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The United States can only remain strong and independent if each of you participate in developing our foreign and domestic policies with your vote in this election year. To do this, you need the same hard facts and honest arguments I need as President. Fuzzy, superficial thinking and inadequate statements can never lead to sound judgment -- not by you and not by me.

The real issues facing this Nation are tough and complex. They are not susceptible to simplistic characterization or quick solutions. Thus, in order to judge the candidates appealing for your vote, you must critically analyze not only the substance of their positions on the issues, but also the accurateness and completeness of their statements.

For example --

- Can you accept as a national leader a person who incorrectly claims that the Panama Canal is sovereign, and that the ~~President~~^{leader} of that country is a "tin horn dictator"? I have adopted a policy which has twin objectives: first, I will negotiate with the Panamanians as Presidents Roosevelt and Eisenhower did in similar circumstances in order to avoid a massive commitment of American troops to protect our interests and to protect good relations between our countries. Second, I will insist on full use of the Canal consistent with the American investment in it.



- Do you want a President who claims he can hold taxes down but whose record is one of increasing state and local taxes and ~~proposals~~^{proposing plans} which would shift the tax burden from the federal taxpayer to the state? Under my leadership as President, taxes have been reduced by _____, federal spending has been cut back by \$ _____ billion by my use of the veto, and state and local control over certain programs has been increased without adding at all to their financial burden.
- Why should you vote for a President who has taken no firm position on the Nation's crime and drug problems, on the national policy concerning health care, on [add additional examples]? For my record, you have two State of the Union Addresses, two national budgets submitted to Congress, _____ special Messages containing specific legislative proposals and countless other specific statements of policy and legislative proposals.
- Can you really accept a leader who once said he would repeal the right to work law and more recently has said [insert]? For my part, I have said [insert] concerning right to work laws, and I vetoed the common situs picketing bill, notwithstanding massive pressure from certain leaders of organized labor.
- Do you believe the superficial rhetoric of someone who claims that we are second in/^{military}strength to the Russians, based on selective use of statistics without an overall assessment

of their strength compared to ours? [insert line from Gergen draft].

| Remember, national leaders are not the ultimate source of strength which this country needs to maintain its preeminent position as the guarantor of world peace and prosperity for each ~~xxx~~ American. The people are the source of this strength, and they must participate in the decision process along with their leaders. To do this, they need the plain truth. They need the facts. They don't need the superficial rhetoric of competing politicians.

Demand the facts. Look at what my opponent ~~has said~~ ^{has said.}
 Look at what I have said, and I'm confident your judgment will be to support ~~my~~ ^{me.} ~~election effort.~~



DRAFT - M.D.
4/26/76

Individuals have made this country independent.

It will remain strong independent only if each of us participates in solving the great problems we confront as a Nation. To do this, you need the same hard facts and honest arguments as I need as President. Fuzzy, superficial thinking and inadequate statements can never lead to sound judgment -- not by you and not by me.

You will participate in developing this Nation's foreign and domestic policies with your vote in this election year ~~and~~ by your reaction to the specific issues raised by the various candidates. The meaningful issues are tough and complex. They are not susceptible to simplistic characterization or quick-fix solutions.

My campaign has been grounded on presenting the issues as they are -- complex, difficult and almost always involving the need to pay a price to achieve any benefit. In twenty-five years of public life at the national level, I have never talked down to the people I worked with and the people I served. National problems are not politicians' problems. They are not government problems; they are the peoples' problems. You must be given the facts of the problem -- not simplistic rhetoric.



You should challenge -- as I have challenged -- the campaign rhetoric of some who would offer painless and simple solutions to complex matters.

You, the independent voter, which represents the ultimate strength of this Nation, must demand the truth from your candidate.

You should challenge those who wrongfully claim that a massive amount of federal programs can be transferred to state and local governments without your taxes going up or services being sharply reduced. So, too, must you question those who would offer vague new programs, such as in the area of health care, without giving you the price tag.

Challenge and reject those who have no view of history or understanding of international treaties and relations. You and I learned in high school that the Panama Canal is not sovereign U.S. territory. We learned the lesson of trying to dictate to our Latin American neighbors. When Franklin Delano Roosevelt, in 1936, and Dwight Eisenhower, in 1955, amended the Panama Treaty, they did so after balancing the interests of the United States with the needs and rights of Panamanians. If necessary, we will do the same and do so with a broad understanding of this complex issue. That year, FDR won reelection, carrying every state except Maine and Vermont, even though 80% of the press opposed him. The point is, the American understood him and were not fooled by shrill rhetoric which tried to oversimplify the great issues facing the country.

You must challenge candidates from both parties who reject detente by simply stating that the Russians are getting a better deal. Where are their specifics? What better deal? They will never get a better deal as long as I am President. They'll get a fair, negotiated deal and nothing more.

Demand the facts when someone says we are second best. Conflicts in today's thermo-nuclear age ~~are not one with~~ ^{will not be won with} just one class of naval vessels or one type of missile. In fact, in a nuclear war there may be no winners at all. But the way we avoid war is by being unquestionably the strongest nation on earth. Not just strong in one class of weapons, but rather the strongest nation overall compared to any other nation.

Each of you as individual voters must also provide for your own wellbeing and the wellbeing of your family. Challenge the accuracy of those who tell you the economy is still headed downhill. Do not accept the [insert economic point].

The strength of this country very definitely depends on the informed judgment of each of its citizens and the participation of all of us in our national election. You must consider the issues raised by the candidates as you make up your mind. Do not be fooled by ~~simplistic~~ and glib statements which seek to provide simplistic solutions to complex problems. Bore in and demand the facts. Challenge the accuracy and completeness of the information you are given.

My record as President is based on a willingness to speak plainly and truthfully to the American people and let the chips fall where they may by presenting an honest statement of the facts and a clear explanation of my solution. You will find it in two State of the Union Addresses, in two budgets I submitted to Congress, in _____ Messages I have sent to Congress on specific subjects proposing specific pieces of legislation, and in _____ speeches addressing specific problems facing the country. My record is there; it is specific and it is clear. I will stand by the facts I have used and the arguments I have made. I have not talked down to the American people, but rather shared the burden presented by the decisions I must make as President with you.



AIRPORT ARRIVAL STATEMENT IN NEBRASKA

I've come to Nebraska to ask for help in keeping my job.

I believe it is critically important for the Nation that the great changes we have begun for this country over the last twenty months continue for the next four and a half years.

We are moving out of the recession, largely because of my unrelenting opposition to the free-spending Democratic Congress.

The unemployment rate has been reversed and is now heading down with millions of more jobs becoming available in the private sector, thereby giving Americans dignified and long-term employment. In the past year, we have cut inflation in half and it is still going down, thereby making each of your dollars go a little bit further.

Overcoming the desire of Congress to spend more, I have in fact cut your federal taxes, thereby putting those dollars back in your pockets for you to spend as you see fit.

I have reversed the trend of a growing federal government and with specific effective action, we are actually beginning to cut it down to a responsible size. Most importantly, from my point of view, the federal government is going to become responsive to individual Americans. Government



employees are darn well going to listen to Americans and respond to their needs. They are the servants of the people, and as long as I'm President, they're going to act that way.

I am getting my defense budget through the Congress which will be the first increase since . Although I fought for higher defense spending every year as a leader of Congress, the Democratic majority most often cut back on my program levels. But, as President, I have taken this issue to the people and, using the power of that Office, we are now going to get the increased spending, notwithstanding the opposition in Congress.

I've been completely candid and honest with the American people. Thus, integrity is being restored at the federal level, and that is perhaps the most important legacy of my first term.

There are, of course, many more important turning points that have occurred over the last twenty months and must continue in the future. I believe the country needs a man in the White House who will take on the Congress from a position of experience and a position of strength. My roots are in mid-America. I was born in this State. I understand the need, the aspirations and the views of the people. The country needs that perspective, and it also needs somebody who can get the job done in Washington.

I'm here because we must win in November, and to do so I need the support of Nebraska Republicans.



(Chanock)

Draft 5/5/76

In this campaign, I have travelled a great deal, met thousands of people and listened to their concerns. I have known victory and I have known defeat. But, I have learned something which is very important. Ronald Reagan is a better politician than I am. He knows the quick answer to a question which makes everything seem so simple. He is a trained and experienced performer on stage, radio, and television.

But, I have also learned something else. Being a good politician is different from being a good President. And I think I am a good President. And it is my intention to continue to be a good President until January 20. From now on, I am going to try to explain what being a good President means to me and I'll let the voters decide if they agree or disagree.

Let me take a few examples out of our recent past to illustrate for you how a good President must sometimes be a bad politician.

When I took office twenty-one months ago, this country faced three major challenges:

First, confidence in government after Watergate was at an all-time low.



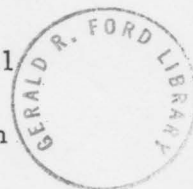
Second, our economy was in the depths of a recession, our people racked by inflation and unemployment.

Third, our national will was called into question by our allies and our potential adversaries.

In short, the country was ~~feeling~~ reeling from the trauma of Watergate, the weight of recession, and the tragedy of Vietnam.

I have had an open Administration and restored confidence in our government. To put an end to Watergate, I pardoned the former President. It was not a popular decision. It was not a political decision. But, it was the right decision for getting this country out of the mire of Watergate and for focusing our sights on the great future we deserve.

I have said no to big spenders in Congress. I have said no to those who would pump up our economy in an election year. I have consolidated many programs into bloc grants and revenue sharing. I have reformed food stamps and cut the size of the Federal Bureaucracy by 100,000 people. I have put a ceiling on Federal pay raises. I have increased the social security tax in an election year to ensure that the money is there when you need it. I have vetoed a jobs bill which would have spurred another round of inflation. I stood tough until New York City bailed itself out. I have deregulated national gas prices and signed the energy bill which will cause prices to rise now while securing our energy independence for the future. In short, I have not financed by election with your tax dollars. None of these decisions are the pork barrel politics which help an incumbent politician's re-election. But they were the right decisions for a President to make who cares about our future.



I brought one hundred and fifty thousand Vietnamese refugees to America when we already had far too many unemployed. I sent our armed forces to rescue the Mayaguez when our nation was still fearful of any type of involvement. I granted amnesty to Vietnam deserters. I am in negotiations on the Panama Canal to ensure our right to defend and operate the canal. And, with your help, I have convinced Congress to accept the largest defense budget in peace time history while many cry out for more social programs.

But I have had my disappointments too. I tried to secure aid for Vietnam, Cambodia, and Angola to defend themselves and determine their own future.

And I have even been known to fall down once in a while.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DOUG SMITH
FROM: MIKE DUVAL
SUBJECT: Speech Insert

Doug, attached is an article by Lou Harris which contains a quote that might fit well in some future speech by the President.

This seems to be a good piece of evidence supporting a point often made by the President.



bcc: Dave Gergen

Harris Survey

Carter's support is fickle

By Louis Harris

BOTH FORMER Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and the public opinion polls share a common problem this election year. In nearly every test made of Carter's likely percentage of the vote in the

THE ANSWER can be found in the specific details of what voters thought of Carter as a candidate in the Pennsylvania primary, which made Carter the Democratic frontrunner.

In addition, pluralities had doubts about Carter for his statements on ethnic purity, and for "saying one thing to one group and another to another to get votes." There also were other objections

... part in ...

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 17, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

JIM CONNOR
DOUG SMITH

FROM:

MIKE DUVAL

Mike

SUBJECT:

INTERNATIONAL TRADE WEEK SPEECH

I understand there is some talk about the President doing an International Trade Week speech. I have uncovered some substantial opposition to this, particularly on the Hill. If you hear any movement in this area, please keep me advised. I have alerted the EPB to be on the lookout for it.



President Ford: My fellow Americans; while I have been your President, recovery has replaced the worst recession in 40 years.

Over two and a half million more Americans are working, now, than a year ago. Total employment is the highest in our history.

I have always believed that to hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of government. That's just common sense.

So I vetoed huge, giveaway spending bills, passed by Congress, that would have cost taxpayers another 13 billion dollars.

As a result, runaway inflation has been brought under control. It has dropped from a rate of 12 per cent to less than 4 per cent. Your dollars are worth more.

My goal is full recovery without inflation. Steadily and surely, America is moving towards that goal.

Announcer (V.O): Your President's performance has earned your support. Vote in the primary on May 18th.



President Ford: While I have been your President, recovery has replaced recession.

Two and a half million more Americans are working, now, than a year ago.

I vetoed huge giveaway spending bills (passed by Congress.)

Holding down the cost of government, we held down the cost of living. Inflation was 12 per cent. Now it's under 4 per cent.

Your dollars are worth more.

America is moving forward again.

Announcer (V.O): Your President ('s performance) has earned your support. Vote on May 18th.



anti. byron
speech

* Irvine Kristol

*

Lunch
w/
Peeter

WK of
June 7th

Farm Policy Speech
"we've made mistakes"

Crime Speech before
Black Audience

Series of speeches before
take on lawyers at hostile audience
Judicial Cont. (St. Louis!)
bring judges/court

The Consumer Issue - go after
new warranty law ??

Closing fees for buyers - House
Fixed fees.



- ✓ Because of anti-environmental
- ✓ Most war states: Ill, Calif, Penn, Ohio,
- ✓ More business + more competition is consumer issue
Govt control is not solution.
- ✓ We have to have solutions
+ TAKE ACTION.

✓ Teeter check :



~~to~~ - be for anti-trust
- oil company divestiture

* horror story of the week

* anti-business speech : has
restrained the individual

Send Bob T - Ford Issue
Book.

2/5th or 22nd here
Teeter on 66 years

w/



(Gergen)

file
(6/11/76)

INSERT: SOUTHERN BAPTIST SPEECH

Not long ago, one of the most prominent sons of the South, J. William Fulbright, wrote a book about Washington, entitled "The Arrogance of Power." It was concerned with our foreign policy at the time, but its message stretches far beyond to the very way that business is conducted in Washington.

The fact is that there is too much arrogance of power in Washington. We have seen it not just in the foreign policy of the past, not just in the way that Washington has tried to dictate to the rest of the country, and not just in the scandals of Watergate. We see this arrogance of power this very day in some of the behavior that has been revealed on Capitol Hill.

I have been deeply distressed by these latest series of disclosures because the country cannot afford to lose faith once more in its political institutions and its elected representatives. If we ever reach the day when we have Gomorrah on the Potomac, all will be lost.

This morning I met with the Attorney General, Edward Levi, and gave him three instructions:

- First, I want the laws of the land that apply to misuse of official power to be impartially but vigorously enforced.



-- Second, I want to know if the laws now on the books are sufficiently strong to deter arrogant abuses of power.

-- Finally, even as justice must be pursued vigorously, so must it also be applied fairly with scrupulous regard for individual rights and individual privacy. I want no leaks from any official investigations that would tend to smear anyone.

My interest as Chief Executive is to ensure that justice is done and the rights of the innocent are zealously protected.

As to those offenses which do not violate the laws of the land, let us recognize that there are higher laws. Each and every one of us must ultimately answer to our God, a God that admonished us : "Judge not, lest ye be judged." Let us, then, not try to sit in moral judgment on the lives of others but seek, through our own behavior, to set a moral standard that will show the way for future generations. We need have no fear if truth and love shall reign in our hearts.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 6, 1976

file
RUSH

MEMORANDUM FOR:

BOB ORBEN

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN *Dg*

SUBJECT:

Remarks for the Queen

There is a widespread feeling within the staff that it would be extremely helpful if the President could capture the mood of the country this past weekend in his opening day remarks for the Queen. That would have to be done in a few, quotable phrases that the networks could -- and would want -- to re-run.

Mike Duval and I have worked out the attached and hope that it will be seriously considered for the arrival or evening remarks. It could replace the second paragraph on page 6 of the current arrival remarks.

cc: Foster Chanock
Dick Cheney
Mike Duval
Allan Greenspan
Ron Nessen
Doug Smith



healing

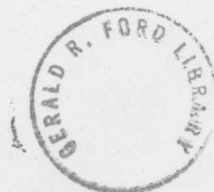
Insert for Queen's Visit

Your Majesty, one of the greatest gifts you have given to us during this Bicentennial is your own visit to our shores. We are deeply touched that you have chosen to honor us in this way, and you will find all Americans extending to you and to Prince Phillip a warm and generous welcome.

As you travel through our Nation, I hope -- and trust -- that you will find something else in these United States: a new sense of unity, of friendship, of purpose and tranquility.

Something magical happened in America this past weekend. A spirit of unity and togetherness, welling deep within the country's soul, sprang to the surface in a way that we had almost forgotten. People showed once again that they care, that they want to live in peace and harmony with their neighbors, that they want to pull together for the good of the Nation and indeed for the good of mankind.

This weekend we had a marvelous rebirth of the American spirit, and in the days ahead, we would very much like to share that spirit with you.



DRAFT INSERT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S WELCOMING REMARKS AT
ARRIVAL CEREMONY FOR QUEEN ELIZABETH

Your Majesty, as you travel throughout the United States
and see more and more Americans, you will experience ~~a new~~ ^{the renewed}
^{American} spirit, ~~in this country~~

As I celebrated, with 215 million other Americans, our
country's Bicentennial over the past weekend, I sensed this
~~new~~ spirit among my fellow citizens. It is an intangible
sense of unity, of purpose, of harmony, of tranquility. It
is that sense of calm which we experienced when we are at
peace with ourselves. It ~~is a sense of calmness which~~ comes
from having a strong moral base and a sense of direction.

This last weekend our celebrations were characterized
by diversity and harmony. Your Majesty, this celebration
brought to the surface a more powerful message than any
single event or ceremony can ever be. What struck me, and
I trust will impress you is that Americans genuinely want
to know and work with their neighbors, to be a part of pulling
together for the national good, and indeed for the good of
mankind.

We are people, united not ^{just} in celebration of the spirit
that was, but in determination to continue the American
spirit that made us the great nation ~~that~~ we are.



OUTLINE OF POINTS TO MAKE IF THE PRESIDENT VETOES
THE TAX CUT EXTENSION AND PUBLIC WORKS BILL

- When I became President, I promised you straight talk. That means at times I will have to take actions which are not popular and which could be politically harmful, especially in an election year.
- Congress has sent me two pieces of legislation which I am certain the Democratic majority feels are veto-proof. In an election year they are very attractive. One of them is a tax cut and the other would provide pork barrel programs.
- As far as the Public Works Bill is concerned, my position on that has been made clear. [State position in one - at the most 2 sentences.] This bill will spend \$ million dollars over budget which comes out of the pockets of every American taxpayer.
- The tax extension passed by Congress is far short of what I proposed but, more importantly, violates an important principle. This would extend the current tax cut, but I propose that the tax cut be increased to \$ billion. This would have meant additional savings for every taxpayer. However, there is a principle involved. I have taken the position that our economy should be stimulated by reducing the tax burdens on all Americans and letting them spend the money as they see fit. The Democratic majority in Congress has a different idea. They want to allow the tax cuts, but increase Federal spending at the same time.

As every American knows, this means great deficits which lead to inflation. Thus, if the Democratic majority in Congress has its way, and reduces taxes while an increase in spending, the sure loser will be each American. Although it will look like you are getting a tax cut and thus more money to spend, what will really happen is that prices will go up as inflation increases, and thus you will pay the cruelest tax of all -- the inflation tax.

- Accordingly, I'm going to veto both of these bills. They represent all that is wrong with the system now working in Washington, which has resulted because of forty years of a Democratic majority in Congress. It is important that



I stand up as President and make the point that principle must prevail. I do so with full expectation that my vetoes, especially on the tax cut, will be overridden.

I am, nevertheless, willing to accept the possibility of this override in Congress and the political consequences of my actions today -- vetoing the tax cut and pork barrel spending in election year -- because of the principle involved. I said that I would propose and fight for a tax cut only if Congress would reduce spending. In a Senate/House Resolution passed on _____, the majority of Congress gave their word to link Federal spending reductions with tax reductions. These two bills, better than anything else, represent their inability to keep their promise -- to me and to the American people.

Therefore, with full recognition that this will be a politically unpopular act and in expectation that Congress may override my vetoes, I am returning both bills without my signature.

ALTERNATIVES

Same as above, but only veto Public Works Bill. Say tax bill goes in the right direction (per President's request for a larger tax cut) but he will not commit the deficit to rise.



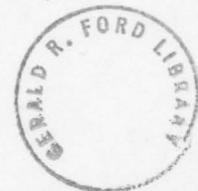
DRAFT: Duval: 7/10/76
(1 min., 45 sec.)

DRAFT STATEMENT FOR TV AS PRESIDENT VETOES APPROPRIATIONS
BILLS ON MONDAY, JULY 12

Today, I am exercising the Constitutional power of the President and casting my 5_, 5_ and 5_ vetoes. Taken together, these bills which were passed by a large majority of Congress would result in the Federal Government wasting \$ billion of taxpayers money on unnecessary expenditures.

I certainly do not enjoy exercising my veto power. I would much prefer to sign constructive legislation which will help individual Americans and promote the national interest. Our Bicentennial experiences over the past several weeks have demonstrated a new mood and spirit in America. There is a new sense of tranquility in our country. Over the Fourth of July, Americans rediscovered the pleasure of being with one another and the strength that comes from community involvement.

While I do not want these vetoes to dampen this new spirit, we must face the reality that we cannot just look back over a successful 200 years of experimenting in democracy. We must continually find better ways of governing ourselves. These three bills which Congress has sent me represent the old way of doing business.



It represents unnecessary election year spending, which has become a trademark of the Democratic majority which has governed this Congress for forty four of the past forty-four years.

I have set forth a new direction for the Federal Government, and I intend to fight -- at every step of the way -- against the traditional spenders.

My new direction is simple: stop wasteful Government spending, make Government programs serve people better, and return the money saved to each American in the form of tax cuts.



H- file campaign
ISSUES / Speeches

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

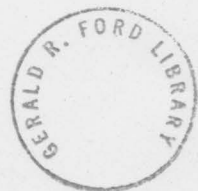
To Mike
Dave
Foster
Fgd

J

Jim Cannon

One of our new
speech writers did the
attached.

Has some good ideas.
Ties in with V.P.'s
thoughts on Parks.
How are we coming?



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT ORBEN

FROM: CRAIG SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: Specific Issue Speeches

In past Presidential speaking, the approach to specific issues of a substantive nature has been guided by several factors:

- 1) issue importance to voters: (Throughout this memo voters and audience are treated as the same.) Voters, as audiences for speeches, expect candidates to address major issues.
- 2) audience positions on substantive issues: If the American or local audience for a speech is sharply divided, raising the divisive issue can alienate voters. If, however, there is some unanimity, a candidate can use the issue to his advantage.
- 3) generating issues: A good speech can make an issue more important in a campaign. Such speeches often put the candidate on the offensive thereby giving him more control of the campaign. (e.g. Reagan on the Canal.)
- 4) linkage of issues: Too often, candidates treat issues as discrete, when in fact they are interrelated. (e.g. Busing and government interferences.)

In light of these four factors, I suggest that the President employ two strategies which have only begun to emerge in his speech making.

First, the President should argue that his administration, unlike the opposition, has taken a comprehensive approach to substantive issues. (This is touched upon in the State of Union Address.) He realizes that better housing is as much a deterrent to crime as gun control; that an end to government interference begins not only with revenue sharing but with an end to unnecessary busing; that land conservation is as much a result of planning urban growth as of maintaining farm productivity. In this way, specific issues could be developed as part of a network that represented the unique, integrated approach of this administration.



Lesser issues would be elevated in importance by their connection to the entire network. Controversial issues would be tempered by their association with more desired positions.

Second, the President should claim his constituency by demonstrating that for twenty-seven years he has stood for what Americans now see as a sensible approach to problems. The shift right in American thinking (less government, less inflation, less intanglement abroad, common sense solutions) has accelerated since 1970. Democrats have already moved to steal away this historically Republican position. The President should tie his issue-positions to the "growing American consensus" so that he is identified with the majority of voters. One way to accomplish such identification is to give a speech describing this "consensus" or at least to make it a theme in a major speech. Touching on motivations and values of this audience, would not be difficult. Such persuasion could serve as a backdrop to the issue speeches.

In short, these issue speeches need to be linked to a comprehensive administrative policy. That policy then needs to be linked to the aspirations of the American voter. Such a strategy would allow for the consistent development of several more specific speeches.





RE: Speech Proposal #1 -- THE GROWING AMERICAN CONSENSUS

Purpose: To identify a constituency that is capable of producing a majority at the polls. To outline motivations and values of the American voters in such a way as to reveal that they are consistent with the values of the President.

Problem: President Ford has a large, potential constituency. His speeches and legislative initiatives are in tune with a growing American consensus. But no clear effort has been made to identify and claim this consensus. Therefore, others have raided the majority consensus and taken it from the President. (The party of McGovern is now the party of Carter; that is, the party of liberal congressional spenders is the party of anti-Washington reformers.) As a pragmatist and realist in government for over a quarter of a century, the President has watched the voters return again and again to his pragmatic principles. But at no time since World War II have these principles been embraced by a larger segment of the voters.

Americans are finally realizing that the question is not whether we embrace truisms, but how we implement them that is important. Too often politicians have promised to solve our problems only to create new ones. The President is a doer, not a promiser. He saves money, restores the economy, restores the peace, and returns confidence to the Presidency. These are real accomplishments, not vague promises.

Solution: The Administration must make clear its accomplishments in the frame work of the majority's values and sensibilities. "Of course, we need to live within our means. Of course, we need to provide civil justice in every way we can. Of course, we need to keep America strong in the face of foreign challenge. Of course, we need to maintain a sound educational system. On these issues and others, the American public has reached a consensus and this administration has followed that mandate. From this consensus, it is possible to move forward to take care of unfinished business. We can bring health where there is disease, peace where there is strife, progress where there is poverty.

Aside from programs, the new American consensus is manifesting itself in a spirit of renewal. During the bicentennial celebration on the fourth of July, millions of New Yorkers crowded around their historic harbor to see the tall ships; they returned the next day unsatisfied with only a day of celebrating. Hundreds of thousands of Philadelphians stood in silence, as the President led them in prayer. A million citizens came to Washington D. C. that evening to celebrate America's 200th birthday; with no problem more serious than a traffic jam, they cheered a renewed faith in country.

Americans want diligence, not dissent; they want progress, not protest; they want spirit, not strife. The Republican party has never out promised the Democratic, but it has always out performed them. It has been no different with this administration.

The American people are wise enough to know which party and which candidates have sincerely held pragmatic and realistic positions over time and which have only recently seen fit to embrace them.

Speech Proposal #2 -- A COMMUNITY OF THE LAND

Purpose: To outline the President's position on land use control. To identify the President with American's natural ties to the land.

Problem: American culture and society have been shaped by the land. Key phrases in our heritage begin to tell us how dependent on the land we are: "New World," "Property rights," "Frontier spirit," and "A place of our own."

But through time we have often abused the land. Robert Frost put it best when he said, "The land was ours before we were the lands." He understood, as we all must, that the land is no longer unlimited and that its uses are not limitless.

The incredible growth of our cities, the astronomical increase in property values, and farm land shrinkages are but clues to a major problem. Today, soil erosion from wind and water continues unabated. Urban sprawl eats up valuable agricultural land. We may soon face a shortage of crop land which will mean we will have trouble feeding our own citizens, let alone the starving abroad.

This uncontrolled growth, and unwarranted neglect have resulted in several secondary problems. Mass transit systems have failed to keep pace with urban development. Congestion, pollution, and city center decay have resulted.

Solution: "Our country was founded on a healthy respect for the land. If we return to the early principles of our forefathers, we will regain a new sense of community with the land. The administration has taken several steps to solve the problem: We have proposed and passed several viable housing policies. Among them is one for \$20.8 million which encourages local experimentation with rent rates, resident management, and housing reform. We have sponsored grants for urban redevelopment of center cities. And we have done a good deal to encourage the

preservation of the farm family. In this way we have tried to create a sense of neighborhood in the city, and a community of the land in the country.

But more needs to be done in the future. Our revenue sharing is only the beginning of a list of reforms needed to bring back a system of creative federalism. We propose a system wherein localities can experiment with property tax relief, zoning regulation, appreciation recapture, and transit efficiency.

We note that farmers produce more and at lower prices when they do not face the entanglements of government regulation. We have proposed legislation to make it rewarding to be a farmer. We have asked Congress to approve our taxing system which would make it easier for small farms and small businesses to continue to be productive.

All of these measures are aimed at a more controlled and sensible use of America's greatest resource, land. These measures also encourage more local experimentation, which in turn should help to develop a better sense of community in our cities and on our farms."

Speech Proposal #3 -- A COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT NATIONAL HEALTH

Purpose: To convey the President's integrated approach to the problem of national health care. The opposition has considered the question of health in isolation. This administration has consistently taken the position that the physical well-being of our citizens is related to several programs. There is more to health care than medical insurance and hospitalization.

Problem: America faces a crisis in health care for both specific and general reasons. Specifically, government intervention has deterred the development of adequate, economical, private insurance programs. Useless paper work, personnel, and grant monies have resulted from the array of legislation forced through Democratic administrations and Congresses.

Generally, major causes of health problems have been improperly dealt with by the opposition. Unlike them, we analyze the relationship between health and crime prevention, urban blight, and environmental protection.



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Solution: "This administration has consistently proposed a two fold attack on health care problems. Specifically, we have cut back useless spending and involvement in state affairs, where the opposition has not overruled us. For the future, we will continue to support catastrophic health insurance for everyone on medicaid, scrutiny of research grants, competitive rates among private health insurance companies. Furthermore, we need to offer more middle income families high quality health service at prices they can afford.

Generally, we seek the opportunity to continue to deal with the major causes of poor health. Threats to health such as crime have been a consistent target of this administration. Through international diplomacy and federal assistance programs, we have tried to reduce drug abuse. Through the Department of Housing and Urban Development we have tried to reduce overcrowding and poor quality housing. Through other administrative agencies we tried to maintain a clean, and healthy environment.

It is my belief that health care becomes a national responsibility when the causes of the problem are of national dimension. Where that has occurred, my administration has implemented programs to deal with the problem. Where health care has local causes, we have through revenue sharing and other assistance encouraged local remedies. In all cases, we have examined the larger picture to see how various other problems and programs affect health care. This integrated approach marks our suggestions with a realism and pragmatism which guarantees success in our battle to end disease and health related problems in America."

Speech Proposal #4 -- PRESERVING AMERICA FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

Purpose: To reveal the President's approach to problems likely to develop in the next few generations. To argue that continuity in office is essential to the solving of major problems.

Problems: Too often the Democratically controlled Congress takes up problems after a crisis has developed. This practice is costly and inefficient; it becomes more dangerous as we move into our third century. The serious nature of the problems we face, demands long range planning, not stop gap, last minute programs.

- 1) Urban growth needs coordination if we are to prevent further financial and physical decay in our cities. Pollution and mass transportation are but two of the problems arising out of unplanned urban expansion.

2) Food production is not keeping pace with population growth. Vital crop land is being destroyed by urban growth and erosion. While adequate food supplies exist now, future generations face massive inflation at best, and major food shortages, at worst.

3) Mineral demands are outstripping domestic supply. We continue to increase our reliance on foreign resources. Such a policy produces inflated prices and may lead to the cut off of vital materials.

4) The energy situation continues to deteriorate. Reliance on foreign oil has increased since the 1973 crisis. Development of alternate energy sources is slow and uncompetitive.

Solution: This administration has argued for an integrated view of problem areas. Our energy needs relate to economic productivity. Land use planning affects food supplies as well as the construction industry.

"Given the interrelated nature of these problems, I propose that we abandon the crisis mentality that characterizes the opposition's approach to problems. We need to begin now to solve problems that will affect generations to come.

Specifically, my energy proposals would, through deregulation, encourage the search for gas and oil, while making alternate fuel sources more competitive. My farm program would preserve the crop land that now exists and give incentives for the development of untouched areas.

For the future, I recommend that the federal government:

1) Work with states and localities to coordinate urban growth. Neighborhoods and crop land should be preserved consistent with pollution regulations and transportation needs.

2) Initiate a food program to stabilize prices, maintain adequate reserves, and expand our food for peace program.

3) Initiate a coordinated program of mineral preservation and ocean resource recovery.

The problems of the future must be solved now if we are to avoid serious crises. The solutions may be costly, the answers may be hard, but it is better to leave a bountiful nation to our children than to have them pay the cost of our lethargy."

TALKING POINTS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AS HE
GREETES THE DELEGATES TO GIRLS AND BOYS NATION

You have been studying how our government here in Washington functions. I have been fortunate to serve the American people in two of our three branches for over a quarter of a century. Our system does work. In fact, it is clearly the best system of government in the world.

But this system can and should be improved. One of the central problems we face is the inability of the Congress to make the hard decisions which entail sacrifice in the near-term, but provide for the national well-being in the future.

My shorthand way of describing this problem is that Congress has been unwilling to accept a near-term cost for a long-term benefit. This unfortunate fact has been very harmful for our country.

Let me give you two examples. On _____ of this year, I asked Congress to enact a _____ tax cut which would have reduced the federal income tax burden of each taxpayer by \$ _____. I argued that the best way to stimulate our economy was by cutting federal spending, giving the money back to the taxpayers, and let them spend it as they see fit, in order to stimulate our economy. Now, from the Congressman's



point of view, that meant a reduction in federal government programs for which the members of Congress like to take individual credit. Thus, from their perspective, they would have less money to give out, and this would be the price they would pay for letting the American people stimulate the economy which would benefit this Nation in the long run. Congress rejected this and have not cut federal spending and have not enacted my tax cut.

Another example is our energy program. The simple fact is that the only way we can become independent of foreign oil producers is by tightening our belt, paying the increased cost of energy and using less of it, while producing more here at home. This is tough medicine for any politician, and Congress ducked when faced with this reality. As a result, we have not paid that near-term cost for energy independence and our children and grandchildren will ultimately have to pay an even higher price as we become more energy dependent.



September 14, 1976
JC:MD

RESPONSE TO BIG GOVERNMENT ISSUE

When left unchecked, every level of government has a tendency to grow. In the past, we have seen this at the city, State and Federal level.

I believe this is a serious problem. If we were an undeveloped country with only a few qualified people, it might make sense to concentrate them all in the Capital - at the State and Federal levels. But, when we have as talented and energetic country as America, it is a great waste to direct things from Washington, or just from State Capitals. Indeed, I have found that when we move slowly in Washington, we tend to encourage opportunities to open up elsewhere in the country.

America has the most educated, resourceful and widely diverse talent of any country on earth. It is an enormous waste of human resources to concentrate initiative in Washington when the whole fabric of American society is bursting with intelligence and creativity.

It has been gratifying to me to be able to devote some of my time and energy over the last two years changing the Executive Branch of the Federal government to conform with my view that government should not be allowed to get too big. I have found that keeping down the growth of government requires the vigorous efforts of the Chief Executive.



The Executive Branch has about 11,000 fewer employees today than it had when I took office. The decline isn't dramatic, but it is real and it tells us that the trend toward bigger government can be reversed with hard work.

In addition, we have been able to increase by 24% the portion of the Federal budget returned to our State and local communities. We have reduced Federal paperwork by over 12%, and my personal office -- the White House -- now has nearly 10% fewer employees than when I took office. That didn't happen by accident. It happened because I directed it to happen and because I followed up to make sure that it did happen.

I suspect that Governor Carter knows how hard it is to reduce the growth of government because while he was Governor, the State employment in Georgia rose by 24%, from 34,332 to 42,400. However, the most outrageous example of growth in government is the Congress of the United States. Its staff has grown 84% in the last ten years, which makes it the fastest growing industry in the country.



September 14, 1976
M. D.

CONSUMERS AND REGULATORY REFORM

I will not accept any claim that my Administration has not resulted in a better deal for consumers.

I have moved with more vigor and results than any President of this century to provide real relief to the consumer and to small and family businesses by attacking the problem of government interference.

I know that prosperity does not trickle down from Washington. It comes from the energies of the American people. We in Washington must assure that these energies are not stifled by too much interference.

I also know that low prices cannot be dictated from Washington. However, Washington can and should guarantee competition by vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws. Also, we must continue to strip away regulatory controls when they suppress competition.

We've made significant progress in this area, but there is still an enormous amount to do. For example:

- We have repealed the Federal Fair Trade laws which made the consumers pay unnecessarily high prices.
- We have increased civil and criminal penalties for antitrust violations.
- We have brought competition back to the railroads for the first time since 1887.

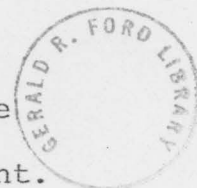


Although I have brought some extremely capable and independent thinking men and women into the regulatory agencies, there is still a lot of dead wood that needs to be cut out and replaced by people who will fight against the concentration of power in businesses and special interest groups.

And, in this area, as in so many other areas, Congress continues to dig its heels in and oppose my efforts to change some of the archaic and absurd legislation which has been on the books for years.

In May of this year, I sent to Congress the "Agenda for Government Reform Act" which essentially is a master plan for subjecting all government regulations to a systematic reexamination and reform over the next four years. Congress hasn't acted. I hope to receive a mandate from the people this November which I can use to force Congress into action on this and other reform legislation I have already submitted and will continue to propose.

I think it would be useful in this important area of consumerism and government regulation for me to say a word on why Congress has not acted on my proposals. It's not just that they have a 2-to-1 majority from the opposite party; the real problem is that I am asking them to take the hard road of totally reforming the Federal government. Instead, they want the easy way out which, in this case,



is to create another government agency to oversee all the existing agencies and their regulations. The Congress wants to create a consumer protection agency which will simply add to the size of the Federal government, as a substitute for my proposal which is to reexamine all existing agencies and their regulations, with an eye to cutting them back where possible.

I am unalterably opposed to this easy road out. The answer to our problems of Federal regulation and lack of better consumer protection is not to create another Federal agency. The answer is to get rid of the regulations we don't need. The answer is to get rid of the Federal agencies we don't need. The answer is to strictly enforce appropriate laws and regulations to help consumers.