

4/12/80 [3]

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WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
memo	<p>Charles W. Duncan to the President. Re: Developments in the El Paso LNG Project (1 p.)</p> <p><i>opened per RAC NLC-126-21-13-1-4 12/17/13</i></p>	4/9/80	A

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RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 12356 governing access to national security information.
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1. BILL HORNBY, TOM WINSHIP, OTHER EDITORS, LADIES & GENTLEMEN:
2. { FOR THE PAST 2 DAYS, I HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT --
3. { WHOSE HISTORIC VISIT TO JERUSALEM ↯
4. { INITIATED THE PROCESS OF PEACEMAKING ↯
5. { THAT CREATED THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS.
6. { THROUGH HIS EFFORTS & THOSE OF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, ↯
WITH WHOM I WILL MEET NEXT WEEK, ↯
7. { ~~WE HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED ONE RESULTING MIRACLE:~~
8. { A TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL & EGYPT.
9. { ITS TERMS ARE BEING HONORED METICULOUSLY.
10. { NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATING ↯
11. { TO ENSURE PEACE & SECURITY FOR ISRAEL & HER NEIGHBORS, ↯
12. { AND FOR FULL AUTONOMY FOR THE INHABITANTS IN THE WEST BANK & GAZA.
13. { WE COME TO THESE CURRENT TALKS ↯
14. { ENCOURAGED THAT THE AGREEMENTS OF CAMP DAVID ALSO WILL BE FULLY HONORED.
15. { PRESIDENT SADAT & I TALKED OF MANY ISSUES,
16. { AND I WAS NOT SURPRISED TO FIND HIM SHARING MANY OF MY IDEAS & CONCERNS ↯
17. { ABOUT THE COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.

1. { I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY ↗
2. { SOME OF THE MOST URGENT IMPERATIVES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ↗
3. { WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS IN ONE SPECIFIC AREA OF THE WORLD.

4. { IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE TAKE A HARD, CLEAR LOOK --
5. { NOT AT SOME SIMPLE WORLD ↗
EITHER OF UNIVERSAL GOODWILL OR UNIVERSAL HOSTILITY --
6. { BUT THE COMPLEX, CHANGING, & SOMETIMES DANGEROUS WORLD THAT REALLY EXISTS.

7. IT IS NOT ONE WORLD, BUT MANY.
8. { IT IS NO LONGER A WORLD ↗
9. { STRUCTURED & CONTROLLED BY COMPETITION AMONG COLONIAL EMPIRES.
10. { IT IS A MORE COMPLICATED WORLD ↗
11. { WHERE NATIONAL, RELIGIOUS, & ETHNIC SELF-ASSERTION ↗
12. { IS FRAGMENTING OLD BOUNDARIES & ALIGNMENTS.
13. IT IS A WORLD OF CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES,
OF UNEQUAL WEALTH,
AND OF UNEVEN RESOURCES.
14. { IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH THE CAPACITY FOR DESTRUCTIVE VIOLENCE ↗
15. { IS AT ONCE ALARMINGLY DISPERSED TO EVERY TINY TERRORIST BAND --
16. { AND AWESOMELY CONCENTRATED IN THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE SUPERPOWERS.

1. { IT IS IN JUST SUCH A CHANGING WORLD --
2. { UNCERTAIN, SUSPICIOUS, SHIFTING, SEARCHING FOR BALANCE --
3. { THAT WE PURSUE PEACE & SECURITY, ↴
4. { FOR OURSELVES & FOR EVERY HUMAN BEING ON EARTH.

5. { WE HAVE SO MUCH YOUTHFUL VITALITY ↴
6. { THAT WE SOMETIMES FORGET WE ARE A MATURE NATION IN THE BEST SENSE.
7. { WE HAVE BEEN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC FOR TWO CENTURIES, ↴
8. { AND WE ARE THE STRONGEST NATION ON EARTH;
9. { BUT WE LIVE AMONG CHALLENGES WHICH ARE, EVERY DAY, ↴
10. { A TEST OF OUR MATURITY & SKILL.

11. { IN MANY LANGUAGES & OUT OF MANY UNFAMILIAR CULTURES, ↴
12. { OTHER PEOPLES CONSTANTLY ASK AMERICA ↴
13. { FOR A RESPONSE TO MYRIAD -- & OFTEN CONFLICTING -- CONCERNS.

1. { NATIONS ASK FOR LEADERSHIP --
2. { AT THE SAME TIME THEY DEMAND INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION.
3. { THEY ASK FOR AID --
4. { BUT REJECT INTERFERENCE.
5. { THEY ASK FOR UNDERSTANDING --
6. { YET OFTEN DECLINE TO UNDERSTAND US IN RETURN.
7. { SOME ASK FOR PROTECTION --
8. { BUT ARE WARY OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF ALLIANCE.
9. { OTHERS ASK FOR FIRMNESS & CERTAINTY --
10. { ~~BUT AT THE SAME TIME~~ ↗
11. { DEMAND THE FLEXIBILITY REQUIRED BY THE PACE OF CHANGE ↗
AND THE SUBTLETY OF EVENTS.
12. { THE WORLD ASKS, WITH IMPATIENCE, ↗
13. { FOR ALL THESE THINGS AT ONCE -- ↗
14. { AND ASKS FOR THEM TODAY, NOT TOMORROW.

1. { NOWHERE TODAY DO WE FACE THE CHALLENGES I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED ↴
2. { MORE DIRECTLY THAN IN IRAN.
3. { NO SINGLE SITUATION SO AGGRAVATES OUR PEOPLE,
SO TESTS OUR MATURITY,
SO TRIES OUR PATIENCE,
SO CHALLENGES OUR UNITY --
4. { AS DOES THE CONTINUED CAPTIVITY OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS ↴
IN THE TEHRAN EMBASSY.
5. { NO OTHER SINGLE EVENT ↴
6. { SEEMS SO CLEARLY TO MIRROR THE DISORDER OF OUR TIMES ↴
7. { AND THE COMPETING PRESSURES ON A GREAT & POWERFUL NATION.
8. { THIS CRISIS CALLS ON US TO ACT WITH A WISDOM & COURAGE ↴
9. { THAT WILL BOTH PRODUCE RESULTS & PRESERVE LIFE.
10. { I AM DEEPLY PROUD OF THE STEADY STRENGTH AMERICA HAS SHOWN ↴
11. { IN DEALING WITH IRRESPONSIBLE IRANIAN AUTHORITIES ↴
12. { WHO HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO ACT ↴
13. { OR UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THEIR COMMITMENTS.
14. { THE LEADERS OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT LACK THE COHESION & RESOLVE ↴
15. { TO BRING ORDER TO THEIR CHAOTIC LAND ↴
16. { AND TO DECIDE ON A BASIS FOR ENDING THEIR ILLEGAL DETENTION OF OUR HOSTAGES.

1. FOR LONG MONTHS, OURS HAS BEEN THE RESTRAINT OF STRENGTH --
DESPITE OUTRAGEOUS PROVOCATION.
2. { I DO NOT REGRET THAT RESTRAINT ✓
3. { WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO PROTECT AMERICAN LIVES ✓
4. { AND TO PERMIT IRANIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS & UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS ✓
TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS.
5. { BUT IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY --
6. { BECAUSE IRAN WOULD NOT ACT IN ACCORDANCE ✓
WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW & THEIR OWN INTERESTS --
7. { FOR US TO ACT AGAIN.
8. { THE STEPS I HAVE TAKEN THIS WEEK ✓
TO END DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS & IMPOSE SANCTIONS ✓
9. { ARE FIRM & SUBSTANTIVE, AND WE HOPE THEY WILL BE PERSUASIVE.
10. AMERICA WILL CONTINUE THE CAREFUL & CONSIDERED EXERCISE OF ITS POWER.
11. { WE WILL PURSUE EVERY -- AND I REPEAT -- EVERY LEGITIMATE USE OF THAT POWER ✓
12. { TO BRING OUR PEOPLE HOME -- SAFE & FREE.

- 1. BUT THE HARD, SAD REALITY ↗
- 2. IS THAT A SMALL NUMBER OF ZEALOTS ENGAGED IN A POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN IRAN ↗
- 3. ARE USING THE INNOCENT AMERICAN HOSTAGES FOR THEIR OWN ADVANCEMENT,
- 4. WITH SERIOUS ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL IRANIAN PEOPLE.
- 5. IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN ↗
- 6. AND OF THEIR POSSIBLE FUTURE AS A UNIFIED & PEACEFUL NATION LIVING IN FREEDOM,
- 7. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT RESOLVE THIS CRISIS.
- 8. EVERY DAY THAT THE CRISIS CONTINUES FURTHER ISOLATES IRAN.
- 9. ~~EVERY DAY THAT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY REMAINS A PRISON ↗~~
- 10. PUSHES IRAN ITSELF FURTHER INTO LAWLESSNESS, ↗
 DOWN & DOWN THE SPIRAL OF DISORDER.
- 11. WITH A RETURN OF RATIONALITY, INTERNATIONAL LAWLESSNESS NEED NOT BE IRAN'S FATE.
- 12. BANKRUPTCY -- POLITICAL AS WELL AS MORAL --
 NEED NOT BE ITS FUTURE.
- 13. IF INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDE IS A THREAT, ↗
- 14. THAT THREAT DOES NOT COME FROM THE UNITED STATES.

1. { THE CHALLENGE IN THAT AREA OF THE WORLD -- AS IN SOME OTHERS --
2. { COMES FROM THE INTERSECTION OF 2 HISTORIC TRENDS.
3. { ONE IS THE RISING DEMAND FOR DEVELOPMENT & SELF-DETERMINATION ↗
4. { WHICH IS FELT -- AND DEEPLY FELT -- THROUGHOUT WHAT WE CALL THE THIRD WORLD.
5. THE UNITED STATES RESPONDS WITH SYMPATHY TO THAT DEMAND.
6. { THE OTHER TREND IS SOVIET EXPANSIONISM -- ↗
7. { WHICH WE ARE DETERMINED TO OPPOSE.

8. { IN 1946, THE UNITED STATES STOOD FIRM ↗
9. { AGAINST SOVIET OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN IRAN, ↗
10. { AGAINST SOVIET-SPONSORED SUBVERSION IN GREECE, ↗
11. { AND AGAINST SOVIET DEMANDS ON TURKEY.

12. { HISTORICALLY, AMERICAN STRENGTH HAS BEEN USED ↗
13. { TO HELP THE COUNTRIES OF THE PERSIAN GULF AREA ↗
14. { PROTECT THEIR STABILITY & RETAIN THEIR SOVEREIGNTY.

15. { THE REALITY OF OUR WORLD TODAY IS THAT MOSCOW EXPLOITS UNREST ↗
16. { NOT TO ADDRESS THE DISCONTENTS BEHIND THAT UNREST,
17. { NOT TO OVERCOME THE INEQUALITIES THAT GIVE RISE TO THE UNREST, ...
18. { BUT TO EXPAND ITS DOMINION & TO SATISFY ITS IMPERIAL AMBITIONS.

1. IN AFGHANISTAN THE SOVIET UNION HAS REVEALED THE HYPOCRISY ↗
OF ITS COURTSHIP OF THE THIRD WORLD.
2. IT HAS SHOWN THAT IT WILL NOT BE DETERRED BY PRINCIPLE,
BY INTERNATIONAL LAW,
BY WORLD PUBLIC OPINION,
OR BY THE OPPOSITION
OF PATRIOTIC AFGHANIS.
3. { AND IT HAS MADE THIS KNOWN IN A REGION ↗
4. { WHICH IS AT ONCE POLITICALLY VOLATILE & ECONOMICALLY CRUCIAL.
5. { THE SUBJUGATION OF AFGHANISTAN ↗
6. { REPRESENTS THE FIRST DIRECT INTRUSION ↗
7. { OF SOVIET FORCES BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ↗
SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

1. THE EXPLOSIVENESS OF THE REGION, ↴
2. ITS GREAT NATURAL WEALTH, ↴
3. AND THE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO USE THE ARMED FORCE ↴
DEVELOPED DURING THE KREMLIN'S ENORMOUS MILITARY BUILDUP ↴
OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS -- ↴
4. ARE WHAT MAKE THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN ↴
SO UNSETTLING TO THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE.
5. IN SOUTHWEST ASIA, UNSTABLE & UNCONTROLLABLE FORCES ARE AT WORK.
6. { THE SOVIETS HAVE, WITH THEIR INVASION, ↴
7. { DISTURBED FORCES OF HISTORIC, RELIGIOUS, ↴
ECONOMIC & ETHNIC CONFLICT ↴
THAT ARE BEYOND THEIR CONTROL, ...
8. { AND THAT COULD LEAD TO MUCH MORE SERIOUS DIRECT CONFRONTATION, ↴
9. { WITH OTHER NATIONS HAVING VITAL INTERESTS IN THE REGION.

1. { NOR CAN THE WORLD TURN AWAY FROM THE HARSH TRUTH ↗
2. { THAT THE OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN IS MARKED BY APPALLING INHUMANITY.
3. THOUSANDS OF AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS ↗
ARE DYING EVERY WEEK -- SOME IN BRUTAL MASS EXECUTIONS.
4. WHOLE VILLAGES ARE BEING WIPED OUT.
5. MORE THAN 800,000 PEOPLE HAVE FLED THE COUNTRY.
6. { TERROR TACTICS, INCLUDING THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, ↗
7. { ARE THE TRADEMARK OF THIS RUTHLESS ATTEMPT TO CRUSH MOSLEM RESISTANCE ↗
8. { AND TO INSTALL A SOVIET FORM OF PEACE --

~~THE PEACE OF BRUTAL ARMED SUPPRESSION.~~

9. { EARLIER THIS YEAR, 103 OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ↗
10. { JOINED US IN CONDEMNING THE SOVIET INVASION ↗
11. { AND DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL ↗
OF THE INVADING FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN.
12. SOVIET CITIZENS HAVE NEVER BEEN INFORMED OF THIS ACTION.

1. THIS UNPRECEDENTED CONDEMNATION WAS SIGNIFICANT, BUT --
2. BECAUSE OF THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE, ↯
3. BECAUSE OF THE REGION'S IMPORTANCE TO WESTERN SECURITY, ↯
4. BECAUSE OF THE SAVAGERY OF THE SOVIET ASSAULT, ↯
5. AND BECAUSE OF THE USE OF SOVIET TROOPS DIRECTLY IN SUCH A CONFLICT -- ↯
6. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE CONTINUE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE INVASION ↯
7. WITH CALM & UNMISTAKABLE RESOLUTION.

8. THE MEASURES I HAVE ORDERED ARE DESIGNED TO ENHANCE PEACE.
9. THEY INCLUDE THE EMBARGO ON FURTHER GRAIN SALES,
TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE,
LIMITATIONS ON FISHING IN OUR WATERS,
STRENGTHENING OF OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN,
INTENSIFICATION OF OUR DEVELOPMENT OF RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES ↯
AND OUR CAPACITY TO DEPLOY & SUPPORT THEM,
AND OUR OFFER TO ASSIST STATES IN THE REGION ↯
TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.
10. THESE ARE NECESSARY STEPS IN A COURSE ON WHICH WE MUST & WILL PERSIST.

1. WE CANNOT KNOW WITH CERTAINTY ↗
2. THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE SOVIET MOVE INTO AFGHANISTAN --
3. WHETHER AFGHANISTAN IS THE PURPOSE OR THE PRELUDE.
4. REGARDLESS OF ITS MOTIVES, ↗
5. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIET INVASION ↗
6. POSES AN INCREASED THREAT TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS IN THE REGION ↗
7. AND TO THE WORLD'S ACCESS TO VITAL RESOURCES & SEA LANES.
8. BUT OUR INTEREST IN PEACE & STABILITY IN THE REGION ↗
GOES FAR BEYOND ECONOMICS.
9. WE CANNOT WISH AWAY THE FACT THAT CONFLICT & TENSION IN THE REGION ↗
COULD ENDANGER THE BROADER PEACE.
10. AND IF THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN ↗
11. DOES INDEED FORESHADOW A PATTERN OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR FOR THE NEXT DECADE,
12. THEN AMERICANS MUST ACCEPT THE TRUTH ↗
13. THAT WE ARE IN FOR CHALLENGING & DIFFICULT TIMES.

1. { IN THIS EVER MORE INTERDEPENDENT WORLD,
2. { TO ASSUME THAT AGGRESSION NEED BE MET ONLY WHEN IT IS AT ONE'S OWN DOORSTEP, ↘
3. { IS TO TEMPT NEW ADVENTURES OR TO RISK NEW MISCALCULATIONS.

4. { OUR COURSE IS CLEAR --
5. { BY RESPONDING FIRMLY ↘

WE SEEK TO HALT AGGRESSION WHERE IT TAKES PLACE

AND TO DETER IT ELSEWHERE.

6. LET ME UNDERLINE FOR YOU THIS MOST VITAL POINT IN OUR POLICY.
7. AMERICA & AMERICANS ARE NOT MOTIVATED BY RELENTLESS HOSTILITY --
BY A DESIRE FOR INDISCRIMINATE CONFRONTATION ↘

OR A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR.

8. { BUT FOR AMERICA SIMPLY TO ACCEPT ↘
9. { SOVIET OCCUPATION & DOMINATION OF AFGHANISTAN AS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT ↘
10. { WOULD BE A CYNICAL SIGNAL TO THE WORLD ↘
11. { THAT COULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER AGGRESSION,

FURTHER TENSION,

AND FURTHER DANGER TO PEACE.

12. { IT IS AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY TO REGISTER, IN CONCRETE TERMS, ↘
13. { OUR CONDEMNATION OF THE SOVIET INVASION -- ↘

FOR AS LONG AS THAT INVASION CONTINUES.

1. IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT IN ANY WAY CONDONE SOVIET AGGRESSION.
2. WE MUST RECALL THE EXPERIENCE OF 1936 -- THE YEAR OF THE BERLIN OLYMPIC GAMES:
3. { THEY WERE USED TO INFLATE THE PRESTIGE OF THE AMBITIOUS DICTATOR ADOLF HITLER ↘
4. { TO SHOW GERMANY'S TOTALITARIAN STRENGTH TO THE WORLD IN THE SPORTS STADIUM ↘
5. { AS IT WAS BEING USED TO COW THE WORLD ON THE BANKS OF THE RHINE.
6. THE PARALLEL WITH THE SITE & TIMING OF THE 1980 OLYMPICS IS STRIKING.
7. { LET ME CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO ONE COMPELLING SIMILARITY ↘
8. { BETWEEN THE NAZI VIEW OF THE 1936 OLYMPICS AS A PROPAGANDA VICTORY ↘
9. { AND THE OFFICIAL SOVIET VIEW OF THE 1980 GAMES.
10. ~~HERE IS A PASSAGE FROM THIS YEAR'S EDITION ↘~~
OF THE "HANDBOOK FOR PARTY MILITANTS" ↘
11. ISSUED IN MOSCOW FOR SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVISTS:

1. "THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN EAST & WEST ↴
 2. IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE SELECTION OF THE CITIES ↴
 3. WHERE THE OLYMPIC GAMES TAKE PLACE.
 4. "THE DECISION TO AWARD THE HONOR OF HOLDING THE OLYMPIC GAMES ↴
 5. TO THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD'S FIRST SOCIALIST STATE ↴
 6. IS CONVINCING TESTIMONY OF THE GENERAL RECOGNITION ↴
 7. OF THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE & CORRECTNESS ↴
 8. OF THE FOREIGN POLICY COURSE OF OUR COUNTRY, ↴
 9. AND OF THE ENORMOUS SERVICES OF THE SOVIET UNION ↴
- IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE."

1. A FEW WEEKS AGO I MET WITH AMERICAN ATHLETES IN THE WHITE HOUSE.
2. { I EXPLAINED THE SOVIET STAKE IN THE OLYMPICS,
3. { AND THE MORAL & POLITICAL REASONS WHY THE UNITED STATES ↗
WILL NOT SEND A TEAM TO THE MOSCOW GAMES.
4. { I UNDERSTAND THE SACRIFICE I HAVE ASKED THESE MEN & WOMEN TO MAKE ↗
5. { FOR THE SAKE OF THE SECURITY OF THEIR COUNTRY & THEIR WORLD.
6. THE SOVIET LEADERS CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND IT.
7. { FOR OUR NOT SENDING A TEAM TO MOSCOW ↗
8. { IS FAR MORE THAN A SYMBOLIC GESTURE.
9. { IT IS A DIRECT REPUDIATION --
10. { IN THE PHRASE OF THEIR PROPAGANDA HANDBOOK --
11. { OF THE "CORRECTNESS" OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY.
12. UNDER OLYMPIC PRINCIPLES, ATHLETES REPRESENT THEIR NATIONS.
13. { THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT WISH TO BE REPRESENTED ↗
14. { IN A HOST COUNTRY THAT IS INVADING & SUBJUGATING ANOTHER NATION.
15. { IF LEGAL ACTIONS ARE NECESSARY ↗
16. { TO ENFORCE THE DECISION NOT TO SEND A TEAM TO MOSCOW,

I WILL TAKE THEM.

1. { ALL OF THESE DECISIONS DO REQUIRE SACRIFICE, z
2. { AND I HAVE ACTED TO ASSURE THAT THE BURDENS ARE SHARED AS FAIRLY AS POSSIBLE.
3. { THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE DEMONSTRATED z
4. { THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO BEAR THEIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN --
5. { BUT IT IS VITAL THAT THE BURDEN OF SACRIFICE z
6. { ALSO BE SHARED AMONG OUR ALLIES & OTHER NATIONS.
7. { NEITHER WE NOR OUR ALLIES z
8. { WANT TO DESTROY THE FRAMEWORK OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS z
9. { THAT HAS YIELDED CONCRETE BENEFITS FOR SO MANY PEOPLE.
10. { BUT, ULTIMATELY, IF WE CONTINUE TO SEEK THE BENEFIT OF DETENTE z
11. { WHILE IGNORING THE NECESSITY FOR DETERRENCE --
12. { WE WOULD LOSE THE ADVANTAGES OF BOTH.

1. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT OUR INTENTIONS BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR.
2. { THE MEASURES WE HAVE TAKEN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE INVASION, ✓
3. { WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT UNTIL THERE IS TOTAL WITHDRAWAL ✓
OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN.
4. { THEN, AND ONLY THEN,
5. { WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS ✓
6. { IN A GUARANTEE OF TRUE NEUTRALITY & NON-INTERFERENCE ✓
IN AFGHANISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.
7. { WE SUPPORT THE RESTORATION OF A NEUTRAL, NON-ALIGNED AFGHANISTAN, ✓
8. { ~~WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO THE WISHES OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE.~~
9. { ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE TALKED ABOUT WITHDRAWING TROOPS,
10. { THEY HAVE ACTUALLY SHOWN NO INTEREST IN SUCH PROPOSALS.
11. { THERE ARE NO SIGNS AT THIS TIME OF A SOVIET WITHDRAWAL;
12. { IN FACT THEIR MILITARY BUILD-UP CONTINUES.
13. { WE MUST BE PREPARED TO HOLD TO OUR COURSE,
14. { TO IMPOSE COSTS ON AGGRESSION FOR AS LONG AS NECESSARY.

1. WE THUS FACE WHAT COULD BE A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF STRAIN
IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.
2. TO ENHANCE STABILITY AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD,
3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A STABLE MILITARY BALANCE --
4. BOTH THROUGH OUR OWN STEADY DEFENSE MODERNIZATION,
5. AND THROUGH NEGOTIATED ARMS LIMITS THAT ARE EQUITABLE & VERIFIABLE.
6. THIS OBJECTIVE -- A STABLE BALANCE --
7. IS ADVANCED BY THE "SALT II" TREATY.
8. IN A PERIOD OF HEIGHTENED TENSIONS,
9. IT IS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE RELIABLE CONSTRAINTS
ON THE COMPETITION IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS.
10. "SALT" IS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY.
11. I REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY,
12. AND THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO ABIDE BY ITS OBLIGATION
UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW
13. TO TAKE NO ACTION INCONSISTENT WITH ITS INTENT OR PURPOSE,
14. SO LONG AS THE SOVIETS ACT WITH SIMILAR RESTRAINT.

1. THE COURSE WE PURSUE IN THIS TURBULENT WORLD IS STEADY, FIRM, AND FAIR.

2. { IT IS THE COURSE OF A STRONG, STABLE NATION, ↗
PRACTICING MATURE RESTRAINT BUT INSISTING ON JUSTICE --

3. { THE POLICY WE PURSUE IN IRAN.

4. { IT IS THE COURSE OF A RESOLUTE NATION, ↗
HOPEFUL OF GOOD RELATIONS BUT DETERMINED TO DETER AGGRESSION --

5. { THE COURSE WE PURSUE IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

6. { IT IS THE COURSE OF THE PEACEMAKER --

7. { THE SAME ROLE TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES ↗
IS COMMITTED IN THE MIDDLE EAST & THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

8. AND IT IS THE COURSE OF AN UNDERSTANDING NATION,
SENSITIVE TO THE TIDES OF CHANGE ↗
AND TO THE RIGHTS & NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE --

9. { AMERICA'S RIGHTFUL APPROACH TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CLIMATE ↗

10. { IN WHICH A NEW WORLD IS NOW COMING TO LIFE.

1. OUR MISSION IS TO PROMOTE ORDER -- NOT TO ENFORCE OUR WILL;
2. TO PROTECT OUR CITIZENS & OUR NATIONAL HONOR --
NOT TO HARM OR DISHONOR OTHERS;
3. TO COMPEL RESTRAINT -- NOT TO PROVOKE CONFRONTATION;
4. TO SUPPORT THE WEAK -- NOT TO DOMINATE THEM;
5. AND TO ASSURE THAT THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NEW WORLD
ARE LAID UPON A STABLE SUPERPOWER BALANCE --
NOT BUILT ON SAND.

6. IT IS A WORTHY MISSION FOR A GREAT NATION,
FOR A CARING PEOPLE,
AND FOR LOYAL FRIENDS.

7. { IT IS THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
8. { AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL FULFILL THIS MISSION.

#

SPEECH - THURSDAY
11:03 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 8, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Al McDonald
Rick Hertzberg
Bob Rackleff

Subject: Presidential Speech:
Dedication of Frances
Perkins Building

Scheduled Delivery:
Thur, April 10, 11 AM

The Presidential Speech for this occasion is attached.

Clearances

Secretary Marshall
Landon Butler
Sarah Weddington
Esther Peterson
David Rubenstein

Electrostatic Copy Made
for Preservation Purposes

[Salutations will be updated
no later than 9 AM Thursday
by Landon Butler.]

Bob Rackleff
Draft A-1; 4/8/80
Scheduled Delivery:
Thurs, 4/10/80, 11:00 AM

*Susan
ok
J*

Remarks at Dedication of Frances Perkins Building

Thank you, Ray, for your introduction; Susanna [daughter]
and Tomlin [grandson] Coggeshall; distinguished guests:

Nobody deserves this ceremony and this honor more than
Frances Perkins. We can be proud to name the Department of
Labor Building after one of our nation's most remarkable
public servants and ^{a strong} advocates of social and economic justice.

We should also remember that this dedication is only
a token of our enormous debt to her on the 100th anniversary
of her birth.

In her life, Frances Perkins saw our nation transformed
from official indifference to one mobilized to expand the
rights of workers, the well-being of the poor and elderly,
individual human rights, and world peace. She was a witness

to momentous change, and she was a prime agent of that change.

She helped carry out a remarkable revolution. It did not abolish our institutions or way of government. Instead, she noted, it was a revolution of our habits -- our habits of thought and our habits of acting.

Many of us know the details of her life: her work with Jane Addams and the settlement houses; the Triangle fire; her central role in the New Deal; the first woman ever to serve in the Cabinet; and the longest tenure of any Secretary of Labor before or since.

In those years, she was "Madam Secretary", and the whole country knew her by that title. She once earned the compliment that she "is the best man in the Cabinet", and savored the irony of that compliment.

Few people have touched our lives more directly. The

social programs we take for granted now ^{have come from} ~~were~~ her struggles and her achievements.

She called the Social Security Act "the measure nearest to my heart". She was its chief architect and advocate.

Social Security, the minimum wage, overtime pay, unemployment insurance, the Works Progress Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corp^(S), the first Federal requirements on workplace safety and job discrimination -- these were only a few of her ^{accomplishments} ~~achievements~~.

She was intensely devoted to the New Deal. Its idea, she said, "was that all the political and practical forces of the community should and could be directed to making life better for ordinary people". She knew how to get that done, and she did ~~get it done~~.

She firmly believed in democracy and once said that the

way to run the country "is to let the people move and follow their own good sense...." The people did not let her down. Her ideas, once thought radical, have become part of our social fabric. They have become our ideas.

She did not demand reforms overnight, but understood the ebb and flow of history in which justice sometimes advances slowly. She took to heart Franklin Roosevelt's conviction that "the trend of civilization itself is forever upward...a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend".

Finally, in her last years, the early 1960's, she witnessed another upwelling of the American conscience -- the civil rights movement and the beginnings of the Great Society. Those efforts and our efforts today vindicate her optimism that, despite the peaks and valleys, we are proceeding upward.

Underlying the good works of Frances Perkins was a deeply religious spirit. She believed it was our obligation to God to seek social and economic justice. She worked with people of all faiths to carry out that obligation.

In recent years, it has been fashionable to disavow the New Deal and Great Society as out of date. Some problems have changed, certainly, and we must constantly search for new approaches.

But let none of us forget what the New Deal accomplished -- that it transformed the face and heart of America -- that its basic tenet of an active government is just as valid today -- and that our future is still full of possibilities.

I grew up in a region that was dramatically affected by the New Deal. I was 14 years old before we had TVA and REA. ~~and the many others.~~ *programs changed our lives* But I saw those programs and others like Social Security and housing and public works give new hope and a new life to millions.

In later years, I saw civil rights legislation and Great Society programs further transform life in the South.

This is a rich legacy of accomplishment, and an obligation to continue the work begun five decades ago.

I am proud to be among the Presidents who have taken this obligation seriously, and I reaffirm my commitment to the social and economic justice and the idealism to which Frances Perkins devoted her life.

Let us remember her for her lifetime of service. But let us also remember her by carrying out the ambitious and painstaking work she set out for us to accomplish. That would indeed be the highest form of gratitude we can bestow.

#

NOTE: In case you are tempted to plug the Equal Rights Amendment, you should know that Perkins opposed it from the 1920's on. As many women trade unionists, she feared its impact on protective legislation. A detailed discussion of this is on pages 457-459 of George Martin's Madam Secretary.

1. THANK YOU, RAY, FOR YOUR INTRODUCTION; ✓
SUSANNA & TOMLIN COGGESHALL; DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:
2. NOBODY DESERVES THIS CEREMONY & THIS HONOR MORE THAN FRANCES PERKINS.
3. { WE CAN BE PROUD TO NAME THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR BUILDING ✓
4. { AFTER ONE OF OUR NATION'S MOST REMARKABLE PUBLIC SERVANTS ✓
& A STRONG ADVOCATE OF SOCIAL & ECONOMIC JUSTICE. /
5. { WE SHOULD ALSO REMEMBER ✓
6. { THAT THIS DEDICATION IS ONLY A TOKEN OF OUR ENORMOUS DEBT TO HER ✓
7. { ON THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF HER BIRTH.
8. { IN HER LIFE, FRANCES PERKINS SAW OUR NATION TRANSFORMED ✓
FROM OFFICIAL INDIFFERENCE ✓
9. { TO ONE MOBILIZED TO EXPAND-THE-RIGHTS-OF-WORKERS, ✓
THE WELL-BEING OF THE POOR & ELDERLY, ✓
INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS, AND WORLD PEACE. //
10. { SHE WAS A WITNESS TO MOMENTOUS CHANGE,
11. { AND SHE WAS A PRIME AGENT OF THAT CHANGE. /

1. SHE HELPED CARRY OUT A REMARKABLE REVOLUTION,
2. IT DID NOT ABOLISH OUR INSTITUTIONS OR WAY OF GOVERNMENT.
3. { INSTEAD, SHE NOTED, IT WAS A REVOLUTION OF OUR HABITS -- z
4. { OUR HABITS OF THOUGHT & OUR HABITS OF ACTING. //

5. { MANY OF US KNOW THE DETAILS OF HER LIFE:
6. { HER WORK WITH JANE ADDAMS & THE SETTLEMENT HOUSES; z
7. { THE TRIANGLE FIRE; z
8. { HER CENTRAL ROLE IN THE "NEW DEAL"; z
9. { THE FIRST WOMAN EVER TO SERVE IN THE CABINET; z
10. { AND THE LONGEST TENURE OF ANY SECRETARY OF LABOR BEFORE OR SINCE. /

11. { IN THOSE YEARS, SHE WAS "MADAM SECRETARY", z
12. { AND THE WHOLE COUNTRY KNEW HER BY THAT TITLE.
13. { SHE ONCE EARNED THE COMPLIMENT z
14. { THAT SHE "IS THE BEST MAN IN THE CABINET",
15. { AND SAVORED THE IRONY OF THAT COMPLIMENT. //

1. FEW PEOPLE HAVE TOUCHED OUR LIVES MORE DIRECTLY.
2. { THE SOCIAL PROGRAMS WE TAKE FOR GRANTED NOW ↗
3. { HAVE COME FROM HER STRUGGLES & HER ACHIEVEMENTS.
4. SHE CALLED THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT "THE MEASURE NEAREST TO MY HEART".
5. SHE WAS ITS CHIEF ARCHITECT & ADVOCATE. /
6. { SOCIAL SECURITY, ... THE MINIMUM WAGE, ... OVERTIME PAY, ... ↗
 UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, ... THE WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION, ... ↗
 THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS, ... ↗
 THE FIRST FEDEARL REQUIREMENTS ON WORKPLACE SAFETY & JOB DISCRIMINATION -- ↗
7. { THESE WERE ONLY A FEW OF HER ACCOMPLISHMENTS. //
8. SHE WAS INTENSELY DEVOTED TO THE "NEW DEAL".
9. { ITS IDEA, SHE SAID, ↗
10. { "WAS THAT ALL THE POLITICAL & PRACTICAL FORCES OF THE COMMUNITY ↗
11. { SHOULD & COULD BE DIRECTED TO MAKING LIFE BETTER FOR ORDINARY PEOPLE."
12. { SHE KNEW HOW TO GET THAT DONE, ↗
13. { AND SHE DID IT. //

1. { SHE FIRMLY BELIEVED IN DEMOCRACY ↗
2. { AND ONCE SAID THAT THE WAY TO RUN THE COUNTRY ↗
3. { "IS TO LET THE PEOPLE MOVE & FOLLOW THEIR OWN GOOD SENSE. . . ."
4. THE PEOPLE DID NOT LET HER DOWN.
5. { HER IDEAS, -- ONCE THOUGHT RADICAL -- ↗
6. { HAVE BECOME PART OF OUR SOCIAL FABRIC.
7. THEY HAVE BECOME OUR IDEAS. //

8. { SHE DID NOT DEMAND REFORMS OVERNIGHT,
9. { BUT UNDERSTOOD THE EBB & FLOW OF HISTORY ↗
10. { IN WHICH JUSTICE SOMETIMES ADVANCES SLOWLY.
11. { SHE TOOK TO HEART FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S CONVICTION ↗
12. { THAT "THE TREND OF CIVILIZATION ITSELF IS FOREVER UPWARD . . .
13. { "A LINE DRAWN THROUGH THE MIDDLE OF THE PEAKS & VALLEYS OF THE CENTURIES ↗
ALWAYS HAS AN UPWARD TREND." /

1. { FINALLY, IN HER LAST YEARS -- THE EARLY 1960s -- } ✓
2. { SHE WITNESSED ANOTHER UPWELLING OF THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE -- } ✓
3. { THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT & THE BEGINNINGS OF THE "GREAT SOCIETY". } ✓
4. { THOSE EFFORTS & OUR EFFORTS TODAY } ✓
5. { VINDICATE HER OPTIMISM THAT, DESPITE THE PEAKS & VALLEYS, } ✓
WE ARE PROCEEDING UPWARD. /
6. { UNDERLYING THE GOOD WORKS OF FRANCES PERKINS } ✓
7. { WAS A DEEPLY RELIGIOUS SPIRIT. } ✓
8. { SHE BELIEVED IT WAS OUR OBLIGATION TO GOD } ✓
9. { TO SEEK SOCIAL & ECONOMIC JUSTICE. } ✓
10. SHE WORKED WITH PEOPLE OF ALL FAITHS TO CARRY OUT THAT OBLIGATION. //
11. { IN RECENT YEARS, IT HAS BEEN FASHIONABLE } ✓
12. { TO DISAVOW THE "NEW DEAL" & "GREAT SOCIETY" AS OUT-OF-DATE. } ✓
13. { SOME PROBLEMS HAVE CHANGED, CERTAINLY, } ✓
14. { AND WE MUST CONSTANTLY SEARCH FOR NEW APPROACHES. } ✓

1. { THIS IS A RICH LEGACY OF ACCOMPLISHMENT,
2. { AND AN OBLIGATION TO CONTINUE THE WORK BEGUN 5 DECADES AGO.
3. { I AM PROUD TO BE AMONG THE PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE TAKEN THIS OBLIGATION SERIOUSLY,
4. { AND I REAFFIRM MY COMMITMENT ↴
 TO THE SOCIAL & ECONOMIC JUSTICE & THE IDEALISM ↴
 TO WHICH FRANCES PERKINS DEVOTED HER LIFE.
5. LET US REMEMBER HER FOR HER LIFETIME OF SERVICE.
6. { BUT LET US ALSO REMEMBER HER ↴
7. { BY CARRYING OUT THE AMBITIOUS & PAINSTAKING WORK ↴
8. { SHE SET OUT FOR US TO ACCOMPLISH.
9. THAT WOULD INDEED BE THE HIGHEST FORM OF GRATITUDE WE CAN BESTOW.

#

*SCHED
Buz, Kis, Ken*

1. BILL HORNBY, TOM WINSHIP, OTHER EDITORS, LADIES & GENTLEMEN:

2. FOR THE PAST 2 DAYS, I HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH PRESIDENT SADAT OF EGYPT --

3. WHOSE HISTORIC VISIT TO JERUSALEM ↴

4. INITIATED THE PROCESS OF PEACEMAKING ↴

5. THAT CREATED THE CAMP DAVID ACCORDS. /

6. THROUGH HIS EFFORTS & THOSE OF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, ↴

WITH WHOM I WILL MEET NEXT WEEK, ↴

7. WE HAVE ALREADY ACHIEVED ONE RESULTING MIRACLE:

8. A TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN ISRAEL & EGYPT.

9. ITS TERMS ARE BEING HONORED METICULOUSLY. /

10. NOW WE ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATING ↴

11. TO ENSURE PEACE & SECURITY FOR ISRAEL & HER NEIGHBORS, ↴

12. AND FOR FULL AUTONOMY FOR THE INHABITANTS IN THE WEST BANK & GAZA.

13. WE COME TO THESE CURRENT TALKS ↴

14. ENCOURAGED THAT THE AGREEMENTS OF CAMP DAVID ALSO WILL BE FULLY HONORED. //

15. PRESIDENT SADAT & I TALKED OF MANY ISSUES,

16. AND I WAS NOT SURPRISED TO FIND HIM SHARING MANY OF MY IDEAS & CONCERNS, ↴

17. ABOUT THE COURSE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS.

1. { I WANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU TODAY ↗
2. { SOME OF THE MOST URGENT IMPERATIVES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY ↗
3. { WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS IN ONE SPECIFIC AREA OF THE WORLD. //
4. { IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE TAKE A HARD, CLEAR LOOK --
5. { NOT AT SOME SIMPLE WORLD ↗
EITHER OF UNIVERSAL GOODWILL OR UNIVERSAL HOSTILITY, --
6. { BUT THE COMPLEX, CHANGING, & SOMETIMES DANGEROUS WORLD THAT REALLY EXISTS. /
7. IT IS NOT ONE WORLD, BUT MANY.
8. { IT IS NO LONGER A WORLD ↗
9. { STRUCTURED & CONTROLLED BY COMPETITION AMONG COLONIAL EMPIRES. /
10. { IT IS A MORE COMPLICATED WORLD ↗
11. { WHERE NATIONAL, RELIGIOUS, & ETHNIC SELF-ASSERTION ↗
12. { IS FRAGMENTING OLD BOUNDARIES & ALIGNMENTS. /
13. IT IS A WORLD OF CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES,
OF UNEQUAL WEALTH,
AND OF UNEVEN RESOURCES. /
14. { IT IS A WORLD IN WHICH THE CAPACITY FOR DESTRUCTIVE VIOLENCE ↗
15. { IS AT ONCE ALARMINGLY DISPERSED TO EVERY TINY TERRORIST BAND --
16. { AND AWESOMELY CONCENTRATED IN THE NUCLEAR ARSENALS OF THE SUPERPOWERS. /

1. { IT IS IN JUST SUCH A CHANGING WORLD --
2. { UNCERTAIN, SUSPICIOUS, SHIFTING, SEARCHING FOR BALANCE --
3. { THAT WE PURSUE PEACE & SECURITY ✓
4. { FOR OURSELVES & FOR EVERY HUMAN BEING ON EARTH. //

5. { WE HAVE SO MUCH YOUTHFUL VITALITY ✓
6. { THAT WE SOMETIMES FORGET WE ARE A MATURE NATION IN THE BEST SENSE.
7. { WE HAVE BEEN A DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC FOR TWO CENTURIES ✓
8. { AND WE ARE THE STRONGEST NATION ON EARTH;
9. { BUT WE LIVE AMONG CHALLENGES WHICH ARE, EVERY DAY, ✓
10. { A TEST OF OUR MATURITY & SKILL. /

11. { IN MANY LANGUAGES & OUT OF MANY UNFAMILIAR CULTURES ✓
12. { OTHER PEOPLES CONSTANTLY ASK AMERICA ✓
13. { FOR A RESPONSE TO MYRIAD -- & OFTEN CONFLICTING -- CONCERNS. /

1. { NATIONS ASK FOR LEADERSHIP --
2. { AT THE SAME TIME THEY DEMAND INDEPENDENCE OF ACTION. /
3. { THEY ASK FOR AID --
4. { BUT REJECT INTERFERENCE. /
5. { THEY ASK FOR UNDERSTANDING --
6. { YET OFTEN DECLINE TO UNDERSTAND US IN RETURN. /
7. { SOME ASK FOR PROTECTION --
8. { BUT ARE WARY OF THE OBLIGATIONS OF ALLIANCE. /
9. { OTHERS ASK FOR FIRMNESS & CERTAINTY --
10. { BUT AT THE SAME TIME ↴
11. { DEMAND THE FLEXIBILITY REQUIRED BY THE PACE OF CHANGE ↴
AND THE SUBTLETY OF EVENTS. //
12. { THE WORLD ASKS, WITH IMPATIENCE, ↴
13. { FOR ALL THESE THINGS AT ONCE -- ↴
14. { AND ASKS FOR THEM TODAY, NOT TOMORROW. //

1. { NOWHERE TODAY DO WE FACE THE CHALLENGES I HAVE JUST DESCRIBED ↴
2. { MORE DIRECTLY THAN IN IRAN.

3. { NO SINGLE SITUATION SO AGGRAVATES OUR PEOPLE,
SO TESTS OUR MATURITY,
SO TRIES OUR PATIENCE,
SO CHALLENGES OUR UNITY --

4. { AS DOES THE CONTINUED CAPTIVITY OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS ↴
IN THE TEHRAN EMBASSY. /

5. { NO OTHER SINGLE EVENT ↴
6. { SEEMS SO CLEARLY TO MIRROR THE DISORDER OF OUR TIMES. ↴
7. { AND THE COMPETING PRESSURES ON A GREAT & POWERFUL NATION. /
8. { THIS CRISIS CALLS ON US TO ACT WITH A WISDOM & COURAGE ↴
9. { THAT WILL BOTH PRODUCE RESULTS & PRESERVE LIFE. /

THIS DISREGARD FOR INT. LAW IS A SPECIAL THREAT TO NATIONS WITHOUT ECON OR MIL POWER

10. { I AM DEEPLY PROUD OF THE STEADY STRENGTH AMERICA HAS SHOWN ↴
11. { IN DEALING WITH IRRESPONSIBLE IRANIAN AUTHORITIES ↴
12. { WHO HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO ACT ↴
13. { OR UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THEIR COMMITMENTS. /

14. { THE LEADERS OF THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT LACK THE COHESION & RESOLVE ↴
15. { TO BRING ORDER TO THEIR CHAOTIC LAND ↴
16. { AND TO DECIDE ON A BASIS FOR ENDING THEIR ILLEGAL DETENTION OF OUR HOSTAGES. //

1. FOR LONG MONTHS, OURS HAS BEEN THE RESTRAINT OF STRENGTH --
DESPITE OUTRAGEOUS PROVOCATION.
2. { I DO NOT REGRET THAT RESTRAINT ↴
3. { WHICH WAS DESIGNED TO PROTECT AMERICAN LIVES ↴
4. { AND TO PERMIT IRANIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS & UNITED NATIONS OFFICIALS ↴
AND OTHER INTERMEDIARIES TO WORK WITH US -- TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS.
5. { BUT IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY --
6. { BECAUSE IRAN WOULD NOT ACT IN ACCORDANCE ↴
WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW & THEIR OWN INTERESTS --
7. { FOR US TO ACT AGAIN.
8. { THE STEPS I HAVE TAKEN THIS WEEK ↴
TO END DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS & IMPOSE SANCTIONS ↴
9. { ARE FIRM & SUBSTANTIVE, AND WE HOPE THEY WILL BE PERSUASIVE. /
10. AMERICA WILL CONTINUE THE CAREFUL & CONSIDERED EXERCISE OF ITS POWER.
11. { WE WILL PURSUE EVERY -- AND I REPEAT -- EVERY LEGITIMATE USE OF THAT POWER ↴
12. { TO BRING OUR PEOPLE HOME -- SAFE & FREE. /

1. BUT THE HARD, SAD REALITY ↗
2. IS THAT A SMALL NUMBER OF ZEALOTS ENGAGED IN A POWER STRUGGLE WITHIN IRAN ↗
3. ARE USING THE INNOCENT AMERICAN HOSTAGES FOR THEIR OWN ADVANCEMENT,
4. WITH SERIOUS ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR ALL IRANIAN PEOPLE.
5. { IN THE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAN ↗
6. { AND OF THEIR POSSIBLE FUTURE AS A UNIFIED & PEACEFUL NATION LIVING IN FREEDOM,
7. { IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE IRANIAN GOVERNMENT RESOLVE THIS CRISIS. /
8. EVERY DAY THAT THE CRISIS CONTINUES FURTHER ISOLATES IRAN.
9. { EVERY DAY THAT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY REMAINS A PRISON ↗
10. { PUSHES IRAN ITSELF FURTHER INTO LAWLESSNESS, ↗
DOWN & DOWN THE SPIRAL OF DISORDER. /
11. WITH A RETURN OF RATIONALITY, INTERNATIONAL LAWLESSNESS NEED NOT BE IRAN'S FATE.
12. BANKRUPTCY -- POLITICAL AS WELL AS MORAL --
NEED NOT BE ITS FUTURE. /
13. { IF INTERFERENCE FROM OUTSIDE IS A THREAT, ↗
14. { THAT THREAT DOES NOT COME FROM THE UNITED STATES. //

1. { THE CHALLENGE IN THAT AREA OF THE WORLD -- AS IN SOME OTHERS --
2. { COMES FROM THE INTERSECTION OF 2 HISTORIC TRENDS.
3. { ONE IS THE RISING DEMAND FOR DEVELOPMENT & SELF-DETERMINATION ↗
4. { WHICH IS FELT -- AND DEEPLY FELT -- THROUGHOUT WHAT WE CALL THE THIRD WORLD.
5. THE UNITED STATES RESPONDS WITH SYMPATHY TO THAT DEMAND. /
6. { THE OTHER TREND IS SOVIET EXPANSIONISM -- ↗
7. { WHICH WE ARE DETERMINED TO OPPOSE. /
8. { IN 1946, THE UNITED STATES STOOD FIRM ↗
9. { AGAINST SOVIET OCCUPATION OF NORTHERN IRAN, ↗
10. { AGAINST SOVIET-SPONSORED SUBVERSION IN GREECE, ↗
11. { AND AGAINST SOVIET DEMANDS ON TURKEY.
12. { HISTORICALLY, AMERICAN STRENGTH HAS BEEN USED ↗
13. { TO HELP THE COUNTRIES OF THE PERSIAN GULF AREA ↗
14. { PROTECT THEIR STABILITY & RETAIN THEIR SOVEREIGNTY. /
15. { THE REALITY OF OUR WORLD TODAY IS THAT MOSCOW EXPLOITS UNREST ↗
16. { NOT TO ADDRESS THE DISCONTENTS BEHIND THAT UNREST,
17. { NOT TO OVERCOME THE INEQUALITIES THAT GIVE RISE TO THE UNREST, ...
18. { BUT TO EXPAND ITS DOMINION & TO SATISFY ITS IMPERIAL AMBITIONS. //

1. IN AFGHANISTAN THE SOVIET UNION HAS REVEALED THE HYPOCRISY ↗
OF ITS COURTSHIP OF THE THIRD WORLD.
2. IT HAS SHOWN THAT IT WILL NOT BE DETERRED BY PRINCIPLE,
BY INTERNATIONAL LAW,
BY WORLD PUBLIC OPINION,
OR BY THE OPPOSITION
OF PATRIOTIC AFGHANIS.
3. { AND IT HAS MADE THIS KNOWN IN A REGION ↗
4. { WHICH IS AT ONCE POLITICALLY VOLATILE & ECONOMICALLY CRUCIAL. //
5. { THE SUBJUGATION OF AFGHANISTAN ↗
6. { REPRESENTS THE FIRST DIRECT INTRUSION ↗
7. { OF SOVIET FORCES BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ↗
SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

1. { THE EXPLOSIVENESS OF THE REGION, ↗
2. { ITS GREAT NATURAL WEALTH, ↗
3. { AND THE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO USE THE ARMED FORCE ↗
DEVELOPED DURING THE KREMLIN'S ENORMOUS MILITARY BUILDUP ↗
OVER THE LAST 15 YEARS -- ↗
4. { ARE WHAT MAKE THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN ↗
SO UNSETTLING TO THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE. /
5. IN SOUTHWEST ASIA, UNSTABLE & UNCONTROLLABLE FORCES ARE AT WORK.
6. { THE SOVIETS HAVE, WITH THEIR INVASION, ↗
7. { DISTURBED FORCES OF HISTORIC, RELIGIOUS, ↗
ECONOMIC & ETHNIC CONFLICT ↗
THAT ARE BEYOND THEIR CONTROL, ...
8. { AND THAT COULD LEAD TO MUCH MORE SERIOUS DIRECT CONFRONTATION ↗
9. { WITH OTHER NATIONS HAVING VITAL INTERESTS IN THE REGION. //

1. { NOR CAN THE WORLD TURN AWAY FROM THE HARSH TRUTH ✓
2. { THAT THE OCCUPATION OF AFGHANISTAN IS MARKED BY APPALLING INHUMANITY.
3. { ^{HUNDREDS} ~~THOUSANDS~~ OF AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS ✓
ARE DYING EVERY WEEK -- SOME IN BRUTAL MASS EXECUTIONS. /
4. { WHOLE VILLAGES ARE BEING WIPED OUT.
5. { MORE THAN 800,000 PEOPLE HAVE FLED THE COUNTRY. /
6. { TERROR TACTICS, INCLUDING THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS, ✓
7. { ARE THE TRADEMARK OF THIS RUTHLESS ATTEMPT TO CRUSH MOSLEM RESISTANCE ✓
8. { AND TO INSTALL A SOVIET FORM OF PEACE --
THE PEACE OF BRUTAL ARMED SUPPRESSION. /
9. { EARLIER THIS YEAR, 103 OTHER MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ✓
10. { JOINED US IN CONDEMNING THE SOVIET INVASION ✓
11. { AND DEMANDING THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL ✓
OF THE INVADING FORCES FROM AFGHANISTAN.
12. { SOVIET CITIZENS HAVE NEVER BEEN INFORMED OF THIS ACTION. /

WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT TODAY --
EVERY DAY THE SOVIET UNION IS VIOLATING
HUMAN STANDARDS OF DECENCY AND HUMAN
RIGHTS

1. THIS UNPRECEDENTED CONDEMNATION WAS SIGNIFICANT, BUT --
2. BECAUSE OF THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE, ✓
3. BECAUSE OF THE REGION'S IMPORTANCE TO WESTERN SECURITY, ✓
4. BECAUSE OF THE SAVAGERY OF THE SOVIET ASSAULT, ✓
5. AND BECAUSE OF THE USE OF SOVIET TROOPS DIRECTLY IN SUCH A CONFLICT -- ✓
6. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT WE CONTINUE TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF THE INVASION ✓
7. WITH CALM & UNMISTAKABLE RESOLUTION. /

8. THE MEASURES I HAVE ORDERED ARE DESIGNED TO ENHANCE PEACE.
9. THEY INCLUDE THE EMBARGO ON FURTHER GRAIN SALES,
TIGHTENED CONTROLS ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY TRADE,
LIMITATIONS ON FISHING IN OUR WATERS,
STRENGTHENING OF OUR NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN,
INTENSIFICATION OF OUR DEVELOPMENT OF RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES ✓
AND OUR CAPACITY TO DEPLOY & SUPPORT THEM,
AND OUR OFFER TO ASSIST STATES IN THE REGION ✓
TO MAINTAIN THEIR OWN SECURITY.
10. THESE ARE NECESSARY STEPS IN A COURSE ON WHICH WE MUST & WILL PERSIST. //

1. WE CANNOT KNOW WITH CERTAINTY ↴
2. THE MOTIVATIONS OF THE SOVIET MOVE INTO AFGHANISTAN --
3. WHETHER AFGHANISTAN IS THE PURPOSE OR THE PRELUDE.
4. REGARDLESS OF ITS MOTIVES, ↴
5. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE SOVIET INVASION ↴
6. POSES AN INCREASED THREAT TO THE INDEPENDENCE OF NATIONS IN THE REGION ↴
7. AND TO THE WORLD'S ACCESS TO VITAL RESOURCES & SEA LANES. /
8. BUT OUR INTEREST IN PEACE & STABILITY IN THE REGION ↴
GOES FAR BEYOND ECONOMICS.
9. WE CANNOT WISH AWAY THE FACT THAT CONFLICT & TENSION IN THE REGION ↴
COULD ENDANGER THE BROADER PEACE.
10. AND IF THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN ↴
11. DOES INDEED FORESHADOW A PATTERN OF SOVIET BEHAVIOR FOR THE ^{THEN} ~~NEXT~~ ^{COMING YEARS} DECADE. ↴
12. ~~THEN~~ AMERICANS MUST ACCEPT THE TRUTH ↴
13. THAT WE ARE IN FOR CHALLENGING & DIFFICULT TIMES. //

1. { IN THIS EVER MORE INTERDEPENDENT WORLD,
2. { TO ASSUME THAT AGGRESSION NEED BE MET ONLY WHEN IT IS AT ONE'S OWN DOORSTEP, ↘
3. { IS TO TEMPT NEW ADVENTURES OR TO RISK NEW MISCALCULATIONS. /
4. { OUR COURSE IS CLEAR --
5. { BY RESPONDING FIRMLY ↘
WE SEEK TO HALT AGGRESSION WHERE IT TAKES PLACE
AND TO DETER IT ELSEWHERE. /
6. LET ME UNDERLINE FOR YOU THIS MOST VITAL POINT IN OUR POLICY.
7. AMERICA & AMERICANS ARE NOT MOTIVATED BY RELENTLESS HOSTILITY --
BY A DESIRE FOR INDISCRIMINATE CONFRONTATION ↘
OR A RETURN TO THE COLD WAR.
8. / BUT FOR AMERICA SIMPLY TO ACCEPT ↘
9. { SOVIET OCCUPATION & DOMINATION OF AFGHANISTAN AS AN ACCOMPLISHED FACT ↘
10. { WOULD BE A CYNICAL SIGNAL TO THE WORLD ↘
11. { THAT COULD ONLY ENCOURAGE FURTHER AGGRESSION,
FURTHER TENSION,
AND FURTHER DANGER TO PEACE. /
12. { IT IS AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY TO REGISTER, IN CONCRETE TERMS, ↘
13. { OUR CONDEMNATION OF THE SOVIET INVASION -- ↘
FOR AS LONG AS THAT INVASION CONTINUES. //

1. IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT IN ANY WAY CONDONE SOVIET AGGRESSION.
2. WE MUST RECALL THE EXPERIENCE OF 1936 -- THE YEAR OF THE BERLIN OLYMPIC GAMES.
3. { THEY WERE USED TO INFLATE THE PRESTIGE OF ^{AN} ~~THE~~ AMBITIOUS DICTATOR, ADOLF HITLER, }
4. { TO SHOW GERMANY'S TOTALITARIAN STRENGTH TO THE WORLD IN THE SPORTS STADIUM, }
5. { AS IT WAS BEING USED TO COW THE WORLD ON THE BANKS OF THE RHINE. / }
6. THE PARALLEL WITH THE SITE & TIMING OF THE 1980 OLYMPICS IS STRIKING.
7. { LET ME CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO ONE COMPELLING SIMILARITY, }
8. { BETWEEN THE NAZI VIEW OF THE 1936 OLYMPICS AS A PROPAGANDA VICTORY, }
9. { AND THE OFFICIAL SOVIET VIEW OF THE 1980 GAMES. / }
10. { HERE IS A PASSAGE FROM THIS YEAR'S EDITION, }
OF THE "HANDBOOK FOR PARTY MILITANTS" }
11. { ISSUED IN MOSCOW FOR SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY ACTIVISTS: }

1. { "THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN EAST & WEST ↴
 2. { IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE SELECTION OF THE CITIES ↴
 3. { WHERE THE OLYMPIC GAMES TAKE PLACE.
 4. "THE DECISION TO AWARD THE HONOR OF HOLDING THE OLYMPIC GAMES ↴
 5. TO THE CAPITAL OF THE WORLD'S FIRST SOCIALIST STATE ↴
 6. IS CONVINCING TESTIMONY OF THE GENERAL RECOGNITION ↴
 7. OF THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE & CORRECTNESS ↴
 8. OF THE FOREIGN POLICY COURSE OF OUR COUNTRY, ↴
 9. AND OF THE ENORMOUS SERVICES OF THE SOVIET UNION ↴
- IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE."

[REPEAT]

1. A FEW WEEKS AGO I MET WITH AMERICAN ATHLETES IN THE WHITE HOUSE.
2. { I EXPLAINED THE SOVIET STAKE IN THE OLYMPICS,
3. { AND THE MORAL & POLITICAL REASONS WHY THE UNITED STATES ↴
WILL NOT SEND A TEAM TO THE MOSCOW GAMES. /
4. { I UNDERSTAND THE SACRIFICE I HAVE ASKED THESE MEN & WOMEN TO MAKE ↴
5. { FOR THE SAKE OF THE SECURITY OF THEIR COUNTRY & THEIR WORLD.
6. THE SOVIET LEADERS CERTAINLY UNDERSTAND IT. /
7. { FOR OUR NOT SENDING A TEAM TO MOSCOW ↴
8. { IS FAR MORE THAN A SYMBOLIC GESTURE.
9. { IT IS A DIRECT REPUDIATION --
10. { IN THE PHRASE OF THEIR PROPAGANDA HANDBOOK --
11. { OF THE "CORRECTNESS" OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICY. //

12. UNDER OLYMPIC PRINCIPLES, ATHLETES REPRESENT THEIR NATIONS.
13. { THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT WISH TO BE REPRESENTED ↴
14. { IN A HOST COUNTRY THAT IS INVADING & SUBJUGATING ANOTHER NATION.
15. { IF LEGAL ACTIONS ARE NECESSARY ↴
16. { TO ENFORCE THE DECISION NOT TO SEND A TEAM TO MOSCOW,
I WILL TAKE THEM. //

*ATHLETES NOT PART OF
A NATIONAL TEAM CANNOT
~~PARTICIPATE~~ COMPETE
IN THE OLYMPICS.*

1. { ALL OF THESE DECISIONS DO REQUIRE SACRIFICE, ↴
2. { AND I HAVE ACTED TO ASSURE THAT THE BURDENS ARE SHARED AS FAIRLY AS POSSIBLE.
3. { THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE DEMONSTRATED ↴
4. { THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO BEAR THEIR SHARE OF THE BURDEN --
5. { BUT IT IS VITAL THAT THE BURDEN OF SACRIFICE ↴
6. { ALSO BE SHARED AMONG OUR ALLIES & OTHER NATIONS. /
7. { NEITHER WE NOR OUR ALLIES ↴
8. { WANT TO DESTROY THE FRAMEWORK OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS ↴
9. { THAT HAS YIELDED CONCRETE BENEFITS FOR SO MANY PEOPLE.
10. { BUT, ULTIMATELY, IF WE CONTINUE TO SEEK THE BENEFIT OF DETENTE ↴
11. { WHILE IGNORING THE NECESSITY FOR DETERRENCE --
12. { WE WOULD LOSE THE ADVANTAGES OF BOTH. //

1. IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT OUR INTENTIONS BE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR.
2. { THE MEASURES WE HAVE TAKEN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION SINCE THE INVASION ✓
3. { WILL REMAIN IN EFFECT UNTIL THERE IS TOTAL WITHDRAWAL ✓
OF SOVIET TROOPS FROM AFGHANISTAN. //
4. { THEN, AND ONLY THEN,
5. { WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH AFGHANISTAN'S NEIGHBORS ✓
6. { IN A GUARANTEE OF TRUE NEUTRALITY & NON-INTERFERENCE ✓
IN AFGHANISTAN'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS.
7. { WE SUPPORT THE RESTORATION OF A NEUTRAL, NON-ALIGNED AFGHANISTAN, ✓
8. { WITH A GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO THE WISHES OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE. /
9. { ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS HAVE TALKED ABOUT WITHDRAWING TROOPS,
10. { THEY HAVE ACTUALLY SHOWN NO INTEREST IN SUCH PROPOSALS.
11. { THERE ARE NO SIGNS AT THIS TIME OF A SOVIET WITHDRAWAL;
12. { IN FACT THEIR MILITARY BUILD-UP CONTINUES. ONLY THIS WEEK MORE 54
TROOPS HAVE ~~BEEN~~ CROSSED THE BORDER
13. { WE MUST BE PREPARED TO HOLD TO OUR COURSE,
14. { TO IMPOSE COSTS ON AGGRESSION FOR AS LONG AS NECESSARY. // INTO AFGHANISTAN.

1. WE THUS FACE WHAT COULD BE A PROTRACTED PERIOD OF STRAIN ↘
IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.
2. TO ENHANCE STABILITY AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN THIS DIFFICULT PERIOD, ↘
3. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN A STABLE MILITARY BALANCE --
4. BOTH THROUGH OUR OWN STEADY DEFENSE MODERNIZATION, ↘
5. AND THROUGH NEGOTIATED ARMS LIMITS THAT ARE EQUITABLE & VERIFIABLE. /
6. THIS OBJECTIVE -- A STABLE BALANCE --
7. IS ADVANCED BY THE "SALT II" TREATY. /
8. IN A PERIOD OF HEIGHTENED TENSIONS, ↘
9. IT IS ALL THE MORE IMPORTANT THAT WE HAVE RELIABLE CONSTRAINTS ↘
ON THE COMPETITION IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS.
10. "SALT" IS AN INTEGRAL ELEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY.
11. I REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY, ↘
12. AND THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO ABIDE BY ITS OBLIGATION ↘
UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW
13. TO TAKE NO ACTION INCONSISTENT WITH ITS INTENT OR PURPOSE, ↘
14. SO LONG AS THE SOVIETS ACT WITH SIMILAR RESTRAINT. /

1. THE COURSE WE PURSUE IN THIS TURBULENT WORLD IS STEADY, FIRM, AND FAIR.
2. { IT IS THE COURSE OF A STRONG, STABLE NATION, ↗
PRACTICING MATURE RESTRAINT BUT INSISTING ON JUSTICE --
3. { THE POLICY WE PURSUE IN IRAN. /
4. { IT IS THE COURSE OF A RESOLUTE NATION, ↗
HOPEFUL OF GOOD RELATIONS BUT DETERMINED TO DETER AGGRESSION --
5. { THE COURSE WE PURSUE IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. /
6. { IT IS THE COURSE OF THE PEACEMAKER --
7. { THE SAME ROLE TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES ↗
IS COMMITTED IN THE MIDDLE EAST & THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. /
8. AND IT IS THE COURSE OF AN UNDERSTANDING NATION,
SENSITIVE TO THE TIDES OF CHANGE ↗
AND TO THE RIGHTS & NEEDS OF ALL PEOPLE --
9. { AMERICA'S RIGHTFUL APPROACH TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CLIMATE ↗
10. { IN WHICH A NEW WORLD IS NOW COMING TO LIFE. /

1. OUR MISSION IS TO PROMOTE ORDER -- NOT TO ENFORCE OUR WILL;
2. TO PROTECT OUR CITIZENS & OUR NATIONAL HONOR --
NOT TO HARM OR DISHONOR OTHERS;
3. TO COMPEL RESTRAINT -- NOT TO PROVOKE CONFRONTATION;
4. TO SUPPORT THE WEAK -- NOT TO DOMINATE THEM;
5. AND TO ASSURE THAT THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR NEW WORLD ARE LAID UPON A STABLE SUPERPOWER BALANCE --
NOT BUILT ON SAND.

6. IT IS A WORTHY MISSION FOR A GREAT NATION,
FOR A CARING PEOPLE,
AND FOR LOYAL FRIENDS.

7. { IT IS THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
8. { AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WILL FULFILL THIS MISSION.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12 Apr 80

Secretary Duncan

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Stu Eizenstat
Zbig Brzezinski

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, SEC. 3.5(b)
WHITE HOUSE GUIDELINES, FEB. 24, 1983
BY JAR NARS DATE 11/7/06



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE SECRETARY OF ENERGY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20585

April 9, 1980

*Charles
sk
J*

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Charles W. Duncan *CW Duncan*
SUBJECT: Developments in the El Paso Algeria LNG Project

Efforts over the last several months on the part of the El Paso Algeria Company and its customers have failed to produce an agreement with the Algerian energy company, Sonatrach, on the pricing of approximately 700 million cubic feet per day of imported LNG. As a result of this impasse, Sonatrach shut down operations on April 4 at their liquefaction plant.

At the invitation of the Algerians, my Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Les Goldman, will be in Algiers on April 21-22 to meet with government officials in an effort to resolve the impasse.

*J
agree*

The Algerians' current demand for an LNG price of \$5.50-\$6.00 per million Btu F.O.B. would mean a regasified price in the U.S. of \$7.00-\$7.50 per million Btu. This price violates the competitive fuel criteria that governed the recent negotiation of a long-term \$4.47 per million BTU price with the Mexicans and Canadians. The Algerians will be told that the U.S. cannot pay a price in excess of a U.S. border equivalent to the Canadian and Mexican agreements (approximately \$3.00 per million Btu in Algeria). The Government of France is the only other current purchaser of Algerian LNG and has been presented with the same demands. We have been consulting with the French, and as part of our coordinated strategy France has told Algeria that it will not pay above \$3.00 per million Btu. As a result, Algeria also has suspended their gas shipments.

I will keep you informed of the progress in the upcoming government-to-government discussions.

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Per, Rac Project
ESDN: NLC-126-21-13-1-4
DKS NARA DATE 12/16/13

Classified by *John F. ...*
(Original Authority)

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or
 REVIEW on: 4/16
(date or event)

C
1

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1980

EYES ONLY

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze
Subject: Interest rates **CLS**

In the past week, interest rates have eased a bit. As the attached table shows, most short-term rates reached a peak in the week of April 4. Long-term rates peaked a bit earlier. As of today (April 11) both short- and long-term rates had fallen from the peak.

Unlike what has happened in the last several years, the money supply during the first week of April did not rise sharply. And in March, the Fed had pulled down the money supply from its high level of February (leading to the extremely tight money situation of the past month). Now the money supply is in good shape relative to the Fed's targets. The Fed can probably relax a little bit, and the markets know this. Hence interest rates have moved down slightly. So far, however, nothing has occurred of a fundamental nature.

I had breakfast with Volcker this morning. Volcker would clearly like to ease up some. He is worried about the longer-term effects of tight money on construction, the livestock sector, and the thrift institutions (among others). He also knows, of course, that from a technical money supply situation he could ease up some without threatening to exceed his targets. But, he is afraid to have the Fed act to pull down the funds rate (by increasing bank reserves) before there are definite signs of recession or an actual reduction of the inflation rate. Such action, he fears, would be interpreted by the financial community as a sign that the Fed was "quitting" prematurely. In turn, this would raise inflationary expectations.

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Volcker does have to be careful. But he shouldn't become the captive of the most strident "hawks" on Wall Street. I urged him not to play this "macho" game. I suggested that while the economic signals do not yet allow him to make any major move to lower the funds rate, he could begin to ease up some without abandoning the fight or prematurely loosening the reins.

I think (hope?) we may see a little easing. Volcker is sympathetic, but torn between the two views.

Attachment

INTEREST RATES

	Short-term rates			Long-term rates	
	Federal funds	Certificates of deposit	3 mo. Treasury bills	10-year Treasury bonds	Corporate Aaa bonds
Average for week ending:					
Dec. 15	13.79	13.63	12.34	10.45	10.70
Mar. 14	16.45	17.71	15.32	12.54	13.00
Mar. 28	17.78	17.80	15.55	13.00 -	13.00]
Apr. 4	19.39 -	18.07 -	14.78 -	12.62	12.95
Apr. 11	19.04	17.65	14.30	12.06	12.63
Friday, Apr. 11	18.75	17.41	13.99	11.83	12.44 ^{1/}

^{1/} Thursday, Apr. 10

[The salutation will be confirmed or corrected by Ray Jenkins, x2933, no later than 9:30 AM Thursday.]

Friendly/Stewart/Hertzberg
Draft A-1; 4/8/80
For Delivery:
Thurs, 4/10/80, 1:30 PM
Washington Hilton

POTUS #1

*Publ/Pres
St/H*

American Society of Newspaper Editors

Bill Hornby [~~of the Denver Post, outgoing president of~~
~~ASNE, who will introduce you~~], Tom Winship [~~of the Boston~~
~~Globe, incoming president~~], ^{other} editors, ~~of America's great~~
~~newspapers~~, ladies and gentlemen:

For the past two days, I have been meeting with President Sadat of Egypt -- the man whose [~~courage and vision led him to~~
~~make his~~] historic visit to Jerusalem [~~and begin~~] ^{initiated} the process of peacemaking that created the Camp David accords. Through his efforts, and those of Prime Minister Begin, with whom I will meet next week, we have already achieved one ^{subsequent} miracle: a treaty of peace between Israel and Egypt. ^{Its terms have been} honored meticulously.

Now we are engaged [~~together~~] in negotiating full autonomy

for the inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza. I come away from ^{these}
~~my talks with President Sadat~~ encouraged that ^{the agreement of} ~~the negotiators~~
^{the Camp David, ^{also} will be honored, fully.}
~~from our three nations will be able to move their work forward.]~~

President Sadat and I talked of many issues, ^{and} ~~[I value his~~
~~wisdom and counsel]~~ I was not surprised to find him sharing
many of my ^{ideas and} concerns about the course of international events.

I want to discuss ~~some of those concerns~~ with you today
in reviewing ^{some} ~~[several]~~ of the most urgent imperatives of American
foreign policy, ^{with special emphasis} ~~in one specific area. of the world.~~

It is important that we
~~[The most important single thing we can accomplish here is~~
~~to] take a hard, clear look at ^{at} ~~the world [together]~~ -- not ^{at} some
simple world either of universal goodwill or universal hostility,
but the complex, changing, ^{sometimes} dangerous world that ^{really} ~~[truly]~~ exists.~~

~~[The first thing to say about that world is that]~~ It is
not one world, but many. It is no longer a world ^{structured and controlled} ~~[ordered]~~ by

competition among colonial empires. It is a ^{more complicated} world where national, religious, and ethnic self-assertion is fragmenting old boundaries and alignments. It is a world of conflicting ideologies, of unequal wealth, and of uneven resources. It is a world in which the capacity for destructive violence is at once ^{alarmingly} ~~frighteningly~~ dispersed to every tiny terrorist band -- and awesomely concentrated in the nuclear arsenals of the superpowers. It is in just such a new world -- uncertain, suspicious, shifting, searching for balance -- that we ~~must~~ pursue peace and security for ourselves and for every human being on earth.

The United States of America has both a responsibility and a vital stake in helping to shape a world that extends to all peoples the ^{same} rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that we asserted for ourselves 200 years ago.

We have so much youthful vitality that we sometimes

forget we are a mature nation in the best sense. We ~~are a~~ ^{have been a}
democratic republic, ^{for two centuries} and ^{we are} the strongest nation on earth, [We
~~have a responsibility to our historic traditions, to our~~
~~present security, and to the future peace of the world]~~

^{but we live among challenges}
Obviously, then, ^{which are, every day, a test of our} ~~[ours is] a world which challenges our~~
maturity and skill. ^{PP} In many ^{languages} [accents] and out of many
unfamiliar cultures, ^{other peoples constantly} ~~the world,~~ asks America for a response to
~~its~~ myriad -- and often conflicting -- concerns.

Nations ask for leadership -- at the same time they
demand independence, ^{of action.}

They ask for aid -- but reject interference.

They ask for understanding -- yet often decline to
~~offer~~ understand[ing to] us in return.

Some ask for protection -- but are wary of the obligations
of alliance.

Others ask for firmness and certainty -- but at the same time demand the flexibility required by the pace of change and the subtlety of events.

~~Thus~~ the world asks, with impatience, for all these things at once -- and asks for them today, not tomorrow.

Nowhere today do we face the challenges I have just described more directly than in Iran. No single situation so ^{aggravates} torments our people -- so tests our maturity -- so tries our patience -- so challenges our ~~will~~ ^{unity -- does} as the continued captivity of our ^{fellow Americans} ~~countrymen and women~~ in the Tehran Embassy.

No isolated event seems so clearly to mirror the disorder of our times and the competing pressures on a great and powerful Nation. This crisis calls on us to act with a wisdom and courage that will both produce results and preserve life.

I am deeply proud of the steady strength America has shown in dealing with ^{irresponsible and} squabbling Iranian authorities who ~~seem to~~ have practically destroyed their own embryonic government and who

~~The actions of a small group of fanatics in Iran are inflicting suffering on the hostages, but also having serious adverse consequences for Iranian citizens everywhere.~~

lack the cohesion and resolve to bring order to their own chaotic

land. For long months, ours has been the strength of restraint of

-- despite outrageous provocation. I do not regret that

restraint. ~~[I do not propose that we ^{easily} abandon our basic principle~~

~~of responsibility in world affairs.]~~

But it ^{became} ~~[has become]~~ necessary -- because Iran would not

^{now} act -- for us, to act again. The steps I have taken this

week to end diplomatic relations and impose sanctions are not

rash, ~~[or]~~ precipitous, ~~[They cannot be construed as]~~ ^{or} provocative, but

^{We hope they will} ~~[They are intended to]~~ be persuasive.

America is continuing the ^{Careful and considered} ~~[peaceful]~~ exercise of its power.

We will pursue every ^{legitimate use of} ~~avenue~~ that power ~~can take~~ to bring our people home, ~~[sound and]~~ safe and free.

We will continue to explore every option open to us to achieve that end -- and we will continue to act consistent with international law.

But the hard, sad reality is that in Iran, a ^{small} number of ~~fanatics~~ ^{fanatics} factions in an internal power struggle are using the innocent American hostages for their own advancement, ^{with serious adverse} ~~not for the~~ ^{consequences for all} ~~advancement of the~~ Iranian people.

In the interests of the people of Iran and of their future ^{as a unified and peaceful nation living} in freedom, it is imperative that the Iranian government resolve this crisis. Every day that the crisis continues, ^{further isolates Iran, and} ~~pushes Iran~~ and America further apart ~~when our course could be toward~~ ~~tolerance, growth and peace.~~ Every day that the American Embassy remains a prison pushes Iran itself further into lawlessness, down and down the spiral of disorder.

But international lawlessness need not be Iran's fate.

~~/~~ Bankruptcy -- political as well as ^{moral} ~~economic~~ -- need not be its future. [/]*

*Vance would omit this sentence on the grounds that it threatens more than we can deliver. Sanctions will not bankrupt Iran.

If interference from outside is a threat, that threat does not come from the United States -- any more than it did in the late 1940s when Soviet troops unsuccessfully tried to hold onto northern Iran.

~~[Iran and the United States have a common interest in deterring the re-emergence of that threat, but we cannot build on a foundation of common interest until the crisis which began November 4 is honorably and finally resolved.]*~~

The United States, which in 1946 stood firm against Soviet occupation of Iran, against Soviet-sponsored subversion in Greece, and against Soviet demands on Turkey, is ^{still} ~~now~~ prepared

~~[to stand just as firmly against a repetition in neighboring lands of that pattern of outlaw aggression in 1980.]**~~

*Stu's comment: "This paragraph -- the whole speech, in fact -- is overly conciliatory on Iran at a time when we need to show resolve. It hits a completely different note than your announcement yesterday." ZB and Vance obviously disagree.

**Vance would substitute: "again to help buttress the security and independence of the region."

(Where American strength can help the countries of the Persian Gulf ~~and the Indian Ocean~~ protect their stability and retain their sovereignty, American strength is available to them and equal to the challenge.)*

The challenge in that area of the world -- as in ~~many~~ ^{some} others -- comes from the intersection of two historic trends. One is the rising demand for development and self-determination which is felt -- and deeply felt -- throughout what we call the Third World. The United States responds with sympathy ^{to} ~~with~~ that demand. The other trend is Soviet expansionism -- and that we are determined to oppose.

The reality of our world today is that Moscow exploits unrest not to address the discontents behind that unrest, not to overcome the inequalities that give rise to the unrest, but to expand its dominion ^{to} ~~(and satisfy its imperial ambitions).~~**

*Vance would omit this paragraph on the grounds that it appears to extend the doctrine promulgated in the State of the Union. At a minimum, he would omit "and the Indian Ocean." Stu agrees.

**Vance would omit this, arguing that it is overly emotional and gets into the question of Soviet motives.

revealed the hypocrisy of
In Afghanistan the Soviet Union has ~~taken off its mask~~
its courtship of The Third World
~~and the face beneath is a brutal one.~~* It has shown that
it will not be deterred by principle, by international law,
by world public opinion or by the opposition of patriotic
Afghanis. And it has made this known in a region which is
at once politically volatile and economically crucial.

The subjugation of Afghanistan represents the first
direct intrusion of Soviet forces beyond the borders of the
Warsaw Pact countries since the Second World War.

The explosiveness of the region, its great natural wealth,
and the Soviet willingness to use armed force -- against the
background of the Kremlin's enormous military buildup over the
last 15 years -- *are what* make the invasion of Afghanistan so unsettling
to the future of international peace.

~~[In previous crises, the USSR and the US were essentially~~

~~*State points out that this might remind people of the flap
over when you supposedly "learned what the Russians are
really like." A suggested fix: "revealed the hypocrisy of
its courtship of the Third World."~~

~~in control of the situation. But~~ In Southwest Asia uncontrollable forces are at work. We face a situation which the Soviets are creating, but which they ~~only~~ ^{cannot} presume to manage. They are provoking forces of historic, religious, economic and ethnic conflict that could lead ~~both of us~~ ^{much more serious} to direct confrontation. ~~We cannot allow Soviet conduct in Afghanistan to set the world on the kind of uncertain, uncontrollable course that -- in the hindsight of history -- swept the great powers into World War I.]*~~

the world

Furthermore, ~~we~~ ^a cannot turn away from the harsh truth that the occupation of Afghanistan is marked by appalling inhumanity. ^{} Hundreds} Thousands of Afghan freedom fighters are dying every week, some in brutal mass executions. Whole villages are being wiped out. More than 600,000 people have fled the country. Terror tactics,

*Vance would omit this paragraph. He argues that the first sentence is historically arguable (the superpowers were in control of the situation in the Berlin crises, but not in Vietnam or Lebanon); that the stuff about the forces of historic, religious, etc., conflict leads nowhere, and that the last sentence raises a war scare. At a minimum, he would omit the first and last sentences of the paragraph.

including the use of chemical weapons, are the trademark of this ruthless attempt to crush Moslem resistance and to install a Soviet form of peace -- the peace of the prison, the peace of the graveyard.

Condemnation was significant, but
~~More than ever~~ -- because of the principle at stake, because of the region's importance to Western security, because of the savagery of the Soviet assault, ^{and} because of the [~~precedent shattering~~] use of Soviet troops directly in such a conflict -- it is imperative that we ^{continue to} meet the challenge ~~persistent,~~ of the invasion with _A calm and unmistakable resolution.

~~[That is why I determined early this year that our stand against this course of Soviet conduct would have to be firm and compelling.]~~

collective
The _A measures I have ordered ~~since then~~ include the embargo on further grain sales, tightened controls on high technology trade, limitations on fishing in our waters, ^{strengthening} ~~augmentation~~ of

Earlier this year 103 other nations in the United Nations joined us in condemning the Soviet Union and demanding the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces from Afghanistan. Soviet citizens have never been informed of this action. This unprecedented

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our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, intensification of our development of Rapid Deployment Forces and our capacity to deploy and support them, and our offer to assist states in the region ^{to maintain} ~~assuring~~ their own security. These are the necessary ~~[first]~~ steps in a course ^{on} ~~with~~ which we must and will persist.

[It is important for Americans to understand that our course will not immediately force the Soviets out. But our course has a vital medium-range objective: to impose such costs on the Soviet Union for its recklessness that it will reconsider the trend of its policy and conduct.]*

At the same time America has a long-term end in view: to re-establish a degree of comity between the superpowers -- not only to bring relief to Afghanistan, but also to create a relationship in which our competition is bounded by

*This and the following paragraph could be omitted if you decide to use the large Vance inserts later in the speech.

~~VANCE INSERT A~~

We cannot know with certainty the motivations of the Soviet move into Afghanistan -- whether Afghanistan is the purpose or the prelude. Regardless of its motives, there can be no doubt that the Soviet invasion poses an increased threat to the independence of nations in the region and to the world's access to vital resources and sea lanes.

But our interest in peace and stability in the region goes far beyond economics. We cannot wish away the fact that conflict and tension in the region could endanger the broader peace. And if the invasion of Afghanistan does indeed foreshadow a pattern of Soviet behavior for the next decade, then Americans must accept the truth that we are in *challenging and* for ^a difficult times. To assume [~~in such times~~] that aggression need be met only when it is at one's doorstep is to tempt new adventures or to risk new miscalculations. Our course

is clear -- by responding firmly ~~to~~ aggression, we seek to ~~encourage its halt~~ where it takes place and to deter it elsewhere.

Let me underline for you this most vital point in our policy, ~~which must not be misunderstood by our ^{own} citizens, our friends, or our adversaries.~~ America and Americans are not motivated by relentless hostility -- by a desire for indiscriminate confrontation or a return to the Cold War.

But for America to simply accept Soviet domination of Afghanistan as an accomplished fact would be a cynical ~~statement~~ ^{signal} to the world that could only encourage further aggression, further tension, and further danger to peace. It is America's responsibility to register, in concrete terms, our condemnation of the Soviet invasion -- for as long as that invasion continues.

The steps we have taken ^{do} require sacrifice, and I have acted to assure that the burdens are shared as fairly as

possible. The American people have ^{demonstrated} ~~clearly indicated~~ that they are willing to bear their share of the burden -- but it is vital that the burden of sacrifice ^{also} be shared ~~equitably~~ among ~~all~~ our allies, ^{and other nations.}

Neither we nor our allies want to destroy the framework of East-West relations that has yielded concrete benefits for so many nations. But, ultimately, if we continue to seek the benefit of detente while ignoring the necessity for deterrence, ^{the advantages of} we would lose both.

It is essential that our intentions be absolutely clear.

~~to the Soviet Union, to our allies, and to the American people.~~ The measures we have taken against the Soviet Union

since the invasion will remain in effect until there is

^{of Soviet troops} total ~~Soviet~~ withdrawal, ^{Then, and only then,} ~~from Afghanistan. With the prompt~~

~~withdrawal of Soviet troops,~~ we would be prepared to join

with Afghanistan's neighbors in a guarantee of true neutrality

and non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. We support the restoration of a neutral, non-aligned Afghanistan, with a government that would be responsive to the wishes of the Afghan people.

talked about withdrawing troops, they have actually

However, the Soviets have shown no interest in such proposals. ~~There are~~ ^{are no} signs at this time of a Soviet withdrawal; ^{military} in fact, their build-up continues. We must be prepared to hold to our course, to impose costs on aggression for as long as necessary.

We thus face what could be a protracted period of increased strain in East-West relations. To enhance stability as much as possible in this difficult period, we will continue to ^{maintain} ~~work for~~ a stable military balance, both through our own steady defense modernization, and through negotiated ^{arms} limits that are equitable and verifiable. ~~We are modernizing our defenses to assure present and future military balance.~~

This same objective -- a stable balance -- is also advanced by the SALT II treaty. In a period of heightened tensions, it is all the more important that we have reliable boundaries on the competition in strategic weapons. SALT is an integral element of our national security policy. I remain committed to the ratification of the Treaty, and the United States will abide by its obligation under international law to take no action inconsistent with its intent or purpose, so long as the Soviets act with similar restraint.

~~END VANCE INSERT A~~

in any way
It is extremely important that we not ~~conclude~~ the Soviet invasion, and

~~And~~ We must recall ~~as well~~ that 1936 was also the year of Olympic Games, ~~These were~~ staged in Berlin. They were *used* designed to inflate the prestige of ~~an~~ *the* ambitious dictatorship, *Adolph Hitler* to bully the world in the sports stadium as it was being cowed on the banks of the Rhine.

The parallel with the site and timing of the 1980 Olympics is striking. Let me call your attention to one compelling similarity between the Nazi view of the 1936 Olympics as a propaganda victory and the Soviet Union's view of the 1980 Games. Here is a passage from this year's edition of the "Handbook for Party Militants" issued in Moscow for Soviet Communist Party activists:

"The ideological struggle between East and West is directly involved in the selection of the cities where the Olympic Games take place. The decision

~~*If you accept VANCE INSERT A, then this sentence would have to be replaced with something like, "Our boycott of the Olympic Games is aimed not at confrontation, but at demonstrating to the Soviet leaders that they cannot hope to escape the consequences of aggression. In 1936, the Olympic Games were staged in Berlin."~~

710
underlining

to give the honor of holding the Olympic Games in the capital of the world's first socialist state is convincing testimony of the general recognition of the historic importance and correctness of the foreign policy course of our country, and of the enormous services of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace." ↗

A few weeks ago I met with American athletes in the White House. I ~~put to them my view of~~ ^{explained} the Soviet stake in the

Olympics, of the moral and political reasons why the United

States ^{will} ~~must~~ boycott the Moscow Games. I understand the magnitude

of the sacrifice I have asked these ~~young~~ men and women to

^{the security of} make for the sake of, their country and their world. The

Soviet leaders certainly understand it. For this boycott is

far more than a symbolic gesture. It is a direct repudiation

-- in the phrase of their propaganda handbook -- of the

"correctness" of their foreign policy. ↗ We will not go to

MOSCOW.

I will take whatever legal actions ^{are} necessary to enforce our boycott of the Olympics.

*Jody notes: "Suggest you pause and then repeat the underlined phrases for emphasis (and for the cameras)."

The course we pursue in this turbulent world is steady,
firm and fair.*

It is the course of a strong, stable nation practicing
mature restraint but insisting on justice -- the policy we
pursue in Iran.

It is the course of a resolute nation, hopeful of good
relations but determined to deter aggression -- the course we
pursue in our dealings with the Soviet Union.

It is the course of the peacemaker -- the same role to
which the United States is committed in the Middle East and
throughout the world.

And it is the course of an understanding nation, sensitive
to the tides of change and to the rights and needs of all
people -- America's rightful approach to the revolutionary

*At this point in the speech, Vance would add the material
attached as VANCE INSERT B.

climate in which a new world is now coming to life.

Our mission is to promote order, not to enforce our will; to compel restraint, not to provoke confrontation; to protect the weak, not to dominate them; and to assure that the foundations of our new world are laid upon a stable superpower balance -- not built on sand.

It is a worthy mission for a great nation, for a caring people, and for loyal friends.

It is the historical mission of the United States of America, and the United States of America will fulfill it.

#

POTUS #2
(Final approved) NO COPIES

PRESIDENTS APPROVED
FINAL

To:

VIP
Cy
Zbig
Gloyd
Stu
Jody
Rick ~~Wetzel~~

American Society of Newspaper Editors

Return by
6:00 pm.

J

Bill Hornby, Tom Winship, other editors, ladies and gentlemen:

For the past two days, I have been meeting with President Sadat of Egypt -- ~~the man~~ whose historic visit to Jerusalem initiated the process of peacemaking that created the Camp David accords. Through his efforts and those of Prime Minister Begin, with whom I will meet next week, we have already achieved one ^{resulting} ~~subsequent~~ miracle: a treaty of peace between Israel and Egypt. Its terms ^{are being} ~~have been~~ honored meticulously.

to insure permanent peace and security for Israel and her neighbors, and

Now we are engaged in negotiating full autonomy for the inhabitants in the West Bank and Gaza. ~~We~~ come away to ^{current} ~~from~~ these talks encouraged that the agreements of Camp David also will be honored fully).

President Sadat and I talked of many issues, and I was not surprised to find him sharing many of my ideas and concerns about the course of international events.

1
2

I want to discuss with you today some of the most urgent imperatives of American foreign policy with special emphasis in one specific area of the world.

It is important that we take a hard, clear look -- not at some simple world either of universal goodwill or universal hostility, but the complex, changing, and sometimes dangerous world that really exists. ✓

It is not one world, but many. It is no longer a world structured and controlled by competition among colonial empires. It is a more complicated world where national, religious, and ethnic self-assertion is fragmenting old boundaries and alignments. It is a world of conflicting ideologies, of unequal wealth, and of uneven resources. It is a world in which the capacity for destructive violence is at once alarmingly dispersed to every tiny terrorist band -- and awesomely concentrated in the nuclear arsenals of the superpowers. It is in just such a ^{changing} new world -- uncertain, suspicious, shifting, searching for balance -- that we pursue peace and security for ourselves and for every human being on earth.

We have so much youthful vitality that we sometimes forget we are a mature nation in the best sense. We have been a democratic republic for two centuries and we are the strongest nation on earth; but we live among challenges which are, every day, a test of our maturity and skill. ✓

In many languages and out of many unfamiliar cultures other peoples constantly ask America for a response to myriad -- and often conflicting -- concerns. 354

Nations ask for leadership -- at the same time they demand independence of action.

They ask for aid -- but reject interference.

They ask for understanding -- yet often decline to understand us in return.

Some ask for protection -- but are wary of the obligations of alliance.

Others ask for firmness and certainty -- but at the same time demand the flexibility required by the pace of change and the subtlety of events.

The world asks, with impatience, for all these things at once -- and asks for them today, not tomorrow. 4 5-

Nowhere today do we face the challenges I have just described more directly than in Iran. No single situation so aggravates our people -- so tests our maturity -- so tries our patience -- so challenges our unity -- as does the continued captivity of our fellow Americans in the Tehran Embassy.

^{other single}
 No ~~isolated~~ event seems so clearly to mirror the disorder of our times and the competing pressures on a great and powerful Nation. This crisis calls on us to act with a wisdom and courage that will both produce results and preserve life.

I am deeply proud of the steady strength America has shown in dealing with irresponsible ~~and squabbling~~ Iranian authorities who have ~~practically destroyed their own embryonic~~ ^{been unwilling to act or unable to carry out their commit-ments.} ~~The leaders of the Iranian government~~ ^{government and who} lack the cohesion and resolve to bring order to their ~~own~~ chaotic land ^{and to decide on a basis for ending their illegal detention of our hostages.} 5/5 U

For long months, ours has been the restraint of strength -- ✓
 despite outrageous provocation. I do not regret that restraint, ^{which was} designed to protect American lives and to permit Iranian government officials and United Nations officials ✓ to resolve the crisis.

But it ^{has} become necessary -- because Iran would not act in accordance with international law and their own interests -- for us to act again. The steps I have taken this week to end diplomatic relations and impose sanctions are ^{firm and} ~~not rash,~~ ^{substantive, and} ~~precipitous, /provocative,~~ but we hope they will be persuasive.

^{will continue}
 America, ~~is continuing~~ the careful and considered ^{-- and I repeat -- every} exercise of its power. We will pursue every legitimate use of that power to bring our people home safe and free. ✓

6/7
But the hard, sad reality is that ~~in Iran~~, a small number of ~~fanatics in an~~ ^{zealots engaged in a} internal power struggle, ^{within Iran} are using the innocent American hostages for their own advancement, with serious adverse consequences for all Iranian people. ✓

In the interests of the people of Iran and of their ^{possible} future as a unified and peaceful nation living in freedom, it is imperative that the Iranian government resolve this crisis. Every day that the crisis continues further isolates Iran. Every day that the American Embassy remains a prison pushes Iran itself further into lawlessness, down and down the spiral of disorder.

^{With a return of rationality,}
~~But~~ international lawlessness need not be Iran's fate. Bankruptcy -- political as well as moral -- need not be its future.

If interference from outside is a threat, that threat does not come from the United States. ~~any more than it did in the late 1940s when ^{the Union} Soviet troops unsuccessfully tried to hold onto northern Iran.~~

In 1946

The United States, ~~which in 1946~~ stood firm against Soviet occupation of ^{Northern} Iran, against Soviet-sponsored subversion in Greece, and against Soviet demands on Turkey, ~~is still prepared to help buttress the security and independence of the region.~~

Historically, ^{has been used to} where American strength ^{can} help the countries of the Persian Gulf ^{area} protect their stability and retain their sovereignty. ~~American strength is available to them and equal to the challenge.~~

The challenge in that area of the world -- as in some others -- comes from the intersection of two historic trends. One is the rising demand for development and self-determination which is felt -- and deeply felt -- throughout what we call the Third World. The United States responds with sympathy to that demand. The other trend is Soviet expansionism -- ^{which} ~~and that~~ we are determined to oppose.

The reality of our world today is that Moscow exploits unrest not to address the discontents behind that unrest, not to overcome the inequalities that give rise to the unrest, but to expand its dominion and to satisfy its imperial ambitions.

8 } 9

In Afghanistan the Soviet Union has revealed the hypocrisy of its courtship of the Third World. It has shown that it will not be deterred by principle, by international law, by world public opinion or by the opposition of patriotic Afghans. And it has made this known in a region which is at once politically volatile and economically crucial.

The subjugation of Afghanistan represents the first direct intrusion of Soviet forces beyond the borders of the Warsaw Pact countries since the Second World War.

Sket. O.K.!!

10

The explosiveness of the region, its great natural wealth, and the Soviet willingness to use ^{the} armed force ^{developed} ~~against the background of~~ ^{during} the Kremlin's enormous military buildup over the last 15 years -- are what make the invasion of Afghanistan so unsettling to the future of international peace. ^{unstable and} In Southwest Asia, uncontrollable forces are at work. ^{have, with their invasion,} ~~We face a situation which the Soviets are creating, but which~~ ^{disturbed} they cannot presume to manage. They are provoking forces of historic, religious, economic and ethnic conflict that ^{are beyond their control, and that} could lead to much more serious direct confrontation, ^{with other} nations having ~~direct~~ vital interests in the region.

10 } ^{Nor can} Furthermore, the world ~~cannot~~ turn away from the harsh truth that the occupation of Afghanistan is marked by appalling inhumanity. ~~(Hundreds)~~ ^(Thousands) of Afghan freedom fighters

are dying every week, some in brutal mass executions. Whole
villages are being wiped out. ~~More than 600,000~~ ^{more than 800,000} ~~Some 100,000~~ people have
fled the country. Terror tactics, including the use of chemical
weapons, are the trademark of this ruthless attempt to
crush Moslem resistance and to install a Soviet form of peace --
the peace of ~~the prison, the peace of the graveyard.~~ ^{brutal armed suppression.}

Earlier this year, 103 other ^{members of} ~~nations in~~ the United Nations
joined us in condemning the Soviet ^{invasion} ~~Union~~ and demanding the
immediate withdrawal of the invading forces from Afghanistan.
Soviet citizens have never been informed of this action. 11 12
This unprecedented condemnation was significant, but --
because of the principle at stake, because of the region's
importance to Western security, because of the savagery
of the Soviet assault, and because of the use of Soviet
troops directly in such a conflict -- it is imperative that
we continue to meet the challenge of the invasion with
calm and unmistakable resolution.

The ~~collective~~ measures I have ordered are [~~peaceful~~
~~in nature and~~] designed to enhance peace. They include the
embargo on further grain sales, tightened controls on high technology
trade, limitations on fishing in our waters, strengthening of
our naval presence in the Indian Ocean, intensification of
our development of Rapid Deployment Forces and our capacity
to deploy and support them, and our offer to assist states
in the region to maintain their own security. These are ~~the~~
necessary steps in a course on which we must and will persist.



We cannot know with certainty the motivations of the
Soviet move into Afghanistan -- whether Afghanistan is the
purpose or the prelude. Regardless of its motives, there
can be no doubt that the Soviet invasion poses an increased
threat to the independence of nations in the region and to
the world's access to vital resources and sea lanes.

But our interest in peace and stability in the region goes far beyond economics. We cannot wish away the fact that conflict and tension in the region could endanger the broader peace. And if the invasion of Afghanistan does indeed foreshadow a pattern of Soviet behavior for the next decade, then Americans must accept the truth that we are in for challenging and difficult times. ¹³ *In this ever more interdependent world,* ¹⁴ *to assume that* aggression need be met only when it is at one's ^{own} *doorstep* is to tempt new adventures or to risk new miscalculations. Our course is clear -- by responding firmly we seek to halt aggression where it takes place and to deter it elsewhere.

Let me underline for you this most vital point in our policy. America and Americans are not motivated by relentless hostility -- by a desire ^{for} *occupation and domination* for indiscriminate confrontation or a return to the Cold War. But for America simply to accept Soviet ~~domination~~ ^{occupation and domination} of Afghanistan as an accomplished fact would be a cynical signal to the world

that could only encourage further aggression, further tension,
and further danger to peace. It is America's responsibility
to register, in concrete terms, our condemnation of the
Soviet invasion -- for as long as that invasion continues.

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(A) fm
p 13, 14, 15
→
(A) fm

All of these decisions

~~The steps we have taken~~ do require sacrifice, and I have

acted to assure that the burdens are shared as fairly as
possible. The American people have demonstrated that they
are willing to bear their share of the burden -- but it is
vital that the burden of sacrifice also be shared among our
allies and other nations.

Neither we nor our allies want to destroy the framework
of East-West relations that has yielded concrete benefits
for so many ^{people.} ~~nations~~. But, ultimately, if we continue to seek
the benefit of detente while ignoring the necessity for
deterrence, we would lose the advantages of both.

Ch...
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18
19 It is essential that our intentions be absolutely clear.

The measures we have taken against the Soviet Union since the invasion will remain in effect until there is total withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Then, and only then, we would be prepared to join with Afghanistan's neighbors in a guarantee of true neutrality and non-interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. We support the restoration of a neutral, non-aligned Afghanistan, with a government that would be responsive to the wishes of the Afghan people.

Although
~~However,~~ the Soviets have talked about withdrawing troops,

they have actually shown no interest in such proposals.

There are no signs at this time of a Soviet withdrawal; in fact their military build-up continues. We must be prepared to hold to our course, to impose costs on aggression for as long as necessary.

19 20 We thus face what could be a protracted period of increased strain in East-West relations. To enhance stability

as much as possible in this difficult period, we will continue to maintain a stable military balance, both through our own steady defense modernization, and through negotiated arms limits that are equitable and verifiable. This ~~same~~ objective -- a stable balance -- is ~~also~~ advanced by the SALT II Treaty. In a period of heightened tensions, it is all the more important that we have ~~reliable boundaries~~ ^{constraints} on the competition in strategic weapons. SALT is an integral element of our national security policy. I remain committed to the ratification of the Treaty, and the United States ^{intends to} ~~will~~ abide by its obligation under international law to take no action inconsistent with its intent or purpose, so long as the Soviets act with similar restraint.

20
21

It is extremely important that we not in any way condone ~~the~~ Soviet ^{aggression.} ~~invasion.~~ We must recall ^{the experience of} ~~that~~ 1936, ~~was~~ ^{the Berlin} also the year of ^{the Berlin} Olympic Games, ~~staged in Berlin.~~ They were used to inflate the prestige of the ambitious dictator

to p11
(A)

Adolf show Germany's totalitarian strength to
 Adolf Hitler to ~~bully~~ ^{used to cow the world} the world in the sports stadium as it was
 being ~~cowed~~ ^{being} on the banks of the Rhine.

The parallel with the site and timing of the 1980 Olympics
 is striking. Let me call your attention to one compelling
 similarity between the Nazi view of the 1936 Olympics as a
 propaganda victory and the ^{official} Soviet ~~Union's~~ view of the 1980 Games.

Here is a passage from this year's edition of the "Handbook
 for Party Militants" issued in Moscow for Soviet Communist
 Party activists!

"The ideological struggle between East and
 West is directly involved in the selection of
 the cities where the Olympic Games take place.
 The decision to ^{award} ~~give~~ the honor of holding the
 Olympic Games ^{to} ~~in~~ the capital of the world's
 first socialist state is convincing testimony of
 the general recognition of the historic importance
 and correctness of the foreign policy course of
 our country, and of the enormous services of the
 Soviet Union in the struggle for peace."

P11
 ↑

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17

p11
↑

A few weeks ago I met with American athletes in the White House. I explained the Soviet stake in the Olympics, and of the moral and political reasons why the United States will not send a team to ~~a boycott~~ the Moscow Games. I understand the ~~magnitude of the~~ sacrifice I have asked these men and women to make for the sake of the security of their country and their world. The Soviet leaders certainly understand it. For ~~this boycott is~~ ^{our not sending a team to Moscow is} far more than a symbolic gesture. It is a direct repudiation -- in the phrase of their propaganda handbook -- of the "correctness" of their foreign policy.

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If I will ~~take whatever~~ legal actions are necessary to enforce the decision not to send a team to Moscow, I will take them. ~~enforce our boycott of the Olympics. We will not go to Moscow.~~ Under Olympic principles, athletes represent their nations. The United States does not wish to be represented in a host ~~and~~ country that is invading and subjugating another nation. ←

21-7

The course we pursue in this turbulent world is steady, firm and fair.

It is the course of a strong, stable nation practicing mature restraint but insisting on justice -- the policy we pursue in Iran.

It is the course of a resolute nation, hopeful of good relations but determined to deter aggression -- the course we pursue in our dealings with the Soviet Union.

It is the course of the peacemaker -- the same role to which the United States is committed in the Middle East and throughout the world.

And it is the course of an understanding nation, sensitive to the tides of change and to the rights and needs of all people -- America's rightful approach to the revolutionary climate in which a new world is now coming to life.

21 } 22
Our mission is to promote order, not to enforce our will; to protect our citizens and our national honor, not to harm or dishonor others; to compel restraint, not to provoke confrontation; to ^{support} protect

the weak, not to dominate them; and to assure that the

foundations of our new world are laid upon a stable superpower

balance -- not built on sand.

It is a worthy mission for a great nation, for a caring people, and for loyal friends.

It is the historical mission of the United States of America, and the United States of America will fulfill ~~it~~.
This mission.

#

EXECUTIVE ORDER

CREATING AN EMERGENCY BOARD TO INVESTIGATE
A DISPUTE BETWEEN THE PORT AUTHORITY
TRANS-HUDSON CORPORATION AND
CERTAIN OF ITS EMPLOYEES

A dispute exists between the Port Authority Trans-Hudson Corporation and certain of its employees represented by the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of the United States and Canada.

This dispute has not heretofore been adjusted under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, as amended; and

The dispute, in the judgment of the National Mediation Board, threatens substantially to interrupt interstate commerce to a degree such as to deprive a section of the country of essential transportation service:

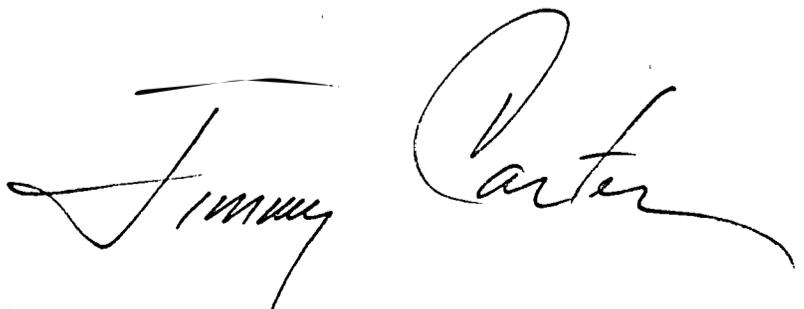
NOW, THEREFORE, by the authority vested in me by Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, as amended (45 U.S.C. 160), it is hereby ordered as follows:

1-101. Establishment of Board. There is established a board of three members to be appointed by the President to investigate this dispute. No member of the board shall be pecuniarily or otherwise interested in any organization of railroad employees or any carrier.

1-102. Report. The board shall report its finding to the President with respect to the dispute within 30 days from the date of this Order.

1-103. Maintaining Conditions. As provided by Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act, as amended, from this date and for 30 days after the board has made its report to the President, no change, except by agreement, shall be made by the Port Authority Trans-Hudson Corporation, or by its employees, in the conditions out of which the dispute arose.

THE WHITE HOUSE
April 12, 1980

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in black ink and is positioned to the right of the typed text of the executive order.

504-566-1980

CAMP DAVID
April 6, 1980

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56	199,000
22	80,574
5	16,737
3	11,233
11	41,

Mr. President -

C
K
B
Free
unc

Jim Free called asking that you make a
thank you call to the La. Carter/Mondale
coordinator ----

His name is Val Marmillion

7-8 + 2-3

40/51

They are having a staff luncheon now and will
be going separate ways soon thereafter.
However, if you could call before 2:00 our time,
Jim could give you a fill-in on the final
numbers.

Others at the luncheon deserving thanks are:

Allen Stonecipher (northern La. Coordinator)

and

Doris Crenshaw (Southern Black coordinator)

(Board has number for Jim Free et al ---- if
you can't do this before 2:00 p.m. we'll do
a phone request during the week).

franjer

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for Preservation Purposes

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON

April 11, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Charlie Schultze ^{C/S}
Subject: Tax cuts, spending cuts, and balanced budgets

On Thursday at the American Society of Newspaper Editors, you answered a question about tax cuts by saying that you would veto a tax cut "absent a sure commitment...that the budget for 1981 will be balanced."

I would like to suggest a somewhat different formulation, emphasizing spending cuts, rather than budget balance, as the "test."

Congress can itself deliver on spending cuts. It can't itself deliver on a balanced budget -- the course of the economy will have a lot to say about that.

More specifically, if Congress does everything you have asked, but the unemployment rate in fiscal 1981 rises by 1 percent more than we have forecast (to 8.2 instead of 7.2 percent), the budget will be in deficit, perhaps by \$10 billion or so. (Each additional 1 percent of unemployment now adds \$25 billion or more to the deficit.) But, under conditions of severe economic downturn, we may want to ask Congress for an "anti-inflation" tax cut effective as early as possible in 1981, even though the budget is still in deficit. We are not forecasting such a result, but it is more than a remote possibility.

I suggest, therefore, if asked about the conditions under which a tax cut might be acceptable, we say:

1. The top priority now before the Congress is not to cut taxes but to reduce budget spending and to enact the revenue measures (cash management, and dividend and interest withholding) by the amounts the President has requested. To the extent that Congress fails to enact any of the proposed cuts, they should substitute other measures that reduce the deficit by the same amounts.

2. After it is clear that the Congress is actually taking these steps, then -- but only then -- will we be in a position to recommend tax cuts, especially those designed to improve productivity. But we must "earn" our tax cuts with spending reductions.

12 Apr 80

Stu Eizenstat

The attached was returned in
the President's outbox today
and is forwarded to you for
appropriate handling.

Rick Hutcheson

cc: Frank Moore

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 11, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STU EIZENSTAT *Stu*

Attached are three letters for your signature to Carl Perkins, Harrison Williams and Gus Hawkins. The letters reiterate your support for the youth initiatives and indicate the priority we place on enactment of this legislation. We would like to distribute copies of the letter to Chairman Perkins to all Members of the House Education and Labor Committee.

I am asking that you add a personal note to Gus Hawkins, and have attached a card with a suggested text.

The letters have been approved by Tom Teal of the speechwriter's office and Bill Cable of Congressional Liaison.

(THREE SIGNATURES REQUESTED)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1980

Dear Mr. Chairman:

You and the members of the Employment Opportunities Subcommittee will meet shortly to make your decisions on Title I of the Youth Act of 1980. As these deliberations get underway, I want you to know that enactment of this legislation is one of my highest domestic priorities.

You are to be commended for the vigor and dedication you have shown in leading the fight against youth unemployment. Under your direction, Congress enacted the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act almost three years ago. We have learned much from our experience under YEDPA, and have incorporated these lessons into our proposals:

- o More work and training opportunities must be provided for young people with greater emphasis on effectiveness, performance and accountability.
- o Education must be combined with work. Young people deserve a chance to acquire skills and work experience they need to succeed in today's competitive labor market.
- o New partnerships between business, labor, education and community organizations must be forged. All elements of the community must work together to meet the needs of young people.

I am ready to work with you to enact a program that incorporates these features. I am not prepared to let the need for fiscal restraint become an excuse for postponing or setting aside the assistance so desperately needed by the young people we all care about.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

The Honorable Augustus Hawkins
Chairman
Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

*Gus - Fritz & I want to see
a youth employment bill enacted
this year & stand ready
to help.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1980

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The House Committee on Education and Labor will soon be making its decisions on the Youth Act of 1980. This legislation is among my Administration's highest priorities for this year and I am grateful for your leadership and that of Gus Hawkins.

We have learned much from the Youth Employment Demonstration Projects Act passed by Congress three years ago. Building on those lessons:

- o we have proposed substantial expansion of present work and training programs and important reforms to make them more effective and accountable;
- o we have shaped a major new effort to improve educational opportunities for youth whose lack of basic skills now too often becomes a lifelong handicap; and
- o we have included strong incentives for partnership between business, labor, education and community leadership at the local level to make these initiatives work.

I have proposed a tight budget and asked difficult sacrifices from all our people in order to overcome the greater pain of inflation. I know you agree that under present conditions even a tight budget must make room to strengthen and preserve our efforts to rescue a generation of disadvantaged young Americans from an endless cycle of poverty and lost opportunity.

I urge the Committee on Education and Labor to enact a strong four year bill incorporating these basic principles. I, and Secretaries Marshall and Hufstedler, stand ready to help.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

The Honorable Carl Perkins
Chairman
Committee on Education and Labor
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1980

Dear Mr. Chairman:

The Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources will soon be making its decisions on the Youth Act of 1980. This legislation is among my Administration's highest priorities for this year and I am grateful for your leadership and that of Gaylord Nelson and Claiborne Pell.

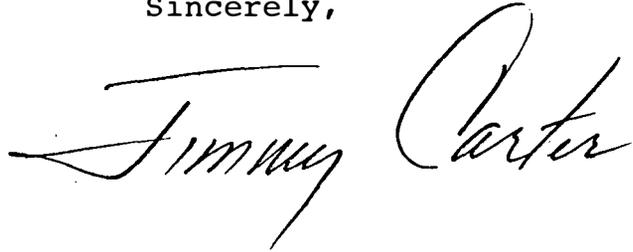
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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jimmy Carter". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

The Honorable Harrison Williams
Chairman
Committee on Labor and Human Resources
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

bill--

i've sent orig telegram back
to central files, with the
yellow tracking sheet attached
to it.

thanks-sc

cc Lloyd J

18
WHA 133 (1325) (4-032059S101)PD 04/10/80 1325
ICS IPMMTZZ CSP
2127378337 TDMT NEW YORK NY 131 04-10 0125P EST
PMS PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER
WHITE HOUSE DC

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR TELEGRAM REGARDING THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MOSCOW. I AM VERY MUCH IN FAVOR OF YOUR DECISION AND HOPE THE REST OF THE DELEGATES OF THE USOC WILL FEEL THE SAME AS WE DO. UNFORTUNATELY I CANNOT BE IN COLORADO FOR THE DELEGATES MEETING AND IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO VOTE BY PROXY. I HAVE SPOKEN WITH OTHER DELEGATES AND FIND THEY FEEL IF THE UNITED STATES WISHES TO BOYCOTT THE ATHLETES GOING TO MOSCOW, WHY IS IT THAT UNITED STATES CITIZENS ARE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO RUSSIA AS TOURISTS AND WHY ARE RUSSIANS ALLOWED TO COME HERE AS TOURISTS? I HAVE THESE SAME QUESTIONS WHY BOYCOTT THE ATHLETES AND NOT BE CONSISTENT AND BOYCOTT ALL AMERICANS GOING TO RUSSIA AND ALL RUSSIANS VISITING HERE. VERY RESPECTFULLY YOURS

MRS CORNELIUS VANDERBILT WHITNEY
834 5 AVE
NEW YORK NY 10021

NNNN

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for Preservation Purposes**