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Last Updated: 10/06/2023

FROM: BOB GARRICK
OUT AT: 9:00 a.m.

Senator Paul Laxalt
Ambassador Anne Armstrong

9 October

Bill Casey

✓ Ed Meese

Jim Baker

Bill Brock

Dean Burch
(For Ambassador Bush)

Peter Dailey

Mike Deaver

Drew Lewis

Lyn Nofziger

Verne Orr

Bill Timmons

Dick Wirthlin

Congressman Tom Evans

INFORMATION

Enclosed is the speech that
RR will give at San Fernando,
Valley, CA on Fri., 10 October
Please return comments by
9:00 a.m. Fri. 10 October.

Thank you.

Richard Allen

Martin Anderson

Jim Brady

Ed Gray

Others

Ray Dell
Bob Gray
Bill Morris

October 10, 1980

A VISION FOR AMERICA

Today I thought I'd take a break from talking about the usual campaign issues -- and do something that should be done in the closing weeks of this campaign -- and that's talk about America -- about us -- you and me.

Not so long ago, we emerged from a great war. Turning homeward at last, we built a grand prosperity and hoped -- from our own success and plenty -- to help others less fortunate.

Our peace was a tense and bitter one but in those days the center seemed to hold.

Then came the hard years: riots, assassinations, Vietnam, Watergate, our hostages in Iran -- the last four years of drift and disaster in Washington.

It all seemed a long way from a time when politics was our national passion and sometimes even fun -- when John F. Kennedy promised that we would bear any burden pay any price to keep the torch of freedom burning.

In a book that captured that spirit of renewal and optimism at the opening of the 60's, Allen Drury's ending to Advise and Consent was almost prophetic when he described a "kindly, pleasant, greening land about to learn whether history still has a place for a nation so strangely composed of great ideals and uneasy compromise as she."

That is really the question before us tonight: for the first time in their memory, many Americans are asking: does history still have a place for America, for her people, for her great i-

deals?

Some, and you know who they are, answer "no." They say our energy is spent, our days of greatness at an end, that a great national malaise is upon us.

They say that we must cut our expectations, that we must conserve and withdraw, that we must tell our children . . . not to dream as we once dreamed.

You know last year I lost a friend . . . and I know some will think it frivolous to talk about such a thing at a time like this -- but I bring it up because that friend was more than a symbol of the Hollywood dream industry; he was a symbol of our country itself. And when he died, the headlines seemed to convey all the doubt about America, all the nostalgia for a seemingly lost past.

"Mr. America dies" said one headline, "The Last American Hero" said another.

Well I know John Wayne well and no one would have been angrier at being called the "last American hero."

Just before he died, he said in his own blunt way that it was nonsense that our heroes were gone, our way of life crumbling.

"Just give the American people a good cause," he said, "and there's nothing they can't lick."

I remember -- it was not many months later -- almost as if on cue -- there was a bunch of back-street, down-the-block American kids making Olympic history -- standing up to the Red Army team in a small town in upstate New York. And soon not just Lake Placid but the whole world echoed the chant: "U.S.A. U.S.A."

It isn't some frivolous or misguided chauvinism that sparks these recollections -- just a realization that now more than ever

we Americans need to look deep into our past, to draw inspiration, to understand fully that we have faced grim, dangerous moments before -- and not been found wanting.

In the memory of many of us tonight, are men like Admiral Jerry Denton who -- "when hell was in session" in North Vietnam -- survived the tortures of a hideous captivity, and with our other prisoners of war stepped off a plane at Clark Air Force Base, said "God Bless America" and actually thanked us for bringing them home.

Only 8 months ago, at a place known as "Desert One" in Iran, young Americans showed again how willingly they would sacrifice themselves for their country and their countrymen. We think of them and their families tonight; we remember their names: Mayo and Bake, Holmes and Harvey and Johnson, McIntosh, McMillan and Lewis -- the sufferings of these men and their families are testimony to the awfulness of war and to our own sacred resolve to keep the peace.

And in remembering them we don't celebrate the martial spirit -- but American character. For our heroes of the last decades have come not just from our armed forces but from every walk of life, every part of the country.

Somewhere tonight, a Laotian or Vietnamese remembers the caring hands of a doctor from St. Louis -- some say he was a saint -- his name was Tom Dooley and he kept his promise and walked all those compassionate miles before he slept.

There was Gus Grisson, Ed White and Roger Chaffee who died as other Americans have died in opening our frontiers -- these were men with "the right stuff" whose courage was remembered when the message came back to earth -- "the eagle has landed."

Men like a Pennsylvania miner named Joe Yablonski or a Tennessee Sheriff named Buford Pusser or an Arizona reporter named Don Bolles -- they fought a lonely but typically American battle for reform in public life.

These were not the deeds of politicians or statesmen -- not the deeds of men who set out to be heroes. In many ways, they were ordinary Americans whose spontaneous response to time and circumstance gave us a glimpse into the soul of this country and the enduring vigor of her people.

Do not mistake me, no reasonable man who sees the world as it is, who views the deterioration of our economy, the waning of our relationships with our allies, the growth of Soviet might and the sufferings of our recent past could underestimate the difficulties before us.

But as in the lives of individuals so too in the lives of nations; it is always when things seem most unbearable -- that we must have faith that America's trials have meaning beyond our own understanding.

Since her beginning America has held fast to this belief, this hope of divine providence, this vision of "man with God."

That is why it is not bombs and rockets but believe and resolve that will win our struggle for peace -- it is not hubris before men but humility before God that is ultimately the source of America's strength as a nation.

Since our beginning, our people have held fast to this belief, this vision.

Every school boy knows the story: when Benjamin Franklin rose in the Continental Congress and told the assembled delegates that not the smallest bird falls from heaven without the hand of provi-

dence. Soon after that, a nation was born.

As early as 1630 -- on the ship Arabella bearing settlers to the New World, John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, held out this vision:

"For we must consider that we shall be a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world."

History records that America became more than just "a story" more than just a "byword" -- a sterile footnote in history. It is not surprising that I quoted John Winthrop's words often on the campaign trail this year -- for I believe that history will record that Americans in 1980 were every bit as committed to that vision of a "shining city on a hill."

We celebrated our 200th anniversary as a nation a short time ago. Fireworks exploded over Boston harbor, Arthur Fielder conducted, thousands cheered and waved Old Glory -- slowly -- back and forth.

These were not just images of our bicentennial; they are reminders of our birthright of freedom -- and of the generous still fervent patriotism that burns in America.

That patriotism can't even really contain itself -- remember "baseball's designated patriot" -- Rick Monday -- an outfielder for the Chicago Cubs who on April 25, 1976 at Dodger Stadium in Los Angeles grabbed the flag from two demonstrators who were trying to burn it in center field -- and as he ran to the dugout thousands stood and cheered and sang "God Bless America."

Only last year, during the last unforgettable scene of the movie Deerhunter, millions of modern, sophisticated Americans wept in darkened movie houses at the sight of simple plain Pennsylvanians who -- trying to recover from the wounds of Vietnam brought into their lives -- sat at a table singing quietly, reverently that song again -- so fittingly our second national anthem -- "God Bless America."

During the last year, while those who are pessimistic about America spent much of their time in Washington, I had a chance to meet and talk on the campaign trail with Americans from Nashua, New Hampshire to Newport Beach, California.

I think I speak for all of us when I say that I found no national malaise, I found nothing wrong with the American people. It is true that some Americans are "mad as hell" and "not going to take it anymore." But that is only evidence that the American people are as sturdy and robust as ever; -- it's only evidence that the American people understand the present crisis, that they comprehend the failure of the current leadership in Washington and that this November they intend to do something about it.

That is why I believe our resolve, our national spirit is no less today than it was in 1630 on the ship Arabella. We can and we must -- with all the speed of a Reggie Jackson homer or Rocky Balboa's comeback in the final round -- change our country's present course.

Let it always be clear that America has no dreams of empire, that we seek no manifest destiny, that we understand the limitations of any one nation's power.

But let it also be clear that we do not shirk history's call; that America is not turned inward but outward -- towards others

-- let it be clear that we have not lessened our commitment to peace or to the hope that someday all of the peoples of the world shall enjoy lives of decency -- lives with a degree of freedom, with a measure of dignity.

Together, today let us say what so many long to hear: that America is still united, still strong, still compassionate, still clinging fast to the dream of peace and freedom, still willing to stand by those who are persecuted or alone.

Tonight my fellow Americans, we have reached deep into our national past -- remembered the words and deeds of great men who have gone before us.

But before I close I want to leave with you a speech by a man who is not so well remembered in history, but those words, spoken on the eve of our struggle for independence, can uplift and inspire now as surely as they did in 1775.

"Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of . . . on you depend the fortunes of America -- you are to decide the important question, on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves."

They were the words of Joseph Warren, a Boston Doctor, a president of the Massachusetts Assembly, a man whom historians say would have been among the greatest of our founding fathers if his life had not been cut short at a place called Bunker Hill.

Not many months ago when I was in Washington and sat at a luncheon in the Capitol with our Senators and Congressmen, I thought of the challenge ahead, of the long campaign before us -- and I thought of how Americans -- in the difficult years ahead -- would once again be asked to act worthy of themselves.

Any man who said that at such a moment he did not feel humbled

and a little afraid would be less than honest.

I am not afraid to say that I prayed.

But I also wondered if men like Joseph Warren and John Winthrop and Benjamin Franklin could ever have dreamed of the legacy they would pass on to those of us who would someday come to that capitol -- that lovely, elevated city along the Potomac.

It is autumn now in Washington and the district residents say that more than ever during the past few years Americans are coming to visit their capitol -- some say this is because economic conditions rule out more expensive vacations elsewhere; some say an election year has heightened interest in the workings of the national government.

But others say something different: in a time when our values, when our place in history is so seriously questioned they say Americans want their sons and their daughters to see what is still for them and so many other millions in the world a city with a place for hope and room for freedom.

You can see them -- these Washington visitors -- looking for the famous as they walk through congressional hallways; as they return silent and tightlipped to a tour bus that brought them for a walk through rows of white crosses in Arlington Cemetery; you can see them as they look up at a towering statue of Jefferson or look out from the top of Washington's memorial; or as they read in the words inscribed in Lincoln's huge monument at the base of the reflecting pool . . . "Let us bind up the nation's wounds."

They are not white or black, not red or yellow, these visitors; they are not Jews or Christians; there are no conservatives or liberals, no Democrats or Republicans. They are only Americans, awed by what has gone before, proud of what for them is

still . . . a shining city on a hill.

Even as I speak today, some young American, coming up along the Virginia or Maryland shores of the Potomac is seeing for the first time the lights that glow on the great halls of our government and the monuments to the memory of our great men.

Let us resolve today that young Americans will always see those Potomac lights; that they will always find here a city of hope in a country that is free. And let us resolve that they will say of our day and generation: that we did keep faith with our God, that we did act "worthy of ourselves;" that we did protect and pass on -- lovingly -- that shining city on a hill.

To: Jim Brady, Lyn Notziger, Marty Anderson,
Mike Deaver

From: Bob GARRICK

October 10, 1980

DRAFT - (TD)
San Fernando Valley

A VISION FOR AMERICA

OK
Ready
8 Oct. 6:55 PM
EDT
Garrick

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608-785-0122

MASTER

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OUT AT: 9:00 a.m.

9 October

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✓ Ambassador Anne Armstrong
✓ Bill Casey
✓ Ed Meese
✓ Jim Baker
✓ Bill Brock
✓ Dean Burch
(For Ambassador Bush)
✓ Peter Dailey
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