

[President's Farewell Address to the Nation, 1/14/81]

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Hertzberg/Stewart
Draft B-2
Jan 7 81

1/7/81 To: Rick Hertzberg
John Stewart
From: Dan Rignotti

Farewell address

This is generally
pessimistic. Needs to be
more upbeat on our ability to
overcome these
problems.

Good evening. A week from now, I will lay down the
responsibilities of this office -- to take up once more
the only title in our ^{democracy} [country] equal to that of President,
the title of citizen.

To Vice President Mondale, to my Cabinet, to the thousands
of others who have served with me during these four years,
I wish to say publicly what I have said in private: thank you.
Thank you for the dedication and competence you brought to
the service of our shared ideals.

To those millions who continue in the service of the
United States government, in and out of uniform -- to you as
well, I express my thanks and the thanks of the whole Nation.

To my successor, I wish success and Godspeed. Governor Reagan [-- Mr. President-elect --] I understand, as few others can, how formidable is the task you are about to undertake. To the very limits of conscience and conviction, I pledge to support you in that task.

I owe my deepest thanks of all to you, the American people. You gave me this extraordinary opportunity to serve. As that service draws to a close, I am more convinced than ever that the United States is able to meet the future with justifiable confidence [-- perhaps] better than any other nation. I am more aware than ever of the inner strength of our country -- the power of our principles and ideals, the freedom of our political system, the ingenuity and decency of our people. Whatever your individual political views, you supported me as President when the welfare of the Nation was plainly at stake. I am deeply grateful for that support, and I call upon you to extend it to my successor.

I would like to say a few words about this most special Office, the Presidency of the United States, which in a few days I will pass on to the fortieth person in our history to hold this trust.

In every possible sense, the Presidency of the United States is a unique creation. It is at once the most powerful office in the world -- and among the most constrained by law and custom. The President is given a broad mandate to lead -- but cannot do so without the consent of the governed, expressed formally through the Congress and informally through a whole range of public and private institutions. While the nation must go forward, our system of checks and balances, our individual liberties and freedom of the press mean that we must go forward together -- or not at all.

For over 200 years our system's combination of strength and flexibility have been remarkable. Through generations of

challenge, our system has maintained its most essential quality -- its balance.

Today we are asking our system to do things of which the founders never dreamed. The government they designed for a few hundred thousand people now serves a nation of 230 million people. The small coastal republic they founded now spans a continent, and has the responsibility to help lead much of the world through difficult times to a secure and prosperous future.

Every American has a right and duty to speak out about the course we should take. Our collective success depends on the understanding and the involvement of as many people as possible.

Yet only the President is charged with the responsibility of speaking for all of the people. In the moments of decision, when all the views have been aired, it is the President who

must speak for the nation, and the people must then lend him not only their ears -- but their voices as well.

In addition to the still-recent blows of Vietnam and

Watergate, two opposite trends seem to be pulling the Presidency

Further out of balance -- one by raising the office too high and the other by bringing it too low.

*The answer is
simply
You have not established
a correct
balance, yet.*

On the one hand, the world is changing so fast that a great and understandable yearning for a single, fixed point of responsibility is created. People want to believe that a President can control all of the events which seem so bewildering and confusing. There is a recurring belief that someone can make everything better -- without effort, without change. The result is a cycle of rising expectations and plunging frustration.

On the other hand, as people become more concerned about the power of the government to achieve a consensus,

they are increasingly drawn to single-issue groups and special interest organizations to ensure that at least they will get their way. As these narrow interests become more powerful and more numerous they further weaken the government's ability to lead. Thus another cycle of weakness leading to more weakness is created.

The plain truth is that we cannot routinely or casually or selfishly savage the Office of the Presidency without destroying the ability of the holder of that office to do the very things which it was created to do for us.

Either raising the Office of the President to the heavens or crushing it beneath our feet will destroy the balance on which our entire system -- and much of the world -- depends.

The challenges and potential dangers of the future will tax any President. He needs the understanding and support of all of us.

[In my own role as a former President I intend to be
constructive in my public comments, supportive of the new
President's efforts, ^{when possible,} and resolved to give him the benefit of
any doubt as he deals with the difficult issues we ourselves
have asked him to tackle. He can depend on my advice when it
is needed and requested.]

*Very negative and
sounds like
excuse for
not solving
nation's problems.*

Let us remember that while it is within our power to
elect a President who will accept the responsibility of
trying to solve our problems, our ballots do not confer upon
him a magic wand to make them all vanish.

Like every President, I have sworn to uphold the interests
of one nation -- our nation. But in the closing decades of
the 20th century, our true national interests require a
global perspective. I have had the privilege of serving as
a national leader of a great nation. But for the rest of my
time with you tonight, I want to speak to you not as a leader

of one nation, but as a citizen of one world -- the only world we have. And I want to talk about three great

Again, the worldwide needs that I care about in an especially personal and profound way:

is structured to only emphasize foreign issues. Why not make 3d 16 sec human rights at hand + ahead.

The need for control over the weapons of nuclear destruction;

- ¶ the need for wise stewardship of the physical resources of our planet;
- ¶ and the need for the protection of human rights.

It has now been 35 years since Hiroshima. The great majority of the world's people cannot remember a time when the nuclear shadow did not hang over the earth. Our minds have adjusted to it, the way our eyes adjust to the dark.

Yet the reality is that the risk of a nuclear conflagration has increased with every passing year, and so has the potential magnitude of such a catastrophe.

A single hydrogen bomb -- itself weighing only a few hundred pounds, but with the explosive force of a million tons of TNT -- would destroy everything and everybody in a circle nearly ten miles wide. Through radiation sickness, it would kill everyone in a much larger circle, XXXX miles wide. This is sufficient to turn any city on Earth into a smouldering, lifeless heap of radioactive slag.

That is what one bomb can do. The world's arsenals now contain 60,000 of them. An all-out nuclear war would kill more people in a few hours or days than all the wars of history put together. It would have untold, possibly monstrous effects on the genes of living things, from plants and insects to human beings. It would change the world's climate in unpredictable ways. The survivors of such a war, if any, would live in despair amid the poisoned ruins of a civilization that had committed suicide.

*Don't this
a bit
much? No one
is doing
an all-out
nuclear
war*

In the array of nuclear dangers, two are especially alarming. One lies in the refinement of nuclear weapons technology, the other in its spread.

It used to be axiomatic that no one wins in a nuclear war. But nuclear missiles are growing ever more complex and accurate -- and this has begun to raise the thought of a twisted kind of nuclear "victory" in which, through massive surprise attack, one side would seek to destroy a large part of the nuclear striking power of the other. Obviously, even a so-called "limited nuclear exchange" would kill millions of people, and many of those millions of victims would be on the so-called winning side. It makes no sense. Yet the technology of nuclear weapons is creating a spiral of fear -- a suspicion on each side that the other might be plotting to strike first.

That is one danger. Another involves the spread of

nuclear weapons to countries that do not now have them.

If dozens of governments acquire these weapons, it will only be a matter of time before madness, desperation, clumsiness or greed unleashes their destructive power.

Against the background of these dangers, the spark of a crisis or a confrontation could set the final nuclear fire.

History teaches that weakness -- real or perceived -- can tempt aggression and thus cause war. That is why we in the United States cannot neglect our military strength. But with equal determination, we must find ways to reduce the horrifying danger that is posed by the world's stockpiles of destructive arms.

Arms control agreements can help. They can cut the momentum of the arms race. They can slow the development of ever more fearsome types of armaments. They can contribute to a more stable international climate. Perhaps most important,

by making it possible for each side to know what the other has in its arsenal, they can reduce the spiral of paranoia and slow the treadmill of mutual fear.

I am confident that our nation's commitment to the goal of nuclear arms control will endure. In the tradition of

all Presidents since Harry Truman -- that is, since the moment we first saw what these weapons can do [my successor has committed himself to that goal. I applaud him for that, and I stand ready to help him and his Administration to go forth and build on what has already been achieved.]

Real number to try to speak less for Reagan - express hope nation will continue the commitment. See Weinberger's statement today in press

Nuclear weapons are an expression of one side of mankind's personality. But there is another side. The same rocket technology that carries nuclear missiles has also taken us to the depths of space. From that perspective, we see our earth as it really is -- a fragile and beautiful blue globe, the only home we have. That is a vision of the essential

unity of our species and our planet; and with faith and common sense, that vision will ultimately prevail.

The shadows that fall across the future of mankind are cast not only by the weapons we build, but by the kind of world we make.

If present trends continue, our world in the year 2000 will be more crowded, more polluted, more vulnerable to

turmoil, and less able to sustain life. Unless nations of the world take decisive action to halt these trends, in the next 20 years we will see ever more serious food, energy and population problems; a steady loss of croplands, forests, and fisheries; and the degradation of our air and water.

These are not problems for the next century to solve. They are today's facts of life. To ignore the fate of the earth is to be indifferent to our own lives here and now.

*This is the way
Global Warming
is which means
despite.*

The first step is to shed our fear of the facts themselves. For many it is the most difficult step. We all know individuals who will not see a doctor because they are terrified their condition might be serious -- and by the time they face up to it, it often is.

On a wider scale, whole nations can confuse analysis of the facts of a situation with preachments of inevitable gloom and doom. Accepting the physical realities of our planet does not mean a dismal future of endless sacrifice. The only inevitable fact is that most problems will only start getting better when we stop ignoring them. *The solution to these challenges can be an exciting agenda for action in the hands of the '90's.*

The most dramatic proof of this in recent American history is energy. For 30 years our demand for imported oil rose inexorably -- in spite of endless warnings -- until we were sending almost 100 billion dollars a year overseas to pay for it. Our dependence cost us jobs, cut into our productivity,

inflated our currency, and complicated our national security.

At last we are facing the fact that energy in general, and oil in particular, is something we cannot take for granted or abandon to wishful thinking. It is something we must consider carefully, plan around, and work and invest to

create. — You don't create oil, it's abundant & demand is increasing and all we're trying to develop.

Once we accepted this principle, the early results have been even more dramatic than the effects of dependence. We are developing our own energy supplies. We are using energy more wisely -- and above all we are importing far less oil

Down 24% (almost a third less in only two years!).
Change here.

The real meaning of this achievement goes beyond the vital issue of energy. Once this country decided to accept the energy challenge, we acquired more reason to hope in [two] years of hard work in meeting it, than we had reason to despair after 20 years of anxiously avoiding it.

And as we encourage other nations to work together on the world-wide energy problems, there is no doubt that our world will become more secure, more stable and more humane.

The same promise holds for meeting other resource problems of the earth -- water, food, minerals, farmlands, forests, overpopulation -- if we tackle them with courage and hope. If we try to avoid these problems through fear or ignorance they will surely envelop us in the end.

These are the facts:

- ¶ The world's population will grow by almost 50 percent by the year 2000. Food consumption will decline for much of the world.

- ¶ Since arable land is disappearing, increased food supplies will have to come from methods that use more oil and gas.

¶ In spite of America's progress, the world still faces severe energy problems. In the poorest parts of the world, oil is an impossibly expensive luxury, the population is growing very fast, and wood is the basic fuel. These pressures are already causing a loss of forest land about half the size of California every year.

¶ As the forests recede and civilization advances more and more cropland is lost each year, and the development of water supplies becomes more difficult and more costly.

These projections are not inevitable -- unless we ignore them. There are less than 20 years left in our 20th century. The time to look forward and create the world we want to have in the year 2000 is now.

I believe that we are capable of building a world in which all people lead full, decent lives on a growing and peaceful planet. And I believe with equal sureness that the special combination of history and vision which the American people have today will make the United States a natural leader in charting and guiding humanity's course towards a better world tomorrow.

Now let me turn to the final subject I want to talk about tonight: the deep yearning of people everywhere for personal liberty and security.

I believe with all my heart that America must always stand for human rights, at home and abroad. That is both our history and our destiny.

But America did not invent human rights. In a very real sense, it is the other way round. Human rights invented America.

Ours was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded explicitly on an idea, the idea of human rights. The fundamental force that unites us is not kinship or place of origin or religious confession. It is a belief in our own rights as human beings. The love of liberty is the common blood that flows in our American veins.

I am proud of the fact that during my Presidency, our government has sought to promote human rights around the world. Obviously, the impact of our efforts from place to place has varied with the influence of our country; but that should neither surprise nor discourage us. On the contrary, we should take pride in the fact that so many oppressed people look to us for inspiration and protection. We should take joy in the progress that has been made, however halting it may sometimes seem to be.

And we should take heart from the example of our own history.

There we see proof of the power of the idea of human rights.

For at the beginning of our history, the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution stood in agonizing contrast to such realities as black slavery and the exclusion of women from political life. But with our path lighted by those ideals, led by men and women of courage and conscience, we have made the long journey to a more just society, a society that comes much closer to our own vision of the meaning of our nation's founding ideals.

The struggle for full rights for all Americans is far from over. We have no cause for self-righteousness or complacency. But we have every reason to persevere, both in our own country and beyond our borders.

*Please keep
domestic issues*

need to bring back of Reagan's Dec - American not maintain American life in every aspect - need provide work for those able to do so - need protect personal freedoms vs. Human rights in the broadest sense -- the rights of

personal security, political liberty and a [minimally] decent standard of life -- face severe challenges in the 1980s.

those who would use power able to enforce particular forms of religious or moral beliefs

Our Nation and our world have entered a time of transition.

This uneasy era is likely to endure for the rest of this century. It will be a time of tensions within nations and between them -- of competition for resources -- of social, political and economic stresses and strains.

As we in this country move to deal with the stresses around us, we may grow impatient with our own ideals. We may be tempted by a kind of false hard-headedness. We may begin to think that the work of production is too important for us to get sidetracked by environmental concerns or by questions of fairness. We may begin to believe that we can

increase our own prosperity by diminishing that of others.

We may begin to assume that a concern for human rights is a

sentimental indulgence in a dangerous world. We may begin

to suppose that arms control is a favor to someone else, not

an imperative of survival for everyone.

*press needs
with
desire
sensitive
concern*

That kind of thinking may seem hard-headed. In practice it is merely hard-hearted -- and short-sighted, too. The truth is that by working for human rights and nuclear arms control, we serve both our interests and our principles.

We are Americans, and our values and beliefs are not luxuries but necessities -- not the salt in our bread but the bread itself. Our common vision of a free and just society is our greatest source of cohesion at home and strength abroad -- greater by far than all our material blessings.

[Listen to these familiar and beautiful words from the Declaration of Independence:

No "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."]

These words remind us of why our vision still grips the imagination of the world. They remind us that change is something to be welcomed, not feared, when it protects human life, enhances human liberty, and increases the possibility of human happiness.

Democracy is always an unfinished creation. Each generation must renew its foundations. Each generation must rediscover its meaning in the light of its own challenges. For this generation, life can mean nuclear survival; liberty can mean human rights; the pursuit of happiness can mean a planet whose resources are devoted to the physical and spiritual nourishment of its inhabitants.

Our nation remains faithful both to its original vision and to its capacity for change. The peaceful and orderly transition of political power that is about to take place will demonstrate that faith anew.

For myself, as I return home to the Southern soil where I was born and raised, I am looking forward to the opportunity to reflect and write. I intend to support our new President, and I intend to work, as a citizen, for the same values I have believed in all my life. Again, from the bottom of my heart, I want to express the gratitude I feel. Thank you, thank you, fellow citizens, and farewell.

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ZS

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8, 16

Farewell address

best on human
rights; weaker
on the other two. I
would cut more
of the
specifics
n. bombs,
deaths,
resources,
etc.

Good evening. A week from now, I will lay down the responsibilities of this office -- to take up once more the only title in our country equal to that of President, the title of citizen.

To Vice President Mondale, to my Cabinet, to the thousands of others who have served with me during these four years, I wish to say publicly what I have said in private: thank you. Thank you for the dedication and competence you brought to the service of our shared ideals.

To those millions who continue in the service of the United States government, in and out of uniform -- to you as well, I express my thanks and the thanks of the whole Nation.

To my successor, I wish success and Godspeed: Governor Reagan -- Mr. President-elect -- I understand, as few others can, how formidable is the task you are about to undertake. To the very limits of conscience and conviction, I pledge to support you in that task.

I owe my deepest thanks of all to you, the American people. You gave me this extraordinary opportunity to serve. As that service draws to a close, I am more convinced than ever that the United States is able to meet the future with justifiable confidence -- perhaps better than any other nation. I am more aware than ever of the inner strength of our country -- the power of our principles and ideals, the freedom of our political system, the ingenuity and decency of our people. Whatever your individual political views, you supported me as President when the welfare of the Nation was plainly at stake. I am deeply grateful for that support, and I call upon you to extend it to my successor.

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challenge, our system has maintained its most essential quality -- its balance.

Today we are asking our system to do things of which the founders never dreamed. The government they designed for a few hundred thousand people now serves a nation of 230 million people. The small coastal republic they founded now spans a continent, and has the responsibility to help lead much of the world through difficult times to a secure and prosperous future.

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Yet only the President is charged with the responsibility of speaking for all of the people. In the moments of decision, when all the views have been aired, it is the President who

must speak for the nation, and the people must then lend him not only their ears -- but their voices as well.

In addition to the still-recent blows of Vietnam and Watergate, two opposite trends seem to be pulling the Presidency further out of balance -- one by raising the office too high and the other by bringing it too low.

On the one hand, the world is changing so fast that a great and understandable yearning for a single, fixed point of responsibility is created. People want to believe that a President can control all of the events which seem so bewildering and confusing. There is a recurring belief that someone can make everything better -- without effort, without **cost**. The result is a cycle of rising expectations and plunging frustration.

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they are increasingly drawn to single-issue groups and special interest organizations to ensure that at least they will get their way. As these narrow interests become more powerful and more numerous they further weaken the government's ability to lead. Thus another cycle of weakness leading to more weakness is created.

The plain truth is that we cannot routinely or casually or selfishly savage the Office of the Presidency without destroying the ability of the holder of that office to do the very things which it was created to do for us.

Either raising the Office of the President to the heavens or crushing it beneath our feet will destroy the balance on which our entire system -- and much of the world -- depends.

The challenges and potential dangers of the future will tax any President. He needs the understanding and support of all of us.

In my own role as a former President I intend to be constructive in my public comments, supportive of the new President's efforts, and resolved to give him the benefit of any doubt as he deals with the difficult issues we ourselves have asked him to tackle. He can depend on my advice when it is needed and requested.

Let us remember that while it is within our power to elect a President who will accept the responsibility of trying to solve our problems, our ballots do not confer upon him a magic wand to make them all vanish.

Like every President, I have sworn to uphold the interests of one nation -- our nation. But in the closing decades of the 20th century, our true national interests require a ^{also} global perspective. I have had the privilege of serving as a national leader of a great nation. But for the rest of my time with you tonight, I want to speak to you not as a leader

of one nation, but as a citizen of ~~one nation~~ the only world we have. And I want to talk about three great worldwide needs that I care about in an especially personal and profound way:

- ¶ The need for control over the weapons of nuclear destruction;
- ¶ the need for wise stewardship of the physical resources of our planet;
- ¶ and the need for the protection of human rights.

It has now been 35 years since Hiroshima. The great majority of the world's people cannot remember a time when the nuclear shadow did not hang over the earth. Our minds have adjusted to it, the way our eyes adjust to the dark.

Yet the reality is that the risk of a nuclear conflagration has increased with every passing year, and so has the potential magnitude of such a catastrophe.

A single hydrogen bomb -- itself weighing only a few hundred pounds, but with the explosive force of a million tons of TNT -- would destroy everything and everybody in a circle nearly ten miles wide. Through radiation sickness, it would kill everyone in a much larger circle, XXXX miles wide. This is sufficient to turn any city on Earth into a smouldering, lifeless heap of radioactive slag.

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In the array of nuclear dangers, two are especially alarming. One lies in the refinement of nuclear weapons technology, the other in its spread.

It used to be axiomatic that no one wins in a nuclear war. But nuclear missiles are growing ever more complex and accurate -- and this has begun to raise the thought of a twisted kind of nuclear "victory" in which, through massive surprise attack, one side would seek to destroy a large part of the nuclear striking power of the other. Obviously, even a so-called "limited nuclear exchange" would kill millions of people, and many of those millions of victims would be on the so-called winning side. It makes no sense. Yet the technology of nuclear weapons is creating a spiral of fear -- a suspicion on each side that the other might be plotting to strike first.

That is one danger. Another involves the spread of

nuclear weapons to countries that do not now have them.

If dozens of governments acquire these weapons, it will only be a matter of time before madness, desperation, clumsiness or greed unleashes their destructive power.

Against the background of these dangers, the spark of a crisis or a confrontation could set the final nuclear fire.

History teaches that weakness -- real or perceived -- can tempt aggression and thus cause war. That is why we in the United States cannot neglect our military strength. But with equal determination, we must find ways to reduce the horrifying danger that is posed by the world's stockpiles of destructive arms.

Arms control agreements can help. They can cut the momentum of the arms race. They can slow the development of ever more fearsome types of armaments. They can contribute to a more stable international climate. Perhaps most important,

by making it possible for each side to know what the other has in its arsenal, they can reduce the spiral of paranoia and slow the treadmill of mutual fear.

I am confident that our nation's commitment to the goal of nuclear arms control will endure. In the tradition of all Presidents since Harry Truman -- that is, since the moment we first saw what these weapons can do -- my successor has committed himself to that goal. I applaud him for that, and I stand ready to help him and his Administration to go forth and build on what has already been achieved.

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unity of our species and our planet; and with faith and common sense, that vision will ultimately prevail.

The shadows that fall across the future of mankind are cast not only by the weapons we build, but by the kind of world we make.

If present trends continue, our world in the year 2000 will be more crowded, more polluted, more vulnerable to turmoil, and less able to sustain life. Unless nations of the world take decisive action to halt these trends, in the next 20 years we will see ever more serious food, energy and population problems; a steady loss of croplands, forests, and fisheries; and the degradation of our air and water.

These are not problems for the next century to solve. They are today's facts of life. To ignore the fate of the earth is to be indifferent to our own lives here and now.

The first step is to shed our fear of the facts themselves. For many it is the most difficult step. We all know individuals who will not see a doctor because they are terrified their condition might be serious -- and by the time they face up to it, it often is.

On a wider scale, whole nations can confuse analysis of the facts of a situation with preachments of inevitable gloom and doom. Accepting the physical realities of our planet does not mean a dismal future of endless sacrifice. The only inevitable fact is that most problems will only start getting better when we stop ignoring them.

The most dramatic proof of this in recent American history is energy. For 30 years our demand for imported oil rose inexorably -- in spite of endless warnings -- until we were sending almost 100 billion dollars a year overseas to pay for it. Our dependence cost us jobs, cut into our productivity,

And as we encourage other nations to work together on the world-wide energy problems, there is no doubt that our world will become more secure, more stable and more humane.

The same promise holds for meeting other resource problems of the earth -- water, food, minerals, farmlands, forests, overpopulation -- if we tackle them with courage and hope. If we try to avoid these problems through fear or ignorance they will surely envelop us in the end.

These are the facts:

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- " Since arable land is disappearing, increased food supplies will have to come from methods that use more oil and gas.

is
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inflated our currency, and complicated our national security. At last we are facing the fact that energy in general, and oil in particular, is something we cannot take for granted or abandon to wishful thinking. It is something we must consider carefully, plan around, and work and invest to create.

Once we accepted this principle, the early results have been even more dramatic than the effects of dependence. We are developing our own energy supplies. We are using energy more wisely -- and above all we are importing far less oil (almost a third less in only two years!).

The real meaning of this achievement goes beyond the vital issue of energy. Once this country decided to accept the energy challenge, we acquired more reason to hope in two years of hard work in meeting it, than we had reason to despair after 20 years of anxiously avoiding it.

¶ In spite of America's progress, the world still faces severe energy problems. In the poorest parts of the world, oil is an impossibly expensive luxury, the population is growing very fast, and wood is the basic fuel. These pressures are already causing a loss of forest land about half the size of California every year.

¶ As the forests recede and civilization advances more and more cropland is lost each year, and the development of water supplies becomes more difficult and more costly.

These projections are not inevitable -- unless we ignore them. There are less than 20 years left in our 20th century. The time to look forward and create the world we want to have in the year 2000 is now.

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I am proud of the fact that during my Presidency, our government has sought to promote human rights around the world. Obviously, the impact of our efforts from place to place has varied with the influence of our country; but that should neither surprise nor discourage us. On the contrary, we should take pride in the fact that so many oppressed people look to us for inspiration and protection. We should take joy in the progress that has been made, however halting it may sometimes seem to be.

And we should take heart from the example of our own history.

There we see proof of the power of the idea of human rights. For at the beginning of our history, the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution stood in agonizing contrast to such realities as black slavery and the exclusion of women from political life. But with our path lighted by those ideals, led by men and women of courage and conscience, we have made the long journey to a more just society, a society that comes much closer to our own vision of the meaning of our nation's founding ideals.

The struggle for full rights for all Americans is far from over. We have no cause for self-righteousness or complacency. But we have every reason to persevere, both in our own country and beyond our borders.

Human rights in the broadest sense -- the rights of personal security, political liberty and a minimally decent standard of life -- face severe challenges in the 1980s.

Our Nation and our world have entered a time of transition.

This uneasy era is likely to endure for the rest of this century. It will be a time of tensions within nations and between them -- of competition for resources -- of social, political and economic stresses and strains.

As we in this country move to deal with the stresses around us, we may grow impatient with our own ideals. We may be tempted by a kind of false hard-headedness. We may begin to think that the work of production is too important for us to get sidetracked by environmental concerns or by questions of fairness. We may begin to believe that we can increase our own prosperity by diminishing that of others. We may begin to assume that a concern for human rights is a sentimental indulgence in a dangerous world. We may begin to suppose that arms control is a favor to someone else, not an imperative of survival for everyone.

That kind of thinking may seem hard-headed. In practice it is merely hard-hearted -- and short-sighted, too. The truth is that by working for human rights and nuclear arms control, we serve both our interests and our principles.

We are Americans, and our values and beliefs are not luxuries but necessities -- not the salt in our bread but the bread itself. Our common vision of a free and just society is our greatest source of cohesion at home and strength abroad -- greater by far than all our material blessings.

Listen to these familiar and beautiful words from the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

These words remind us of why our vision still-grips the imagination of the world. They remind us that change is something to be welcomed, not feared, when it protects human life, enhances human liberty, and increases the possibility of human happiness.

Democracy is always an unfinished creation. Each generation must renew its foundations. Each generation must rediscover its meaning in the light of its own challenges. For this generation, life can mean nuclear survival; liberty can mean human rights; the pursuit of happiness can mean a planet whose resources are devoted to the physical and spiritual nourishment of its inhabitants.

Our nation remains faithful both to its original vision and to its capacity for change. The peaceful and orderly transition of political power that is about to take place will demonstrate that faith anew.

For myself, as I return home to the Southern soil where I was born and raised, I am looking forward to the opportunity to reflect and write. I intend to support our new President, and I intend to work, as a citizen, for the same values I have believed in all my life. Again, from the bottom of my heart, I want to express the gratitude I feel. Thank you, fellow citizens, and farewell.

#

cc: To Foley
Rick
Pat

12-31-80

This is a rough outline
I did this morning.

It can be expanded into
paragraphs and a point or two
added, if necessary.

On p 3, at (*), Rosalynn
suggests some compassion, inflation,
etc.

I'd add an assumption that
Reagan agrees (or has already ex-
pressed agreement) with these
ideas.

J.C.

Qualifying experience to serve as
President of a great nation

Appreciation & admiration for those who
served with me during these past four
years of (sometimes) troubled times

There have been great challenges

The nation has (come through) them well

Future challenges will continue to
be important and difficult

I've learned a lot with experience
about:

the innate strength of our country --
its natural resources, its people, its
principles & ideals, its political system.

Better than perhaps any other nation
we are able to meet the future
with justifiable confidence.

No need to recapitulate the successes
or failures (achievements or disappointments)
of the past

The challenges & potential dangers
of the future will tax any President

He needs and deserves the understanding
and support of all of us -

②

Maximum understanding and involvement of the people will continue to prevent serious mistakes in judgment which might embarrass or endanger our country.

Legitimate criticisms & close scrutiny of all government officials are an inherent and valuable part of our democratic society.

In my own role as a former President I intend to be constructive and supportive of the new President, and to give him the benefit of the doubt as he deals with the difficult issues of his office. He will have my advice when it is needed and desired.

It is important that the office of the President be a strong one, and that its constitutional authority be preserved.

The increasing influence of narrowly focused special interest groups is disturbing and can best be met by the President -- elected to represent all the people of America.

All public officials and private citizens must be vigilant against this threat.

Some of the inescapable trends which must be acknowledged and will have to be met by the American people are:

a) reduced oil imports, with increased conservation and increased domestic production of energy;

b) with a strong America, mutual & balanced ~~arms~~ reductions in armaments, particularly nuclear weapons;

c) further enhancement of individual human freedoms and the reduction (prevention) of persecution and torture;

d) The preservation of peace, through strength;

e) protection of the quality of our environment.

* See cover page

In all these areas, the American people must remain informed, involved, and wherever possible supportive of the President as he faces these difficult and controversial issues from the Pouchness of his Office.

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Thanks to people

Best wishes to Reagan

if we act together out of our common humanity. These issues are the threat of nuclear destruction; our stewardship of the physical resources of our planet; and the pre-eminence of human rights.

It has now been 35 years since Hiroshima. The great majority of the world's people cannot remember a time when the nuclear shadow did not hang over the earth. Our minds have adjusted to it, the way our eyes adjust to the dark.

Yet the reality is that the risk of a nuclear conflagration has increased with every passing year, and so has the potential magnitude of such a catastrophe. It has not happened yet, but that is false comfort -- *because* it only has to happen once.

A single hydrogen bomb -- itself weighing only a few hundred pounds, but with the explosive force of a million tons of TNT -- would destroy everything and everybody in a circle nearly ten miles across. That is sufficient to turn

any city on Earth into a smouldering, lifeless heap of radioactive slag.

That is what one bomb can do. The world's arsenals now contain 60,000 of them. In an all-out nuclear war, more destructive force than in all of World War II would be unleashed every second for the long afternoon it would take for the bombs to fall. A World War II every second -- and it would kill more people in a few hours than all the wars of history put together. [[It would have untold, possibly monstrous effects on the genes of living things, from plants and insects to human beings. It would change the world's climate in unpredictable ways.] The survivors of such a war, if any, would live in despair amid the poisoned ruins of a civilization that had committed suicide.]

Too
much

In the array of nuclear dangers, two are especially alarming. One is the ever-increasing quantity and sophistication

of arms in the arsenals of the superpowers. The other is the growing number of fingers on [the] nuclear triggers. Once dozens of governments acquire these weapons, it will only be a matter of time before madness, desperation, clumsiness or greed unleashes their destructive power.

In the tinderbox of these dangers, the spark of a crisis or a confrontation could set the final nuclear fire.

History teaches that weakness -- real or perceived -- can tempt aggression and thus cause war. That is why the United States cannot neglect its military strength. But with equal determination, the United States and all countries must find ways to reduce the horrifying danger that is posed by the world's stockpiles of destructive arms.

This has been a concern of every American President since the moment we first saw what these weapons can do. I feel that concern; my successor shares it. But the answer

lies not just in the actions of world leaders, but in the concern and demands of all of us.

Nuclear weapons are an expression of one side of mankind's personality. But there is another side. The same rocket technology that carries nuclear missiles has also taken us into space. From that perspective, we see our earth as it really is -- a fragile and beautiful blue globe, the only home we have. We see no barriers of race or religion or country. We see instead a vision of the essential unity of our species and our planet; and with faith and common sense, that vision will ultimately prevail.

The shadows that fall across the future of mankind are cast not only by the weapons we build, but by the kind of world we make.

If present trends continue, our world in the year 2000

will be more crowded, more polluted, more vulnerable to
turmoil, and less able to sustain life. Unless nations of
the world take decisive action to halt these trends, in the
next 20 years we will see ever more serious food, energy and
population problems; a steady loss of croplands, forests,
and fisheries; and the degradation of our air and water.

These are not problems for the next century to solve.
They are today's facts of life. To ignore the fate of the
earth is to be indifferent to our own lives here and now.

The first step is to shed our fear of the facts themselves.
For many it is the most difficult step.

These are the facts:

¶ The world's population will grow by almost 50
percent by the year 2000, while in much of the world,
there will be less to eat than there is today.

*You need
no statistics
in this speech*

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- ¶ As more and more fertile land is lost to deserts and development, food production will depend on intensive methods that use more oil and gas.

- ¶ Despite America's progress, the world still faces severe energy problems. In the poorest parts of the world, oil is already an impossibly expensive luxury, and wood is the basic fuel. These pressures are already causing a loss of forest land about half the size of California every year.

- ¶ As the forests recede and civilization advances, more and more cropland is lost, and the development of water supplies becomes harder and more costly.

Let there be no misunderstanding -- acknowledging the physical realities of our planet does not mean a dismal future of endless sacrifice. Analyzing the facts of a situation is not the same as ^{the} preaching of inevitable doom. The only

LNC 1/7/81

Presidency
1

SECTION FOR FAREWELL ADDRESS

[The United States is the most powerful nation in the world. The Presidency of the United States is the most powerful office in the world. It has been a great privilege and experience for me to hold that office. As I turn it over to my successor, I want to share with all of you some of my thoughts about the Presidency and the state of our federal government.

The Office of President is not as powerful as most Americans think. It is not as powerful as I thought when I took office, or as my successor may think as the office passes to him.

I am not saying that the President should have more power. I am saying that the gap between our illusion of the President's power and the reality leads to over-expectations of what the President and our Government can accomplish, and to recurring disappointment when these expectations are not realized. [Like other Presidential candidates, I acknowledge having contributed to these over-expectations. Anyone who runs for this great office faces an irresistible temptation to believe that he will be the little engine that could.]

After four years in this job, I believe I now understand how these over-expectations come about. To help our future Presidents fulfill this great office, it is important that

all of us adjust our expectations to the realities of how our Government functions today.

For our Government to run successfully, we must have a [flexible and] balanced program for governing. [It must be a flexible program because we need to adjust and respond quickly to new developments all over this increasingly interdependent world.] It must be a balanced program because even a country as rich and resourceful as ours cannot pursue all of its many worthwhile goals in full measure at the same time. Many of these goals conflict with one another, and all of them compete for the same resources. We need to strike a balance between increasing our energy self-sufficiency and improving the purity of our environment, between inflation and employment, between an impregnable defense and complete social security. The art of modern government is to make wise balancing choices among these competing and conflicting goals.

We expect the President to make these balancing choices, but we tend to forget that when he makes his choices, the Constitution requires him to obtain the agreement of Congress. The framers of our Constitution wisely separated the powers of the Executive and the Legislature, so that each could check and balance the excesses of the other. In times of great crisis, like World War II and the Great Depression, agreement on a broad and balanced range of action is possible. But in other times it is far more difficult, and in recent

presidencies, for a variety of reasons, the difficulties have increased.

[Among these reasons are the decline of party discipline and the well-meant reforms of Congress which have tended to weaken the power of the Congressional leaders to speak for their colleagues. We need to study these structural problems of our Government and to devise sound methods of correcting them.]

Tonight I want to discuss [one] [another] of these reasons. A balanced program for governing is achieved by weighing the general interest in all of our national goals against the single interests of the political groups who support a particular goal over all other goals. We have many single interest groups throughout our society. Ten or twenty years ago, the principal single interest groups were our farmers, working men, businessmen, and senior citizens, whose members are concerned about a wide range of public goals that affect them, and who also must balance each of these goals against the others. But now we also have single issue groups -- pro-nuclear and anti-nuclear, pro-abortion and anti-abortion -- who reward or punish candidates based on how they stand on one single issue.

These single interest pressures make it much harder for the President and Congress to reach agreement on a balanced program for governing. They tend to force changes in the program which destroy its balance, and turn it into a hodgepodge

which neither the President nor the Congressional majority is prepared to defend or support as a whole.

Twenty years ago President Eisenhower, in a memorable farewell address, warned us to beware the growing power of what he called the military-industrial complex. We heeded that warning. Tonight I have another warning. We must beware the growing power of the single [issue] [interest] political group. The general interest is not the sum of all our single interests. The general interest requires the containment of single interests into a balanced program for governing. We must beware of any group that is unwilling to adjust its own interests to those of the nation at large.

MR. PRESIDENT:

WE HAD SO MANY COMMENTS ON STYLE AND HAD SO MANY IDEAS FOR IMPROVEMENT OURSELVES THAT WE REDRAFTED THE FAREWELL SPEECH LATE LAST NIGHT. THAT REDRAFT (A-1) IS ATTACHED. IT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT SUGGESTIONS FROM ZBIG, STU, LLOYD, PAT, AND JERRY, ALTHOUGH AS YOU CAN SEE IT DOES NOT USE ALL THEIR SUGGESTIONS. IN A FEW PLACES, ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS ARE SUPPLIED FOR YOU TO CHOOSE BETWEEN.

SO THAT YOU CAN SEE THE ORIGINAL COMMENTS, I HAVE ATTACHED ~~2~~ NOTES FROM STU AND ZBIG AND AN ALTERNATE SECTION ON THE PRESIDENCY FROM LLOYD (THIS WAS THE ONLY COMMENT HE HAD).

I PUT GORDON AND RICK ON THE PRESS PLANE IN CASE YOU NEED THEM, BUT PRIMARILY BECAUSE THEY WANTED TO GO TO PLAINS VERY MUCH. EVEN THE PRESS IS BEING A LITTLE SENTIMENTAL ABOUT THIS TRIP.

Jody

P.S. I have also included a copy of your original outline in case you don't have one with you. The editing in pencil on the draft is mine, done this morning.

JSP

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

11/17/80

Mr. President:

No comment from Jack
or Jody.

Rick

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
722 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006

cc Jody

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Susan hold
J

November 14, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Gus Speth *Gus Speth*
SUBJECT: Farewell Address to the American People

My purpose in writing this memorandum is to suggest that you consider giving a Farewell Address, much as President Eisenhower did on January 17, 1961. I enclose the Eisenhower address; his famous warning about the military-industrial complex is on page 1038.

A Farewell Address would give you a chance to be both more personal and more focused than the State of the Union.

I would recommend that your only purpose be to advance the level of public understanding on a very few, historically important subjects. Many possibilities must spring to your mind. There are two which I would recommend to you. These two problems are strongly related; they define and threaten the prospects for mankind in this century; yet they are largely invisible to most Americans today:

- The inter-linked global problems of world poverty, population growth, underdevelopment, resource destruction and environmental contamination. This complex of desperate needs is set out fully, as you know, in The Global 2000 Report to the President which we and State prepared for you.
- The growing global trade in destructive weaponry, now totaling about \$500 billion in 1980. The global arms race, both nuclear and conventional, is not only a direct threat to peace but also a tragic drain on resources. As with global problems of population, food and environment, you have been a leader in the field of arms control, beginning with your important 1977 initiatives.

The Brandt Commission Report described these two problems far more eloquently than I could:

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"War is often thought of in terms of military conflict, or even annihilation. But there is a growing awareness that an equal danger might be chaos - as a result of mass hunger, economic disaster, environmental catastrophes, and terrorism. So we should not think only of reducing the traditional threats to peace, but also of the need for change from chaos to order.

"At the beginning of a new decade, only twenty years short of the millennium, we must try to lift ourselves above day-to-day quarrels (or negotiations) to see the menacing long-term problems. We see a world in which poverty and hunger still prevail in many huge regions; in which resources are squandered without consideration of their renewal; in which more armaments are made and sold than ever before; and where a destructive capacity has been accumulated to blow up our planet several times over."

No greater public service could be rendered than for you to take this message clearly and compellingly to the American people.

Should you decide against a Farewell Address, I hope you will address these two problems in your State of the Union address. However, I do not think that will be as effective or as long remembered.

Pursuant to that legislation agreements for cooperation were concluded with four of our NATO partners in May and June 1959. A similar agreement was also recently concluded with our NATO ally, the Republic of Italy. All of these agreements are designed to implement in important respects the agreed NATO program.

This agreement with the Government of Italy will enable the United States to cooperate effectively in mutual defense planning with Italy and in the training of Italian NATO forces in order that, if an attack on NATO should occur, Italian forces could, under the direction of the Supreme Allied Commander for Europe, effectively use nuclear weapons in their defense.

These agreements previously concluded and this Italian Agreement represent only a portion of the work necessary for complete implementation of the decision taken by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in December 1957. I anticipate the conclusion of similar agreements for cooperation with certain other NATO nations as the Alliance's defensive planning continues.

Pursuant to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, I am submitting to each House of the Congress an authoritative copy of the agreement with the Government of Italy. I am also transmitting a copy of the Secretary of State's letter accompanying an authoritative copy of the signed agreement, a copy of a joint letter from the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission recommending my approval of this document and a copy of my memorandum in reply thereto setting forth my approval.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: The text of the agreement and related documents is published in the Congressional Record of March 7, 1961 (vol. 107, p. 3095).

421 ¶ Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People. *January 17, 1961*

[Delivered from the President's Office at 8:30 p.m.]

My fellow Americans:

Three days from now, after half a century in the service of our country, I shall lay down the responsibilities of office as, in traditional and solemn ceremony, the authority of the Presidency is vested in my successor.

This evening I come to you with a message of leave-taking and farewell, and to share a few final thoughts with you, my countrymen.

Like every other citizen, I wish the new President, and all who will labor with him, Godspeed. I pray that the coming years will be blessed with peace and prosperity for all.

Our people expect their President and the Congress to find essential agreement on issues of great moment, the wise resolution of which will better shape the future of the Nation.

My own relations with the Congress, which began on a remote and tenuous basis when, long ago, a member of the Senate appointed me to West Point, have since ranged to the intimate during the war and immediate post-war period, and, finally, to the mutually interdependent during these past eight years.

In this final relationship, the Congress and the Administration have, on most vital issues, cooperated well, to serve the national good rather than mere partisanship, and so have assured that the business of the Nation should go forward. So, my official relationship with the Congress ends in a feeling, on my part, of gratitude that we have been able to do so much together.

II.

We now stand ten years past the midpoint of a century that has witnessed four major wars among great nations. Three of these involved our own country. Despite these holocausts America is today the strongest, the most influential and most productive nation in the world. Understandably proud of this pre-eminence, we yet realize that America's leadership and prestige depend, not merely upon our unmatched material progress, riches and military strength, but on how we use our power in the interests of world-peace and human betterment.

III.

Throughout America's adventure in free government, our basic purposes have been to keep the peace; to foster progress in human achievement, and to enhance liberty, dignity and integrity among people and among nations. To strive for less would be unworthy of a free and religious people. Any failure traceable to arrogance, or our lack of comprehension or readiness to sacrifice would inflict upon us grievous hurt both at home and abroad.

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Progress toward these noble goals is persistently threatened by the conflict now engulfing the world. It commands our whole attention, absorbs our very beings. We face a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose, and insidious in method. Unhappily the danger it poses promises to be of indefinite duration. To meet it successfully, there is called for, not so much the emotional and transitory sacrifices of crisis, but rather those which enable us to carry forward steadily, surely, and without complaint the burdens of a prolonged and complex struggle—with liberty the stake. Only thus shall we remain, despite every provocation, on our charted course toward permanent peace and human betterment.

Crises there will continue to be. In meeting them, whether foreign or domestic, great or small, there is a recurring temptation to feel that some spectacular and costly action could become the miraculous solution to all current difficulties. A huge increase in newer elements of our defense; development of unrealistic programs to cure every ill in agriculture; a dramatic expansion in basic and applied research—these and many other possibilities, each possibly promising in itself, may be suggested as the only way to the road we wish to travel.

But each proposal must be weighed in the light of a broader consideration: the need to maintain balance in and among national programs—balance between the private and the public economy, balance between cost and hoped for advantage—balance between the clearly necessary and the comfortably desirable; balance between our essential requirements as a nation and the duties imposed by the nation upon the individual; balance between actions of the moment and the national welfare of the future. Good judgment seeks balance and progress; lack of it eventually finds imbalance and frustration.

The record of many decades stands as proof that our people and their government have, in the main, understood these truths and have responded to them well, in the face of stress and threat. But threats, new in kind or degree, constantly arise. I mention two only.

IV.

A vital element in keeping the peace is our military establishment. Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction.

Our military organization today bears little relation to that known

by any of my predecessors in peacetime, or indeed by the fighting men of World War II or Korea.

Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well. But now we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense; we have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations.

This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every State house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together.

Akin to, and largely responsible for the sweeping changes in our industrial-military posture, has been the technological revolution during recent decades.

In this revolution, research has become central; it also becomes more formalized, complex, and costly. A steadily increasing share is conducted for, by, or at the direction of, the Federal government.

Today, the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists in laboratories and testing fields. In the same fashion, the free university, historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery, has experienced a revolution in the conduct of research. Partly because of the huge costs involved, a government contract becomes virtually a substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every

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The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations, and the power of money is ever present—and is gravely to be regarded.

Yet, in holding scientific research and discovery in respect, as we should, we must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite.

It is the task of statesmanship to mold, to balance, and to integrate these and other forces, new and old, within the principles of our democratic system—ever aiming toward the supreme goals of our free society.

v.

Another factor in maintaining balance involves the element of time. As we peer into society's future, we—you and I, and our government—must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering, for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow. We cannot mortgage the material assets of our grandchildren without risking the loss also of their political and spiritual heritage. We want democracy to survive for all generations to come, not to become the insolvent phantom of tomorrow.

vi.

Down the long lane of the history yet to be written America knows that this world of ours, ever growing smaller, must avoid becoming a community of dreadful fear and hate, and be, instead, a proud confederation of mutual trust and respect.

Such a confederation must be one of equals. The weakest must come to the conference table with the same confidence as do we, protected as we are by our moral, economic, and military strength. That table, though scarred by many past frustrations, cannot be abandoned for the certain agony of the battlefield.

Disarmament, with mutual honor and confidence, is a continuing imperative. Together we must learn how to compose differences, not with arms, but with intellect and decent purpose. Because this need is so sharp and apparent I confess that I lay down my official responsibilities in this field with a definite sense of disappointment. As one who has witnessed the horror and the lingering sadness of war—as one who knows that another war could utterly destroy this civilization which has been so slowly and painfully built over thousands of years—I wish I

could say tonight that a lasting peace is in sight.

Happily, I can say that war has been avoided. Steady progress toward our ultimate goal has been made. But, so much remains to be done. As a private citizen, I shall never cease to do what little I can to help the world advance along that road.

VII.

So—in this my last good night to you as your President—I thank you for the many opportunities you have given me for public service in war and peace. I trust that in that service you find some things worthy; as for the rest of it, I know you will find ways to improve performance in the future.

You and I—my fellow citizens—need to be strong in our faith that all nations, under God, will reach the goal of peace with justice. May we be ever unswerving in devotion to principle, confident but humble with power, diligent in pursuit of the Nation's great goals.

To all the peoples of the world, I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing aspiration:

We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations, may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that those who have freedom will understand, also, its heavy responsibilities; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth, and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

422 ¶ The President's News Conference of January 18, 1961

THE PRESIDENT. Good morning. Please sit down.

I came this morning not with any particularly brilliant ideas about the future, but I did want the opportunity to say goodbye to people that I have been associated with now for 8 years, mostly I think on a friendly basis—[laughter]—and at least it certainly has always been interesting.

There is one man here who has attended every press conference that I have had, at home and abroad, and who has been of inestimable serv-

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inevitable fact is that these problems will only start getting better when we stop ignoring them.

The most dramatic proof of this in ^{our} recent history is energy. Once this country decided to meet the energy challenge, after a decade of avoiding it, we reduced our dependence on foreign oil by one-third in just two years.

The same promise holds for meeting other resource problems around the world -- water, food, minerals, farmlands, forests, overpopulation -- if we tackle them with courage and hope.

There are less than 20 years left in our 20th century. The time to look forward and create the world we want to have in the year 2000 is now. I believe the people of the world, acting together, can meet the test.

Now let me turn to the final subject I want to talk about tonight: human rights.

I have been talking about forces of destruction that mankind has developed, and how we might halt them. It is even more important that we look for the constructive forces that we have evolved over the ages, and hold fast to them.

Compassion for others -- desire to learn from history -- love of our children -- commitment to posterity -- a sense of justice: these are the resources of our survival.

All of our progress is based on a growing understanding of one fundamental principle -- the importance and value of every single human being.

This basic insight -- that for all our differences we share a common human dignity and worth -- this awareness far overrides differences of color, culture, or tongue.

Only by securing the rights of individuals can the human race use all its resources in the interests of its survival.

That is why the great imperative of our time and our world is the struggle for human rights.

Those who hunger for freedom, those who thirst for human dignity, those who suffer for the sake of justice are the patriots of this cause.

I believe with all my heart that America must always stand for human rights, at home and abroad. That is both our history and our destiny.

America did not invent human rights. In a very real sense, it is the other way round. Human rights invented America.

Ours was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded explicitly on an idea, the idea of human rights. The fundamental force that unites us is not kinship or place of origin or religious confession. The love of liberty is the common blood that flows in our American veins.

In our own history, we find ample proof of the power of the idea of human rights. [For] At the beginning, the ideals of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution stood in agonizing contrast to the realities of black slavery and the exclusion of women from political life. But with our path lighted by those ideals, led by men and women of courage and conscience, we made the long journey to a more just society, a society that comes much closer to our own vision.

I am proud of the fact that during my Presidency, America has sought to promote human rights around the world. Obviously, the impact of our efforts from place to place has varied with the influence of our country; but that should neither surprise nor discourage us. On the contrary, we should take pride in the fact that so many oppressed people look to us for inspiration and protection. We should take joy in the progress that has been made, however halting it may sometimes seem to be.

The struggle for human rights -- at home and abroad -- is far from over. We have no cause for self-righteousness or complacency. But we have every reason to persevere, both in our own country and beyond our borders.

4. Conclusion

Our Nation and our world have entered a time of transition. This uneasy era is likely to endure for the rest of this century. It will be a time of tensions within nations and between them -- of competition for resources -- of social, political and economic stresses and strains.

As we in this country move to deal with the stresses around us, we may grow impatient with our own ideals. We may be tempted by a kind of false hard-headedness. We may begin to think that the work of production is too important for us to get sidetracked by environmental concerns or by

I am a little concerned that this graph may go too directly at the new administration.

questions of fairness. [We may begin to believe that we can increase our own prosperity by diminishing that of others.] We may begin to assume that a concern for human rights is a sentimental indulgence in a dangerous world. We may begin to suppose that arms control is a favor to someone else, not an imperative of survival for everyone.

That kind of thinking may seem hard-headed. In practice it is merely [hard-hearted -- and] short-sighted. The truth is that by working for human rights, for the health of our planet, and for control of nuclear arms, we serve both our interests and our principles.

We are Americans, and our values and beliefs are not luxuries but necessities -- not the salt in our bread but the bread itself. Our common vision of a free and just society is our greatest source of cohesion at home and strength abroad -- greater by far than all our material blessings.

Jan. 8, 1981

CADDELL ALTERNATIVE FOR "PRESIDENCY" SECTION

In recent years, as our people have become more doubtful of the ability of the government to achieve a consensus ~~to govern~~, many have been increasingly drawn to single issue groups and special interest organizations to ensure that at least they will get their way -- increasingly without regard to other legitimate and competing demands or interests.

These single interest pressures make it much harder for the President and Congress to reach agreement on a balanced program for governing. They tend to force changes in the program which destroy its balance and turn it into a hodgepodge which is often indefensible or unsupportable as a whole.

The proliferation of narrow special interests has become an alarming factor in American political life. All of us are to some degree members of special interest groups. Yet

we are first and foremost Americans -- and the common national good must always be our greatest interest.

Unyielding, narrow special interests -- fueled by large warchests, led by impacable spokesmen, seeking to reward or punish based on one single issue -- today represent the greatest threat to the orderly functioning of our democratic and constitutional processes.

The concerns of every citizen and every group are important, and all deserve a hearing in our political system -- indeed, in that role they are a vital part of democracy. But the national interest is not the sum of all our single interests. The national interest requires the containment of single interests into a balanced program for governing. We must beware of any group that is unwilling to adjust its own interest to those of the nation at large.

We must again heed the challenge proclaimed by John

F. Kennedy twenty years ago. We must ask not what our country can do for us but ask what we can do for our country. We must ask: What is in the best interest of all America? -- not simply, What is in my best interest? This is the single great requirement for success in a diverse democratic nation.

To this end the President, regardless of party or political faith, guided by maximum understanding and involvement of the people is indispensable. For only he in our constitutional system is elected to represent all the people of America.

The challenges and potential dangers of the future will tax any President. He needs the understanding and support of us all.

Let us remember that while it is within our power to elect a President who will accept the responsibility of trying to solve our problems our ballots do not confer upon him a magic wand to make them all vanish.

In my own role as former President I intend to be constructive in my public comments, supportive of the new President's efforts, and resolved to give him the benefit of any doubt as he deals with the difficult issues we ourselves have asked him to tackle. I ask all Americans to join me in a similar commitment.

END CADDELL ALTERNATIVE