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*Reagan's cover (copy) is
was copied to Camp David
10/18/80
(per memo)*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 18, 1980

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*

SUBJECT: Radio Speech #2: "America's Future: Building a Peaceful World"

This speech is significantly better than the earlier draft. But I have several comments:

1. On page 8 of draft A-1 we should delete the second and third sentences of the first full paragraph on page 6. This simply invites the question: "If we can afford to do it, why not go ahead and do it now, since it is clearly necessary that we further build up our defenses."
2. I urge you in the strongest of terms to modify the dangerously loose language on pages 8-10. This reverts back to all the old name calling, characterizations and hyperbole that you have successfully moved away from in the last few weeks:
 - a. The last sentence at the bottom of page 8 is a perfect example. Reagan is not advising the country to "step toward it" (the nuclear precipice) and is a gross exaggeration and characterization which then leaves you on the defensive. Reagan's position which you note on page 9 speaks eloquently to the problem you are concerned about. Characterizing that position -- as opposed to distinguishing yourself from it -- only invites danger.
 - b. I would modify the language on the third line of paragraph 3 on page 9 so instead of reading "this would be a foolish and dangerous gamble" it would read "this would be an unwise gamble."
 - c. In paragraph 3 of page 9, rather than saying that such an option would "almost certainly" lead to a "total breakdown in Soviet-American relations" indicate that this would further chill Soviet-American relations, thereby avoiding hyperbole.
 - d. At the top of page 10, instead of saying that Reagan's program would lead to a situation in which any effort to negotiate arms limits of any kind "would be doomed" indicate that this would make the achievement of any future reduction much more difficult or unlikely or state that it would imperil such efforts.
 - e. Most important of all, I urge you in the strongest terms not to use the conclusion at the end of the first paragraph on page 10 "that the course my opponent has outlined would make nuclear war more -- not less -- likely." Again, this would open you to smear charges when the same point can be gotten across without putting yourself on the defensive. The

conclusion should be that it is your considered judgment based on your thorough knowledge and experience that the course advocated by Governor Reagan would not achieve the objectives sought by yourself and previous Presidents of limiting the threat of nuclear arms and that your own program would achieve this objective.

We have done so well over the last two weeks by avoiding this type of exaggeration that I beg you not to resort to it here.

3. Rick has attached some suggested points on Israel. This section needs beefing up because little attention was given to the Forest Hills remarks due to the distraction of the hecklers. I would hope that you could go with the type of language suggested which I would think would be very important. At the least, some of the language in the Forest Hills speech about Israel being a strategic asset and of our continuing strategic planning with them should be included, together with the statements on the PLO that were in your Forest Hills remarks.

4. I would delete the references at the bottom of page 13 and top of page 14 to the fact that prior to your Administration the United States was seen as a friend of the oppressors. This can only invite a bitter rebuttal, and adds little to the speech. It would be far preferable to indicate in a positive way after saying that it was "less clear" where the U.S. stood, that it is now clear we stand on the side of majority rule.

cc: Jody Powell
Rick Hertzberg

President's original edited version

Jody Powell

HERTZBERG
A-1; OCT 17 1980
FOR DELIVERY:
SUN, OCT. 19
RADIO ADDRESS

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38
/

FRAN
TRANSMIT -
RETURN
THIS ORIG.
TO ME
J

AMERICA'S FUTURE: BUILDING A PEACEFUL WORLD

THIS IS PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER, SPEAKING TO YOU FROM THE
CABINET ROOM
~~[OVAL OFFICE]~~ OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

FOR THE PAST FOUR YEARS, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AT
PEACE. WE HAVE STRENGTHENED THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SECURITY.

WE HAVE PURSUED OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN A DANGEROUS AND
we have used the enormous strength of America, but
OFTEN UNSTABLE WORLD. ~~AND~~ WE HAVE DONE SO WITHOUT RECOURSE
TO VIOLENCE AND WAR.

THIS IS NO ACCIDENT. IT IS THE RESULT OF ~~THE~~ CAREFUL
the enormous strength of America.
EXERCISE OF ~~[ALL FORMS OF AMERICAN NATIONAL STRENGTH.]~~

THIS AFTERNOON I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT WHAT WE MUST
DO TOGETHER IN THE NEXT FOUR YEARS TO ENSURE OUR OWN SECURITY
AND TO KEEP THE PEACE.

THE CORNERSTONE OF BOTH SECURITY AND PEACE IS OUR ABILITY
TO DEFEND OURSELVES. IN THE LAST ANALYSIS WE MUST BE ABLE
^{MEET OUR COMMITMENTS}
~~PROTECT OUR INTERESTS~~ AND PURSUE OUR GOALS ^{PEACEFULLY} WITH CALM ASSURANCE AND
TO ~~[BACK UP WHAT WE STAND FOR.]~~ THAT ^{REQUIRES} TAKES MILITARY STRENGTH. ^{CONFIDENCE.}

^{A POTENTIAL}
WE FACE ~~[AN]~~ ADVERSARY, THE SOVIET UNION, WHOSE ~~[TOTALITARIAN]~~
GOVERNMENT HAS FUNNELLED MUCH OF THE WEALTH AND TALENTS OF
ITS PEOPLE INTO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MILITARY MACHINE.

WE WOULD PREFER TO COMPETE PEACEFULLY WITH SOVIET FARMERS
TO FEED THE WORLD, WITH SOVIET TEXTILE WORKERS TO CLOTHE IT,
WITH SOVIET DOCTORS TO HEAL IT, WITH SOVIET SCIENTISTS TO GIVE
IT NEW FORMS OF ENERGY. THOSE RACES WOULD BE A JOY TO RUN.

BUT THAT IS NOT THE CHALLENGE THEY LAY BEFORE US.

INSTEAD, WE SEE A LARGE BUILDUP OF SOVIET MILITARY
FORCES; WE SEE THE ARMING AND USE OF CLIENT STATES SUCH AS
CUBA; WE SEE THE BRUTAL SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

THIS LONG-TERM CHALLENGE DEMANDS A STEADY, RESOLUTE RESPONSE.

HISTORICALLY, OUR COUNTRY HAS MOVED SHARPLY UP AND DOWN
 IN ITS SUPPORT FOR DEFENSE. AFTER EACH WAR WE HAVE DISARMED
 AND DEMOBILIZED -- AND THEN ^{LATER} EMBARKED ON CRASH BUILDUPS. SUCH
^{ERRATIC ACTIONS}
~~[SCREECHING STOPS AND JACKRABBIT STARTS]~~ ARE ALWAYS WASTEFUL
 AND SOMETIMES DANGEROUS.

^{COMMITMENT}
 MY ~~[PHILOSOPHY]~~ HAS BEEN DIFFERENT -- ^{IT HAS BEEN} TO PROVIDE FOR A
STEADY REBUILDING OF OUR DEFENSES.

~~[I HAVE SEEN TO IT THAT]~~ WE HAVE INCREASED OUR REAL SPENDING
^{ABOVE AND BEYOND}
 FOR DEFENSE -- SPENDING ~~[AFTER]~~ INFLATION -- EVERY YEAR SINCE
 I BECAME PRESIDENT. FOR SEVEN OF THE PREVIOUS EIGHT YEARS,
 IT HAD DECLINED SHARPLY --

*A 35% REDUCTION IN DEFENSE SPENDING BETWEEN
 1969 & 1977. ^{LONG}*

THE EFFECTS OF THIS ^{LONG} DECLINE CANNOT BE ELIMINATED AT A
 STROKE. BUT WE HAVE MADE AN EXCELLENT START -- ESPECIALLY
 BY PUTTING OUR TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY TO WORK.

FOR EXAMPLE, BY ^{PRODUCING} ~~[DEPLOYING]~~ A NUMBER OF TYPES OF ~~[OUR]~~

LONG RANGE

~~RECENTLY-DEVELOPED~~ LONG RANGE CRUISE MISSILES, WE CAN MULTIPLY THE POWER OF OUR EXISTING SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT. WE ARE DOING JUST THAT.

WHEN I TOOK OFFICE, WE HAD NO NEW BATTLE TANK OR MODERN ARMORED FIGHTING VEHICLE. NOW THEY ARE IN PRODUCTION.

~~THERE WAS~~ ^{HAD BEEN FOUND} NO ANSWER, TO THE PROSPECTIVE VULNERABILITY OF OUR MINUTEMAN MISSILES. NOW THERE IS AN ANSWER -- THE MOBILE MX MISSILE.

THERE WAS NO OVERALL PLAN FOR STRENGTHENING ^{U.S. AND OTHER} ALLIED FORCES IN EUROPE. NOW WE HAVE ^{A GOOD PLAN} ONE -- AND WE ^{ARE PUTTING IT INTO} ~~HAVE AUGMENTED OUR OWN~~ ^{EFFECT.} ~~FORCES THERE~~ ^[BY 26,000 TROOPS]. WE ARE DEPLOYING ANTI-TANK

MISSILES AT A RATE FIVE TIMES FASTER THAN THE SOVIETS ARE DEPLOYING TANKS. ON NATO'S EASTERN FLANK, WE ARE WORKING TO REINTEGRATE GREECE INTO THE NATO COMMAND STRUCTURE -- AND WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO [?] ~~THAT.~~ THIS EFFORT.

OUR PURCHASES OF ARMY EQUIPMENT, JET FIGHTERS, AND ATTACK

AIRCRAFT HAD DROPPED BY SOME TWO-THIRDS IN THE EIGHT YEARS BEFORE I BECAME PRESIDENT. SINCE THEN, WE HAVE INCREASED THEM BY 50 PERCENT.

WHEN I CAME INTO OFFICE, I FOUND WE HAD LITTLE CAPABILITY FOR QUICK ACTION IN THE CRITICAL PERSIAN GULF REGION. NOW WE ^{HAVE} ~~ARE~~ PREPOSITIONING ^{ED} ~~THE~~ EQUIPMENT FOR 12,000 MARINES AND MUNITIONS FOR 500 AIRCRAFT. WE ^{HAVE ARRANGED FOR THE USE OF} ~~[ARE DEVELOPING]~~ FACILITIES AT FIVE DIFFERENT SITES IN THE REGION. WE HAVE DEPLOYED TWO CARRIER TASK FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THEY GIVE US AIR AND NAVAL SUPERIORITY TO ACT INSTANTLY TO KEEP OPEN THE STRAITS OF HORMUZ, THROUGH WHICH MOST OF THE WORLD'S OIL TRADE FLOWS.

NONE OF THESE [THINGS] EXISTED BEFORE. ALL WERE BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE EFFORTS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

^{even}
MORE WILL HAVE TO BE DONE. FURTHER INCREASES IN PAY AND BENEFITS WILL BE NEEDED TO KEEP TRAINED SERVICEMEN AND WOMEN IN OUR VOLUNTEER FORCES. BARRING SOME UNEXPECTED DECREASE

MILITARY FORCES GIVE US SECURITY, BUT THEY ARE NOT AN
END IN THEMSELVES. AS I HAVE SAID MANY TIMES, THE BEST WEAPON
IS ONE WHICH IS NEVER FIRED IN COMBAT, AND THE BEST SOLDIER
IS ONE WHO NEVER HAS TO SHED HIS BLOOD ON THE FIELD OF
BATTLE.

IN SOVIET MILITARY EFFORTS, WE WILL ALSO NEED TO ^{INCREASE} [ACCELERATE]
OUR INVESTMENTS IN THE SHIPS, AIRCRAFT, TANKS, AND OTHER
WEAPONS THAT ARE THE MUSCLE OF OUR CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

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~~[WE CAN AFFORD TO DO THIS. [WE CAN AFFORD TO DO MORE
IF NECESSARY] AND, IF NECESSARY, WE WILL DO MORE.]~~

BESIDES OUR MILITARY PROGRAMS, WE ^{HAVE DEVISED} [CAN HAVE] SOMETHING
ELSE [IF WE CHOOSE] -- WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED A SECRET WEAPON.

THIS WEAPON WILL KNOCK OUT ABOUT A FOURTH OF ALL THE
SOVIET LONG-RANGE MISSILES AND BOMBERS WE PROJECT FOR 1985.
IT WILL ELIMINATE THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR BOMBS AND WARHEADS
THE RUSSIANS COULD OTHERWISE HAVE. IT WILL ENHANCE OUR
INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING CAPABILITIES, ^{TO MONITOR WHAT THE}
SOVIET UNION IS DOING.

IT WILL DO ALL THIS WITHOUT FIRING A SHOT -- WITHOUT
INTERFERING WITH A SINGLE ONE OF OUR OWN PLANNED MILITARY
IMPROVEMENTS -- WITHOUT COSTING A DIME. INDEED, IT WILL
SAVE US BILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

THIS SECRET WEAPON, OF COURSE, IS NOT A WEAPON AT ALL.
NOR IS IT A SECRET. IT IS SALT II -- THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR
ARMS LIMITATION TREATY, ^{WHICH} WE HAVE SIGNED AFTER SEVEN YEARS OF
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, *AND WHICH NOW AWAITS*
APPROVAL BY THE SENATE.

THIS AGREEMENT STRENGTHENS OUR STRATEGIC POSITION.
IT ALSO STRENGTHENS PEACE.

FOR WHAT IS AT STAKE IS MORE THAN A SINGLE TREATY,
HOWEVER ADVANTAGEOUS. WHAT IS AT STAKE IS A PROCESS, AN
EXTREMELY IMPORTANT PROCESS -- THE PROCESS OF GRADUALLY
REDUCING THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR.

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA, THE SHADOW OF WHAT
WAS UNLEASHED THERE STILL HANGS OVER THE WORLD. WE HAVE
LIVED WITH IT FOR SO LONG THAT WE ARE IN DANGER OF BECOMING
CASUAL ABOUT IT. WE MUST NOT DO THAT.

EVEN A SINGLE HYDROGEN BOMB DROPPED ON A SINGLE CITY

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COULD CAUSE MILLIONS OF DEATHS AND INJURIES IN THE FIRST FEW
SECONDS, AND MILLIONS MORE IN ITS WAKE.

IT IS BEYOND THE POWER OF WORDS TO DESCRIBE THE HORROR
OF A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST. IT WOULD DWARF ALL THE ACCUMULATED
BARBARITIES AND CRUELTIES OF MANKIND'S LONG HISTORY PUT TOGETHER.
*MORE PEOPLE WOULD DIE IN A FEW HOURS THAN IN ALL THE WARS
OF ALL NATIONS SINCE THE DAWN OF RECORDED HISTORY*

MOST OF US SELDOM THINK ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR
WAR. BUT ^{AS} ~~[WHEN YOU ARE]~~ THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES --
~~[WHEN YOU ARE]~~ ENTRUSTED WITH THE POWER TO UNLEASH THAT FORCE
-- ~~[WHEN YOU ARE]~~ CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY TO BEND
EVERY EFFORT OF MIND AND HEART AND WILL TO SEE TO IT THAT IT
NEED NEVER BE UNLEASHED -- THEN IT IS SOMETHING ^I ~~YOU~~ THINK
ABOUT EVERY DAY AND EVERY NIGHT OF ^{MY} ~~YOUR~~ LIFE.

OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS, WE HAVE TAKEN SOME TENTATIVE
STEPS AWAY FROM THE NUCLEAR PRECIPICE. NOW, FOR THE FIRST
TIME, WE ARE BEING ADVISED TO ^{TAKE STEPS THAT MAY MOVE US} ~~[STEP]~~ TOWARD IT.

A FEW DAYS AGO, MY OPPONENT IN THE CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN PROMISED TO SCRAP THE NUCLEAR ARMS TREATY WE HAVE ALREADY SIGNED. HE SAID, AND I QUOTE: "THE ONE CARD THAT'S BEEN MISSING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ARMS RACE." *HE ALSO URGES THAT WE SEEK NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY.*

[HIS POSITION, AND I THINK I STATE IT ACCURATELY, IS THAT BY ABANDONING THE CURRENT AGREEMENT AND ^{SUGGESTING} ~~[THREATENING]~~ AN ALL-OUT NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, WE COULD ^{PERHAPS} FRIGHTEN THE SOVIETS INTO NEGOTIATING A NEW AGREEMENT ON THE BASIS OF AMERICAN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY. *]*

HD ~~I don't think this correctly states his position.~~

I HAVE HAD FOUR YEARS OF SOBERING EXPERIENCE IN THIS LIFE-AND-DEATH FIELD, AND IN MY CONSIDERED JUDGMENT, THIS WOULD BE A ~~[FOOLISH AND DANGEROUS]~~ ^{VERY RISKY} GAMBLE. IT ~~IS~~ MOST UNLIKELY THAT IT ^{NOT} WOULD LEAD TO ANY NEW AGREEMENT. A MUCH MORE LIKELY ^{NUCLEAR} RESULT WOULD BE AN UNCONTROLLED ARMS RACE, AND ALMOST CERTAINLY,

[A ^{NEW RUPTURE} ~~TOTAL BREAKDOWN~~ *]* IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS *]* THE LONG, SLOW MOMENTUM OF ARMS CONTROL WOULD BE BROKEN. ANY FUTURE

HD ~~Isn't this an overstatement?~~

10A

ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE FOR PAGE 10

THE MOST IMPORTANT DUTY OF A PRESIDENT IS TO DEFEND
^{OUR}
~~THE~~ NATION AND ITS VITAL INTERESTS. PART OF THAT DUTY IS TO
JUDGE WHAT COURSE OF ACTION WILL DIMINISH THE POSSIBILITY
OF NUCLEAR WAR. MY CONSIDERED JUDGMENT, BASED ON A VERY
THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE FACTORS INVOLVED, IS THAT
THE COURSE I AM FOLLOWING WOULD DO THAT -- AND THAT THE
DEPARTURE RECOMMENDED BY MY OPPONENT WOULD HAVE THE
OPPOSITE EFFECT.

✓
INSERT
P 10

MR. PRESIDENT --

PAT THINKS THIS WOULD BE LESS LIKELY TO REVIVE THE
"WARMONGER" FLAP. STU AGREES.

EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE ARMS LIMITS -- FOR EXAMPLE, ON ANTI-SATELLITE
SYSTEMS, ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS, ON CONVENTIONAL AND NUCLEAR
ARMS IN EUROPE -- ^{MOST LIKELY} WOULD BE ^{IMPERILED.} ~~DOOMED~~

INSERT → 10A

DUTY

THE MOST IMPORTANT [PART] OF A PRESIDENT [S JOB] IS TO DEFEND
THE NATION AND ITS VITAL INTERESTS. PART OF THAT DUTY IS TO
JUDGE WHICH OF A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE COURSES OF ACTION WILL
DIMINISH THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR AND WHICH WILL INCREASE
IT. IT IS MY CONSIDERED JUDGMENT, BASED ON A VERY THOROUGH
KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE FACTORS INVOLVED, THAT THE COURSE MY
OPPONENT HAS OUTLINED WOULD MAKE NUCLEAR WAR MORE --
NOT LESS -- LIKELY.

INSERT

SEE ALTERNATIVE
LANGUAGE

HIS ARGUMENT IS NOT WITH ME ALONE. IT IS WITH OUR

ALLIES, WHO WITHOUT EXCEPTION SUPPORT BOTH THE SALT TREATY
AND THE CONTINUING PROCESS OF NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL. ^{POSITION} ~~HIS ARGUMENT~~ IT IS
~~A DEPARTURE FROM THE POLICIES OF~~ ^{AND ALL} ~~ALSO WITH PRESIDENT TRUMAN, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, PRESIDENT~~
~~DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE SERVED~~
~~KENNEDY, PRESIDENT JOHNSON, PRESIDENT NIXON AND PRESIDENT~~
~~IN THIS OFFICE SINCE THEM.~~
~~FORD.~~ WHATEVER THEIR OTHER DIFFERENCES, ALL OF THEM SAW A

DUTY TO SLOW THE ARMS RACE AND TO BRING THE TERRIBLE WEAPONS
OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION UNDER SOME KIND OF RATIONAL CONTROL.

I DO NOT PROPOSE TO TURN AWAY FROM THAT DUTY. I PROPOSE
TO LEAD OUR COUNTRY IN FULFILLING IT.

THOUGH WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK FOR ARMS CONTROL --

WHICH IS ~~(AS MUCH)~~ IN OUR ^{MUTUAL} INTEREST ~~[AS THE SOVIETS]~~ -- WE MUST

RECOGNIZE THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE GROWN COLDER

IN THE WAKE OF THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

*The world has
condemned this ~~an~~ act of aggression, and the Soviets are being
made to ~~must~~ realize that this ^{military} occupation of a freedom-loving nation
cannot be continued without impunity
severe
a worse
consequences.*

BUT WE MUST NOT LET OURSELVES BECOME OBSESSED BY FEAR

AND RIVALRY. IF WE DO, WE RUN THE RISK OF NEGLECTING THE

MANY OTHER PROBLEMS WHICH ARE RELATED TO THE SOVIET UNION

ONLY INDIRECTLY OR NOT AT ALL.

PEACE IS THE WORK OF MANY HANDS. IT IS THE STRUGGLE FOR

JUSTICE IN MANY DARK CORNERS. IT IS STRIVING TO SOLVE PROBLEMS

LONG-STALEMATED AND BITTERLY DISPUTED. IT IS HAVING THE

COURAGE TO RISE ABOVE OLD FAILURES AND TO ACT UPON NEW HOPE.

AS WE RAISE OUR SHIELD AGAINST WAR, LET US ALSO HEAR
THE STRICKEN VOICE OF THE ^{HOMELSS} REFUGEE, THE CRY OF THE HUNGRY CHILD,
THE WEEPING OF THE BEREAVED WIDOW, THE WHISPERED PRAYER OF
THE POLITICAL PRISONER. WE ARE ONE WITH THE FAMILY OF ALL
^{PEOPLE}
~~MANKIND~~ AND THE CONCERNS OF THE HUMAN FAMILY ARE MANY.

AROUND THE WORLD WE HAVE REJECTED THE COUNSELS OF PESSIMISM
AND HAVE DARED TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE.

IN THE FAR EAST, WE HAVE PLACED OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA
ON AN HONEST AND SENSIBLE FOOTING. THIS MAKES THE GLOBAL
BALANCE OF POWER MORE STABLE, AND STRENGTHENS PEACE BOTH IN
ASIA AND AROUND THE WORLD.

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SEVEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, THERE
WAS WAR -- THE FOURTH ARAB-ISRAELI WAR IN 25 YEARS. TODAY
EGYPT AND ISRAEL ARE AT PEACE, AND ISRAEL IS MORE SECURE
FROM ATTACK THAN SHE HAS EVER BEEN.

INSERT FOR PAGE 13.

(A)

P13

A BITTER WAR IS NOW GOING ON IN THE PERSIAN GULF,
COMPLICATING EVEN FURTHER OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE
RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES IN IRAN. ~~But~~ THINK HOW MUCH MORE
DANGEROUS THAT NEW WAR WOULD BE IF WE DID NOT HAVE PEACE
BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT, BY FAR THE MOST SIGNIFICANT
MILITARY POWERS IN THE REGION. WE WILL CONTINUE TO
CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ~~THE NATIONS~~ ISRAEL AND
WITH EGYPT ON ^{STRATEGIC} MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST
IN OUR COMMON EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE PEACE.

MR. PRESIDENT --

THIS WOULD ADDRESS THE PROBLEM THAT AS IT STANDS,
THE SPEECH MENTIONS NEITHER THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR
NOR THE HOSTAGES.

WHEN I FIRST MET PRESIDENT SADAT AT THE WHITE HOUSE, IN
 APRIL 1977, I TOLD HIM THAT I INTENDED TO WORK FOR A COMPLETE
 PEACE BETWEEN HIS COUNTRY AND ISRAEL -- ^{ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE RIGHT TO EXIST,} OPEN BORDERS, ^{DIRECT} DIPLOMATIC ^{NEGOTIATIONS,}
^{AND MUTUAL} RECOGNITION, AMBASSADORIAL EXCHANGE, ^{AND} TRADE, ~~== THE WORKS.~~

THAT HE TOO LONGED FOR THAT DAY BUT
 HE TOLD ME IT WOULD NEVER HAPPEN IN HIS LIFETIME. PRIME
 MINISTER BEGIN SHARED HIS SKEPTICISM -- AND HIS DREAM.

NOW THAT DREAM HAS COME TO PASS -- IN THEIR LIFETIME
 AND IN YOURS AND MINE. WE HAVE MUCH MORE WORK TO DO. BUT
 WE HAVE FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED THE ^{SITUATION} ~~QUESTION~~ IN THE MIDDLE
 EAST. THE QUESTION IS NO LONGER ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST.
 THE QUESTION NOW IS THE TERMS OF A BROADER PEACE BETWEEN A
 STRONG AND SECURE ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS.

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, FOUR YEARS AGO, IT WAS CLEAR THAT
 TIME WAS ^{running out for} ~~[NOT ON THE SIDE OF]~~ REGIMES BASED ON THE DOCTRINE OF
 RACIAL SUPREMACY. ~~[BUT IT WAS LESS CLEAR WHERE THE UNITED~~
~~STATES STOOD. TO A GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT, WE WERE SEEN~~

INSERT
 ← (A)

~~AS FRIENDS OF THE OPPRESSORS, NOT THE OPPRESSED. THIS WAS
WRONG -- AND IT WAS [NOT IN] OUR LONG-TERM NATIONAL INTEREST.~~
DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO

RECOGNIZED THIS FACT

I AM PROUD THAT BECAUSE WE ~~CHANGED [THAT]~~, WE COULD HELP
WITH
~~BRING ABOUT~~ THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT THAT THIS YEAR BROUGHT A
DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT TO POWER IN ~~[WHAT IS NOW]~~
DEVELOPED
ZIMBABWE. WE NOW HAVE EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH NIGERIA AND
OTHER INDEPENDENT NATIONS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. THERE
AS ELSEWHERE, WE HAVE PLACED AMERICA'S INFLUENCE ON THE SIDE
OF THE HUMAN FORCES THAT WILL INEVITABLY SHAPE THE FUTURE.

IN CENTRAL AMERICA, A NEW AND MORE JUST SOCIAL ORDER IS
APPROVE
~~EMERGING. WE ARE ASSISTING THAT STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE WHILE~~
AND
~~AT THE SAME TIME~~ *WE* AFFIRMING OUR FAITH THAT ECONOMIC REFORM
CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED ~~WHERE~~ *WHEN* HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED. I AM
CONVINCED THAT THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA CAN FIND THEIR
LEAVING
WAY FORWARD, ~~FROM~~ OLD INJUSTICES WITHOUT SUBMITTING TO NEW
TYRANNIES. ~~AND~~ *AS* AMERICANS, WE ALL HAVE REASON TO BE PROUD

OF OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH PANAMA -- A RELATIONSHIP THAT
HAS TURNED AN ISTHMUS OF DISCORD INTO A ZONE OF PEACE.

I HAVE SOUGHT TO GUIDE US IN THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY AND
PEACE. WHEN WE LOSE TOUCH WITH THAT SPIRIT -- WHEN WE BEGIN
TO THINK OF OUR POWER AS AN END IN ITSELF -- WHEN WE BEGIN
TO THINK THAT THE ONLY SOURCE OF RESPECT IS THE THREAT OF
FORCE -- THEN WE LOSE ~~(TOUCH WITH)~~ THE BEST THAT IS WITHIN US.

WE SEEK A WORLD IN WHICH THE RULE OF LAW, NOT THE THREAT
OF FORCE, IS THE LANGUAGE OF STATECRAFT. WE SEEK A WORLD IN
WHICH NATIONS PUT ASIDE THE MADNESS OF WAR AND ^{NUCLEAR} ARMS RACES,
AND TURN THEIR ENERGIES INSTEAD TO THE CONQUEST OF OUR COMMON
GLOBAL ENEMIES -- DWINDLING RESOURCES, ECOLOGICAL DECAY,
IGNORANCE, AND HUNGER.

^{GUARANTEE}
NO ONE CAN ~~HONESTLY PROMISE~~ YOU A FUTURE OF UNVARYING
^{CERTAINLY}
SUCCESS. I ^A DO NOT PROMISE YOU THAT. NOR WILL I TELL YOU
^{TROUBLED}
THAT THE TRANSITION FROM THE ~~AN~~ ^{ANGRY} WORLD OF TODAY TO THE

HOPED-FOR WORLD OF TOMORROW WILL BE AN EASY ONE. I PROMISE
YOU ONLY THAT IF YOU ENTRUST THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THIS
OFFICE TO ME FOR ANOTHER FOUR YEARS, THIS NATION WILL HAVE
THE STRENGTH TO BE SECURE. AND I WILL CONTINUE TO ^{FIND}~~SEEK~~
PEACE BY SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE REAL PROBLEMS, THE HARD
PROBLEMS. I WILL DO SO WITH BOTH HOPE AND REALISM, WITH
BOTH DETERMINATION AND RESTRAINT.

We will keep our nation strong,
~~NO MAN CAN GUARANTEE THE FUTURE.~~ BUT THIS I CAN SAY TO
YOU: PEACE IS MY PASSION. AND WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE
AND OPPORTUNITY
WISDOM, GOD GRANTS ME, PEACE IS MY PLEDGE.

#

[SALUTATIONS WILL BE
UPDATED BY ADVANCE]

CHRIS MATTHEWS
DRAFT A-1; 10/18/80
SCHEDULED DELIVERY:
SUN, OCT 19, 7 PM
SHERATON PARK HOTEL

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UNITY FUNDRAISER

I WANT TO THANK ARTHUR KRIM FOR HOSTING THIS WONDERFUL
EVENING. ARTHUR HAS BEEN A LOYAL FRIEND TO DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTS GOING BACK TO HARRY TRUMAN. HIS SUCCESS TONIGHT
DEMONSTRATES THAT HE INTENDS TO KEEP UP THAT KIND OF LOYAL
FRIENDSHIP LONG INTO THE FUTURE.

I ALSO WANT TO THANK MY FRIEND BOB STRAUSS. WHEN IT COMES
TO DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNITY, BOB IS THE REIGNING WORLD CHAMPION.
HE BROUGHT THE PARTY TOGETHER IN 1976. HE IS DOING IT AGAIN.
UNITY MEANT VICTORY THEN. IT WILL MEAN VICTORY IN 1980.

I ALSO WANT TO THANK THREE OTHERS WHO HELPED MAKE THIS
EVENING SUCH A FINE SUCCESS -- LEE KLING -- STEVE SMITH --
AND BOB FITZGERALD.

I WANT TO BEGIN BY MAKING A PRESENTATION ON BEHALF OF
MYSELF AND ROSALYNN.

LAST OCTOBER I HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN SENATOR KENNEDY, THE KENNEDY FAMILY AND OTHERS IN DEDICATING THE JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.*

THIS EVENING I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THAT LIBRARY. IT IS A WATER COLOR SKETCH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY BY JAMIE WYETH. JAMIE GAVE THE PORTRAIT TO ME DURING THE 1976 CAMPAIGN. IT HAS BEEN HANGING IN THE FAMILY RESIDENCE OF THE WHITE HOUSE EVER SINCE. ROSALYNN AND I WANT THIS PORTRAIT TO HANG WHERE IT REALLY BELONGS, WHERE OTHERS CAN APPRECIATE IT. WE WOULD LIKE TO OFFER IT TO SENATOR KENNEDY FOR DISPLAY IN THE JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY.

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A WORD ABOUT SENATOR TED KENNEDY.

HE IS A DEMOCRAT. I AM A DEMOCRAT. NOBODY FIGHTS HARDER THAN DEMOCRATS -- OR BETTER THAN TED KENNEDY.

WHEN IT IS TIME TO FIGHT, WE DEMOCRATS KNOW HOW. BUT

* YOU WILL BE HANDED PORTRAIT AT THIS POINT.

WHEN IT IS TIME TO UNITE, THIS DINNER SHOWS WE KNOW HOW TO DO THAT, TOO. AND WHEN IT COMES TIME FOR UNITY, NOBODY IS A BETTER DEMOCRAT THAN SENATOR TED KENNEDY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

LET ME SAY SOMETHING ELSE --

WE DEMOCRATS BATTLE HARD AMONG OURSELVES. BUT GOD HELP THOSE WHO HAVE TO FACE US WHEN WE'RE TOGETHER! WHEN WE FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE LIKE DEMOCRATS, THAT IS WHEN WE WIN LIKE DEMOCRATS!

WE HAVE SOME EXCELLENT ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU TONIGHT. I DO NOT WANT TO COMPETE WITH IT -- CERTAINLY NOT WITH KIRK DOUGLAS, ANYWAY. I AM HAVING ENOUGH TROUBLE WITH MEMBERS OF HIS PROFESSION THIS YEAR.

KIRK IS GOING TO INTRODUCE SOME EXTRAORDINARY ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU -- LEONARD BERNSTEIN [BERN-STINE] -- CAROL CHANNING -- BILLY ECKSTINE. JUST THE SOUND OF THEIR NAMES BRINGS MUSIC TO MY EARS.

I WANT TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THIS HISTORIC CAMPAIGN.

IT HAS HAD ITS UNUSUAL MOMENTS. FOR YEARS, SCIENTISTS HAVE BEEN GRAPPLING WITH THE COMPLEXITY OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION. GOVERNOR REAGAN HAS IDENTIFIED THE REAL CULPRIT -- TREES.

FOR YEARS CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN SAYING THEY ARE GOING TO ATTACK THE POLLUTION PROBLEM "AT ITS ROOTS." GOVERNOR REAGAN IS THE FIRST ONE TO MEAN IT LITERALLY.

MANY AMERICANS ARE VERY UPSET AT THIS INDICTMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S INNOCENT FORESTS AND WOODLANDS. IN FACT, I HEAR THAT SMOKEY THE BEAR IS COMING OUT OF RETIREMENT TO ASK FOR EQUAL TIME.

AS YOU KNOW THE GOVERNOR HAS BEEN VERY BUSY LATELY EXPLAINING SOME OF HIS FLIP-FLOPS. NO WONDER HE HAS TAKEN SO LONG TO DEBATE ME. HE SPENDS SO MUCH TIME DEBATING HIMSELF.

GOVERNOR REAGAN'S STATEMENTS DO SOUND FUNNY SOMETIMES.

BUT THE THINKING BEHIND THEM IS NOT FUNNY.

NEITHER ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS KIND OF THINKING.

THOSE CONSEQUENCES CAN BE DEADLY SERIOUS.

*

WE UNITE THIS EVENING AS DEMOCRATS. WE UNITE NOT JUST
IN OPPOSITION TO RONALD REAGAN AND THE THINKING HE REPRESENTS.
WE UNITE UNDER THE GREAT BANNER OF ALL WE SHARE AND ALL WE
BELIEVE AS DEMOCRATS.

I GREW UP IN THE DEPRESSION AND I SAW THE HOPE THAT
PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BROUGHT TO OUR LAND.

I SERVED IN THE NAVY UNDER A FIGHTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
HARRY TRUMAN. EVEN IN UNIFORM, I CHEERED WHEN HE GAVE 'EM HELL.

I WORKED AS A FARMER IN THE DAYS OF PRESIDENT JOHN F.
KENNEDY. I FELT THE PRIDE HE INSTILLED, THE LOVE HE INSPIRED.

AND I SHARE THE DARK MEMORIES TOO. I SAW WHAT HAPPENED TO OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE REPUBLICANS. I SAW WATERGATE, AND ALL THE ABUSES OF POWER IT REPRESENTED. I SAW THE AWFUL PRICE OUR COUNTRY PAID WHEN WE DEMOCRATS FAILED TO UNITE AROUND HUBERT HUMPHREY.

LIKE ALL OF YOU, I AM AN IDEALIST ABOUT OUR COUNTRY. I HAVE A CLEAR VISION OF WHAT WE ARE WORKING TOWARD. I HAVE STRONG IDEAS ABOUT WHAT WE MUST DO TO MAKE THAT VISION A REALITY.

¶ I SEE A COUNTRY UNITED, A COUNTRY OF FULL AND EQUAL JUSTICE FOR ALL. I AM TALKING ABOUT ALL AMERICANS, OF ALL RACES AND RELIGIONS, MEN AND WOMEN ALIKE.

¶ I BELIEVE IN PEACE FOR OUR COUNTRY. WE HAVE WORKED FOR PEACE -- TAKEN RISKS FOR PEACE -- IN THE MIDDLE EAST, IN LATIN AMERICAN, IN AFRICA, IN ASIA. WE HAVE KEPT OUR COUNTRY OUT OF WAR.

I BELIEVE IN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. I WANT TO CARRY FORWARD OUR PROGRAM OF ENERGY SECURITY, OF ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION, OF ENHANCED PRODUCTIVITY. I SEE AN AMERICA TURNING AMERICAN COAL AND SHALE AND AMERICAN FARM PRODUCTS INTO AMERICAN FUEL FOR AMERICAN CARS AND TRUCKS, AND THE LIGHT OF THE SUN INTO HEAT AND ELECTRICITY FOR AMERICAN HOMES. I SEE MODERN RAILBEDS AND PORTS MAKING AMERICAN COAL INTO A POWERFUL RIVAL OF OPEC OIL. I SEE MODERN PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT KEEPING AMERICA AT THE CUTTING EDGE OF INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION.

THESE ARE FUTURISTIC IDEAS, BUT THE UNDERLYING GOALS ARE THE SAME ONES WE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR SINCE THE DAYS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

JUST WALK SOMETIME THROUGH THE BEAUTIFUL JEFFERSON MEMORIAL. YOU WILL SEE INSCRIBED ON ITS WALLS THE SAME IDEALS, THE SAME PRINCIPLES, THE SAME GOALS WE DEMOCRATS FIGHT FOR TODAY.

EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW -- EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION -- FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

THOSE GOALS ARE AS VALID TODAY AS THEY WERE WHEN JEFFERSON
DRAFTED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. THEY ARE JUST AS
IMPORTANT TODAY -- AND JUST AS WORTH FIGHTING FOR.

[PAUSE]

THE AMERICAN FILM IS ONE OF OUR NATION'S PROUDEST CULTURAL
ACHIEVEMENTS. IT MAY WELL BE OUR #1 CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD
ART, COMMUNICATION AND UNDERSTANDING. IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO
INTRODUCE NOW ONE OF THE FINEST REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR FILM
INDUSTRY -- MY FRIEND -- KIRK DOUGLAS.

#

I WANT TO THANK ARTHUR KRIM FOR HOSTING THIS WONDERFUL EVENING.

{ ARTHUR HAS BEEN A LOYAL FRIEND TO DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS

GOING BACK TO HARRY TRUMAN. →

{ HIS SUCCESS TONIGHT

DEMONSTRATES THAT HE INTENDS TO CONTINUE THAT LOYAL FRIENDSHIP

LONG INTO THE FUTURE. /

ARTHUR, DEMOS & PRES CANDIDATES

COULDN'T GET AROUND EBUT

(=OVER=) (I ALSO WANT.....)

you!

I ALSO WANT TO THANK BOB STRAUSS, *VERY SELDOM DO.*
 WHEN IT COMES TO DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNITY, BOB IS THE REIGNING WORLD CHAMPION.
 HE BROUGHT THE PARTY TOGETHER IN 1976,
 HE IS DOING IT AGAIN.
UNITY MEANT VICTORY THEN.
IT WILL MEAN VICTORY IN 1980./

{ I ALSO WANT TO THANK 3 OTHERS
 WHO HELPED MAKE THIS EVENING SUCH A FINE SUCCESS -- LEE KLING,
STEVE SMITH,
 & BOB FITZGERALD./

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(=NEW CARD=) (I WANT TO..)

I WANT TO BEGIN BY MAKING A PRESENTATION FROM ME & ROSALYNN.
{ LAST OCTOBER I JOINED SEN. KENNEDY, THE KENNEDY FAMILY, & OTHERS
IN DEDICATING THE "JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY" IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. }

(You will be handed portrait at this point)

NOW I WANT TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION.

IT IS A WATER COLOR SKETCH OF PRES. KENNEDY BY JAMIE WYETH.

JAMIE GAVE THE PORTRAIT TO ME DURING THE 1976 CAMPAIGN.

IT HAS BEEN HANGING IN THE FAMILY RESIDENCE OF THE WHITE HOUSE EVER SINCE.

{ ROSALYNN & I WANT THIS PORTRAIT TO HANG WHERE IT REALLY BELONGS,
WHERE OTHERS CAN APPRECIATE IT.

{ WE WOULD LIKE TO OFFER IT TO SEN. KENNEDY
FOR DISPLAY IN THE "JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY". }

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I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A WORD ABOUT SEN. TED KENNEDY. /
HE IS A DEMOCRAT. *TRUE SENSE OF WORD.*

NOBODY FIGHTS HARDER THAN DEMOCRATS -- OR BETTER THAN TED KENNEDY. //
WHEN IT IS TIME TO FIGHT, WE DEMOCRATS KNOW HOW.

{ BUT WHEN IT IS TIME TO UNITE,
THIS DINNER SHOWS WE KNOW HOW TO DO THAT, TOO. /

{ AND WHEN IT COMES TIME FOR UNITY,
NOBODY IS A BETTER DEMOCRAT THAN SEN. TED KENNEDY OF MASSACHUSETTS. //

LET ME SAY SOMETHING ELSE:

WE DEMOCRATS BATTLE HARD AMONG OURSELVES.

BUT WOE BE UNTO THOE WHO HAVE TO FACE US WHEN WE'RE TOGETHER!

{ WHEN WE FIGHT SIDE-BY-SIDE LIKE DEMOCRATS,
THAT IS WHEN WE WIN LIKE DEMOCRATS! //

WE HAVE SOME EXCELLENT ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU TONIGHT.

{ I DO NOT WANT TO COMPETE WITH IT --
CERTAINLY NOT WITH KIRK DOUGLAS, ANYWAY.

I AM HAVING ENOUGH TROUBLE WITH MEMBERS OF HIS PROFESSION THIS YEAR. /
KIRK IS GOING TO INTRODUCE SOME EXTRAORDINARY ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU --

- LEONARD BERNSTEIN (BERN-STINE),
- CAROL CHANNING,
- BILLY ECKSTINE.

JUST THE SOUND OF THEIR NAMES BRINGS MUSIC TO OUR EARS. /

(=OVER=) (THIS IS A)

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{ THIS IS A HISTORIC CAMPAIGN,
& IT HAS HAD ITS UNUSUAL MOMENTS.

THE REPUBLICANS ARE GREAT WITH THE ISSUES!

{ FOR YEARS, SCIENTISTS HAVE BEEN GRAPPLING
WITH THE COMPLEXITY OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION.

GOV. REAGAN HAS IDENTIFIED THE REAL CULPRIT -- TREES.

{ FOR YEARS CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN SAYING
THEY ARE GOING TO ATTACK THE POLLUTION PROBLEM "AT ITS ROOTS".

GOV. REAGAN IS THE 1ST ONE TO MEAN IT LITERALLY.

{ MANY AMERICANS ARE VERY UPSET AT THIS INDICTMENT
OF OUR COUNTRY'S INNOCENT FORESTS & WOODLANDS.

{ IN FACT, I HEAR THAT "SMOKEY THE BEAR"
IS COMING OUT OF RETIREMENT TO ASK FOR EQUAL TIME.

WE MUST JOIN "SMOKEY" TO MEET THE REPUBLICAN CHALLENGE.

WE UNITE THIS EVENING AS DEMOCRATS.x ↗

{ ~~WE UNITE~~ NOT JUST IN OPPOSITION TO THE REPUBLICANS,
BUT WE UNITE UNDER THE GREAT BANNER OF { ALL WE SHARE

& ALL WE BELIEVE AS DEMOCRATS. /

{ I GREW UP IN THE DEPRESSION

& I SAW THE HOPE THAT PRES. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BROUGHT TO OUR LAND. /

{ I SERVED IN THE NAVY

UNDER A FIGHTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF -- HARRY TRUMAN.

EVEN IN UNIFORM, I CHEERED WHEN HE GAVE 'EM HELL. /

{ I WORKED AS A FARMER

IN THE DAYS OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY.

I FELT { THE PRIDE HE INSTILLED,

{ THE LOVE HE INSPIRED. /

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AND WE SHARE THE DARK MEMORIES, TOO -- *of OTHER ADMINISTRATIONS* --

• WE SAW WHAT HAPPENED TO OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE REPUBLICANS.

• WE SAW WATERGATE,

& ALL THE ABUSES OF POWER IT REPRESENTED.

• WE SAW THE AWFUL PRICE OUR COUNTRY PAID

WHEN WE FAILED TO UNITE AROUND HUBERT HUMPHREY. //

LIKE ALL OF YOU, I AM AN IDEALIST ABOUT OUR COUNTRY.

I HAVE A CLEAR VISION OF WHAT WE WANT,

& I HAVE STRONG IDEAS ABOUT WHAT WE MUST DO TO MAKE THAT VISION A REALITY. /

I BELIEVE IN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY.

I WANT TO CARRY FORWARD OUR PROGRAM { OF ENERGY SECURITY,
OF ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION,
OF ENHANCED PRODUCTIVITY. }

{ THESE ARE MODERN & FUTURISTIC IDEAS,
BUT THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES ARE THE SAME ONES
WE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR SINCE THE DAYS OF THOS. JEFFERSON.
JUST WALK SOMETIME THROUGH THE BEAUTIFUL JEFFERSON MEMORIAL.

{ YOU WILL SEE INSCRIBED ON ITS WALLS { THE SAME IDEALS,
THE SAME GOALS

{ FOR WHICH WE DEMOCRATS FIGHT TODAY: /

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(=NEW CARD=) (EQUALITY UNDER.....)

- EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW -- EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY./
- FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION -- FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE./
- ECONOMIC & SOCIAL PROGRESS./

{ THESE GOALS ARE AS VALID TODAY
{ AS THEY WERE WHEN JEFFERSON DRAFTED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.
{ THEY ARE JUST AS IMPORTANT TODAY --
{ & JUST AS WORTH FIGHTING FOR.

(Pause)

*OURS IS A NATION OF
GREAT ACHIEVEMENT-*

(=OVER=) (THE AMERICAN FILM.....)

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THE AMERICAN FILM IS ONE OF OUR NATION'S PROUDEST CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

IT MAY WELL BE OUR #1 CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD ART,

COMMUNICATION,

& UNDERSTANDING.

IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO INTRODUCE NOW

ONE OF THE FINEST REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR FILM INDUSTRY --

MY FRIEND -- KIRK DOUGLAS.

#

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AMERICA'S FUTURE: BUILDING A PEACEFUL WORLD

{ THIS IS PRES. JIMMY CARTER,
SPEAKING TO YOU FROM THE OVAL OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE. //

FOR THE PAST 4 YEARS, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN AT PEACE.
WE HAVE STRENGTHENED THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR SECURITY.
WE HAVE PURSUED OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN A DANGEROUS & OFTEN UNSTABLE WORLD.
AND WE HAVE DONE SO WITHOUT RECOURSE TO VIOLENCE & WAR. //

THIS IS NO ACCIDENT.

IT IS THE RESULT OF CAREFUL EXERCISE OF THE ENORMOUS STRENGTH OF AMERICA. //

TODAY

{ ~~THIS AFTERNOON~~ I WANT TO TALK TO YOU
ABOUT WHAT WE MUST DO TOGETHER IN THE NEXT 4 YEARS
TO ENSURE OUR OWN SECURITY
& TO KEEP THE PEACE. //

{ THE CORNERSTONE OF BOTH SECURITY & PEACE
IS OUR ABILITY TO DEFEND OURSELVES.

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{ IN THE LAST ANALYSIS
WE MUST BE ABLE TO MEET OUR COMMITMENTS
& PURSUE OUR GOALS PEACEFULLY --
WITH CALM ASSURANCE & CONFIDENCE. //
THAT REQUIRES MILITARY STRENGTH. //

{ WE FACE A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY -- THE SOVIET UNION --
WHOSE GOVERNMENT HAS FUNNELED MUCH OF THE WEALTH & TALENTS OF ITS PEOPLE
INTO THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MILITARY MACHINE. /

- WE WOULD PREFER TO COMPETE PEACEFULLY
- WITH SOVIET FARMERS TO FEED THE WORLD
 - WITH SOVIET TEXTILE WORKERS TO CLOTHE IT,
 - WITH SOVIET DOCTORS TO HEAL IT,
 - WITH SOVIET SCIENTISTS TO GIVE IT NEW FORMS OF ENERGY.
- THOSE RACES WOULD BE A JOY TO RUN. /

BUT THAT IS NOT THE CHALLENGE THEY LAY BEFORE US. /

INSTEAD, { WE SEE A LARGE BUILDUP OF SOVIET MILITARY FORCES;
WE SEE THE ARMING & USE OF CLIENT STATES SUCH AS CUBA;
WE SEE THE BRUTAL SOVIET INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN. /

{ THIS LONG-TERM CHALLENGE
DEMANDS A STEADY, RESOLUTE RESPONSE. //

1.33

{ HISTORICALLY, OUR COUNTRY HAS MOVED SHARPLY UP & DOWN
IN ITS SUPPORT FOR DEFENSE.

{ AFTER EACH WAR WE HAVE DISARMED & DEMOBILIZED --
& THEN LATER EMBARKED ON CRASH BUILDUPS.

SUCH ERRATIC ACTIONS ARE ALWAYS WASTEFUL & SOMETIMES DANGEROUS. //

{ MY COMMITMENT HAS BEEN DIFFERENT --
IT HAS BEEN TO PROVIDE FOR A STEADY REBUILDING OF OUR DEFENSES. //

{ WE HAVE INCREASED OUR REAL SPENDING FOR DEFENSE,
-- SPENDING ABOVE & BEYOND INFLATION --
EVERY YEAR SINCE I BECAME PRESIDENT. //

{ FOR SEVEN OF THE PREVIOUS 8 YEARS,
IT HAD DECLINED SHARPLY --
A 35% REDUCTION IN DEFENSE SPENDING BETWEEN 1969 & 1977. //

THE EFFECTS OF THIS LONG DECLINE CANNOT BE ELIMINATED AT A STROKE,
BUT WE HAVE MADE AN EXCELLENT START --
ESPECIALLY BY PUTTING OUR TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY TO WORK. /

FOR EXAMPLE, BY PRODUCING A # OF TYPES OF LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES,
WE CAN MULTIPLY THE POWER OF OUR EXISTING SHIPS & AIRCRAFT.
WE ARE DOING JUST THAT. /

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WHEN I TOOK OFFICE,
WE HAD NO NEW BATTLE TANK OR MODERN ARMORED FIGHTING VEHICLE.
NOW THEY ARE IN PRODUCTION. /

NO ANSWER HAD BEEN FOUND
TO THE PROSPECTIVE VULNERABILITY OF OUR MINUTEMAN MISSILES, IN SILOS.
NOW THERE IS AN ANSWER -- THE MOBILE "MX" MISSILE. /

THERE WAS NO OVERALL PLAN
FOR STRENGTHENING "U.S." & OTHER ALLIED FORCES IN EUROPE.
NOW WE HAVE A GOOD PLAN --
& WE ARE PUTTING IT INTO EFFECT. /

WE ARE DEPLOYING ANTI-TANK MISSILES
AT A RATE 5 TIMES FASTER THAN THE SOVIETS ARE DEPLOYING TANKS.

ON "NATO'S" EASTERN FLANK,
WE ARE WORKING TO REINTEGRATE GREECE INTO THE "NATO" COMMAND STRUCTURE --
& WE ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THIS EFFORT. /

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OUR PURCHASES OF ARMY EQUIPMENT,
JET FIGHTERS,
& ATTACK AIRCRAFT

HAD DROPPED BY SOME TWO-THIRDS IN THE 8 YEARS BEFORE I BECAME PRES.
SINCE THEN, WE HAVE INCREASED THEM BY 50%.

WHEN I CAME INTO OFFICE,
I FOUND WE HAD LITTLE CAPABILITY FOR QUICK ACTION
IN THE CRITICAL PERSIAN GULF REGION.

NOW WE HAVE PREPOSITIONED EQUIPMENT FOR 12,000 MARINES
& MUNITIONS FOR 500 AIRCRAFT.

WE HAVE ARRANGED FOR THE USE OF 5 DIFFERENT SITES IN THE REGION.
WE HAVE DEPLOYED 2 CARRIER TASK FORCES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN.

THEY GIVE US AIR & NAVAL SUPERIORITY
TO ACT INSTANTLY TO KEEP OPEN THE STRAITS OF HORMUZ --
THROUGH WHICH ^{MUCH} ~~MOST~~ OF THE WORLD'S OIL TRADE FLOWS.

MORE WILL HAVE TO BE DONE.

EVEN FURTHER INCREASES IN PAY & BENEFITS WILL BE NEEDED
TO KEEP TRAINED SERVICEMEN & WOMEN IN OUR VOLUNTEER FORCES.

BARRING SOME UNEXPECTED DECREASE IN SOVIET MILITARY EFFORTS,
WE WILL ALSO NEED TO INCREASE OUR INVESTMENTS IN THE SHIPS,
AIRCRAFT,
TANKS,
& OTHER WEAPONS.
THAT ARE THE MUSCLE OF OUR CONVENTIONAL FORCES.

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{ MILITARY FORCES GIVE US SECURITY,
BUT THEY ARE NOT AN END IN THEMSELVES.

AS I HAVE SAID MANY TIMES -- ^{NEED} ^{BE}

• THE BEST WEAPON IS ONE WHICH ~~IS~~ ^{NEVER} FIRED IN COMBAT,

• & THE BEST SOLDIER

{ IS ONE WHO NEVER HAS TO SHED HIS BLOOD ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE. //

{ BESIDES OUR MILITARY PROGRAMS,
WE HAVE DEVISED SOMETHING ELSE --
WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED A SECRET WEAPON. //

{ THIS WEAPON WILL KNOCK OUT
ABOUT A FOURTH OF ALL THE SOVIET LONG-RANGE MISSILES & BOMBERS
THAT WE PROJECT FOR 1985. /

{ IT WILL ELIMINATE THOUSANDS OF NUCLEAR BOMBS & WARHEADS
THE RUSSIANS COULD OTHERWISE HAVE.

{ IT WILL ENHANCE OUR INTELLIGENCE-GATHERING CAPABILITIES
TO MONITOR WHAT THE SOVIET UNION IS DOING. //

{ IT WILL DO ALL THIS
• WITHOUT FIRING A SHOT --
• WITHOUT INTERFERING WITH A SINGLE ONE OF OUR OWN PLANNED MILITARY IMPROVEMENTS --
• WITHOUT COSTING A DIME.
INDEED, IT WILL SAVE US BILLIONS OF DOLLARS. //

THIS SECRET WEAPON -- OF COURSE -- IS NOT A WEAPON AT ALL.
NOR IS IT A SECRET.

{ IT IS "SALT II" -- THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION TREATY
WHICH WE HAVE SIGNED AFTER 7 YEARS OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION,
& WHICH NOW AWAITS APPROVAL BY THE SENATE. }

THIS AGREEMENT STRENGTHENS OUR STRATEGIC POSITION.
IT ALSO STRENGTHENS PEACE.

FOR WHAT IS AT STAKE IS MORE THAN A SINGLE TREATY -- HOWEVER ADVANTAGEOUS.
{ WHAT IS AT STAKE IS A PROCESS -- AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT PROCESS --
THE PROCESS OF GRADUALLY REDUCING THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR. }

{ 35 YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA,
THE SHADOW OF WHAT WAS UNLEASHED THERE STILL HANGS OVER THE WORLD.
{ WE HAVE LIVED WITH IT FOR SO LONG
THAT WE ARE IN DANGER OF BECOMING CASUAL ABOUT IT.
WE MUST NOT DO THAT. //

{ EVEN A SINGLE HYDROGEN BOMB DROPPED ON A SINGLE ^{MAJOR} CITY
COULD CAUSE MILLIONS OF DEATHS & INJURIES { IN THE 1ST FEW SECONDS,
& MILLIONS MORE IN ITS WAKE. }

{ IT IS BEYOND THE POWER OF WORDS
TO DESCRIBE THE HORROR OF A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

{ IT WOULD DWARF
ALL THE ACCUMULATED BARBARITIES & CRUELITIES
OF MANKIND'S LONG HISTORY PUT TOGETHER.

{ MORE PEOPLE WOULD DIE IN A FEW HOURS
THAN IN ALL THE WARS OF ALL NATIONS SINCE THE DAWN OF RECORDED HISTORY. //

SERIOUSLY
MOST OF US SELDOM THINK [^] ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR.
BUT AS THE PRES. OF THE UNITED STATES --

• ENTRUSTED WITH THE POWER TO UNLEASH THAT FORCE --

• CHARGED WITH THE RESPONSIBILITY

{ TO BEND EVERY EFFORT OF MIND
& HEART
& WILL

TO SEE TO IT THAT IT NEED NEVER BE UNLEASHED --

THEN IT IS SOMETHING I THINK ABOUT EVERY DAY & EVERY NIGHT OF MY LIFE. //

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{ OVER THE LAST 20 YEARS,
WE HAVE TAKEN SOME TENTATIVE STEPS AWAY FROM THE NUCLEAR PRECIPICE.
NOW -- FOR THE 1st TIME --
WE ARE BEING ADVISED TO TAKE STEPS THAT MAY MOVE US TOWARD IT. //

{ A FEW DAYS AGO, MY OPPONENT IN THE CURRENT ELECTION CAMPAIGN
PROMISED TO SCRAP THE NUCLEAR ARMS TREATY WE HAVE ALREADY SIGNED.
HE SAID -- & I QUOTE --
"THE ONE CARD THAT'S BEEN MISSING IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS
IS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ARMS RACE."
HE ALSO URGES THAT WE SEEK NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY. //

{ HIS POSITION -- & I THINK I STATE IT ACCURATELY --
IS THAT BY ABANDONING THE CURRENT AGREEMENT
& SUGGESTING AN ALL-OUT NUCLEAR ARMS RACE --
WE COULD PERHAPS FRIGHTEN THE SOVIETS
INTO NEGOTIATING A NEW AGREEMENT
ON THE BASIS OF AMERICAN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY. //

{ I HAVE HAD 4 YEARS OF SOBERING EXPERIENCE IN THIS LIFE-&-DEATH FIELD,
& IN MY CONSIDERED JUDGMENT, THIS WOULD BE A VERY RISKY GAMBLE.

IT IS MOST UNLIKELY THAT IT WOULD LEAD TO ANY NEW AGREEMENT.

{ A MUCH MORE LIKELY RESULT

WOULD BE { AN UNCONTROLLED NUCLEAR ARMS RACE,

& ALMOST CERTAINLY A NEW RUPTURE IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

THE LONG, SLOW MOMENTUM OF ARMS CONTROL WOULD BE BROKEN.

{ ANY FUTURE EFFORT TO NEGOTIATE ARMS LIMITS --

FOR EXAMPLE, { ON ANTI-SATELLITE SYSTEMS,

{ ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS,

{ ON CONVENTIONAL & NUCLEAR ARMS IN EUROPE --

WOULD BE IMPERILED. //

{ THE MOST IMPORTANT DUTY OF A PRESIDENT
IS TO DEFEND THE NATION & ITS VITAL INTERESTS.

{ PART OF THAT DUTY

IS TO JUDGE WHAT COURSE OF ACTION

WILL DIMINSH THE POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR.

{ MY CONSIDERED JUDGMENT,

BASED ON A VERY THOROUGH KNOWLEDGE OF ALL THE FACTORS INVOLVED,

IS THAT THE COURSE I AM FOLLOWING WOULD DO THAT --

& THAT THE DEPARTURE RECOMMENDED BY MY OPPONENT ✓

WOULD HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT. //

THOUGH WE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK FOR ARMS CONTROL,

-- WHICH IS IN OUR MUTUAL INTEREST --

WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

HAVE GROWN COLDER IN THE WAKE OF THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN.

THE WORLD HAS CONDEMNED THIS ACT OF AGGRESSION,

& THE SOVIETS ARE BEING MADE TO REALIZE

THAT THIS MILITARY OCCUPATION OF A FREEDOM-LOVING NATION

CANNOT BE CONTINUED WITHOUT SEVERE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES. //

BUT WE MUST NOT LET OURSELVES BECOME OBSESSED BY FEAR & RIVALRY.

IF WE DO,

WE RUN THE RISK OF NEGLECTING THE MANY OTHER PROBLEMS

WHICH ARE RELATED TO THE SOVIET UNION ONLY INDIRECTLY

OR NOT AT ALL. //

PEACE IS THE WORK OF MANY HANDS.

- IT IS THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE IN MANY DARK CORNERS.
- IT IS STRIVING TO SOLVE PROBLEMS { LONG-STALEMATED
& BITTERLY DISPUTED.
- IT IS HAVING THE COURAGE { TO RISE ABOVE OLD FAILURES
& TO ACT UPON NEW HOPE. /

{ AS WE RAISE OUR SHIELD AGAINST WAR,
LET US ALSO HEAR { THE STRICKEN VOICE OF THE HOMELESS REFUGEE,
 { THE CRY OF THE HUNGRY CHILD,
 { THE WEEPING OF THE BEREAVED WIDOW,
 { THE WHISPERED PRAYER OF THE POLITICAL PRISONER.

{ WE ARE ONE WITH THE FAMILY OF ALL PEOPLE
{ AND THE CONCERNS OF THE HUMAN FAMILY ARE MANY. //

{ AROUND THE WORLD
{ WE HAVE REJECTED THE COUNSELS OF PESSIMISM
{ & HAVE DARED TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD PEACE. /

{ IN THE FAR EAST,
{ WE HAVE PLACED OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA ON AN HONEST & SENSIBLE FOOTING.
{ THIS MAKES THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER MORE STABLE,
{ & STRENGTHENS PEACE BOTH IN ASIA & AROUND THE WORLD. /

{ IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- 7 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH -- THERE WAS WAR,
{ THE 4TH ARAB-ISRAELI WAR IN 25 YEARS.
{ TODAY, EGYPT & ISRAEL ARE AT PEACE,
{ & ISRAEL IS MORE SECURE FROM ATTACK THAN SHE HAS EVER BEEN. /

WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE STRATEGIC INTER-
RELATIONSHIP .

BETWEEN ISRAEL'S SECURITY & OUR OWN.

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{ WHEN I FIRST MET PRES. SADAT AT THE WHITE HOUSE -- IN APRIL 1977 --

I TOLD HIM

THAT I INTENDED TO WORK FOR A COMPLETE PEACE BETWEEN HIS COUNTRY & ISRAEL --

- ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE RIGHT TO EXIST,
- DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS,
- OPEN BORDERS,
- DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION,
- AMBASSADORIAL EXCHANGE,
- & MUTUAL TRADE.

{ HE TOLD ME THAT HE TOO LONGED FOR THAT DAY

BUT IT WOULD NEVER HAPPEN IN HIS LIFETIME.

PRIME MINISTER BEGIN SHARED HIS DREAM -- & HIS SKEPTICISM. //

{ NOW THAT DREAM HAS COME TO PASS --

IN THEIR LIFETIME, & IN YOURS & MINE.

WE HAVE MUCH MORE WORK TO DO.

BUT WE HAVE FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE QUESTION IS NO LONGER ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST.

{ THE QUESTION NOW

IS THE TERMS OF A BROADER PEACE

BETWEEN A STRONG & SECURE ISRAEL AND HER NEIGHBORS. //

A BITTER WAR IS NOW GOING ON IN THE PERSIAN GULF,
COMPLICATING EVEN FURTHER
OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES IN IRAN.

THINK HOW MUCH MORE DANGEROUS THAT NEW WAR WOULD BE
IF WE DID NOT HAVE PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL & EGYPT --
BY FAR THE MOST SIGNIFICANT MILITARY POWERS IN THE REGION.

WE WILL CONTINUE TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH ISRAEL & WITH EGYPT
ON STRATEGIC MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST
IN OUR COMMON EFFORT TO PRESERVE THE PEACE. //

IN SOUTHERN AFRICA -- 4 YEARS AGO --
IT WAS CLEAR THAT TIME WAS RUNNING OUT
FOR REGIMES BASED ON THE DOCTRINE OF RACIAL SUPREMACY.

I AM PROUD THAT BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZED THIS FACT,
WE COULD HELP WITH THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT
THAT THIS YEAR BROUGHT A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT
TO POWER IN ZIMBABWE. /

WE HAVE DEVELOPED EXCELLENT RELATIONS
WITH NIGERIA & OTHER INDEPENDENT NATIONS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

THERE -- AS ELSEWHERE --
WE HAVE PLACED AMERICA'S INFLUENCE
ON THE SIDE OF HUMAN FORCES THAT WILL INEVITABLY SHAPE THE FUTURE. /

{ IN CENTRAL AMERICA,
A NEW & MORE JUST SOCIAL ORDER IS EMERGING.

{ WE APPROVE THAT STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE
& AT THE SAME TIME WE AFFIRM OUR FAITH
THAT ECONOMIC REFORM CAN BEST BE ACHIEVED WHEN HUMAN RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED.

{ I AM CONVINCED
THAT THE PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA CAN FIND THEIR WAY FORWARD,
LEAVING OLD INJUSTICES WITHOUT SUBMITTING TO NEW TYRANNIES.

{ AS AMERICANS,
WE ALL HAVE REASON TO BE PROUD OF OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH PANAMA --
A RELATIONSHIP THAT HAS TURNED AN ISTHMUS OF DISCORD
INTO A ZONE OF PEACE.

I HAVE SOUGHT TO GUIDE US IN THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY & PEACE.

• WHEN WE LOSE TOUCH WITH THAT SPIRIT,

• WHEN WE BEGIN TO THINK OF OUR POWER AS AN END IN ITSELF,

• WHEN WE BEGIN TO THINK,

THAT THE ONLY SOURCE OF RESPECT IS THE THREAT OF FORCE --

THEN WE LOSE THE BEST THAT IS WITHIN US. //

WE SEEK A WORLD

IN WHICH THE RULE OF LAW -- NOT THE THREAT OF FORCE --

IS THE LANGUAGE OF STATECRAFT.

WE SEEK A WORLD

IN WHICH NATIONS PUT ASIDE THE MADNESS OF WAR & NUCLEAR ARMS RACES,

& TURN THEIR ENERGIES INSTEAD

TO THE CONQUEST OF OUR COMMON GLOBAL ENEMIES --

DWINDLING RESOURCES,

ECOLOGICAL DECAY,

IGNORANCE,

& HUNGER. /

NO ONE CAN GUARANTEE YOU A FUTURE OF UNVARYING SUCCESS.

I CERTAINLY DO NOT PROMISE YOU THAT.

NOR WILL I TELL YOU

THAT THE TRANSITION FROM THE TROUBLED WORLD OF TODAY

TO THE HOPED-FOR WORLD OF TOMORROW

WILL BE AN EASY ONE.

I PROMISE YOU ONLY

THAT IF YOU ENTRUST THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THIS OFFICE

TO ME FOR ANOTHER 4 YEARS --

THIS NATION WILL HAVE THE STRENGTH TO BE SECURE.

AND I WILL CONTINUE TO FIND PEACE

BY SEEKING SOLUTIONS TO THE REAL PROBLEMS,

THE HARD PROBLEMS. /

I WILL DO SO WITH BOTH HOPE & REALISM,

WITH BOTH DETERMINATION & RESTRAINT. /

WE WILL KEEP OUR NATION STRONG,

BUT THIS I CAN SAY TO YOU:

• PEACE IS MY PASSION.

• AND WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE WISDOM & OPPORTUNITY GOD GRANTS ME --

PEACE IS MY PLEDGE. /

###

President's edited draft

Done

[SALUTATIONS WILL BE
UPDATED BY ADVANCE]

CHRIS MATTHEWS
DRAFT A-1; 10/18/80
SCHEDULED DELIVERY:
SUN, OCT 19, 7 PM
SHERATON PARK HOTEL

**Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes**

UNITY FUNDRAISER

I WANT TO THANK ARTHUR KRIM FOR HOSTING THIS WONDERFUL
EVENING. ARTHUR HAS BEEN A LOYAL FRIEND TO DEMOCRATIC
PRESIDENTS GOING BACK TO HARRY TRUMAN. HIS SUCCESS TONIGHT
DEMONSTRATES THAT HE INTENDS TO ^{*continue that*} ~~KEEP UP THAT~~ KIND OF LOYAL
FRIENDSHIP LONG INTO THE FUTURE.

I ALSO WANT TO THANK ~~MY FRIEND~~ BOB STRAUSS. WHEN IT COMES
TO DEMOCRATIC PARTY UNITY, BOB IS THE REIGNING WORLD CHAMPION.
HE BROUGHT THE PARTY TOGETHER IN 1976. HE IS DOING IT AGAIN.
UNITY MEANT VICTORY THEN. IT WILL MEAN VICTORY IN 1980.

I ALSO WANT TO THANK THREE OTHERS WHO HELPED MAKE THIS
EVENING SUCH A FINE SUCCESS -- LEE KLING -- STEVE SMITH --
AND BOB FITZGERALD.

I WANT TO BEGIN BY MAKING A PRESENTATION ^{*from me*} ~~ON BEHALF OF~~
~~MYSELF~~ AND ROSALYNN.

joined
LAST OCTOBER I ~~HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO JOIN~~ SENATOR
KENNEDY, THE KENNEDY FAMILY AND OTHERS IN DEDICATING THE
JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.*

Now I want
~~THIS EVENING I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO THAT~~
~~LIBRARY~~ IT IS A WATER COLOR SKETCH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY BY
JAMIE WYETH. JAMIE GAVE THE PORTRAIT TO ME DURING THE 1976
CAMPAIGN. IT HAS BEEN HANGING IN THE FAMILY RESIDENCE OF
THE WHITE HOUSE EVER SINCE. ROSALYNN AND I WANT THIS PORTRAIT
TO HANG WHERE IT REALLY BELONGS, WHERE OTHERS CAN APPRECIATE
IT. WE WOULD LIKE TO OFFER IT TO SENATOR KENNEDY FOR DISPLAY
IN THE JOHN F. KENNEDY LIBRARY. *54*

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A WORD ABOUT SENATOR TED KENNEDY.

HE IS A DEMOCRAT. ~~I AM A DEMOCRAT.~~ NOBODY FIGHTS
HARDER THAN DEMOCRATS -- OR BETTER THAN TED KENNEDY.

WHEN IT IS TIME TO FIGHT, WE DEMOCRATS KNOW HOW. BUT

* YOU WILL BE HANDED PORTRAIT AT THIS POINT.

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WHEN IT IS TIME TO UNITE, THIS DINNER SHOWS WE KNOW HOW TO
DO THAT, TOO. AND WHEN IT COMES TIME FOR UNITY, NOBODY IS A
BETTER DEMOCRAT THAN SENATOR TED KENNEDY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

LET ME SAY SOMETHING ELSE --

WE DEMOCRATS BATTLE HARD AMONG OURSELVES. BUT ^{we be unto} ~~GOD HELP~~

THOSE WHO HAVE TO FACE US WHEN WE'RE TOGETHER! WHEN WE FIGHT
SIDE BY SIDE LIKE DEMOCRATS, THAT IS WHEN WE WIN LIKE DEMOCRATS!

WE HAVE SOME EXCELLENT ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU TONIGHT.

I DO NOT WANT TO COMPETE WITH IT -- CERTAINLY NOT WITH KIRK
DOUGLAS, ANYWAY. I AM HAVING ENOUGH TROUBLE WITH MEMBERS OF
HIS PROFESSION THIS YEAR.

KIRK IS GOING TO INTRODUCE SOME EXTRAORDINARY
ENTERTAINMENT FOR YOU -- LEONARD BERNSTEIN [BERN-STINE]

-- CAROL CHANNING -- BILLY ECKSTINE. JUST THE SOUND OF
THEIR NAMES BRINGS MUSIC TO ^{our} ~~MY~~ EARS.

- 4 -

6
~~I WANT TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THIS~~ ^{is a} HISTORIC CAMPAIGN, ^{and}

^{The Republicans are}
^{great with the issues!}
IT HAS HAD ITS UNUSUAL MOMENTS. FOR YEARS, SCIENTISTS

HAVE BEEN GRAPPLING WITH THE COMPLEXITY OF ENVIRONMENTAL
POLLUTION. GOVERNOR REAGAN HAS IDENTIFIED THE REAL CULPRIT
-- TREES.

FOR YEARS CANDIDATES HAVE BEEN SAYING THEY ARE GOING TO
ATTACK THE POLLUTION PROBLEM "AT ITS ROOTS." GOVERNOR REAGAN
IS THE FIRST ONE TO MEAN IT LITERALLY.

MANY AMERICANS ARE VERY UPSET AT THIS INDICTMENT OF OUR
COUNTRY'S INNOCENT FORESTS AND WOODLANDS. IN FACT, I HEAR
THAT SMOKEY THE BEAR IS COMING OUT OF RETIREMENT TO ASK FOR
EQUAL TIME.

AS YOU KNOW THE GOVERNOR HAS BEEN VERY BUSY LATELY
EXPLAINING SOME OF HIS FLIP-FLOPS. NO WONDER HE HAS TAKEN SO
LONG TO DEBATE ME. HE SPENDS SO MUCH TIME DEBATING HIMSELF.

GOVERNOR REAGAN'S STATEMENTS DO SOUND FUNNY SOMETIMES.
BUT THE THINKING BEHIND THEM IS NOT FUNNY.

NEITHER ARE THE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS KIND OF THINKING.
THOSE CONSEQUENCES CAN BE DEADLY SERIOUS.

*We must join Smokey to meet the
Republican challenge.*

WE UNITE THIS EVENING AS DEMOCRATS. WE UNITE NOT JUST
the Republicans, but
IN OPPOSITION TO ~~RONALD REAGAN AND THE THINKING HE REPRESENTS.~~

WE UNITE UNDER THE GREAT BANNER OF ALL WE SHARE AND ALL WE
BELIEVE AS DEMOCRATS.

I GREW UP IN THE DEPRESSION AND I SAW THE HOPE THAT
PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT BROUGHT TO OUR LAND.

I SERVED IN THE NAVY UNDER A FIGHTING COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF,
HARRY TRUMAN. EVEN IN UNIFORM, I CHEERED WHEN HE GAVE 'EM HELL.

I WORKED AS A FARMER IN THE DAYS OF PRESIDENT JOHN F.
KENNEDY. I FELT THE PRIDE HE INSTILLED, THE LOVE HE INSPIRED.

8 ^{we}
AND ~~I~~ SHARE THE DARK MEMORIES TOO. ~~We~~ SAW WHAT HAPPENED
TO OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE REPUBLICANS. ~~We~~ SAW WATERGATE, AND
ALL THE ABUSES OF POWER IT REPRESENTED. ~~We~~ SAW THE AWFUL PRICE
OUR COUNTRY PAID WHEN WE ~~DEMOCRATS~~ FAILED TO UNITE AROUND
HUBERT HUMPHREY.

LIKE ALL OF YOU, I AM AN IDEALIST ABOUT OUR COUNTRY.
I HAVE A CLEAR VISION OF WHAT WE ARE ^{want and} ~~WORKING TOWARD~~. I HAVE
STRONG IDEAS ABOUT WHAT WE MUST DO TO MAKE THAT VISION A
REALITY. 59

¶ I SEE A COUNTRY UNITED, A COUNTRY OF FULL AND EQUAL
JUSTICE FOR ALL. I AM TALKING ABOUT ALL AMERICANS, OF ALL
RACES AND RELIGIONS, MEN AND WOMEN ALIKE.

¶ I BELIEVE IN PEACE FOR OUR COUNTRY. WE HAVE WORKED
FOR PEACE -- TAKEN RISKS FOR PEACE -- IN THE MIDDLE EAST,
IN LATIN AMERICAN, IN AFRICA, IN ASIA. WE HAVE KEPT OUR
COUNTRY OUT OF WAR. 59

10

I BELIEVE IN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY. I WANT TO CARRY FORWARD OUR PROGRAM OF ENERGY SECURITY, OF ECONOMIC REVITALIZATION, OF ENHANCED PRODUCTIVITY. ~~I SEE AN AMERICA~~ TURNING AMERICAN COAL AND SHALE AND AMERICAN FARM PRODUCTS INTO AMERICAN FUEL FOR AMERICAN CARS AND TRUCKS, AND THE LIGHT OF THE SUN INTO HEAT AND ELECTRICITY FOR AMERICAN HOMES. I SEE MODERN RAILBEDS AND PORTS MAKING AMERICAN COAL INTO A POWERFUL RIVAL OF OPEC OIL. I SEE MODERN PLANTS AND EQUIPMENT KEEPING ~~AMERICA AT THE CUTTING EDGE OF INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION.~~

modern and THESE ARE ^AFUTURISTIC IDEAS, BUT THE UNDERLYING ^{principles} ~~GOALS~~ ARE THE SAME ONES WE DEMOCRATS HAVE BEEN FIGHTING FOR SINCE THE DAYS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

JUST WALK SOMETIME THROUGH THE BEAUTIFUL JEFFERSON MEMORIAL. YOU WILL SEE INSCRIBED ON ITS WALLS THE SAME IDEALS, THE SAME ~~PRINCIPLES,~~ THE SAME GOALS ^{for which} WE DEMOCRATS FIGHT ~~FOR~~ TODAY.

EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW -- EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY.

5 11

FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION -- FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

THOSE GOALS ARE AS VALID TODAY AS THEY WERE WHEN JEFFERSON
DRAFTED THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. THEY ARE JUST AS
IMPORTANT TODAY -- AND JUST AS WORTH FIGHTING FOR.

[PAUSE]

THE AMERICAN FILM IS ONE OF OUR NATION'S PROUDEST CULTURAL
ACHIEVEMENTS. IT MAY WELL BE OUR #1 CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD
ART, COMMUNICATION AND UNDERSTANDING. IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO
INTRODUCE NOW ONE OF THE FINEST REPRESENTATIVES OF OUR FILM
INDUSTRY -- MY FRIEND -- KIRK DOUGLAS.

#