- because the President of the United States
is the guardian of the future of the United States. *Through his
actions and his judicial appointments, his philosophy will endure far
beyond his own time.*

The President, more than anyone else, is the steward
of the Nation's destiny. He must look beyond this year or
next year or even the year after that. He must ^{defend protect} ~~speaking and act~~
~~for~~ our children -- and the children they will have in their
time -- ⁶ ~~and~~ ⁷ and the children of generations to follow. *He must speak and act for them.* That is
his burden and his glory.

That is why a President cannot yield to the short-sighted

demands of special interests, however rich or powerful.

That is why

The President cannot bend to the passions of the moment,

That is why

however popular. The President must sometimes ask for

sacrifice when his listeners would prefer to hear him speak

of comfort.

The President is the servant of the people. But his

true constituency is the future.

That is why the election of 1980 is so important.

*

Some have said it makes no difference what happens

in this election. They are wrong.

is

This election ~~[will provide]~~ a stark choice between two

men -- two parties -- two sharply different ^{pictures} ~~[visions]~~ of

America and the world. But it is more than that.

Page 7

NOTE SUBSTITUTION: I want to argue for the substitution of the following amended version of the original language:

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It is a choice between two futures.

The year 2000 is less than twenty years away -- just four Presidential elections from this one. Children born this year will come of age in the 21st century.

shape
The time to [build] the world we want in the year 2000 is now. The choices of the next few years will set our course, perhaps irrevocably -- 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 clear -- or more crucial.

In one of the futures we [we] can choose -- the future we have been building together -- I see security, justice and peace.

Here's my argument:

¶ That first short, simple line is needed for drama. Also, "two futures" is the theme of the speech and it needs to be introduced explicitly at this point, without adornment.

¶ The third paragraph above is needed for two reasons: to emphasize the critical nature of the election, and to make the point that there will be many (policy) choices in the next few years, all of which depend on the election.

¶ I don't think the repetition of the word "future" and

p7
insert

1/8

As much as any in our history, the election of 1980 is a choice between two totally different futures. The year 2000 is just four Presidential elections from this one. Children born this year will come of age in the 21st Century.

We should remember that

We are preparing to shape our nation's destiny.

That choice at the polls less than three months from tonight could not be more clear -- or more crucial.

*

In the future we have been building together --

I see security, justice and peace.

P 7 insert ->

I see a future of economic security -- security that will come from tapping our own great resources of oil and gas, coal and sunlight -- and from building the tools, technology and factories for a revitalized economy based on jobs and stable prices for all.

859

I see a future of justice -- the justice of good jobs, decent health care and quality education, and full

opportunity for all people, regardless of color or language or religion; the simple human justice of equal rights for all men -- and for all women, guaranteed, at last in the

Equal Rights ~~Amendment to 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 guaranteed both by American military strength and by American moral strength.

That is the future [that] I want for our people. It is a future of confidence and hope and a good life. It is the future America must choose -- and with your help and your commitment, it is the future America will choose.

*

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But there is another possible future.

In that other future, I see despair -- the despair of millions who would have to struggle for ^{equal opportunity and} a better life and ~~for equal rights~~ -- and struggle alone.

I see surrender -- the surrender of our energy future to the merchants of 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.

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I see risk -- the risk of international confrontation; the risk of an uncontrollable, unaffordable, and unwinnable nuclear arms race. ¹⁰ \int \parallel

No one, Democrat or Republican, would consciously seek such a future. I am sure that my opponent does not. No one questions his intentions, but ^{I do question} the disturbing commitments ^{and policies} are already made by him and his associates who have now captured

control of the Republican Party. It is the consequences of those commitments and policies that would drive us down the wrong road. It is up to all of us to make sure America rejects this alarming and perhaps ^{perilous} ~~dangerous~~ future.

^{in 1980--} The choice ^{perhaps} ~~this [year-- the]~~ ^{reversible} choice ~~[which we might~~
^{between two futures} ~~not then reverse]~~ -- makes all the difference in the world --
all the difference in the whole world.

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The path to the future must begin with the realities of the present. But while we Democrats grapple with the real challenges of a real world, others talk about a world of tinsel and make-believe. ¹¹ \int 12

Let's look for a moment at this make-believe world.

In this fantasy America, inner-city people and farm workers are forgotten. Women, like children, are to be seen

but not heard. The problems of working women simply do not exist. The elderly do not need Medicare. The young do not need more help for a better education. Workers do not ^{require} ~~need~~ the guarantee of ^a healthy and safe ~~workplaces~~ place to work.

In this fantasy world, all the complex global changes since World War II have never happened. All problems have simple solutions. Simplistic -- and wrong.

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

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

12
13

The path of fantasy is the path of irresponsibility. The path of reality is the path of hope and peace. The two paths could not be more different -- and neither could the futures to which they lead.

Let's take a hard, specific look at these two futures.

You and I.
We have worked towards a secure future by rebuilding

our military strength -- steadily, carefully, and responsibly.

The Republicans like to talk about military strength.

But [while] they were in office for 8 out of the last 11 years --
and in the face of a growing Soviet threat ^{they steadily cut} real defense spending
[was steadily cut] -- by more than a third.

We ^{have} reversed the Republican decline in defense. Every
year since I have been President we have had real increases 13514
in our commitment to a stronger defense -- increases which
are [steady] balanced and rational. There is no doubt that
^{the United States} we can meet any ^{threat} [challenge] from the Soviet Union. Our
modernized strategic forces, a revitalized NATO, the Trident
submarine, the cruise missile, the rapid deployment force --
all these guarantee that we will ^{never} be second to ^{any} nation.

This is action, not words -- fact, not fiction.

delete this here, if middle para is moved, you should begin this by saying

to close the gap between their rhetoric and their record, The new leaders of the Republican Party have now

promised ~~[a sudden, massive spending spree]~~ to launch an

all-out nuclear arms race, *which would render impractical any further effort to negotiate a strategic arms limitation agreement.*

~~[What a dismal future this offers America!]~~

There can be no winners in such an arms race -- and the losers could be every human being on earth.

We must and we will continue to build our own defenses -- especially our conventional ^{forces.} ~~[defenses]~~ But just as clearly, we must continue to seek balanced nuclear arms reduction agreements. ~~[with the Soviet Union.]~~ The security of our country demands it. So does the peace of the world.

*

This
[The] novel and radical course -- advocated by the [new] Republican ^{nominee} [leaders] -- is to abandon the arms control policies supported by every Democratic President since Truman and

every Republican President since Eisenhower. This irresponsible decision would ^{threaten} ~~damage~~ our security -- and it ^c would put the whole world in peril.

*

It is simple to call for a new arms race. But when armed aggression threatens world peace, tough-sounding talk is not enough. An American President must act -- responsibly.

When Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan, I moved quickly to take ~~[forceful but peaceful]~~ action. I restricted sales of high technology and ^{reduced} ~~cut~~ grain sales to the Soviet Union, called for draft registration, and joined the Congress and the U.S. Olympic Committee in leading the worldwide movement to boycott the ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ~~biggest~~ Soviet propaganda show ~~[in history]~~ -- the Moscow Olympics.

The current Republican leader opposed every one of these forceful but peaceful actions. But when asked what he would

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~~[be willing to]~~ do about aggression in South West Asia,

he suggested blockading Cuba! ~~[--- here in the Caribbean]~~

Even his running mate could not go along with that!

He 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 fight with them.

*

I am ^{grateful that I can} ~~[proud to be able to]~~ look back at the end of my
^{and see} first term ~~[at]~~ a full four years of peace for our country.

And that is what we want for the next four years -- peace!

[And] It is only common sense that if America is to stay
^{secure and} at peace, we must encourage others to be peaceful as well. ¹⁴ 17

*where we stood firm for racial justice
and democracy.*

We have helped in Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, We have helped in
the Middle East. Some have criticized the Camp David Accords
and delays in the implementation of the Middle East peace

the year 2000 is a problem. In fact, Pat thinks it might affect listeners somewhat like the pictures of futuristic technology at the Republican convention.

¶ The words underlined like this are needed to set up the next section -- they create suspense and interest.

Page 15

NOTE: I would omit this. The most amazing thing about this suggestion was not so much the geographical oddity, but rather the extreme recklessness and dangerousness of it. The mention of South West Asia makes the geographical point adequately. (Also, in Philadelphia you said something about not letting the Russians choose the terrain.)

Page 16

NOTE: I'm sure you were expecting some howls of pain over this one. This mention of the Palestinians would certainly be courageous, and it may be right on the merits -- but it could cost you New York and possibly the election. Pat and Jerry put it this way: "If he says that, he won't be needing our services -- and you can quote us." Can I suggest a substitute for the marked paragraph?

p/6

I am proud that fully half of the aid that our country has given Israel in the 32 years of her existence has come during my Administration. (I am proud that unlike our Republican ¹⁷ predecessors, ¹⁸ we have never stopped or slowed that aid.) Our commitment is clear: peace and security for Israel, real peace for all the peoples of the Middle East.

Al Moses and Stu think that the aid point is the most crucial one to make. They would be overjoyed if you included the bracketed sentence. The reference to "all the peoples of the M.E." would get the Palestinians in there without having to mention them by name. (FYI, I've attached a page of language Al Moses submitted to me.)

Before I became President there was no Camp David accord and
there was no peace treaty!
treaty. Just look at the difference. Before, Israel and

Egypt were poised across barbed wire, confronting each other
with guns and tanks and planes. Afterward, they ~~have faced~~ talked face-to-face with
each other across a peace table, ~~talked face-to-face~~ and now they also
communicate through their ^{own} Ambassadors in Cairo and Tel Aviv.

That is the kind of future we Democrats offer in the
Middle East.

~~[Joined by President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin,
our permanent commitment is to Israel's security, to peace
between Israel and all of her neighbors -- and to the
resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects.]~~

*

If the world is to have a future of freedom as well as
peace, America must continue to defend human rights.

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p 16
insert

The new Republican leaders oppose our human rights policy. They have promised to 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?

Ask the former political prisoners who now live in freedom ^{if we should abandon} ~~about~~ our stand on human rights.

Ask the dissidents in the Soviet Union ^{about our} ~~if the~~ ~~United States should scrap its~~ commitment to human rights.

18
5
19

Ask the Hungarian-Americans, the Polish-Americans.

Listen to Pope John Paul II.

Ask those who are suffering for the sake of justice and liberty around the world.

And ask the millions who have fled tyranny if American should stop speaking out for American principles.

We all know what the answers will be!

*

Here at home, the choice between the two futures is ^{equally} [just] as important. And in the long run, nothing is more crucial to our future than energy. Nothing was so disastrously neglected in the past. [~~Three years~~ ^{Long}] after the 1973 Arab oil embargo, the Republicans, ^{in the White House had still} [had] done nothing about this threat to our Nation's security. ^{Then as now,} Their policy ^{was dictated} was [shaped] by the big oil companies.

19
20
21
22

That is why we had to fight so hard to rally our Nation behind a [~~massive~~] comprehensive energy program. Now, after three years of struggle, we have that program -- a ^{new} foundation for challenging and exciting progress.

The battle to secure America's energy future has been fully and finally joined. [~~We have already begun.~~ ^{Americans}] [~~Our people~~ ^{we}] have responded -- ^{patriotically and} well. [~~Patriotic Americans~~] have reversed

This year, America will decide --

decades of dangerous and growing dependence on foreign oil.

We are now importing 20% less oil -- 1½ million barrels less

every day -- than when I took office. And now, ~~we are ready~~

With our energy policy in place we can

~~to~~ discover more, produce more, create more and conserve more

energy -- and we will use American resources, American

technology, and millions of American workers to do it.

*

What do the Republicans propose as an alternative?

Basically, ^{their} ~~the Republican~~ energy program has two parts.

*20
21*

The first part is to get rid of ^{almost} everything we have accomplished ^{for the American public} ~~managed~~ over the last three years.

~~They want to get rid of the windfall profits tax on the oil companies.~~ They want to reduce or abolish the synthetic fuels

program, the solar energy incentives, the conservation

programs, and aid to mass transit. They want to ^{cut} ~~get rid of~~

aid to the elderly to help pay fuel bills, and eliminate the

55-mile speed limit. And while they are at it, the

Republicans would like to get rid of the Clean Air Act.

They never liked it to begin with.

That's ^{one} ~~the first~~ part of their program.

The ^{other} ~~second~~ part is worse.

To replace what we have built, here is what they propose: To ^{destroy} ~~reduce or abolish~~ the windfall profits tax, and to "unleash" the oil companies and let them solve the energy problem, for us!

21 ~~22~~ 22

That's it. That is their whole program. There isn't any more.

It is an outrageous fraud. ~~And it is our job to make sure they don't get away with it.~~ ^{This is a vital issue, and} We Democrats will fight

~~[it] every step of the way.~~ -- ~~Because our Nation's energy security is the key link between our strength abroad and our health at home.~~

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When I took office, America faced a ^{heavy} ~~long~~ agenda of serious economic problems besides energy -- and we have met them head-on.

We have ^{slashed} ~~cut~~ government regulation and put free enterprise back into the airline, trucking and ^{financial} ~~banking~~ systems of our country -- and we are ^{now} doing the same for the railroads.

This is the greatest change in the relationship between business and government since the New Deal. We have increased our Nation's exports dramatically. We reversed the decline in basic research and development. We have created nine million new jobs -- the biggest three-year increase ^{in history} ~~on record~~.

22
23

^{The road has been bumpy, and skyrocketing}
But, ^{now} last year's ~~huge increase in~~ OPEC oil prices helped to trigger a severe ^{worldwide} inflation crisis.

We took forceful action, and interest rates have fallen, the dollar is stable, and, above all, inflation has been reduced sharply -- and you are going to see it fall still more.

Economic insert

We are now at [one] a critical turning point in our economic history. Because we made the hard decisions -- because we guided our economy through a rough but absolutely essential period of transition -- we have laid the groundwork for a new economic age. We are now within reach of a great opportunity -- and we will seize that opportunity.

Our economic renewal program for the 1980's will meet our immediate need for jobs by attacking the very long-term problems that cause^d unemployment and inflation in the first place. It will move America ^{simultaneously} towards our five great economic goals -- lower inflation, better productivity, revitalization of American industry, energy security, and jobs.

It is time to put all America back to work -- not in make-work, but in real work.

There is real work in modernizing American industry and creating new industries for America.

Here are just a few ^{things} ~~examples of what~~ I see in the economic future we will build together:

¶ New industries to turn our coal and shale and farm products into fuel for our cars and trucks, and to turn the light of the sun into ^{heat and} electricity for our homes;

¶ a modern transportation system of railbeds and ports to make American coal into a powerful rival of OPEC oil as a worldwide energy source;

¶ industries that will bring the convenience of futuristic ^{and communications} computer technology into millions of American homes, offices and factories;

¶ job training for workers displaced by economic change;

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¶ new investment pinpointed in regions and neighborhoods where jobs are needed [the] most;

¶ better mass transit in our cities and between them;

¶ and a whole new generation of American homes and vehicles and buildings that will house us and move us in comfort -- on a lot less energy.

I have no doubt that the ingenuity and dedication of the American people are up to the job. We are talking about the United States of America -- and those who count this country out as an economic superpower are due for a ^{big} surprise.

~~We are ready to build...~~

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[pick up top of p. 23]—

25
24

We are ready to build, and to modernize. We will become more competitive in the world, as we join in the exciting enterprise of making the 1980s a decade of growth for America.

*

The Republican alternative is the biggest tax giveaway ~~[to the rich]~~ in American history. They call it Reagan-Kemp-Roth. I call it ~~[It is]~~ a free lunch Americans cannot afford.

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The Republican tax program offers rebates to the rich and fierce inflation to the rest of us. Their ^{party's} own Vice-presidential nominee said that Reagan-Kemp-Roth would mean an inflation rate ^{more than} of 30%. He called it "voodoo economics." Then, ^{recently,} ~~[for some reason]~~ he suddenly changed his mind. But he was right the first time!

^{Along with} ~~[On top of]~~ this gigantic tax cut, the new Republican leaders promise ~~[merely]~~ to protect retirement and health programs, and to make massive increases in defense spending.

26
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Whom are they trying to fool?

If they are serious about these promises -- and they say they are -- then a close analysis shows that the entire rest of the government would have to be abolished -- everything from education to farm programs [~~to veterans~~] to the night watchman at the Lincoln Memorial! And the Federal budget would still be in the red.

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The only alternative would be to run the ^{printing} presses ^{full time} [~~24 hours a day~~] to print ^{cheap} money. Either way, the American people lose. We cannot let it happen. We won't stand for it!

*

The Democratic party has always embodied the hope of our people for justice, opportunity, and a better life -- and we

have always led the fight to realize those dreams. We have worked ^{in every way} to strengthen the American family, ^{to encourage self-reliance,} and to ~~care for those~~

follow the old Testament admonition: } 28

"Defend the poor and fatherless:
do justice to the afflicted and needy"
(Ps 82:3)

are vulnerable and who need help,
who have real needs.

~~personal needs of Americans.~~ We have struggled to assure that

in America
no child goes to bed hungry, that no elderly couple lives in a substandard home, and that no young person is excluded from

college because the family is poor.

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What do the Republicans propose to do to advance those *kinds of* hopes?

Again, very little -- except the [~~same simplistic notion~~
~~of a~~] tax cut for the wealthy and an attack on almost every achievement in social justice and decency we have won in the last 50 years, ⁻⁻ since Franklin Roosevelt's first term. They would reverse our progress on the minimum wage, full employment laws, housing, Medicare for senior citizens, safety in the work place, and a healthy environment. And they would replace our progress towards a fair and professional judiciary with narrow-minded loyalty oaths ^{28 / 29} for judges chosen in their own image. *The founders of our Country would not have accepted that, and The American people will oppose it, too.*

*

Lately the Republicans have been quoting Democratic presidents--
but who can blame them? Whom would you rather quote-- Herbert Hoover
or FDR? Richard Nixon or John F. Kennedy?
The Republicans have always been the party of

privilege, but this year their new leaders have gone even
further. In their own platform, they have repudiated the
best traditions of their own party.

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Where is the conscience of Lincoln in the party of
Lincoln? Whatever became of the traditional Republican belief
in fiscal responsibility? What has happened to their commitment
to safe and sane arms control?

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I do not claim perfection for the Democratic 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 issues in 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 ~~[may]~~ have made ~~[some]~~ mistakes, ^{and} ~~[but]~~ we have learned from them -- and ^{we have ^{now} built the foundation for} ~~[our accomplishments are~~ there, ~~on which all Americans can now build]~~ a better future. →

We have done something else -- something perhaps even more important. In good times and bad, in the valleys and on the peaks, we have told people the truth -- the hard truth -- the truth that sometimes hurts.

30 }
31

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Being President is one of the toughest ~~[and most lonely]~~ jobs in the world. It is also the best, most challenging and gratifying job in the world -- and I don't mind admitting that I want to keep it. Winning this election is very important to me. But it is not the most important thing. 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 Nation's highest principles and ideals -- that we move forward together with confidence and courage.

We have earned our dream of progress and peace. Look
what our land has been through just ^{within} ~~in this century alone~~ ^{our own memory --} --

^a ~~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 momentous experiences we have
learned something about the world, and about ourselves. We
have matured and grown stronger as a nation.

31
32

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.

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

The Democratic Party -- and

The American people have understood these fundamental truths. All of us can sympathize with the desire for easy answers. We are all tempted now and then to substitute [wishful thinking] for hard reality.

idle dreams
wishful thinking

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The new Republican leaders are hoping that this year America will give in to that temptation. They profoundly misunderstand the character of the American people.

Winston Churchill -- who was himself an American on his mother's side -- once said:

"We have not journeyed all this way across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies because we are made of sugar candy."

Americans have always been on the cutting edge of change. We have always looked forward with anticipation and confidence. [Four years ago, I talked about "a government as good as the American people."] I still want what all of you want -- self-reliant neighborhoods and strong families; work for the

able-bodied and good medical care for the sick; opportunity
for our youth and dignity for the old; equal rights and justice
for all our people.

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I want teachers eager to describe what a civilization
really is. I want students to understand their own needs
and their own aims, but also the yearnings and dreams of their
neighbors. I want women ~~[to be]~~ free to pursue without limit
the full life they want for themselves.

I want workers to see meaning in the labor they perform --
and work enough to guarantee a job for every worker. I want
people in business to be bold and free to pursue ~~[a]~~ new ideas.

I want ~~[the members of]~~ minority ^{citizens} ~~[groups]~~ fully to join the
mainstream of American life, and I want the blight of
discrimination ^{forever} ~~[to be removed]~~ ^{wiped away} from our land. I want ^{our} farmers
growing crops to feed the Nation and the world, secure in the
knowledge that the family farm will ^{thrive} ~~[remain an important part~~
~~of the American scene]~~ and with a fair return on the ^{work they do} ~~[investment~~

~~they~~ make for all of us. I want all Americans to have a good life, filled with excitement and achievement -- in a Nation strong and secure.

34 } 35

be what our founders hoped we would become.

Above all, I want us to ~~[continue as we have been]~~ living ~~in~~ the land of freedom, the land of peace, the land of hope.

That is the vision that unites us. That is the life we can have.

The choice -- the choice between two paths to the future -- could not be more clear. If we lie down in a dreamworld we will waken ⁱⁿ ~~[with]~~ a nightmare. ^{But} ~~[To answer the question of President Roosevelt,]~~ if we start with reality and fight for our dream -- then good things will happen to the country we ^{love.} ~~[have known.]~~

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Thank you. God bless you. And good night.

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