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Ellis Island Speech

"The Spirit of Ellis Island"

It is fitting that we descendants of immigrants meet
on ~~this~~ ^{LABOR} day on this historic island.

What better ~~day~~ ^{way} to honor the ~~contributions~~ ^{made to freedom} by
American workers ~~than~~ ^{GATHER} to stand here, where it all
began for so many ~~of them and their families?~~ ^{US?}

^{Ellis Island} Here is where the ^{great} dream began. The dream was at once modest in
its goals and ~~revolutionary~~ ^{to be fulfilled for millions.} in its effects.

^{finally} To arrive at Ellis Island, ~~to pass the tests of the doctors,~~ ^{to pass health}
to finally realize that one ^{LONG} journey was over and another, greater
one had begun--has there ever in human history been ^{a place that held such} such great
moments for so many ~~people~~ ^{human beings?}

All these ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~people~~ ^{people} shared a common dream: to live at
peace in a land of freedom, where hard work would bring rewards, where
their children could go to schools and learn what their parents had
been denied; where they could bring with them their native culture,
and yet mingle with the new; where they could build their covenant
house, their synagogue, their cathedral, or their mosque, and bow in
homage to their God without fear of the stones, the jeers, and the
torment of religious persecution.

They knew what this tiny island meant. One ~~chronicle~~ ^{HISTORY OF} of the
~~immigrant~~ ^{IMMIGRATION} ~~reported the~~ ^{ON THE IMMIGRANTS} effect of
seeing Ellis Island for the first time. It states:

page 2.

' "There is Ellis Island' shouted an immigrant who had already been in the United States and knew of its alien laws. The name acted like magic. Faces grew taut, eyes narrowed. There, in those red buildings, fate awaited them. Were they ready to enter? Or were they to be sent back? "

~~z&0nlyz&0d&x&0n&0w&0s&0t&0z&0b&0o&0u&0k&0e&0d&0z&0a&0x&0e&0k&0d&0e&0r&0k&0y&0x&0n&0a&0y&0z&0h&0i&0s&0z&0w&0i&0k&0h&0e&0r&0e&0d&0x&0h&0a&0n&0d&0z&0x&0z~~
They ^{already} knew what America is about. And they came to make it greater and stonger.

The litany of the names of those who passed through this isalnd is a kind of American poetry, *unique in world history, a poetry whose beauty grew from the sound and the lilt and the music of a thousands of names.*

There was Nikola Tesla, the brilliant Croatian engineer who called down lightning from the heavens and made it do his bidding ; Sam Gompers, the English cigar maker, who forged the American labor movement; George Papanicolau, whose discoveries saved millions of women from the agony of cancer; ~~John Peter Altgeld, who courageously gave up a political career to pardon men whose crime had not been proved;~~ Michael Pupin, the Hungarian whose advances in communications helped tie together an expanding nation.

There were those masters of music, Toscanini and Iturbi. There were the heroes of our wars, men with names like Hansen and Krulak, Murphy and Basilone. And, ~~in our day, there is that piercing voice of morality and conscience, Alexander Isaevich Solzhenitsyn.~~ *in their traditions*

~~These are the famous names, but of course most of those who passed through this great hall were never famous. They labored and loved, worshiped and died, unsung by historians. Though they may not have dotted this land with libraries, still they made their contribution. Their sweat and blood brought forth the steel rails, and laid them across a continent. The rhythmic pounding of their pickaxes brought forth the coal that fired our industry and heated our homes. Their steady hands and keen eyes together clothed a nation. And the strength of their faith in God and in America helped make this the greatest country in the world.~~

They came to build a dream. And they succeeded, beyond their most fervent hopes.

↳ Theirs is the wisdom gained by suffering the consequences of the incompetence, ineptness and indifference of this President.

His economic policies have made it impossible for young Americans to buy a home, for ~~young~~teen-age Americans to get that first job so necessary to fulfill the dream, for older American to live off their pensions or Social Security.

~~zlkzxsxasziifxzysxszgaoz~~

The question ^{FACING} facing the American people is whether our nation is to be ^{GUIDED} guided by the wisdom of the ^{SPIRIT} spirit of Ellis Island ^{or} the self-announced wisdom of the man responsible for putting more American out of work than ~~any~~ anyone in fifty years.

IN NOVEMBER

~~Das MroxCtrkerc~~

Jimmy Carter has turned Labor Day ^{INTO} ~~into~~ Unemployment Day.

Does he admit this? No, in his acceptance speech he accepted everything but the blame ~~which is~~ for ~~causing~~ the problem he has caused. Listening to his ^{ACCEPTANCE} acceptance speech you would never know ^{ABOUT} ~~about~~ high inflation, high unemployment high interest rates, . And this is ^{the} a man who accuses others of living in a fantasy world!

Jimmy Carter cannot ^{be allowed to} turn his back on the American people and reiterate ^{INTO} ~~into~~ a private vision of his own strange wisdom. He has to face them.

And he has to face me. I tell you ^{now} that I look forward ^{with great anticipation} to meeting Mr. Carter in the televised debates because then the American people will get a chance to see ~~just how wise~~ in whose policies ^{WISDOM TRULY} wisdom resides.

~~Unzixzhenzixwaukztoxofezx~~

I am convined that the spirt of Ellis Island is so strog,
 so resiliant, so deeply embedded in the American cahrcater that
 it can survive even ~~the most wretched excesses of indifference~~
 four years of the Cater amdndtidon. *But not four more years of the same.*
 But we have to have a ^{NEW ADMINISTRATION} ~~new~~ adinstration, wit a new ^{VISION} ~~vsion~~, that
 will enbale that dream to prosper once/more.

It will, admittedly, take bold action to restore the full
 measure of the American dream that so thrilled those who came to this
 country in the previous century.

We must protect the human right to acquire and own private
 property, and make sure that it is extended to as many Americans, new
 and old, as possible. *A home is part of the dream*

We must begin now to roll back the crushing burden of taxation
 that inhibits investment, production, and the generation of real
 wealth for our people. *A job is part of the dream.*

We must strike down the barriers that inhibit the rebuilding
 of our great cities. *A neighborhood is part of the dream.*

We must end foolish government intervention that undermines
 our neighborhoods, especially those with a strong social, economic,
 cultural, and religious tradition, and find ways to restore to the
 people of those neighborhoods the responsibility and the resources to
 preserve and upgrade their quality of life.

We must pay new attention to our small business sector, a
 vital entry point for the most productive newcomers into the American
 economy. Small business needs relief from paperwork, relief from
 capital shortages, relief from depreciating capital, relief from
 overregulation, relief from a host of governmentally-created
 requirements that defeat the efforts of the men and women who society
 must count heavily upon for economic growth, job creation, and
 national renewal.

~~But we must do this not merely to accomodate
 immigrants, although that is indispensable to such an effort. We must
 do this for the benefit, too, of Americans, especially diadvantaged
 Americans who have been denied their full opportunity to contribute to~~
A chance to build is part of the dream.

But the spirit of Ellis Island demands something more than a new economic visions. It demands that the next admnstion respct and act upon the vlaues that the immigrast brought with them.

For too long Americans proud of their ethnic origins and heritage have been "invisible Americans" in the political process. Every four years they are courted by candidates who, after the votes are counted, develop a severe case of selective amnesia so far as the needs and the values of ethnic Americans are concerned. During the campaign, lip service is paid by the candidate to ethnic pride; ritual references to ethnic love of freedom is made; the candidate gets his picture taken eating what to him is exotic food or standing next to dancers wearing "quaint" national dress--but as soon as the election is over, these Americans are suddenly invisible to the candidates who exploited them.

I am here today to tell you that this political charade will have no place in the Reagan ^{AS CAMPAIGN OR THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION} campaign. The values, the convictions, the every-day philosophy at the heart of the American ethnic experience --these are what this nationalities ~~group~~ is all about. Where someone's father and mother or grandparents or great-grandparenst came from is and should be a great source of pride. But just as important as the origins of an American is the values that his family brought with them when they came to this country. Not just national dances or ethnic foods or love of language but the ideas that form the very foundation of family life--these are what must be at the heart of any nationalities group.

Not only the ethnic neighborhoods of the large cities but the suburbs where children and grandchildren have moved--while keeping the pride and the values they learned at home--this is where we will seek help ^{FOR AMERICAN} from any American who can look back with pride ^{AT HIS HERITAGE} and look forward with hope, inspired by the same values.

The Reagan administration will not forget what ethnic Americans have done--and it will not hesitate to ask such Americans to join, either in public or private life, ^{ETHNIC} enhancing, protecting and placing at the heart of government the values they cherish.

To all Americans who have witnessed their family values shaken by the insensivity, the ignorance and the neglect of big government we say: welcome! Your time has come. Your values will inspire and be served by the Reagan administration.

We ^{WILL} can through our actions in the international arena let ~~those~~ millions of people ^{Europe dominated by Communism} know that there burns yet, in the night that surrounds them, a shining beacon called America. We ^{WILL} can put forth a message of hope in tongues they understand, through the Voice of America. We ^{WILL} can speak out, in international forums, for the human rights of which they have been deprived. *The relatives and friends of those fortunate enough to live in freedom will never be forgotten and their plight will never be ignored.*

Abraham Lincoln ^{referred} ~~referred~~ to the battlefiled of Gettysburg as "hallowed ground".

We too stand on hallowed ground, made ~~ground~~ ^{SACRED} not by ~~the shed~~ blood ^{SHED} the immigrnats but by the ~~very~~ fact of their presence here.

I/cannot and will not stand idly by and see their dream ~~made~~ -- OUR DREAM -- turned to ashes for their chidren and their childrens children.

I cannot and will not accpet the view held by Mr.Cater that Americans should expect as amtter of course to ~~be~~ ^{BE} ~~be~~ thrown out of their jobs because of economic blunders in Washington.

I ~~cannot~~ and will not ~~terate~~ ^{terate} a philosohsy , like that of JIMMY CARTER the ~~presnet administaion~~, that tells us that the dream is dead, that the vispn has been lost forver, that what these millions came to find is hidden in the mists of time, a ~~meemory~~ ^{meemory}, never to come again.

On this ~~LABOR DAY~~ ^{LABOR DAY}, on this hallowed ~~ground~~ ^{GROUND}, I ~~pledge~~ ^{DLEDGE} ~~pledge~~ to you and to the memoery of the dreamers, a new ~~and~~ adminsnstion dedicated to the ancinet dream.

On this ~~ground~~ ^{SACRED GROUND}, we take our stand. ~~From~~ here we will bring our message to all Americans, for it is ~~message~~ ^{A MESSAGE} their ancestirs knew in their ~~hearts~~.

The spint of Ellis Island will ~~once again~~ ^{once again} revitalize our nation and start her off once more ~~on~~ ^{TOWARD} ~~her~~ of peace and freeodm and sceurity and stgehe for genetions to come.



Spirit of Ellis Island

I am here today to tell you that this political charade will have no place in the Reagan Campaign or the Reagan Administration. The values, the convictions, the every-day philosophy at the heart of the American ethnic experience---these are what this nation is all about. Where someone's father and mother or grandparents or great-grandparents came from is and should be a great source of pride. But just as important as the origins of an American is the values that his family brought with them when they came to this country. Not just national dances or ethnic foods or love of language but the ideas that form the very foundation of family life---these are what must be at the heart of any ~~administration~~ ^{ADMINISTRATION}.

Not only the ethnic neighborhoods of the large cities but the suburbs where children and grandchildren have moved---while keeping the pride and the values they learned at home---this is where we will seek help from any American who can look back with pride at his heritage and look forward with hope for America inspired by the same values.

The Reagan administration will not forget what ethnic Americans have done---and it will not hesitate to ask such Americans to join, either in public or private life, in enhancing, protecting and placing at the heart of government the values they cherish.

To all ethnic Americans who have witnessed their family values shaken by the insensitivity, the ignorance and the neglect of big government we say welcome! Your time had come. Your values will inspire and be served by the Reagan administration.

INSERT ~~-----~~ INSERT THE ATTACHED PAGE HERE AND THEN PICK IT UP HERE
We will, through our actions in the international arena, let millions of people dominated by Communism know that there burns yet, in the night that surrounds them, a shining beacon called America. We will put forth a message of hope in tongues they understand, through the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberte. We will ^{NOT ONLY} speak out, BUT ACT, in international forums, for the human rights of which they have been deprived. The relatives and friends of those fortunate enough to

Spirit of Ellis Island

live in freedom will never be forgotten and their plight will never be ignored.

Abraham Lincoln referred to the battlefield of Gettysburg as "hallowed ground."

We , too, stand on hallowed ground, made sacred ~~nearby blood~~ by the immigrants ~~by~~ by the very fact of their presence here.

I cannot and will not stand idly by and see their dream--our dream--turned to ashes for their children and their children's children.

I cannot and will not accept the view held by Mr. Carter that Americans should expect as a matter of course to be thrown out of their jobs because of economic blunders in Washington.

I cannot and will not tolerate a philosophy like that of Jimmy Carter that tells us the the dream is dead, that the vision has been lost forever, that what these millions came to find is hidden in the mists of time, a memory, never to come again.

On this Labor Day, on this hallowed ground, I pledge to you and to the memory of the dreamers, a new administration dedicated to the ancient dream.

On this sacred ground we take our stand. From here we will bring our message to all Americans, for it is a message their ancestors knew in their hearts.

The spirit of Ellis Island will revitalize our nation and start her off once more toward peace and freedom, security and strength for ~~generations~~ ^{YEARS} to come.

INSERT

TO GO AFTER
"Served by the Reagan
administration" on p. 6

Just as the values and the economic well-being of those who share the dream are threatened by the infinite capacity for blunder and error on the part of the Carter administration, their very survival is threatened by the armed might of the Soviet Union.

Think of it for a moment: here, on this spot, millions of human beings breathed the air of freedom for the first time. They had fled oppression in all its ancient forms: bigotry, economic slavery, famine, government oppression.

And now we, their descendants, face a threat that dwarfs anything they face. Remember the words of Winston Churchill, talking about the Nazi tyranny. He said it was all the more sinister because it had at its disposal a "perverted science".

Now, the uses to which science is put by the Soviet Union dwarfs anything imagined by Hitler. From the drugs used in the psychiatric hospitals which are nothing but disguised concentration camps ~~xxxx~~ to the computers we ~~xxxx~~ sell them which enable the police state to function more efficiently; from ~~xx~~ the poison gas they use to kill Afghan freedom fighters to the ~~xxx~~ nuclear missile force that is the club with which they seek either to bully us into submission or destroy us--we the descendants of the builders of the dream must fight the tyranny they came here to escape.
infinitely more dangerous than

They came here to see that their knowledge and their work would build freedom; we face a threat that sees knowledge and work as tools at the disposal of brutal tyrants.

And so the lines are ~~xxx~~ drawn, as they have always been: those who see labor as a means of self-fulfillment and family advancement and those who see labor as the property of the state to be used as the state sees fit.

Ellis Island, if it means anything at all, means that the dream of labor for freedom is worth any sacrifice.

requirements of diplomatic intercourse.

The next Republican administration will explore the idea of a temporary sojourn in America for refugees from tyranny, as an alternative to their total commitment to becoming Americans and renouncing all allegiance to their homelands. When brave men and women arise to hurl those tyrannies down, then those who have taken temporary refuge in America can return to their homeland. They can use the skills and resources acquired in a free America to restore their homeland to its rightful place among the free nations of the world. And they can go forth with the gratitude of the people with whom they lived until their great opportunity came.

Where immigration is spurred by poverty and ignorance and disease, America can help the people of those lands to overcome those problems -- not through massive foreign aid programs that build monuments to the ambition of the ruling classes, but through the small, splendid efforts that spell real progress for millions rather than profits and privilege for a few.

We can help through a revitalized Peace Corps; through helping people to feed themselves through practical farming methods; through applying the lessons of appropriate technology on a small scale; through creating rural credit unions; through encouraging the kind of land reform that made millions of Japanese and free Chinese on Taiwan into productive property owners; and through many other techniques that have proven effective in empowering people to make the most of their circumstances.

This is a task that government cannot by itself expect to carry out. Its success depends on dedicated people, both volunteers willing to travel abroad, and civic organizations at home willing to provide support. Through these methods we can hope to reduce the pressure for immigration to the United States by making life attractive to potential immigrants in their native land.

And in promoting these people to people techniques, as well as in accepting the outpouring of refugees from political persecution, we must once again ascend to a position of leadership among our sister nations who share with us a common devotion to the ideals of democracy

and freedom.

This is not the kind of leadership, I am sorry to say, that Jimmy Carter exhibited during the Cuban refugee crisis.

When thousands of Cubans got the chance to flee the bread lines and labor camps of Fidel Castro's island prison, Jimmy Carter declared that the United States would welcome them "with open heart and open arms". Shortly thereafter his administration issued orders for the seizure of private boats carrying Cubans to U.S. ports, and the fining of ship's captains \$1000 for each refugee found on board. The confused and uncertain leadership of an administration transfixed with the idea of national decline converted what might have been a propaganda triumph for the free world into yet another national embarrassment.

The kind of leadership America needs is that of Thomas Jefferson, who saw so clearly what America meant in a world of oppression and despair. "Trusted with the destinies of this solitary republic of the world, the only monument of human rights, and the sole repository of the sacred fire of freedom and self-government," he wrote the citizens of Washington upon retiring from the Presidency "from hence it is to be lighted up in other regions of the earth, if other regions are ever to become susceptible of its genial influence."

This today, no less than in 1809, must be America's message to those in other lands. We must be worthy of our cause by achieving freedom and justice and prosperity for all here at home. We must welcome to our shores those who share that dream, and invite them to make their contribution to its achievement. We must pledge never to forget those who labor unrewarded under foreign despotisms, and to work unceasingly to promote their eventual freedom and self-government. And in all this we must once again rise to the challenge of leadership. For it is not the fortunes of a political party, nor the ambitions of any candidate, but our real destiny as a nation that is at stake.

(3289 words)

TEMPORARY NATURALIZATION

Since 1859 it has been official U.S. policy that completion of naturalization proceedings totally dissolves any former tie of allegiance to the country of origin.

The "declaration of intention", the first step toward naturalization, specifically declares the immigrant's intention to renounce all allegiance to his former state. The citizenship petition which follows reaffirms that the immigrant renounces his former allegiance, and declares that he intends to reside permanently in the U.S. and support the Constitution.

The effect of this process is to completely sever the immigrant's ties to his homeland. If a naturalized citizen returns to his homeland, he "returns as an American citizen and in no other character", and is thus entitled to full protection by the United States if the other government attempts to claim from him obligations of citizenship such as military service.

At a time when the U.S. was being settled by waves of immigration, there was obviously a public policy to be served in asking immigrants to dissolve all former ties in seeking U.S. citizenship. In an era of large refugee flows to the U.S. from lands under Communist control (i.e, Cuba, Viet Nam), a question can be raised about the utility of such a policy in light of the refugees' possible return to their homeland once Communist tyranny is overthrown.

If it were to become the policy of the U.S. that refugees from totalitarianism would be welcomed here, but that they would be expected to consider returning to their homeland when new conditions obtained there, then the present permanent nationalization policy would be inappropriate.

It might therefore be worth considering a new naturalization option in such cases: the immigrant would have the opportunity to achieve political citizenship in the U.S., but if he subsequently chose to return to his country of origin, he would, without prejudice, terminate his U.S. citizenship, and the U.S. would have no obligation to protect him or defend his rights.

Thus a refugee from communism would have the chance to obtain the benefits of U.S. citizenship, but he would not be asked to make a final and irrevocable commitment to U.S. citizenship; instead, he would reserve the option of returning to his own country when it once again became free. This amendment of the declaration of intention would keep alive in the mind of the immigrant the possibility of returning to rebuild his own land later on, an idea precluded by the present statement. The nationality of children born in the U.S. during an immigrant's stay here would require some additional policy decisions.

Those who feared the immigrant, like the American Protective Association and the Ku Klux Klan, raised the cry that they would bring alien doctrines to the land - that the newcomers would take American jobs - that they would mongrelize the American race, surely a curious attack in view of the variety of races and nationalities already mixed together in this great melting pot.

Those views are heard today in the land, whenever new voices cry out for admission. They come from those who share the outlook of the Carter Administration, the view that the greatness of America is now a thing of the past, and that our national future is not one of growth and greatness, but of unavoidable austerity and malaise.

They seem to believe that each newcomer is different from our own fathers and grandfathers; that he comes not to make a contribution to the strength of America, but merely to consume our diminishing substance in the gathering dusk that precedes a period of cold national night.

I deny it. I deny that it is America's fate, in this year 1980, to slide down the slope of history, a once great nation consigned to the final darkness by a failure of its leadership to unchain the energies of its people. And I believe that the great majority of those eager to come to our shores today are no less motivated and dedicated than the millions who poured in during America's great age of expansion and industrialization.

Not all of today's immigrants, of course, are worthy of admittance. We have no obligation to accept the criminals of other lands. Nor do we welcome those whose only wish is to exchange the privation of socialism abroad for the comfort of a welfare state in America. For those, we would do well to expedite an exit to some socialist country where their ideology is appreciated, though their bellies may be empty.

Men and women yearning for freedom, men and women denied basic human rights by a totalitarian regime, men and women determined to produce, save, invest, own, and build - these are the kind of men and women America wants and needs. But we cannot attract such men and women by accepting the idea of an economy and a society shackled by

the wealth and strength of their nation. A vibrant, expanding economy, a land of real freedom to invest and produce and enjoy the fruits of one's labor and industry - these are vital to us all, those already aboard and those coming up the gangplank. For when we get America moving forward again, we must make sure that no one is left behind.

It must be recognized, however, that there are limits. We cannot take in every person in the world who would like to dwell in a free America. How to make the fateful decisions about admission and rejection has been one of the most difficult questions of public policy, and the rules have always been complicated and frequently absurd. The 1917 immigration act, for example, created numerous complex categories for persons unfit to enter. Among them were persons who opposed all organized governments - a tribe which in this era of high taxation and oppressive regulation seems to be growing - and persons who exhibited "constitutional inferiority complexes". A Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, composed of distinguished members of the Congress and private citizens, is due to make recommendations to the next Administration. Let us hope that they can break some new ground in rationalizing policies which have been awkward and embarrassing in the past.

There are, however, other things this country can do to deal with the immigration and refugee problems, things that go beyond devising a fair admission policy.

We can reject once and for all the defeatist philosophy that holds that the captive nations of the world are fated to endure Communist domination until the end of time. We can say to the world - and particularly to the people of the Soviet empire- yes, we hear your cries of anguish. We know you suffer today under the iron control of Moscow. And we must tell you, honestly, that in this menacing nuclear age the United States dares not support your freedom by military means.

But we must say to them too that Americans are not and cannot be complacent so long as the iron boot of communism crushes the neck of the people of the Ukraine, of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania; of Cuba and Viet Nam; China and Eastern Europe; Nicaragua and Ethiopia;

Where a man is a man if he's willing to toil
And the humblest may gather the fruits of the soil
Where children are blessings, and he who hath most
Has aid for his fortune and riches to boast
Where the young may exult and the aged may rest
Away, far away, to the land of the West.

And to the West went that humble weaver, in the year 1848, and his lad became a bobbin boy in a textile mill, and then a telegrapher on the railroad. By luck and pluck he rose to superintendent, and then left the railroad to run the iron works in which he had methodically invested his savings. No man of his time made more or better steel than Andrew Carnegie. He made millionaires of forty of his partners, rolled out the rails that conquered the West, hammered the plates that carried American shipping from Hong Kong to the Levant. Today over 2800 libraries across this land bear his name, and testify to what this penniless immigrant lad gave back to the country that took him in and gave his God-given talent the freedom to flourish.

Emigration was an act of hope, but it could also be an act of tragic sacrifice. The screenwriter Elia Kazan, in his historical novel 'America America', tells of two young Turkish immigrants whose excitement mounted as the promised land came near. But one boy discovered, just before the ship came to port, that he had tuberculosis. He knew that he would be denied entry to the land of his dreams. And he knew, too, that his friend would be turned away, for they had shared a bunk throughout the long ocean crossing. To give his friend his chance for a new life in America, that sick Turkish lad, in the darkness, slipped quietly over the rail into the cold waters of the Atlantic.

The common picture evoked by the mention of Ellis Island is a terrified huddle of ragged foreigners, "the wretched refuse of the teeming shores". But, as a Danish poet Adam Dan put it, "we came not empty handed here, but brought a rich inheritance." What they lacked in elegance, they made up for in will and wit and enthusiasm for the land of freedom that bade them welcome.

The roster of distinguished immigrants is seemingly endless.

May 8, 1980

To: Casey, Wirthlin, Meese
Re: The Formation of a Reagan "Nationalities" Group
Fr: Bill Gavin

Bill

Bill Safire reports (May 8, 1980) that Gene Rossides will head a "nationalities" group for Reagan. The idea is a good one, but someone--Reagan? Rossides?--should say something like this:

One such immigrant, a 13 year old lad in Dumferline, Scotland, recalled years later his mother and father , standing in the door of their weaver's hovel, singing this song:

To the West, to the West, to the land of the free
Where the mighty Missouri rolls down to the sea

Note: Something like that. The point is to make sure everyone understands we're just not doing yet another "ethnic" number. This time the doors stay open at the White House and not just on a pro-forma basis. Thus, our nationalities group will be built around values, ideas, convictions as well as goulash and clog-shoe dancing. Up the rebel!

It is fitting that we descendants of immigrants meet today on this historic island. For through these portals for over 62 years poured a human tide of men, women and children, our fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers. Today these buildings are but a lifeless monument, but once the halls resounded with the tongues of many nations , and the visitor saw the solemn black of the Hasidics, the embroidery of the Balkans, the desert robes of the Egyptian.

They came from many lands and they came for many reasons. Some were peasants along the Danube, living in abject poverty, rackrented by a greedy landlord. Others were working men and women from the slums of Europe's great cities, condemned to a life of ceaseless toil, denied the hope of ever becoming their own masters.

Yet others fled the long arm of conscription, feeling no obligation the risk their lives in the endless wars through which crowned heads of Europe amused themselves while millions of their subjects suffered and died. Others left behind a rigid class system , where the son of a digger of ditches could hope only to be a digger of ditches himself, denied education, denied opportunity, denied everything in life. And there were those whose religion differed from the official religion of their state, who were hounded and persecuted until they bade a final goodbye to the land of their birth.

We must, on occasion, deal with their masters, loathsome as we find their crimes against their people. But we will, as a matter of national purpose and national honor, reject the course of easy camaraderie with those, whether of left or right, who have tyrannically crushed the rights and the hopes and the dreams of their people.

Never will another American president kiss the dictator of Soviet Russia on both cheeks. And never again will an American President deliver the greatest treasure of a proud and ancient people - like the Crown of St. Stephen - to a Red dictator who betrayed the bravery of his countrymen in their finest tragic hour.

Americans - at least until the tenets of defeatism and despair came to paralyze the Carter Administration - have firmly believed that tyranny will in time be overthrown. They have believed that history is on the side of freedom and democracy and human rights, and not on the side of Marx and Lenin and Mao Tse Tung. That belief can be a powerful moral force, a force that can sustain brave men like Andrei Sakharov in his Gorky exile, or Huber Matos, for twenty years a prisoner in Castro's dungeons.

The next Republican Administration will not promise to strike down communism or apartheid or right-wing dictatorships wherever they appear. It will not send Americans to die in a score of foreign lands, even though the cause excites the imagination of all Americans who love freedom and democracy and justice and the right. No, liberation must be won by the people of those lands. But they must know that America is there; that everything it stands for remains unblemished; and that its honor bears no stain of fraternization with those who are guilty of crimes against their people, beyond the minimum

centralized government, burdened by oppressive taxation, infected by the notion that growth and prosperity somehow comes from government spending programs instead of private investment.

A vigorous, confident America can find room for those who ask only to make their way in freedom. And if we build a new, vigorous, confident America, no one need fear that the influx of 674,000 immigrants a year will do anything but enhance the opportunities of all.

But even from the earliest times some of those who came before resented those who came after, and sought to keep them out. The Puritan divine Cotton Mather, in 1682, wrote a friend that the ship Welcome "has on board one hundred or more of the heretics and malignants known as Quakers, with William Penn, who is the chief scamp, at the head of them." Mather noted that the General Court of Massachusetts had ordered Captain Huscott to waylay the Welcome, seize the Quakers, and sell them into slavery in Barbados to cover costs. Happily for the future state of Pennsylvania, the effort seems to have failed. A Congressman declared, some years later, that while liberal immigration policies were fine for a country new and unsettled, the U.S. had become mature and fully populated, so that the gates must be closed to newcomers. That speech was made in 1797.

Democratic Senators Slated for Extinction

By PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

If the primaries of "Super Tuesday" left a cloud over the re-election campaign of Jimmy Carter, they left the sky black over the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Speaking of Senators George McGovern of South Dakota and John Culver of Iowa, one Democrat moaned, "They're cleaning out their desks over there."

While making predictions about November is risky business in July, what seems certain is this: The Senate in the 97th Congress will be the most defense-minded since the early years of the Vietnam War.

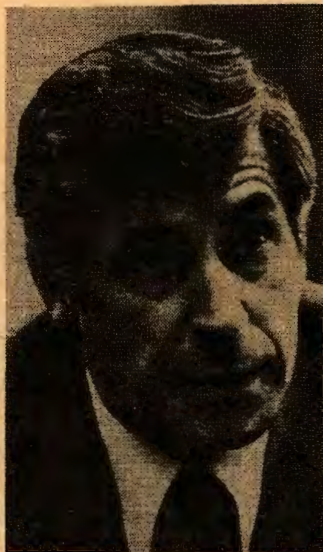
The Democrats facing re-election this year, the so-called "Gang of 24," were, almost to a man, elected or re-elected in 1974. They are the "Watergate Class," senators swept into office on a tide of voter revulsion to Watergate, the Pardon, the worst economic recession since the Great Depression. This year they will be running with an unpopular President, during a recession

had lost 38 per cent of the primary vote to a political unknown. In some polls he is running a dozen points behind conservative Republican Jim Abner (ASC Rating: 100 per cent). During the last decade, McGovern compiled, according to the ASC, the worst voting record of any member of the Senate, a perfect zero out of 50 votes cast.

John Culver of Iowa. On "Super Tuesday" Rep. Chuck Grassley rolled up a 2-to-1 victory over a moderate Republican who spent a million dollars to defeat him. Grassley's ASC rating averages about 90 per cent to Culver's 15 per cent and the latter—an old friend and erstwhile ally of Teddy Kennedy—is an unapologetic liberal in a state moving conservative. The former Harvard fullback is a good bet to follow his protege, ex-Sen. Dick Clark, into early retirement after a single term.

Frank Church of Idaho. Facing Rep. Steve Symms (ASC Rating: 100 per cent), the scourge of the Central Intelligence Agency is no better than even money to survive November. Like his predecessor chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, Church (the ASC has him voting right six times out of a possible 50 over the last decade) has a voting record utterly out of sync with Idaho.

Birch Bayh of Indiana. Another beneficiary of Watergate and the '74



Sen. Gravel may not even be able to survive Alaska's Democratic primary.

which promises to erase the memory of '74. According to insiders at the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, here are the Democrats least likely to be sworn in again in 1981, in descending order of vulnerability. The names read like an honor roll of Americans for Democratic Action.

Mike Gravel of Alaska. According to the defense-minded American Security Council (ASC) which rates every senator each Congress, this two-term Democrat cast only two correct votes out of a possible 50 in the decade between 1969 and 1979. The possibility exists he may not even survive his party's primary.

George McGovern of South Dakota. The day after "Super Tuesday" the McGovern staff awoke to find that their champion, the Democratic nominee for President eight years ago,



Bayh (above) faces the toughest challenge of his 18 years in the Senate—a race against popular two-term Rep. Quayle.

recession, when he narrowly defeated now-Sen. Richard Lugar, Bayh faces the toughest fight of his 18-year Senate career with 33-year-old, two-term Rep. Dan Quayle. Bayh's ASC rating over the decade averages out to about 12 per cent.

John Durkin of New Hampshire. With his endorsement of Kennedy in New Hampshire and his savaging of the President, Durkin will have difficulty with whatever Republican is chosen to confront him.

Gary Hart of Colorado. The former chairman of George McGovern's campaign is another good bet to follow his old boss into retirement, although an opponent has not yet been chosen. In the 94th and 95th Congresses, the American Security Council had Hart voting pro-defense on one issue out of 20.

(All of the above, incidentally, will be running for re-election in states Ronald Reagan should carry—compounding their political problems.)

While these seven are on the top tier of Republican targets, six other Democrats could go under in a Republican sweep: Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, Donald Stewart of Alabama, Richard Stone of Florida, Tom Eagleton of Missouri, Alan Cranston of California and Warren Magnuson of Washington. Of the crop, only Stone has a commendable voting record on defense, while Magnuson's is passable.

On the other side, the Republicans have seven incumbents up, six of whom seem certain of victory: Goldwater of

Arizona, Laxalt of Nevada, Garn of Utah, Dole of Kansas, Mathias of Maryland and Packwood of Oregon. Only Jack Javits, the most liberal Republican in the Senate, seems vulnerable; and only because of physical, not political, health.

Three Republicans are retiring: Milton Young of North Dakota, who will be replaced by like-minded, Mark Andrews; Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, who will be replaced either by a conservative Democrat or an even more conservative Republican; and Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania—Reagan's proposed running-mate in 1976. Only in Pennsylvania can Democrats (and liberals) reasonably hope to find in November a senator more congenial than the incumbent.

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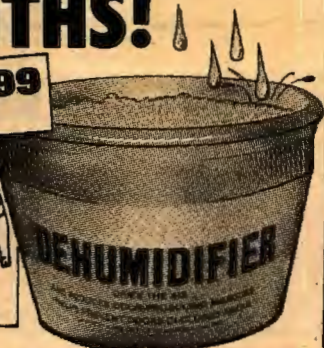
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Bill Gavin

President Reagan Would Restore a Sense of Community

By JOHN McCLAUGHRY

The common people of America suffer from a number of afflictions. They are overtaxed, overregulated and over-governed. Their savings have disappeared as their government has methodically destroyed the value of the dollar. Their security against foreign enemies is a matter of considerable controversy. They face the continual prospect of shivering in the dark, thanks to foolish energy policies concocted by a Congress and President seemingly determined to make us ever more dependent on OPEC.

All these problems are regularly recounted in the mass media, as if anyone needed to be reminded. But there is another affliction, a slow, creeping malady, that over the past half-century has created an ever-rising barrier to the application of the creative energies of free people. The affliction is the growth of giantism in American life.

It is the giantism of remote, impersonal, bureaucratic government that at best treats the individual as nothing but a statistic, and, more commonly, as an insect.

It is the large absentee-owned corporation which makes decisions vital to a local community from a distant corporate headquarters.

It is the international labor union which enforces its policies on the dissenting members of a local.

It is the international bank which collects billions in deposits to lend to Socialist and Communist governments hostile to the United States and to the freedom of their own people.

It is the giantism of large social institutions like the national media and the megauniversity.

This dominance of giantism in our political, economic and social institutions is becoming an increasing burden to the common people of this country, who are pushed hither and yon by forces they do not fully understand and over which they have little or no control—and who are periodically requested, one way or another, to foot the bill for it.

Those who share the increasing repugnance to this giantism in American life are looking for a leader who feels that same repugnance and who will, as President, work to shape national policy to encourage, rather than extinguish, the human scale institutions of this nation.

They want a leader who can look at America not only from the pinnacle of the presidency, but also through their own eyes—who can understand and share their hopes and fears, their dreams and despair. In Ronald Reagan they have at last found their man.

For despite a lifetime of extraordinary accomplishment in both private and public life, Ronald Reagan has

never lost that vital capacity to look at the world through the eyes of the common man and woman. He was not born into an upper-income family, where the nice things of life came easily and others did the hard work. He still remembers, one Christmas Eve in the depths of the Depression, his father opening a letter from his boss. Instead of a Christmas

Ronald Reagan's response to the urban rioting of 1968 was characteristic. Quietly, without fanfare, the governor of California set out to meet with leaders of minority groups in communities throughout California. He made it a point to seek out the real grass-roots leadership, the people who had influence in their community or

on the part of the government planners had canceled or reduced them." From this kind of first-hand experience, the son of an Irish shoe salesman gained a new understanding. And the experience affirmed once again his belief in the creative potential of the American people, working in their neighborhoods, villages and communities to improve the circumstances of their lives.

In the fall of 1975, preparing for his first serious quest for the presidency, Ronald Reagan gave a major address in Chicago setting out the themes of his coming campaign. Quoting one-time Kennedy adviser Richard Goodwin, Reagan put his finger squarely on this issue: "The most troubling political fact of our age is that the growth in central power has been accompanied by a swift and continual diminution in the significance of the individual citizen, transforming him from a wielder into an object of authority."

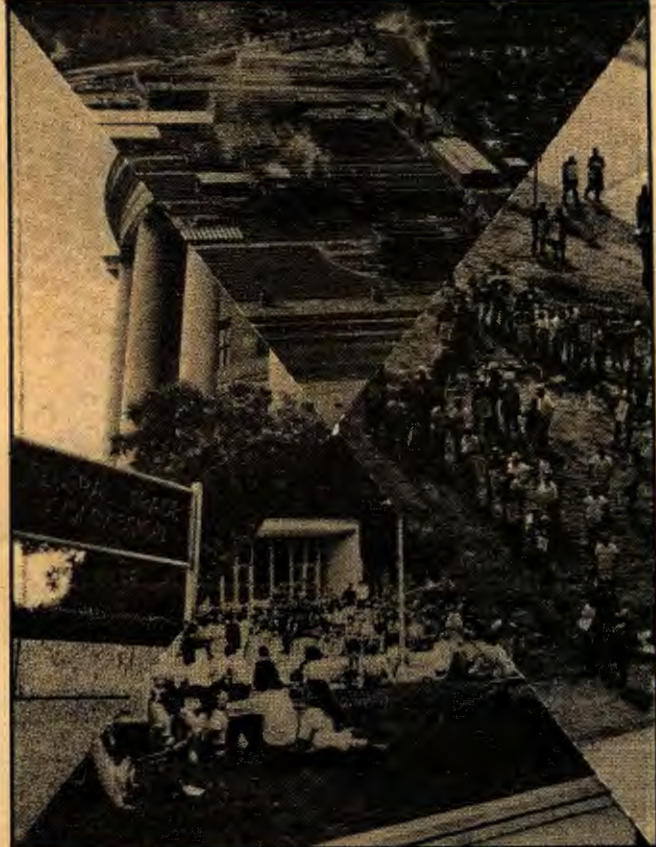
Reagan went on to point out how bureaucrats and social planners had attempted to force their programs down the throats of people in towns and neighborhoods throughout the land, while ignoring one important truth. "The truth is," Reagan said, "that people all over America have been thinking about all of these problems for years. This country is bursting with ideas and creativity, but a government run by bureaucrats in Washington has no way to respond. . . . The more we let the people decide, the more we'll find out what policies work and what policies don't work."

"I am calling also for an end to giantism," said Reagan, "for a return to human scale, the scale that human beings can understand and copy with; the scale of the local fraternal lodge, the church congregation, the block club, the farm bureau. It is the locally owned factory, the small businessman who personally deals with his customers and stands behind his product, the farm and consumer cooperative, the town or neighborhood bank that invests in the community, the union local.

"In government, the human scale is the town council, the board of selectmen and the precinct captain. It is this activity on a small, human scale that creates the fabric of community, a framework for the creation of abundance and liberty."

Unfortunately, Reagan was unable to wrest the Republican nomination from Gerald Ford, and in due course the presidency passed to Jimmy Carter. But Ronald Reagan did not retire to his beloved ranch. He launched a series of radio commentaries and newspaper columns to focus public attention on the key issues of the day. The majority of those commentaries dealt with major national issues like foreign affairs, inflation, unemployment, and government interference into the lives of its citizens. But a review of the hundreds of Reagan scripts reveals a continual return to the themes of the individual citizen and the human scale.

One early radio script was a review of



The affliction of giantism—bureaucratic government, absentee-owned corporations, international unionism and the megauniversity to name but a few—is a creeping malady afflicting American life.

greeting, it was a blue slip telling him that he no longer had a job. "The memory of him sitting there holding that slip of paper and then saying in a half-whisper, 'That's quite a Christmas present'—it will stay with me as long as I live," Reagan was to say years later.

Ronald Reagan worked his way through a Christian college with less than a thousand students. He landed a job as small-time radio announcer, broadcasting high school sports to hometown fans in Illinois and Iowa. Then came the screen test and the beginning of a career that led him to the governor's office in Sacramento. But although he was called upon in public life to take a broad view of the problems of the nation's largest state, his natural instinct was to go behind the computer printouts and expert advice to try to see public problems through the eyes of the little guy who bore the burden and paid the bills.

neighborhood, but who lacked the press agents of the leaders featured in the news media. In his own words, "I listened to their grievances, their suggestions, their hopes and their hopelessness." He met with bitterness and sorrow—but from it he learned how poor black and Hispanic citizens viewed the world. He learned how the schools had failed them, how the economic system had too often denied them a chance to become owners and producers, how government programs had raised hopes they could not possibly fulfill.

"In these meetings," Reagan recounted later, "I found responsible, fine men and women of our minority communities, following disappointment after disappointment with a patience that is hard for us to comprehend, scrounging for contributions, trying to keep some of the more effective programs going, after some whim

Mr. McLaughry is President of the Institute for Liberty and Community in Concord, Vt., and was Special Assistant to Richard Nixon in the 1968 presidential campaign.

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Morgan Doughton's book *People Power*, published in 1976. Reagan told how the book described a number of small-scale, self-help projects in Detroit, Houston, Indianapolis and elsewhere. And he offered a ringing endorsement of the book's thesis: that "if the dead hand of government can be lifted—or ignored—groups of citizens can and will come together to deal effectively with the problems facing them. The key is devising a system in which power and responsibility are dispersed at the grass roots, instead of being concentrated in a hierarchy of bureaucrats and institutions."

Another script took the side of a raggedy bunch of dropouts from urban life who had migrated to northern California. All they asked was to live peacefully in backwoods homesteads, but the county authorities tried to drive them off by the enforcement of ridiculous building codes. He took the side of a group of young Puerto Ricans in New York, whose efforts to rehabilitate an abandoned tenement building had been thwarted by a government-enforced requirement that they hire 12 licensed plumbers for each young man contributing his own labor to earn an equity in his own apartment.

Reagan told the story of Nguyen Huy Han, a hard-working refugee from Vietnamese communism, who did so well in the restaurant business in Pontiac, Mich., that he gave \$10,000 in rebates to the faithful customers who had made it possible for him to succeed in a land of freedom. He talked about a professor's battle against one government agency after another to preserve the life of a small rural community in Michigan's wild upper peninsula. "The real issue," Reagan said, "can no longer be discussed in terms of Left and Right. The real issue is how to reverse the flow of power and control to ever more remote institutions, and to restore that power to the individual, the family, and the local community."

Several of Reagan's commentaries dealt with the potential for energy self-help at the community level. He devoted one broadcast to the remarkable wind generator built by the students and faculty of a small Danish college, using second-hand materials scrounged from all over northern Europe.

He quoted solar energy pioneers Steve Baer and Tom Bender, who made the point that the solar age will come only through local responsibility and action, not through grants from government bureaucracies. "Leave people alone with enough wealth after they pay their taxes," Reagan approvingly quoted Baer as saying, "and they will invent, develop, trade with each other and do a good job of solving their own problems. Foolish people will waste their money on inefficient cars and badly built houses; isn't that their business?"

Another commentary lauded the path-breaking Franklin County, Massachusetts, energy project, where a local energy task force discovered that some 40 per cent of the county's payroll was being exported to pay for energy, a revelation which launched a grass-roots, county-wide program of conservation and local energy production.

Reagan devoted another script to the Frank Graham Center in North Carolina, an on-the-farm school dedicated to equipping young men and women—many of them poor black sharecroppers—to become productive, independent owners of their own farms and homesteads. In another he paid tribute to the late Ed Wimmer, whose life was devoted to the cause of the small, independent businessman battling against predatory practices of giant corporations.

When a Californian named Jose Salcedo was killed in an accident, leaving behind a wife and 13 children, Reagan was quickly on the air nation-

wide with an appeal for help. And when the leading spokesman for self-reliance and decentralism in India, Jaya Prakash Narayan, passed away late in 1979, Reagan was one of the few Americans in public life (along with former Ambassador to India Daniel Patrick Moynihan) to pay tribute to his life and works.

In all these instances and more, Ronald Reagan revealed his deep and abiding faith in the common man and woman. Time and time again he argued for a restoration of the human scale in American life, a devolution of political, economic and social power to the level where ordinary people can once again

come to understand and deal with it.

Reagan has seen America and the world not only from the seat of power, but from the perspective of the citizen. He has urged his party to be "the party of main street, the small town, the farmer, the city neighborhood where working people live. Our strength," he declares, "comes from the shopkeeper, the craftsman, the cop on the beat, the fireman, the blue-collar and the white-collar worker." And those are precisely the people who, when November's great referendum on continued gigantism versus human scale takes place, will put Ronald Reagan into the White House.

How dirty can Carter get?

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Even while *It Didn't Start with Watergate* was rocketing up the Bestseller List in 1977, Victor Lasky felt troubled by a new liberal specter: Jimmy Carter. Lasky, like the rest of us, couldn't figure Carter out.

He asked himself a few questions. How, for instance, could a "sincere" Christian, in the face of a Russian weapons buildup the like of which mankind has never seen, strip America of every new weapon our experts were begging for?

How could a man who had to be told by an aide to start reading *The Wall*

Street Journal every day if he wanted to be President, fool anyone?

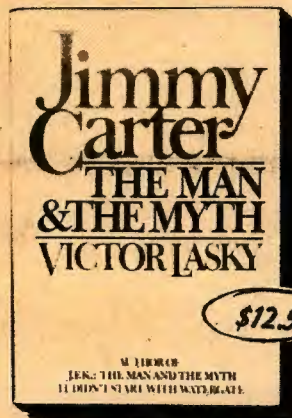
If Carter is indeed a clown rather than a genius, how did he survive the angry onslaught from the Far Left in 1976—and even fit the Far Left's attack into his own victory plan?

Lasky, an old hand at watching liberal Presidents, rolled up his sleeves and went to work on *The Carter Problem*. For nearly two years, Lasky dug for clues. He found a mountain of them. He found answers. Result: a major new book that went back for a second big printing long before it hit the stores.

Is Carter all that humble and sincere? Listen to Victor Lasky . . .

"Full relations with the People's Republic were just what was needed to stir up the adrenals. . . . No wonder, then, that Jimmy Carter played the announcement for all it was worth. With a great sense of drama, the White House had asked the three networks for time during which the President would address the nation. . . . After his speech, Carter leaned back in his chair, unaware the microphone had not been turned off. With a touch of smugness, the President remarked almost to himself, 'Masculine applause. . . . throughout the nation.'"

"Nor did Carter, as Governor, 'eliminate' 278 agencies or anything near that. First, only sixty-six of the agencies involved were important enough to warrant funding. The remaining were study or ceremonial groups, none of which was important enough to warrant any type of budget. The Ty Cobb Baseball Commission was one."



Victor Lasky's previous bestsellers

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Jimmy Carter: The Man and the Myth is Victor Lasky's Warning to America . . .

- ✓ Carter afraid of Teddy? Secret White House memo shows Jimmy relies on opposition from the Kennedy wing.
- ✓ Jimmy speaks at a 1972 Wallace rally in Alabama—but Georgia's Department of Archives is never supplied the tape or text of the speech. Also missing: tapes of certain other Carter speeches down South.
- ✓ Why Georgia politicians called him "Jungle Jimmy."
- ✓ Respected journalists admit: Carter's "admirable intelligence, discipline, and dedication are accompanied by vindictiveness extraordinary even for a politician."
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- ✓ Carter's safety valve: clear signals sent to the Far Left.
- ✓ Jimmy praises hated Dixiecrat as "the very essence of what the Democratic Party stands for." He embraces two Leftist heroes and befriends two rock stars, saying, "I respect them."
- ✓ The Trilateral Commission: 16 leftist members draw important Carter appointments.
- ✓ Carter's double talk—analyzed by another master, Hubert Humphrey.
- ✓ Lance wasn't the only one. Close Carter friend who lived with Jimmy in the Governor's mansion comes under investigation by two grand juries and four federal agencies.
- ✓ Grand jury hears President Carter accuse Georgian of offering Governor Carter a bribe. Jury clears the man the next day. Were the jurors wondering why Carter waited months before he called for an investigation of the alleged bribe?
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Victor Lasky has produced a time bomb. It's set to go off right now—just as Carter begins to shift his 1980 campaign into high gear.

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The Quiet Liquidation of Corporate America

By SCOTT BURNS

FASB 33. Although it suggests a snazzy new computer or jet fighter, those initials designate nothing more dramatic than a new accounting rule governing how large corporations must report their earnings. As of this year, in addition to their normal reports, major corporations must also estimate the impact of inflation on their earnings and assets.

The results of FASB 33, however, are dramatic and shocking. Here is how two major companies, the matriarch and patriarch of Corporate America, are affected:

American Telephone and Telegraph. Ma Bell has three million shareholders and one million employees. Although it now provides a record dividend of \$5 a share, a yield that has kept pace with inflation, the stock sells for \$53, only

84 per cent of the \$63.46 a share the company has in assets per share and much less than its 1965 peak of \$70 a share.

According to page 1 of the 1980 annual report, earnings reached a record \$8.04 a share. On page 38, however, FASB 33 shows that Ma Bell's earnings were \$3.07 a share, not \$8.04.

Why?

Because what AT&T charged to depreciate was insufficient to replace its aging equipment. When those costs were adjusted to reflect current and specific costs for new equipment, the company was earning much less.

Since Ma Bell paid out \$5 of its reported \$8.04 earnings as dividends, many analysts would say that the company was in liquidation. In effect, almost \$2 of the \$5 dividend represents "return of capital," not earnings. When inflation is taken into account, Ma Bell didn't retain \$3.04 a share for growth and expansion, it lost \$1.93 a share.

One effect is a substantially higher tax burden for the company. In 1979, Ma Bell paid \$3.26 billion in federal income taxes. This was only 36.5 per cent of its stated income—but 59 per cent of its inflation adjusted income.

If the company were to prepare its books on a reasonable, inflation-adjusted basis, it would have paid about \$1.25 billion less in federal taxes. This amount, in effect, is an overcharge by the federal government. While there is little or no public sympathy for Bell shareholders or the company itself, Bell's attempts to raise telephone service rates shouldn't be considered as profit-mongering—they are an attempt to avoid liquidation—or to collect taxes for the federal government.

General Motors. In 1979 General Motors had 853,000 employees and 1,237,000 shareholders. The company earned \$10.04 a share, a decline from the \$12.24 of 1978, and it reduced the dividend from \$6 to \$5.30. Since then, the dividend has been cut further as auto sales plummet. While these facts alone have been dismal enough to reduce the shares to \$45—only half of what they sold for in 1967—the inflation accounting figures on page 2 of the annual report are even more striking.

After adjusting for specific costs, GM's earnings weren't \$10.04 a share. They were \$6.24 a share. This means their effective tax rate was 57.9 per cent, about the same as Ma Bell's.

It also means that its retained earnings—the money it kept after dividends, inflation and taxes—were only 97¢ a share. With 97¢ a share in new assets to redirect a company worth \$64.61 a share, it's not surprising that GM is having difficulty changing quickly enough to cope with the Japanese challenge to the domestic car market. Even with this year's dramatic dividend cut, we have to wonder where GM is going to get the cash necessary to retool and to put the U.S. auto industry back in a competitive position.

Inflation alone isn't the cause of these problems. Ma Bell is being overrun by a technological revolution that could collapse communication costs. General Motors, even as the industry leader, is paying for failing to take OPEC and Japan seriously.

What inflation has done is substantially reduce the capacity of either company to respond with speed and vigor to the largest challenges they have faced in half a century.

Mr. Burns is a Staff Writer for the Boston Herald American, from which this article is reprinted.

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For more than sixty years, for over 16 million human beings, here is where the dream began. About a mile away from the island of Manhattan bordered; thousands of miles away the ancestral memories tugged at their hearts. But they had come this far. Another mile would not matter.

It is fitting that we descendants of immigrants meet on Labor Day on this historic island where so many of our ancestors first set foot on the hallowed ground of America.

Those who came here completed a long and arduous journey. But they also began a new journey, a journey into the future as proud and productive citizens of a new land , a land with a dream.

The immigrants shared that dream: to live at peace in a land of freedom, where hard work could bring rewards, where their children could go to schools and learn what their parents had been denied; where they could bring with them their native culture, and yet mingle with the new; where they could build their covenant house, their synagogue, their cathedral, or their mosque, and bow in homage to their God without fear of the stones, the jeers , and the torment of religious persecution.

When this small island came into view, the hearts of those on shipboard swelled with excitement and pride. A young Jewish girl from Russia, Mary Antin, captured that rapture in these words:

"So at last I was going to America! Really, really going to at last! The boundaries burst . The arch of heaven soared. A million suns shone out for every star. The winds rushed in from outer space, roaring in my ear, America! America!"

Mary Antin and millions of others knew what America was about, and they came to make it greater and stronger.

The litany of the names of those who came to build this great , free country is a special kind of American poetry, a poetry whose beauty grows from the accents of many tongues.

There are names like Nikola Tesla, the brilliant Croatian engineer who called down lightning from the heavens and made it do his bidding; Sam Gompers, the English cigar maker who forged the American labor movement; George Papanicolaou, whose discoveries saved millions of women from the agony of cancer; Michael Pupin, the Hungarian whose advances in communications helped tie this expanding nation together.

There were the heroes of our wars, men with names like Hansen and Krulak, Murphy and Basilone.

These are the famous names, but of course most of those who passed through this great hall were never famous. They labored and loved, worshiped and died, unsung by historians. But, in the words of the Danish poet Adam Dan, "they came not empty handed here, but brought a rich inheritance." In an America of freedom and opportunity their inheritance of strong values, faith in God and willingness to work made a mighty contribution.

Their sweat and blood brought forth the steel rails and laid them across an untamed continent. The rhythmic pounding of their pickaxes brought forth the coal that fired our industry and heated our homes. Their steady hands and keen eyes together clothed a nation. Their labor and their faith in God and in their new country made this nation strong and free.

They came to build their dream in the land of dreams, and they succeeded beyond their most fervent hopes.

Now, however, the dream that began for so many new Americans here at Ellis Island is threatened as never before. It is threatened by the enemies of freedom abroad and the incompetence of leadership at home.

The millions who came here came not for a welfare check. They came to work and to make America work. They did not ask what this country could do for them, but what they could do to make this country stronger, freer, and more prosperous.

But today a President of the United States tells us that that dream is fading in the twilight. His Administration tells us that the descendants of those who sacrificed to start again in this land of freedom may have to abandon the dream that drew their fathers and mothers across the stormy Atlantic to a new life in a new land. Jimmy Carter - at a time when his approval rating was well into its long slide - said that we - not his administration, mind you, but the rest of us who are paying for it - are suffering from what he calls "malaise". Or, as George Will recently put it, Mr. Carter is saying "I'm unpopular, so you're sick."

Thanks to Jimmy Carter's no-win economic policies, 8.2 million Americans are out of work. Unemployment is expected to climb to as much as 9.4% by the end of the year, and remain there through 1981.

Thanks to Jimmy Carter's mismanagement of the economy, we had a 13.2% inflation rate in 1979. In the first six months of 1980 that rate rose to 15%. Those figures change from month to month, but the underlying trend does not. Every day our dollars are worth less - and less - and less; and working Americans are falling further - and further - and further behind.

Thanks to Jimmy Carter, federal tax receipts will rise in fiscal 1981 by as much as \$80 billion, as a result of inflation pushing workers into ever-higher tax brackets, the new social security tax increases, and the Carter excise tax on domestic oil production.

And despite this enormous increase in tax revenues, the fiscal 1980 federal budget will still show a deficit of \$60 billion or more, and the 1981 budget will be an estimated \$30 billion in the red.

Such are Jimmy Carter's gifts to the American people, and to the memory of the millions who saw, on this island, a new dawn of opportunity: the gifts of unemployment and inflation, misery and despair.

And what does Mr. Carter say about all this? Precious little. In his acceptance speech just three weeks ago he gave us the good news: "I am wiser tonight than I was four years ago." It's time to give him the bad news: so is everyone else.

While Jimmy Carter is painfully accumulating wisdom at everyone's expense, millions of Americans are trying to make ends meet without paychecks. And these people know that their economic survival depends on replacing Jimmy Carter's Administration with an Administration that knows how to put America back to work and will get the job done!

And the young couples that cannot afford to buy a home because of soaring interest rates want an Administration that will once again bring home ownership within their reach.

Older Americans whose savings and pensions are evaporating desperately need a new Administration that can bring back a stable price level and make it worthwhile to invest and save once again.

Teen agers and minority Americans need an Administration that will stimulate the sound economic growth that will give them the chance to get started up the job ladder to economic security.

Believe me, all of these people have a real choice in November. They can choose a new President guided by the spirit of excitement and achievement that characterized those who came through Ellis

Island - or they can vote for a man responsible for putting more Americans out of work than anyone in ~~the past~~ ^{ALMOST} fifty years.

Jimmy Carter has turned this Labor Day into Unemployment Day for millions of Americans. Does he admit this? No. In his acceptance speech he accepted everything but the blame for the problems he has caused. Listening to his acceptance speech, you'd never know about soaring inflation, unemployment, and interest rates. He wants to keep all that a secret. Well; I've got news for Jimmy Carter: his secret is out. He has to own up to the American people.

And he has to face me. I tell you now that I look forward with great anticipation to meeting Mr. Carter in the televised debates, because I am going to air out the whole sorry record of the Carter administration - the record Jimmy Carter dared not mention in Madison Square Garden.

I am convinced that the spirit of those who came here through the Golden Door is so strong, so resilient, so deeply embedded in the American character that it has survived even four years of a Carter administration. But I am worried that that spirit, however strong, can survive four more years of the same - or worse.

This country needs a new administration, with a renewed dedication to the dream of America - an administration that will give that dream new life and make America great again!

Restoring and revitalizing that dream will take bold action.

We must protect the human right to acquire and own private property, and make sure that that right is extended to as many Americans as possible. A home is part of that dream.

We must begin to roll back the crushing burden of taxation that inhibits investment, production and the generation of real wealth for our people. A job is part of that dream.

We must end foolish government intervention that undermines our urban neighborhoods, especially those with a strong social, economic, cultural, or religious tradition, and find ways to restore to the people of those neighborhoods the responsibility and the resources to preserve and upgrade their quality of life . A decent neighborhood is part of the dream.

We must work to strengthen the small business sector, a vital entry point for the most productive newcomers into the American economy. Small business needs relief from paperwork, relief from capital shortages, relief from high interest rates, relief from over-regulation, relief from a host of governmentally-created problems that defeat the effort of the creative men and women upon whom society must count heavily for economic growth, job creation, and national renewal. A chance to invest, build and produce new wealth is part of the dream.

But restoring the American dream requires more than restoring a sound, productive economy, vitally important as that is. It requires a restoration of the preeminence of a set of spiritual and moral values, the values so deeply held by those who passed through this island to a new life in America.

Americans of ethnic origin are an invaluable repository of those values, just as ^{their} ~~the~~ wit and will and brawn have been invaluable assets in building the land of freedom.

But for too long Americans proud of their ethnic heritage have been "invisible Americans" in the political process. They are

courted, every four years, by candidates like Jimmy Carter. And then, when those candidates are elected, they develop a selective amnesia so far as the values and the desires of ethnic Americans are concerned. During the campaign, the candidate pays lip service to ethnic pride. He makes ritual references to ethnic love of freedom. He gets his picture taken eating blintzes, kielbasas and tacos, or posing with dancers wearing national dress. But as soon as the tumult and excitement of the campaign is over, the candidate who so eagerly befriended ethnic America declines to accept their calls. He puts them on hold until the time comes, three and a half years hence, when he finds need to exploit them again.

I make you this promise: there will be no place for this charade in the Reagan/Bush campaign or in the next Republican Administration.

That administration will be squarely founded on values that Americans of ethnic descent hold particularly dear: values of family, neighborhood, work, peace, freedom, and faith in a God who, unless I be sorely mistaken, has shown a lot of faith in America.

The Reagan administration will not forget what ethnic Americans have done for this country; nor will it fail to recognize what new contributions they can yet make. It will be open to their leaders, sensitive to their concerns, proud of working together with them and with all Americans, of every race, every color, every nationality, who are dedicated to enhancing and celebrating the cherished values that form the core of the American creed.

A Reagan administration will not accept the defeatist philosophy that holds that the captive nations ~~of the world are fated to endure~~ ^{SHOULD BE FORGOTTEN}

~~Communist domination until the end of time.~~

A Reagan administration will, through its actions in the international arena , let millions of people know that there burns yet, in the night that surrounds them, a shining beacon called America. We will put forth a message of hope in tongues they understand, through the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. We will speak out for the human rights of which they have been deprived.

Any administration must, of necessity, deal with national leaders who have crushed the rights and the hopes and the dreams of their people. But the next Republican administration will, as a matter of national purpose and national honor, refuse an easy camaraderie with them. And I can tell you this - Ronald Reagan will not go to Vienna and kiss the ruler of the Soviet Empire upon the cheek! Nor will he deliver the greatest national treasure of a proud and ancient people - like the Crown of St. Stephen - into the hands of a Red dictator who betrayed the bravery of his countrymen in their finest, tragic hour.

Consistent, principled opposition to tyranny and oppression abroad; sound policies to build an American economy that once again holds forth real opportunity to all; and a great national rededication to the eternal values that so inspired those who came to this entry port - these things, on this Labor Day, I pledge to you.

On this ground, and on these principles, we take our stand. From here we will bring our message to all Americans, and they will recognize it as a message graven on their own hearts. Together we can make America great again.

LABOR DAY SPEECH
NEW YORK HARBOR EVENT

9/1/80

It is a fitting thing, on this Labor Day to meet beside the waters of New York Harbor.

For through this Golden Door have come millions of men and women from the Old World to contribute their brains and their muscles and their faith to the building of this great country.

Those immigrants had a dream - to live at peace in a land of freedom, where hard work could bring rewards; where their children could go to schools and learn what their partents had been denied; where they could bring with them their native culture, and yet mingle with the new; where they could build their covenant house, their synagogue, their catherdral, or their mosque, and bow in homage to their God without fear of the stones and jeers and torments of religious persecution.

They came to work and to make America work. They did't ask what this country could do for them, but what they could do to make this country stronger, freer, and more prosperous.

But today a President of the United States tells us that that dream is fading Jimmy Carter's Administration tells us that the descendants of those who sacrificed to start again in this land of freedom may have to abandon the dream that drew their fathers and mothers across the Atlantic to a new life in a new land. Jimmy Carter - at a time when his approval rating was well into its long slide - said that we - not his administration,

mind you, but the rest of us who are paying for it - are suffering from what he calls "malaise". To put it bluntly, Mr. Carter is saying "I'm unpopular, so you're sick."

Thanks to Jimmy Carter's no-win economic policies, 8.2 million Americans are out of work. Unemployment is expected to climb to as much as 9.4% by the end of the year, and remain there through 1981.

Thanks to Jimmy Carter's mismanagement of the economy, we had a 13.2% inflation rate in 1979. In the first six months of 1980 that rate rose to 15%. Those figures change from month to month, but the underlying trend does not. Every day our dollars are worth less - and less - and less: and working Americans are falling ^{further} - and further - and further behind.

Thanks to Jimmy Carter, inflation is constantly pushing workers into ever-higher tax brackets. Social security taxes are going up again. And Jimmy Carter got a Democratic Congress to pass a new excise tax on ^{domestic} oil production - You're already paying that one at the gas pump.

And despite an expected \$80 billion increase ⁱⁿ tax revenues, the fiscal 1981 budget will still be an estimated \$30 billion in the red. To cover that deficit, the Carter Administration is forced in effect to print new money - and there goes the value of your savings. Jimmy Carter has given these gifts to the American people on this Labor Day: The gifts of unemployment and inflation, misery and despair.

And what does Mr. Carter say about all this? Precious little. In his acceptance speech just three weeks ago he gave us the good news: ^{He said} "I am wiser tonight that I was four years ago." It's time to give him the bad news: so is everyone else.

While Jimmy Carter is painfully accumulating wisdom at every one

else's expense, millions of Americans are trying to make ends meet without paychecks. These people know that their economic survival depends on replacing Jimmy Carter's Administration with an Administration that knows how to put America back to work and will get the job done!

The young couples that cannot afford to buy a home because of soaring interest rates want an Administration that will once again bring home ownership within their reach.

Older Americans whose savings and pensions are evaporating desperately need a new Administration that can bring back a stable price level and make it worthwhile to invest and save once again.

Teen agers and minority Americans need an Administration that will stimulate the sound economic growth that will give them the chance to get started up the job ladder to economic security.

Believe me, all of these people have a real choice in November. They can choose more taxes, more inflation, more unemployment -- more of everything this country needs less of. That is the Carter policy. Or they can choose lower taxes, lower inflation, lower unemployment. That's the Reagan policy.

They can choose a Republican President guided by the spirit of growth and achievement that characterized those who came from abroad to make America strong and prosperous -- or they can vote for the Democratic President who put more Americans out of work than anyone in the past 47 years.

Jimmy Carter has turned this Labor Day into Unemployment Day for millions of Americans. Does he admit this? No. In his acceptance speech he accepted everything but the blame for the problems he has caused. Listening to his acceptance speech, you'd never know about soaring inflation, unemployment, and interest rates. He wants to keep all that a secret. Well; I've got news for Jimmy Carter: his secret is out. He has to own up to the American people.

And he has to face me. I tell you now that I look forward with great anticipation to meeting Mr. Carter in the televised debates because I am going to / ^{comfort him with} the whole sorry record of the Carter administration -- the record Jimmy Carter dares not mention.

I am convinced that the spirit of those who came here to work and build is so strong, so resilient, so deeply embedded in the American character that it has survived even four years of a Carter administration. But I am worried whether that spirit, however strong, can survive four more years of the same -- or worse.

This country needs a new administration, with a renewed dedication to the dream of America -- an administration that will give that dream new life and make America great again!

Restoring and revitalizing that dream will take bold action.

We must protect the human right to acquire and own private property, and make sure that that right is extended to as many Americans as possible. A home is part of that dream.

We must roll back the crushing burden of taxation that inhibits investment, production and the generation of real wealth for our people. A job is part of that dream.

We must end harmful government intervention that undermines our urban neighborhoods, especially those with a strong social, economic, cultural, or religious tradition, and find ways to restore to the people of those neighborhoods the responsibility and the resources to preserve and upgrade their quality of life. A decent neighborhood is part of the dream.

We must work to strengthen the small business sector, a vital entry point for the most productive newcomers into the American economy. Small business needs relief from paperwork, relief from over-regulation, relief from a host of governmentally-created problems that defeat the effort of the creative men and women upon whom society must count heavily for economic growth, job creation, and national renewal. A chance to invest, build and produce new wealth is part of the dream.

But restoring the American dream requires more than restoring a sound, productive economy, vitally important as that is. It requires a restoration of the preeminence of a set of spiritual and moral values, the values so deeply held by those who came to build a new life in America. We need to restore those values in our national life, and to champion them in this country's dealings with the other nations of the world.

These values are even now inspiring the brave shipyard workers of Gdansk, as they have inspired the dissidents under Communist domination.

A Reagan administration will, through its actions in the international arena, let millions of people beyond the Iron Curtain know that there burns yet, in the night that surrounds them, a shining beacon called America. We will put forth a strong message of hope in tongues they understand, through the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty.

Consistent, principled opposition to tyranny and oppression abroad; sound policies to build an American economy that once again holds forth real opportunity to all; and a great national rededication to the eternal values that so inspired those who came to this entry port -- these things, on this Labor Day, I pledge to you.

On this ground, and on these principles, we take our stand. From here we will bring our message to all Americans, and they will recognize it as a message graven on their own hearts. Together we can make America great again.

LABOR DAY SPEECH - PITTSBURGH VERSION
(amendments to NY Harbor Speech, Draft #4)

^{the first of these}
Replace page 1 with the following:

Labor Day in Pittsburgh - what better place and time to honor the men and women who stoke the furnaces, roll out the glass, and produce the chemicals essential to the nation's industrial machine. Their brains, their skills, their dedication to the American dream have done much to make this country the freest, most prosperous nation on earth.

Their ancestors came here, in many cases, from the Old World, from Germany, from Italy, from the Slavic nations, men and women of a hundred nationalities, sharing a common dream.

They dreamed of living at peace in a land of freedom, where hard work could bring rewards; where their children could go to schools and learn what their parents had been denied; where they could bring with them their native culture, but yet mingle with the new; where they could build their cathedral, their synagogue, their meeting house, and bow in homage to their God without fear of the stones and jeers and torments of religious persecution.

The North Woods gave America the legend of Paul Bunyan the logger; the Ohio River, the mighty Mike Fink; Texas, the great cowboy Pecos Bill. Pittsburgh gave American folklore the heroic figure of Joe Magarac, the Magyar steel maker who squeezed out rails between his giant fingers, and laughing in delight, leaped into the glowing ladle and had himself made into the steel that built the bridges and skyscrapers and battleships of his adopted land. The Joe Magaracs be put out of work by an incompetent of Pittsburgh did not come to America to President. They came here to make steel. They did not ask what America could do for them, but what they could do to make this country stronger, freer, and more prosperous .

LABOR DAY SPEECH PITTSBURGH VERSION
(Amendment to NY Harbor speech, draft #4)

In place of the final paragraph on page 5, insert:

We must put an end to harmful intervention that undermines our urban neighborhoods, especially those with a strong social, economic, cultural and religious tradition. We must support ways - like the successful Neighborhood Housing Services program that began here on the Central North Side - to restore to the people of those neighborhoods ., working with their local governments and their lending institutions, the resources they need to preserve and upgrade the place their families live. A decent neighborhood is part of the dream.