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DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE
ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

11/12/74

Bohla
1.

*State of
the
Union
message*

Phil:

For your information.

Doug



DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

WASHINGTON, D. C. 20540

November 12, 1974

MEMORANDUM FOR: F. LYNN MAY

FROM: DOUGLAS W. METZ *DM*

SUBJECT: Privacy Initiatives -- State of the Union
Address

Per your request, I am attaching a memorandum for the President to provide a basis for decisions on the scope and content of the State of the Union address.

A copy of this memorandum is being sent to Phil Buchen.

Attachment



EXECUTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO LEGISLATION

Caution should be exercised in issuing Executive orders dealing with privacy issues under active consideration in the Congress. Such action can be construed as presumptive and politically motivated. The opposition is likely to charge that unilateral Executive action makes privacy a partisan matter and is inconsistent with your commitment to a partnership conducted in a spirit of communication, compromise, conciliation and cooperation.

In most privacy matters Executive orders should be used when: (1) the need for action is demonstrated; (2) Congress has been given adequate time to act; and (3) Congress is not precluded from legislating on the subject, e. g. , to provide legal remedies and sanctions not possible by an Executive order.

The Moorhead bill meets these criteria if Congress adjourns without action. Other candidates for Executive action are listed in Attachment B.

PRIVACY PROGRAM STRATEGY FOR THE 94TH CONGRESS

Privacy should figure prominently in your State of the Union address which should:

- (1) Strongly reaffirm the Administration's commitment to personal privacy protections;
- (2) Cite privacy accomplishments since August 9;
- (3) Express your preference for a joint Executive/Congressional approach to providing needed privacy protections but indicate a willingness to employ Executive initiatives in instances where the need for action is demonstrated, or where prior Administrative experimentation is preferable in complex areas;
- (4) Indicate that you may subsequently seek legislative authority to realign Executive responsibilities for more effective coordination of government information policies as they affect privacy, freedom of information, classification practices and Executive privilege;
- (5) Indicate that needed vital legislative and Executive actions will be the subject of a special privacy message to be sent to the Congress following the State of the Union address.

Items proposed for inclusion in next year's legislative program are listed on Attachment C.

Attachments - 3



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

October 9, 1974

Office of the White House Press Secretary

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Legislation to protect personal privacy is making significant progress in the Congress. I am delighted about the prospect of House and Senate action at this session.

Renewed national efforts to strengthen protections for personal privacy should begin in Washington. We should start by enacting uniform fair information practices for the agencies of the Federal government. This will give us invaluable operating experience as we continue to examine and recommend needed actions at the State and local level and in the private sector.

The immediate objective should be to give every citizen the right to inspect, challenge and correct, if necessary, information about him contained in Federal agency records and to assure him a remedy for illegal invasions of privacy by Federal agencies accountable for safeguarding his records. In legislating, the right of privacy, of course, must be balanced against equally valid public interests in freedom of information, national defense, foreign policy, law enforcement, and in a high quality and trustworthy Federal work force.

Immediately after I assumed the chairmanship, as Vice President, of the Cabinet-level Domestic Council Committee on the Right of Privacy, I asked the Office of Management and Budget to work jointly with the Committee staff,



DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

WASHINGTON, D C 20504

Privacy Initiatives Appropriate
for
Near-Term Presidential Action

- (1) Proclamation of Consumer Fair Information Code, accompanied by public commitments of chief executives of major retail, insurance, banking and credit companies.
- (2) Repeal of Executive Order 9397, which mandates universal and unrestrained Federal use of the Social Security Number.
- (3) An Executive Order providing a "Bill of Privacy Rights" to Federal employees, including, for example, a general ban on use of polygraphs.
- (4) An Executive Order protecting individual privacy rights in Federal agency records, comparable to the provisions of the Moorhead bill endorsed by the Administration, except for the inclusion of personnel records.



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DOMESTIC COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHT OF PRIVACY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

November 12, 1974

Privacy Legislative Program - 94th Congress

The following items are recommended for inclusion in the President's legislative program for the 94th Congress failing their enactment this year:

- (1) Military Surveillance of Political Activities
(Committee Initiative No. 10) -- DoD lead
- (2) Federal Employees' Rights
(Committee Initiative No. 11) -- CSC lead
- (3) Records on Individuals Maintained by Banking and
Financial Institutions
(Committee Initiative No. 13) -- OCA lead
- (4) Fair Credit Reporting Act
(Committee Initiative No. 14) -- Treasury/OCA lead
- (5) Statistical and Research Data Protection
(Committee Project 3) -- OMB lead
- (6) Social Security Number Use
(Committee Project 1) -- HEW lead
- (7) Access to Welfare Records
(Committee Project 15) -- HEW lead
- (8) Criminal Justice Information
(Committee Project 13) -- Justice lead
- (9) Privacy for IRS Tax Records
(Committee Initiative No. 6) -- Treasury lead
- (10) Cable TV Privacy
(Committee Initiative No. 4) -- OTP lead



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 21, 1974

TO: Don Rumsfeld

FROM: Phil Areeda P.A.

I attach some very sketchy thoughts on the State of the Union. Some points are developed in relevant detail; others are merely mentioned.

This was prepared without knowing the concrete substantive proposals being advanced by the departments.

Attachment

cc: Phil Buchen w/attachment
Jack Marsh w/attachment

*State of the
Union*

*(copy sent to
Mr B)*

Areeda
12/21/74

Fragmentary Thoughts on the State of the Union

The tone should be "philosophical" with details as illustrations, rather than a laundry list of proposals. A possible organization follows, with a few thoughts.

I. Prologue: A year (or a year and a half) of political and economic trauma at home and abroad.

A. Economic

- .. Oil producing countries have multiplied (quadrupled?) the price of oil, which is both a vital source of energy and a vital raw material for the world's industry.
- .. Nature was less bountiful than necessary to supply the world's food needs at the modest prices we had become accustomed to.
- .. The resulting inflation in food and fuel has required everyone everywhere to devote more of his income to basic needs and has created:
 - ... a sense of oppressive inflation
 - ... a universal desire to compensate for it by obtaining more money income. This in turn ^{lead} to pressure for higher prices by producers, higher wages and salaries, higher governmental expenditures, and higher inflation.
- .. In addition, the slow-down in economic activity has impaired public confidence throughout the industrialized world.

B. Political: Nor has it been a stable year politically.

- .. Continued threat of conflict in the Middle-East.
- .. Changes of government in many countries, some drastic and even violent.
- .. And, of course, our own change of government that, uniquely in America's history, gives the people a President and a Vice President that they did not elect.

C. But the recognition of such changes, indeed unsettling changes, should not impair our confidence. The future is what we make of it: there are tremendous opportunities for improving the quality of life. In this Message a few words about:

- ..Our Constitution
- ..Gerald Ford's beliefs about the role of citizen, Congress and President
- ..And some of the imperatives for achieving peace, social justice, and a stable prosperity.

II. State of the Constitution

A. Stability: Americans have every right to be pleased that their basic governmental institutions can accommodate change without sacrificing stability.

- ..Except for the War Between the States 100 years ago, we have been blessed with nearly 200 years of stable government, with evolutionary rather than avulsive change.
- ..Since the last Presidential election, we have had two new Vice Presidents and a new President. Some may think that those particular changes came too soon or too late, but they did come without any doubt as to the legitimacy of today's government.

B. Relationships Within the Federal Government: We have heard much during the past year or so of the separation of powers , of the decline or resurgence of Congress or the Presidency. We doubtless will hear more this year. And, although this is not the time or place for extended discussion, a few points deserve mention.

- 1) GF will cooperate fully with Congress and hopes that Congress will cooperate fully with him in the service of the American people.
- 2) GF will act responsibly and hopes that Congress will do the same. It is, for example, not responsible or fair to criticize the President's budget or a budget deficit as too high, to proclaim a cut by appropriating less than Congress knows is needed to implement the program it has enacted, and simultaneously to require yet larger expenditures. Regardless of whether you think the budget should be expansionary ~~or~~ or otherwise, Congress must recognize its responsibility to look at Government programs and expenditures as a whole, or it must allow the President to do so.

3) In this and other matters, Congress should consider re-organizing itself to devote more of its energies to important government business, with less duplication between committees, and perhaps even with less duplication between its two Houses.

4) On one matter, a word of clarification is appropriate: the veto power. I sometimes hear a veto described as a confrontation, and I read scorecards about the number of vetos sustained or overridden. But a veto is less of a confrontation than a prescribed part of the legislative process. It reflects the fact that the Congress and the President will sometimes disagree. And of course Congress can have the last word when the requisite votes can be mustered. But an override does not imply that the veto in question was unwise. Even though overridden, a veto serves an important Constitutional role: it is meant to induce sober second thought by Congress and to make clear to the American people where responsibility lies for the resulting legislation.

5) But I emphasize that what the country needs is close, continued and intensive cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches at every step of the law making process.

C. Relationships With State Governments and With the People

1) Every political scientist and even every President has recognized a drift toward greater Federal involvement in the work of the States and the life of the citizen.

2) The fact is that the Federal Government is, in many respects, too big, too expensive, too often captured by special interests, too inefficient, too ready to force others to be inefficient, and too insensitive to the citizen.

3) It would be unreal to expect a fast or fundamental change in those conditions. But the people and the Congress should think twice about further movements in that direction and should even consider some modest steps the other way. Perhaps it is time to do less but to do it better. Before telling you my affirmative programs, let me talk a little about what Government shouldn't do.

III. What the Federal Government Should Not Do : [Incomplete - capable of further development]

A. Should Not Promise Or Expect Too Much

1) When running for office or even when in it, we politicians tend either to promise too much or to criticize some other politicians for not solving all the problems of mankind. The consequences are socially destructive.

.. Without knowing what to do, legislators or executive officials feel obliged to "do something" which may be ineffective, unnecessary, expensive and often impossible to discontinue once someone develops a vested interest in it.

.. Or nothing at all is done, which leads some to become frustrated because they believe that "no one cares."

.. And in the course of doing nothing, or the wrong thing, the limited resources of Congressional or executive time, concentration, or concern are exhausted in vain.

2) We all need to become more realistic about what government can accomplish.

B. Should Not Try to Change the Economy Too Fast Or In the Wrong Way

.. (for example, to make all rivers perfectly pure in five years; to eliminate all sulfur from fuel before adequate supplies or controls are available; to make automobile commuting too expensive before alternative transport is arranged, etc.)

C. Should Not Try to Control Too Many Details of What Other Institutions Do

1) There is simply too much detailed regulation of the behavior of the States through, for example, categorical grants. Revenue sharing preferable.

2) Too much regulation of firms and citizens by detailed requirements when new taxes or laws would do the job while leaving individuals freer to adjust in the manner they choose.

3) That is, it is better to influence others' behavior through taxes (for example effluent taxes on noxious emissions) than through a giant bureaucracy telling others in detail what they can or cannot do.

D. Should Not Subsidize the Fortunate or Well-organized Interest Groups Seeking Relief from Competition in the Marketplace

.. In particular governments should not insulate business from competition in the guise of regulating them. Repeat concern for regulatory reform.

.. Mention particular subsidies?

E. Should Not Tax Unfairly

.. Urge tax reform with some particular suggestions. (This is an issue separate from, although related to, the aggregate level of taxation designed to stimulate or retard demand.)

F. Should Not Try to Do What the Citizens Can Better Do for Themselves as Individuals or Through Other Institutions [This is a bridge to the next section.]

IV. Affirmative Programs:

A. National Defense and International Relations.

B. Strengthening the Economy: monetary and fiscal policy charting the perilous course through recession and inflation.

C. Energy.

D. Food?

E. Framework of Laws for Domestic Tranquility (the crime problem) and Competitive Markets (antitrust, etc.)

F. Social Justice; Helping the Unfortunate [In addition to whatever specific programs are being developed, further thought should be given to defining principles, if any, that help to determine the appropriate limits of action. It may be possible to do no more than state the dilemma]

V. Epilogue

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: WALLY SCOTT
FROM: PHIL AREEDA *PA*
SUBJECT: Regulatory Reform Initiatives for
the State of the Union Address

I have read your January 9th memorandum on this subject. The discussion is, in general, excellent. A few comments follow:

National Commission on Regulatory Reform: I do not think it wise to delay submitting our particular proposals in the hope of obtaining a Commission on Regulatory Reform. The Commerce Committee has not indicated any desire to move. Indeed, I hear from various friends on the Hill that the proposal is dead. Some legislators correctly believe that the Commission is not necessary to develop the facts. Others are, of course, opposed to reform. I would be inclined to drop the Commission and to proceed with particular reforms.

Conference on State and Local Regulation: It must be recognized that most Mayors and Governors haven't the foggiest notion of the economic wisdom or unwisdom of regulation. They seldom know who or what is regulated. The only purpose in holding a conference would be a carefully planned "teach-in" to instruct state officials about what they do and why it's wrong. Of greater impact, I would like to see consideration given to enactment of the federal statute that would put private conduct affecting interstate commerce within the federal antitrust laws, notwithstanding state involvement (in the absence, of course, of a strong and legitimate state interest).

Transportation Reform: (Incidentally, the amount involved on the middle of page 13 is not clear.) Legislation along the line stated on page 14 would be excellent if we could get it. We might also consider more modest "procedural" reform that would alter the "balance of power" within the existing regulatory framework. For example:

"A regulatory agency shall not sanction, authorize, or require any practice that may lessen competition substantially unless the anti-competitive effects of such practice are clearly outweighed in the public interest by the need to further other objectives of the regulatory statute.

"When the Attorney General certifies that important competitive principles are at stake, the regulatory agency shall hold full hearing in accordance with Section 5 of the Administrative Procedure Act to determine whether the previous paragraph has been violated. In making such determinations the agency shall give appropriate recognition to the expertness of the Department of Justice in determining probable competitive impact. "

Surface Transportation: You could take option 1. Once it is successful you should then press for option 2.

Domestic Airline Regulation: The proposals stated on page 24 are very good. Perhaps advance agreement could be worked out with Senator Cannon.

Financial Institutions Act: We should resubmit it.

McGuire Act: The discussion on pages 31 and 32 seem to be directed mainly to the Miller-Tydings Act of 1936, which is the basic federal permission for state fair trade laws; the 1952 McGuire Act amended it, mainly to make provision for the compulsion of so-called "non-signers." Repeal is a very good idea, but all prior efforts have ended in bills that would authorize re-sale price maintenance without regard to state law. If we are to mobilize efforts in this uphill direction, mention in the State of the Union Message is probably required.

Robinson-Patman Act: I agree that this statute should be amended or repealed. But I see little hope for doing so. The issues are too technical to permit the generation of any real public concern.

Antitrust Immunity: Your recommendation is very sound.

Tuesday 1/14/75

*State of the
Union*

12:35 Latest draft of the State of the Union message --
your comments should go back to Bob Hartmann.

(Draft was brought up by Dick Cheney's secretary)



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

JANUARY 15, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS
OF
PRESIDENT GERALD FORD
TO A JOINT SESSION OF THE CONGRESS

THE HOUSE CHAMBER

1:06 P.M. EST

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of the 94th Congress, and distinguished guests:

Twenty-six years ago, a freshman Congressman, a young fellow, with lots of idealism who was out to change the world, stood before Sam Rayburn in the well of the House and solemnly swore to the same oath that all of you took yesterday, an unforgettable experience, and I congratulate you all.

Two days later, that same freshman stood at the back of this great Chamber, over there someplace, as President Truman, all charged up by his single-handed election victory, reported as the Constitution requires on the State of the Union.

When the bipartisan applause stopped, President Truman said, "I am happy to report to the 81st Congress that the State of the Union is good. Our Nation is better able than ever before to meet the needs of the American people and to give them their fair chance in the pursuit of happiness. It is foremost among the nations of the world in the search for peace."

Today, that freshman Member from Michigan stands where Mr. Truman stood, and I must say to you that the State of the Union is not good. Millions of Americans are out of work. Recession and inflation are eroding the money of millions more. Prices are too high and sales are too slow.

This year's Federal deficit will be about \$30 billion; next year's probably \$45 billion. The national debt will rise to over \$500 billion. Our plant capacity and productivity are not increasing fast enough. We depend on others for essential energy.

Some people question their Government's ability to make hard decisions and stick with them. They expect Washington politics as usual.

MORE



Yet, what President Truman said on January 5, 1949 is even more true in 1975. We are better able to meet our peoples' needs. All Americans do have a fairer chance to pursue happiness. Not only are we still the foremost Nation in the pursuit of peace, but today's prospects of attaining it are infinitely better.

There were 59 million Americans employed at the start of 1949. Now there are more than 85 million Americans who have jobs. In comparable dollars, the average income of the American family has doubled during the past 26 years.

MORE

Now, I want to speak very bluntly. I have got bad news, and I don't expect much, if any, applause.

The American people want action and it will take both the Congress and the President to give them what they want.

Progress and solutions can be achieved and they will be achieved. My message today is not intended to address all of the complex needs of America. I will send separate messages making specific recommendations for domestic legislation, such as the extension of General Revenue Sharing and the Voting Rights Act.

The moment has come to move in a new direction. We can do this by fashioning a new partnership between the Congress on the one hand, the White House on the other, and the people we both represent.

Let us mobilize the most powerful and most creative industrial Nation that ever existed on this earth to put all our people to work.

The emphasis on our economic efforts must now shift from inflation to jobs. To bolster business and industry and to create new jobs I propose a one-year tax reduction of \$16 billion. Three-quarters would go to individuals and one-quarter to promote business investment.

This cash rebate to individuals amounts to 12 percent of 1974 tax payments -- a total cut of \$12 billion, with a maximum of \$1,000 per return.

I call on the Congress to act by April 1. If you do -- and I hope you will -- the Treasury can send the first check for half of the rebate in May and the second by September.

The other one-fourth of the cut, about \$4 billion, will go to business, including farms, to promote expansion and to create more jobs.

The one-year reduction for businesses would be in the form of a liberalized investment tax credit increasing the rate to 12 percent for all business.

This tax cut does not include the more fundamental reforms needed in our tax system but it points us in the right direction -- allowing taxpayers rather than the Government to spend their pay.

Cutting taxes now is essential if we are to turn the economy around. A tax cut offers the best hope of creating more jobs. Unfortunately, it will increase the size of the budget deficit. Therefore, it is more important than ever that we take steps to control the growth of Federal expenditures.

MORE

Part of our trouble is that we have been self-indulgent. For decades, we have been voting ever-increasing levels of Government benefits and now the bill has come due.

We have been adding so many new programs that the size and growth of the Federal budget has taken on a life of its own.

One characteristic of these programs is that their cost increases automatically every year because the number of people eligible for most of the benefits increases every year.

MORE

When these programs were enacted, there is no dollar amount set. No one knows what they will cost. All we know is that whatever they cost last year, they will cost more next year.

It is a question of simple arithmetic. Unless we check the excessive growth of Federal expenditures, or impose on ourselves matching increases in taxes, we will continue to run huge inflationary deficits in the Federal budget.

If we project the current built-in momentum of Federal spending through the next 15 years, State, Federal and local government expenditures could easily comprise half of our Gross National Product. This compares with less than a third in 1975.

I just concluded the process of preparing the budget submissions for fiscal year 1976. In that budget, I will propose legislation to restrain the growth of a number of existing programs. I have also concluded that no new spending programs can be initiated this year, except for energy.

Further, I will not hesitate to veto any new spending programs adopted by the Congress.

As an additional step towards putting the Federal Government's house in order, I recommend a 5 percent limit on Federal pay increases in 1975. In all Government programs tied to the Consumer Price Index, including Social Security, civil service and military retirement pay and food stamps, I also propose a one year maximum increase of 5 percent. None of these recommended ceiling limitations, over which Congress has final authority, are easy to propose because in most cases they involve anticipated payments to many, many deserving people. Nonetheless, it must be done.

I must emphasize that I am not asking to eliminate, to reduce, to freeze these payments. I am merely recommending that we slow down the rate at which these payments increase and these programs grow. Only a reduction in the growth of spending can keep Federal borrowing down and reduce the damage to the private sector from high interest rates.

Only a reduction in spending can make it possible for the Federal Reserve System to avoid an inflationary growth in the money supply and thus restore balance to our economy. A major reduction in the growth of Federal spending can help dispel the uncertainty that so many feel about our economy and put us on the way to curing our economic ills.

MORE

If we don't act to slow down the rate of increase in Federal spending, the United States Treasury will be legally obligated to spend more than \$360 billion in fiscal year 1976, even if no new programs are enacted.

These are not matters of conjecture or prediction, but, again, a matter of simple arithmetic. The size of these numbers and their implications for our everyday life in the health of our economic system are shocking.

I submitted to the last Congress a list of budget deferrals and recissions. There will be more cuts recommended in the budget I will submit. Even so, the level of outlays for fiscal year 1976 is still much, much too high. Not only is it too high for this year, but the decisions we make now will inevitably have a major and growing impact on expenditure levels in future years.

MORE

I think this is a very fundamental issue that we, the Congress and I, must jointly solve. Economic disruptions we and others are experiencing stems in part from the fact that the world price of petroleum has quadrupled in the last year.

But in all honesty, we cannot put all of the blame on the oil exporting nations. We, the United States, are not blameless. Our growing dependence upon foreign sources has been adding to our vulnerability for years and years, and we did nothing to prepare ourselves for such an event as the embargo of 1973.

During the 1960s, this country had a surplus capacity of crude oil which we were able to make available to our trading partners whenever there was a disruption of supply. This surplus capacity enabled us to influence both supplies and prices of crude oil throughout the world.

Our excess capacity neutralized any effort at establishing an effective cartel, and thus the rest of the world was assured of adequate supplies of oil at reasonable prices.

By 1970 our surplus capacity had vanished and, as a consequence, the latent power of the oil cartel could emerge in full force. Europe and Japan, both heavily dependent on imported oil, now struggle to keep their economies in balance.

Even the United States, our country, which is far more self-sufficient than most other industrial countries, has been put under serious pressure.

I am proposing a program which will begin to restore our country's surplus capacity in total energy. In this way we will be able to assure ourselves reliable and adequate energy and help foster a new world energy stability for other major consuming nations.

But this Nation, and in fact the world, must face the prospect of energy difficulties between now and 1985. This program will impose burdens on all of us, with the aim of reducing our consumption of energy and increasing our production.

Great attention has been paid to the considerations of fairness, and I can assure you that the burdens will not fall more harshly on those less able to bear them.

MORE

I am recommending a plan to make us invulnerable to cutoffs of foreign oil. It will require sacrifices, but it -- and this is most important -- it will work.

I have set the following national energy goals to assure that our future is as secure and as productive as our past.

First, we must reduce oil import by one million barrels per day by the end of this year and by two million barrels per day by the end of 1977.

Second, we must end vulnerability to economic disruption by foreign suppliers by 1985.

Third, we must develop our energy technology and resources so that the United States has the ability to supply a significant share of the energy needs of the free world by the end of this century.

To attain these objectives, we need immediate action to cut imports. Unfortunately, in the short-term there are only a limited number of actions which can increase domestic supply. I will press for all of them.

I urge quick action on the necessary legislation to allow commercial production at the Elk Hills, California Naval Petroleum Reserve.

In order that we make greater use of domestic coal resources, I am submitting amendments to the Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act, which will greatly increase the number of power plants that can be promptly converted to coal.

Obviously, voluntary conservation continues to be essential, but tougher programs are needed and needed now. Therefore, I am using Presidential powers to raise the fee on all imported crude oil and petroleum products.

The crude oil fee level will be increased \$1 per barrel on February 1, by \$2 per barrel on March 1 and by \$3 per barrel on April 1.

MORE

I will take action to reduce undue hardships on any geographical region. The foregoing are interim administrative actions. They will be rescinded when the broader but necessary legislation is enacted.

To that end, I am requesting the Congress to act within 90 days on a more comprehensive energy tax program. It includes: excise taxes and import fees totalling \$2.00 per barrel on product imports and on all crude oil; deregulation of new natural gas; and enactment of a natural gas excise tax.

I plan to take Presidential initiative to decontrol the price of domestic crude oil on April 1. I urge the Congress to enact a windfall profits tax by that date to insure that oil producers do not profit unduly.

The sooner Congress acts the more effective the oil conservation program will be and the quicker the Federal revenues can be returned to our people.

I am prepared to use Presidential authority to limit imports, as necessary, to guarantee success.

I want you to know that before deciding on my energy conservation program, I considered rationing and higher gasoline taxes as alternatives. In my judgment, neither would achieve the desired results and both would produce unacceptable inequities.

A massive program must be initiated to increase energy supply, to cut demand and provide new standby emergency programs to achieve the independence we want by 1985. The largest part of increased oil production must come from new frontier areas on the Outer Continental Shelf and from the Naval Petroleum Reserve No. 4 in Alaska. It is the intent of this Administration to move ahead with exploration, leasing and production on those frontier areas of the Outer Continental Shelf where the environmental risks are acceptable.

Use of our most abundant domestic resource -- coal -- is severely limited. We must strike a reasonable compromise on environmental concern with coal. I am submitting Clean Air Amendments which will allow greater coal use without sacrificing clean air goals.

I vetoed the strip mining legislation passed by the last Congress. With appropriate changes, I will sign a revised version when it comes to the White House.

I am proposing a number of actions to energize our nuclear power program. I will submit legislation to expedite nuclear leasing and the rapid selection of sites.

MORE



In recent months, utilities have cancelled or postponed over 60 percent of planned nuclear expansion and 30 percent of planned additions to non-nuclear capacity. Financing problems for that industry are worsening. I am therefore recommending that the one year investment tax credit of 12 percent be extended an additional two years to specifically speed the construction of power plants that do not use natural gas or oil.

I am also submitting proposals for selective reform of State utility commission regulations.

To provide the critical stability for our domestic energy production in the face of world price uncertainty, I will request legislation to authorize and require tariff import quotas or price floors to protect our energy prices at levels which will achieve energy independence.

Increasing energy supplies is not enough. We must take additional steps to cut long-term consumption. I therefore propose to the Congress legislation to make thermal efficiency standards mandatory for all new buildings in the United States; a new tax credit of up to \$150 for those home owners who install insulation equipment; the establishment of an energy conservation program to help low income families purchase insulation supplies; and legislation to modify and defer automotive pollution standards for five years which will enable us to improve automobile gas mileage by 40 percent by 1980.

MORE

These proposals and actions, cumulatively, can reduce our dependence on foreign energy supplies from three to five billion barrels per day by 1985.

To make the United States invulnerable to foreign disruption, I propose standby emergency legislation and a strategic storage program of one billion barrels of oil for domestic needs, and 300 million barrels for national defense purposes.

I will ask for the funds needed for energy research and development activity. I have established a goal of one million barrels of synthetic fuels in shale oil production per day by 1985 together with an incentive program to achieve it.

I have a very deep belief in America's capabilities. Within the next ten years, my program envisions 200 major nuclear power plants, 250 major new coal mines, 150 major coal-fired power plants, 30 major new refineries, 20 major new synthetic fuel plants, the drilling of many thousands of new oil wells, the insulation of 18 million homes, and the manufacturing and the sale of millions of new automobiles, trucks and buses that use much less fuel.

I happen to believe that we can do it. In another crisis, the one in 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said this country would build 60,000 military aircraft. By 1943, production in that program had reached 125,000 annually. They did it then. We can do it now.

If the Congress and the American people will work with me to attain these targets, they will be achieved and will be surpassed. From adversity, let us seize opportunity. Revenues of some \$30 billion from higher energy taxes designed to encourage conservation must be refunded to the American people in a manner which corrects distortions in our tax system wrought by inflation.

People have been pushed into higher tax brackets by inflation with consequent reduction in their actual spending power. Business taxes are similarly distorted because inflation exaggerates reported profits resulting in excessive taxes.

Accordingly, I propose that future individual income taxes be reduced by \$16.5 billion. This will be done by raising the low income allowance and reducing tax rates. This continuing tax cut will primarily benefit lower and middle income taxpayers.

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For example, a typical family of four with a gross income of \$5,600 now pays \$185 in Federal income taxes. Under this tax cut plan, they would pay nothing. A family of four with a gross income of \$12,500 now pays \$1,260 in Federal taxes. My proposal reduces that total by \$300. Families grossing \$20,000 would receive a reduction of \$210.

Those with the very lowest incomes, who can least afford higher costs, must also be compensated. I propose a payment of \$80 to every person 18 years of age and older in that very limited category.

State and local governments will receive \$2 billion in additional revenue sharing to offset their increased energy costs. To offset inflationary distortions and to generate more economic activity, the corporate tax rate will be reduced from 48 percent to 42 percent.

Now let me turn, if I might, to the international dimensions of the present crisis. At no time in our peacetime history has the state of the Nation depended more heavily on the state of the world and seldom, if ever, has the state of the world depended more heavily on the state of our Nation.

The economic distress is global. We will not solve it at home unless we help to remedy the profound economic dislocation abroad. World trade and monetary structure provides markets, energy, food and vital raw material for all nations.

This international system is now in jeopardy. This Nation can be proud of significant achievements in recent years in solving problems and crises.

The Berlin agreement, the SALT agreements, our new relationship with China, the unprecedented efforts in the Middle East are immensely encouraging, but the world is not free from crisis.

In a world of 150 nations where nuclear technology is proliferating and regional conflicts continue, international security cannot be taken for granted.

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So, let there be no mistake about it, international cooperation is a vital factor of our lives today. This is not a moment for the American people to turn inward. More than ever before, our own well-being depends on America's determination and America's leadership in the whole wide world.

We are a great Nation -- spiritually, politically, militarily, diplomatically and economically. America's commitment to international security has sustained the safety of allies and friends in many areas -- in the Middle East, in Europe and Asia. Our turning away would unleash new instabilities and dangers around the globe, which, in turn, would threaten our own security.

At the end of World War II, we turned a similar challenge into a historic opportunity, and I might add, historic achievement. An old order was in disarray; political and economic institutions were shattered. In that period, this Nation and its partners build new institutions, new mechanisms of mutual support and cooperation. Today, as then, we face an historic opportunity.

If we act imaginatively and boldly as we acted then, this period will in retrospect be seen as one of the great creative moments of our Nation's history. The whole world is watching us to see how we respond.

A resurgent American economy would do more to restore the confidence of the world in its own future than anything else we can do. The program that this Congress passes can demonstrate to the world that we have started to put our own house in order. If we can show that this Nation is able and willing to help other nations meet the common challenge, it can demonstrate that the United States will fulfill its responsibilities as a leader among nations. Quite frankly, at stake is the future of industrialized democracies, which have perceived their destiny in common and sustained it in common for 30 years.

The developing nations are also at a turning point. The poorest nations see their hopes of feeding their hungry and developing their societies shattered by the economic crisis. The long-term economic future for the producers of raw materials also depends on cooperative solutions.

Our relations with the Communist countries are a basic factor of the world environment. We must seek to build a long-term basis for coexistence. We will stand by our principles. We will stand by our interests. We will act firmly when challenged. The kind of a world we want depends on a broad policy of creating mutual incentives for restraint and for cooperation.

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As we move forward to meet our global challenges and opportunities, we must have the tools to do the job.

Our military forces are strong and ready. This military strength defers aggression against our allies, stabilizes our relations with former adversaries and protects our homeland. Fully adequate conventional and strategic forces cost many, many billions, but these dollars are sound insurance for our safety and for a more peaceful world.

Military strength alone is not sufficient. Effective diplomacy is also essential in preventing conflict and in building world understanding. The Vladivostok negotiations with the Soviet Union represent a major step in moderating strategic arms competition. My recent discussions with the leaders of the Atlantic Community, Japan and South Korea have contributed to our meeting the common challenge.

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But we have serious problems before us that require cooperation between the President and the Congress. By the Constitution and the tradition, the discussion of foreign policy is the responsibility of the President. In recent years, under the stress of the Vietnam war, legislative restrictions on the President's ability to execute foreign policy and military decisions have proliferated.

As a Member of the Congress I opposed some and I approved others. As President I welcome the advice and cooperation of the House and the Senate.

But if our foreign policy is to be successful, we cannot rigidly restrict in legislation the ability of the President to act. The conduct of negotiation is ill-suited to such limitation. Legislative restrictions, intended for the best motives and purposes, can have the opposite result, as we have seen most recently in our trade relations with the Soviet Union.

For my part, I pledge this Administration will act in the closest consultation with the Congress as we face delicate situations and troubled times throughout the globe.

When I became President only five months ago, I promised the last Congress a policy of communication, conciliation, compromise and cooperation. I renew that pledge to the new Members of this Congress.

Let me sum it up. America needs a new direction, which I have sought to chart here today, a change of course which will put the unemployed back to work, increase real income and production, restrain the growth of Federal Government spending, achieve energy independence and advance the cause of world understanding.

We have the ability. We have the know-how. In partnership with the American people, we will achieve these objectives. As our 200th anniversary approaches, we owe it to ourselves, to posterity, to rebuild our political and economic strength.

Let us make America once again and for centuries more to come what it has so long been, a stronghold and a beacon light of liberty for the whole world.

Thank you.

END (AT 1:50 P.M. EST)

