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BASIC SPEECH ON CRIME AND DRUG ABUSE

Millions of our citizens, including the elderly and poor, lock themselves up in their homes, fearing violence. I would instead lock up the criminals who make them afraid.

A legal system that is exploited by the criminal but ignores his victim is sadly out of balance. I ask your help and that of all Americans in restoring that balance.

The primary duty of Government is to protect the law-abiding citizen in the peaceful pursuit of liberty and happiness. The Preamble to our Constitution puts the obligation to insure domestic tranquility in the same category as providing for the common defense.

We recall in this Bicentennial year that our Founding Fathers adhered to the dictum of John Locke: "Where there is no law, there is no freedom." The over-whelming majority of Americans are law-abiding citizens. It is a small, hard core of law-breakers who commit a very large proportion of all crimes.

A recent study in one major metropolitan area recently

showed that within one single year more than 200 burglaries, 60 rapes and 14 murders were committed by only ten individuals. Most serious crimes are committed by repeaters. Such criminals duly tried and convicted must be removed from our society for a definite period of time.

A law-abiding majority also has its right and, as Chief Executive, I intend to see that those rights are given full weight on the scales of justice in America.

With very few exceptions, I strongly advocate mandatory minimum sentences for individuals who committed crimes or offenses involving the use of a dangerous weapon or who commit such grave offenses as aircraft hijacking, kidnapping and dealing in hard drugs, and for repeated offenders who commit Federal crimes that harm or endanger others.

Too many violent and habitual criminals are convicted but never spend a single day in prison. The lack of certainty tempts the mugger and, yes, even the murderer. We must shorten their

odds if we are to deter lawbreakers.

The way to reduce criminal use of handguns is not to disarm law-abiding citizens. The way to reduce criminal use of handguns is to impose mandatory sentences for gun crimes, to make it harder to obtain Saturday Night Specials and to concentrate on gun control in high crime areas.

Last July, I recommended to the Congress a bill to achieve these objectives, and I urge and strongly advocate action by the Congress to act immediately and without harrassing the lawful gun owner.

The vast majority of victims of violent crime throughout the United States are the poor, the old, the children, the most defenseless of our fellow citizens.

When people fear for their physical safety, they are rightfully afraid to use our streets. They lose their inherent freedom to come and go as they please, a right that I think is very important to all of us.

The violent crime that plagues Americans is essentially within the realm of State and local Government. But, the Federal Government will assert its maximum role under the Constitution to fight crime within its jurisdiction. The increasing abuse of hard drugs contributes to the soaring crime rate.<sup>9</sup>

The time has come to step up our fight, sharpen the weapons in our arsenal and launch a new and far more aggressive attack against this insidious enemy. The cost of drug abuse to this Nation is staggering.

Every year more than 5,000 Americans die from direct drug-related causes. Every year more than 170,000 injuries can be directly traced to drugs. Every year the problem of drug abuse costs up to 17 billion dollars.

Significantly, the greatest bulk of this 17 billion dollars is money lost through crime. Law enforcement officials estimate that up to one-half robberies, muggings, burglaries and other forms of property crimes are committed by addicts to support

their expensive and debilitating habit.

Frankly, despite all the rhetoric of recent years, I do not believe that we have yet succeeded in making it tough enough for drug traffickers.

As far as I am concerned, and I think this is shared by virtually everybody in the Congress, the House, as well as the Senate, the people who traffic in hard drugs are nothing less than merchants of death and should be put behind bars for a long, long, long time.

Yet the Justice Department studies show that more than a quarter of those convicted of narcotics trafficking do not spend a single day in jail. The extraordinary laxity that sometimes exist was illustrated just last month in a case when law enforcement officers arrested 31 people, most of whom were major violators responsible for very large shipments of heroin into the United States, 19 of those arrested were immediately freed on a 500 dollar personal recognizant bond, even though their offenses

were punishable by 15 years in jail.

All but two of the 19 had long, long arrest records, and one was on parole for narcotics offense -- unforgiveable, completely indefensible.

I believe that we have to close legal loopholes that permit traffickers to escape the Federal penitentiary.

# # #

BASIC SPEECH ON CRIME AND DRUG ABUSE

A leading feature of the American Revolution was its devotion to justice under law. Once one gets past those two glorious opening paragraphs, the Declaration of Independence reads very much like a legal brief.

Our revolutionary leaders heeded John Locke's teaching:

"Where there is no law, there is no freedom."

Law makes human society possible, It pledges safety to every member so that the company of fellow human beings can be a blessing instead of a threat. Where law exists and is respected, and is fairly enforced, trust replaces fear.

Do we provide that domestic tranquility which the Constitution seeks? If we take the crime rates as an indication, the answer has to be no.

The number of violent crimes rises steadily and we have recently suffered the national disgrace of lawbreaking in high places. Violent crimes on our streets and in our homes makes fear pervasive. They strike at the

roots of community life. They sever the bonds that link us as fellow citizens. They make citizens fear each other.

The time has come for society to act in its own self-defense.

I favor the use of the death penalty in the Federal criminal system in accordance with proper Constitutional standards. The death penalty in appropriate instances should be imposed upon the conviction of sabotage, murder, espionage and treason. Of course, the maximum penalty should not be applied if there is duress or impaired mental capacity or similar extenuating circumstances. But in murders involving substantial danger to the national security, or when the defendant is a coldblooded hired killer, the use of capital punishment is fully justified.

We realize today that passivity and permissiveness invite crime and that the certainty of punishment prevents crime, and I mean positive, swift and just punishment. But the criminal justice system need not be vindictive to be effective.

As President, I will give no comfort to those who make false allegations of police brutality but excuse the real brutality that exists in America today, the brutality of hoodlums in the streets of our cities throughout America.

I have no patience with those who would portray the violent criminal as the helpless victim of society when such offenders are actually anti-social criminals.

Millions of our citizens, including the elderly and poor, lock themselves up in their homes, fearing violence. I would instead lock up the criminals who make them afraid.

A legal system that is exploited by the criminal but ignores his victim is sadly out of balance. I ask your help and that of all Americans in restoring that balance.

[ The responsibility of local officials in dealing with the alarming increase in violent crime is primarily under our Constitution. Yet, crime is so pervasive that it can be brought under control only by the concerted

efforts of all levels of Government -- Federal, State and local, by the closest possible cooperation among the Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches and by non partisan political unity against a common enemy.]

The primary duty of Government is to protect the law-abiding citizen in the peaceful pursuit of liberty and happiness. The Preamble to our Constitution puts the obligation to insure domestic tranquility in the same category as providing for the common defense.

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A law-abiding majority also has its right and, as Chief Executive, I intend to see that those rights are given full weight on the scales of justice in America.

With very few exceptions, I strongly advocate mandatory minimum sentences for individuals who committed crimes or offenses involving the use of a dangerous weapon or who commit such grave offenses as aircraft hijacking, kidnapping and dealing in hard drugs, and for repeated offenders who commit Federal crimes that harm or endanger others.

Too many violent and habitual criminals are convicted but never spend a single day in prison. The lack of certainty tempts the mugger and, yes, even the murderer. We must shorten their odds if we are to deter lawbreakers.

The way to reduce criminal use of handguns is not to disarm law-abiding citizens. The way to reduce criminal use of handguns is to impose mandatory sentences for gun crimes, to make it harder to obtain Saturday Night Specials and to concentrate on gun control in high crime areas.

Last July, I recommended to the Congress a bill to achieve these objectives, and I urge and strongly advocate action by the Congress to act immediately and without harrassing the lawful gun owner.

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When people fear for their physical safety, they are rightfully afraid to use our streets. They lose their inherent freedom to come and go as they please, a right that I think is very important to all of us.

The violent crime that plagues Americans is essentially within the realm of State and local Government. But, the Federal Government will assert its maximum role under the Constitution to fight crime within its jurisdiction. The increasing abuse of hard drugs contributes to the soaring crime rate.

The time has come to step up our fight, sharpen the weapons in our arsenal and launch a new and far more aggressive attack against this

insidious enemy. The cost of drug abuse to this Nation is staggering,

[ and I had the benefit of the various agencies and departments in the Government give me a two-hour briefing earlier this week, and the information, the facts are unbelievable. ]

Every year more than 5,000 Americans die from direct drug-related causes. Every year more than 170,000 injuries can be directly traced to drugs. Every year the problem of drug abuse costs up to 17 billion dollars.

Significantly, the greatest bulk of this 17 billion dollars is money lost through crime. Law enforcement officials estimate that up to one-half robberies, muggings, burglaries and other forms of property crimes are committed by addicts to support their expensive and debilitating habit.

[ And I pledge to you tonight that we will spare no effort to crush the meance of drug abuse.

Clearly, as we look at the picture today, our first defense

must be directed at our own borders to clamp down on the illegal flow of drugs from foreign sources. And since 80 to 90 percent of the current flow of heroin comes across the Mexican border, having been moved from what had previously been the case with Turkey and several other countries, we must begin our crackdown there.

But, our efforts must not stop there. We must also accelerate our law enforcement efforts here throughout our own country.

Frankly, despite all the rhetoric of recent years, I do not believe that we have yet succeeded in making it tough enough for drug traffickers.

As far as I am concerned, and I think this is shared by virtually everybody in the Congress, the House, as well as the Senate, the people who traffic in hard drugs are nothing less than merchants of death and should be put behind bars for a long, long, long time.

Yet the Justice Department studies show that more than a quarter of those convicted of narcotics trafficking do not spend a single day in jail. The extraordinary laxity that sometimes exist was

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I believe that we have to close legal loopholes that permit  
traffickers to escape the Federal penitentiary. Those who live off the  
misery of others must pay the price, and the higher the price, the better,  
as I see it.

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BASIC SPEECH ON THE AGING

For more than 40 years, through the vehicle of Social Security and other programs, America has made a firm commitment of support for older citizens of our society.

I pledge to you this morning that I will continue to uphold that commitment. In recent years, there has been dramatic progress in our efforts to meet the continuing needs of America's older generation. But, I want to do better, and with your help and with the help of the Congress, I will, and I am sure we will.

As President, I intend to do everything in my power to help our Nation demonstrate its deep concern for the dignity and the well being of our older generations. For those who need our help we have already a number of Federal programs providing assistance in a variety of ways.

The Social Security program, the largest of its kind in this world, will pay almost 83 billion dollars to more than 32 million Americans in fiscal year 1977. That is more than a 10 billion dollar increase over the current year.



Now, let me assure you of one thing very emphatically.

My Administration fully intends to preserve the integrity and the solvency of the Social Security system for your benefit and that of all working Americans, men and women, now as well as in the future.

I think that is good news, but now let's have some bad news.

This year it is projected that the Social Security Trust Fund will run a deficit of about 3 billion dollars. Next year, unless my reforms are adopted, we will run a deficit of 3.5 billion dollars. If this trend continues, there will no be Social Security for old or young.

As long as I am President, we are going to keep Social Security protection and every other retirement program strong, sound and certain, and we will do it.

In addition to the Social Security program, we are continuing our strong commitment to benefit programs for more than three million railroad, military and Federal Government employees. Of course, that means we will do the same job for the veterans who live here and live



elsewhere in 49 other States.

After many, many years of sacrifice and hard work, you have contributed to America. You have earned the respect, and you have earned more than the prospect of poverty in your retirement years.

In my budget, the Supplemental Security Income program, or SSI, will pay almost 6 billion dollars in Federal benefits to more than five million disabled and disadvantaged older Americans in 1977.

Let's be frank. There have been some problems with this program, as you probably know, because the SSI replaced a great number of Federal assisted State programs and inevitably there was some confusion in the process.

We have already begun to take extensive steps to correct these problems, and we will make sure that if any American qualifies for these benefits, he or she will get them, period.

Those who don't qualify won't be taking money that you should have. In the field of health care, the Federal Medicare program in 1976



will provide more than 17 billion dollars for the health care of 24 million older and disabled Americans.

But, there are flaws in this program, which actually help raise the cost of your medical care and which fail to protect you adequately against the economic burdens of prolonged illness.

I have proposed major improvements in the Medicare program to make it serve you better. One of the most important improvements is the creation of a system of health insurance that would pay all but a very small fraction of the catastrophic cost of complex or extended care and treatment.

I don't have to tell you that medical treatment is very, very expensive today. Hospital costs have risen by more than 200 percent since 1965, to an average cost of 128 dollars per day. If you have to stay in a hospital or a nursing home or under doctor's care for a very, very long time, it puts an incredible strain on your lifetime savings and on your peace of mind, and that strain is felt by your loved ones as well.



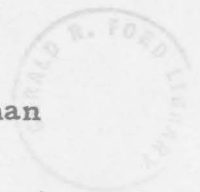
All of us know of cases in which someone in the family or a close friend or a member of your church has been stricken with an illness that lingers on and on and on. We know of the pain and of the heartache associated with a prolonged illness.

We know that being sick and bedridden for a long, long time is bad enough without having a person's income and life savings dwindle away as the medical bills keep piling up.

This must not continue, and it won't, with my program.

Let me put it this way. There is no reason that older Americans should have to go broke just to get well or stay well in the United States of America. Under my proposal the individuals' contribution would go up slightly, but consider what the increase would provide.

Nobody eligible for Medicare would have to pay more than 500 dollars a year for hospital or nursing home care, and this does not mean that you pay the first 500 dollars of your total cost. You would pay only 10 percent of the total cost, or 500 dollars, whichever is less, and



the maximum annual cost to you for covered doctor's services would be 250 dollars or 20 percent, whichever is less.

Medicare would pay the rest, whether it costs 1,000 dollars or 10,000 dollars or 50,000 dollars. It is a good program, and we are going to make it.

If the Congress passes my program, the ruinous economic burden of catastrophic illness is one thing you will never have to worry about again. Another of my programs would consolidate 16 Federal health programs, including Medicare, into a single 10 billion dollar block grant program to the States.

If we can consolidate these programs, we can make them more humane and more effective. We can improve the services that they provide to you and millions like you, and we can get those services to more people who really, really need them.

Programs of this kind, despite some abuses, do a tremendous amount of good. For some of our neighbors, they provide the means for life itself.

It is all too easy to say that the Federal Government is too big, that this program and that program ought to be cut out of the Federal budget, tossed back to the States to cope with, if their taxpayers will permit it.

It is not that simple, and you know it and I know it.

I am concerned, as you are, about the growth of the Federal budget. I have been fighting to hold down the Federal budget in a responsible way. I have been trying to get control of the inflation which has done so much economic damage to all Americans. During 1974, when I became President, inflation was ranging at an annual rate of more than 12 percent, eating away at everybody's buying power but absolutely devouring the livelihood of people on fixed incomes.

I have used my Constitutional power, that of veto, 49 times since becoming President, trying to hold down the level of Federal spending, trying to break the back of inflation. To hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of Government. It is just that simple.

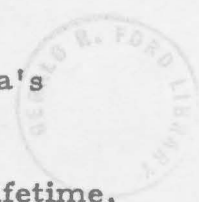
We made some very encouraging progress with these vetoes, saving the taxpayers about 13 billion dollars. The inflation rate that was 12 percent has been cut by more than half.

That is progress, real progress, that helps especially people on fixed incomes more than anybody else in our society.

I want to drive that point home. This is more good news in our fight against inflation, and we are going to keep the pressure on, and we are going to be successful.

America is getting back to work, and we are going to make better and better and better progress in reducing unemployment. But, there is so much more that we have to do. I want all Americans, young or old, black or white, rich or poor, to live in dignity and security and in peace.

I think it is time we remember how richly blessed this Nation is. You, or many of you, in this audience have seen much of America's phenomenal progress with your own eyes. In the space of your lifetime, man has taken himself from the horse and buggy and explored the far reaches of space.



Diseases which were once crippling and killing millions of Americans have now been conquered. America's population has more than doubled since 1910. Life expectancy, which in 1910 was only 50 years, is today more than 71 years.

The Gross National Product, the index of our total production, is now seven times greater than it was in 1910. To put it another way, the strength and growth of the American economy provides the average American living today with three and one-half times more in goods and services than Americans enjoyed in 1910.

No other generation of Americans has achieved such growth, and all of us thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

• The fact is that you your generation, has been the greatest pioneer of progress and change in the entire history of the human race.

But, some things thankfully have not changed at all. We are still a people in America with love of freedom, and after 200 years that love is undiminished. We are still a Nation dedicated to progress and peace in the world. We are still a Nation of compassion.

We are still, as Lincoln called us a century ago, "The last, best hope of earth."

The United States is a great country, the greatest in the world.

You helped to make it that way, and this Nation will never, never, never forget your contribution, past, present or future.

We will never forget the lesson which President Eisenhower taught us from the wisdom of his years. "America is not good because it is great" -- the President said -- "America is great because it is good."

Thank you very much.

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Butler

BASIC AGRICULTURE SPEECH

I am always grateful for the opportunity to speak a word of praise for the American farmer.

Earl Butz has called the American farmer "the miracle man of the 20th century," and I couldn't agree more.


The American farmer is more efficient, more skilled, more advanced, and more productive than any other farmer in any other nation of the world. And it's high time you got as much out of your work as you put into it.

The farm policies of my administration are designed to achieve that goal, and the record shows that those policies have been a success.

Let me explain my policies in the simple terms of what I favor and what I oppose.

I am in favor of productivity and prosperity on the farms of America.

I am in favor of the farm policies which yielded a record 21.6 billion dollar agricultural export market last year -- and will be about



22 billion dollars this year.

I am in favor of policies which will enable you to export an estimated 3.1 billion bushels of wheat and feed grain -- an all-time record -- in the current marketing year.

I am in favor of the policies which over the last three years, have produced the highest net farm income in America's history.

That outstanding record is due to two things.

First, it's due to some very hard work on the part of the American farmer.

And second, we've let the farmer rely on the marketplace, rather than depend on the Government.

This new freedom, with its competition, its incentives, and its capacity for expansion and flexibility, has worked -- both to the farmer's benefit and to the benefit of our overall agricultural strength and economic growth.

I am firmly opposed to the Government holding your reserves in a government bin or warehouse.



I am firmly opposed to a government board selling your exports.

I want our export trade to stay in private hands.

I am firmly opposed to any international reserve that would put your farm products under the control of an international body where this country could be out-voted by fifty to one -- or even by one hundred to one.

I am firmly opposed to subsidized imports. I don't want American farmers having to compete with the treasuries of foreign governments.

The American farmer's market today reaches to the far corners of the world -- and a world at peace is the American farmer's very best assurance that this global market will be open to his produce.

We have concluded a long-term agreement for grain sales to the Soviet Union, which calls for the sale of at least 6 million tons of corn and wheat every year between 1976 and 1980.

Because of this and other agreements, your exports prospects will no longer be caught in what has been literally a "feast or famine" cycle.



Instead, those prospects will be as steady and as reliable and as profitable as we can make them. Your profits are America's profits, and thanks to you, we are enjoying our best balance of international trade in years.

Foreign agricultural sales thus far in the 1970's are two and a half times greater than they were a decade ago.

All Americans, and millions of people throughout the world, owe the American farmer a special debt of gratitude and plenty of praise for your outstanding record of performance and production.

On their behalf, I thank you most sincerely. But no one praises you more often, or with more genuine respect and affection, than my Secretary of Agriculture and my good friend, Earl Butz.

I have appointed Secretary Butz as chairman of my new cabinet-level agricultural policy committee, which will have the central role in developing and directing our nation's food policies, both foreign and domestic.

In addition, we still have a great many committees, sponsored by the Department of Agriculture, through which farmers give us guidance on everything from grazing problems to commodities and research activities.

The American farmer is as indispensable in this role as he is in tilling his own soil and harvesting his own crop.

Earlier in this century, the American farmer seemed to be a vanishing breed. For too long, migration from America's farms and fields threatened to leave rural America in decay and in poverty.

I am glad to see that confidence has returned to our rural areas, that more young people are coming into agriculture, and that the enrollments in our agricultural colleges are running at an all-time high.

To further encourage the revitalization of rural America, I have proposed increasing the estate-tax exemption from 60,000 to 150,000 dollars; stretching out estate tax payments, at low interest rates, over a 25-year period; and exempting from taxation the transfer of assets between husband and wife.

These proposals will help save the American family farm,  
which has always been one of the basic elements in our free American society.  
We must preserve it for our children and their children.

From the rural beginnings of America 200 years ago, poets,  
painters and politicians have celebrated the virtues of the American farmer.

In this modern, industrial era, the American farmer remains  
one of our nation's greatest natural resources. I am confident that as long  
as American agriculture remains strong, America herself will be strong  
and free and prosperous.

Thank you very much.

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## ECONOMY BASIC SPEECH

According to a basic rule of logic, if we want to see clearly where we are, it often is helpful to look back upon where we have been.

I want to apply that appraisal to the subject of my talk today, which is our Nation's economy, for a little more than a year ago, many were saying our economy was nearing collapse.

The situation was serious: Housewives found higher prices on supermarket food shelves almost every month. Because of the Arab oil embargo, gasoline prices had skyrocketed. Interest rates had climbed steadily upward. Far too many Americans were laid off, and could not find new jobs.

It was, in fact, the bottom of our worst recession in 40 years, and if there ever was a time to push the panic button that was it. In Congress and elsewhere, the economy's downturn set off a clamor for emergency Federal grants and subsidies, for bigger government programs and higher government spending. Only massive Federal intervention, many said, could prevent an economic disaster

My Administration did not panic. We resisted big spending programs that would have caused larger Federal deficits and more destructive inflation.

We rejected the mindless techniques of the quick-fix and the shot in the arm.

Instead, I pursued a calm, steady policy designed to ensure America's economic health not for a month or a year, but for the long term.

I had faith that the American system of private enterprise would regain its strength, and as a result we meet today -- not in the gloom of a recession -- but in the full surge of economic recovery.

Everything that is supposed to be going up is going up, and everything that should be coming down is coming down. Our system is working, and America's future looks brighter every day.

A year ago, the annual rate of inflation had reached 12 percent. We've cut that to less than 3 percent -- a reduction of fully 75 percent.

A year ago, we heard predictions that the unemployment rate would reach 10 percent. The latest figures place it at 7 and one-half percent -- still too high, but proof that we're moving in the right direction. For example, 2 million 600 thousand more men and women are working today than were

employed a year ago. I want to be satisfied until every American who wants a job can find a job -- a rewarding, permanent job with a future.

Other economic indicators document the extent of our Nation's recovery: Retail sales are up more than 17 percent, the personal spendable income of American families has increased at the annual rate of 2 billion dollars. Most heartening of all, the index of consumer confidence is double what it was a year ago.

Our economic recovery was no accident. It didn't just happen. The firm policies of my Administration made it happen, because I forced the Congress to abandon or cutback reckless Federal spending programs.

My principal weapon was the veto. I have vetoed 48 bills sent to me by Congress so far this year, and 39 of my vetoes were sustained. Those vetoes saved the American taxpayers 13 billion dollars -- an average savings of almost 200 dollars for every American household.



The Congress and the American people should know that in this battle of the budget I am on the taxpayers' side, and in defense of the taxpayer I fully intend to use my veto power again and again and again.

I believe the American people do not want higher taxes to pay for dubious or discredited social welfare programs, they want lower taxes and more take-home pay. They do not want more meddling and intervention by a massive bureaucracy, they want a responsive government that is truly answerable to the needs of our citizens.

I want you to know that I'm with you all the way. I supported the tax reduction that took effect last year, and I am urging the Congress to agree to a new, 10 billion dollar tax reduction to go into effect July 1.

Many of the bills I vetoed were rejected because they would have authorized unwarranted extensions of government regulations and interference in American businesses and in our lives. I believe that our government can and should help individuals and businesses when it is necessary but otherwise the bureaucrats should stand back and let the American people get on with the job. For a government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have.

We've broken the back of the recession, and my Administration has



achieved that without breaking the Federal treasury. We're en route to a new prosperity for our Nation, and I want to hold fast to the course I have set. I have confidence that our system of free enterprise is the best ever devised; that it can and will sustain our free and open society.

That is the challenge before us in our Bicentennial Year -- to show the world that the United States is truly a land of progress, of prosperity and peace.

This is the year that we can show what our democracy can do; that we Americans can recover from hard times and through our own efforts make our country work even better than it had before.

If we fail, we may not get another chance. But if we succeed, our Bicentennial Year will truly be a year to remember.

Thank you very much.

# # #

Carberry

## BASIC SPEECH ON TAX CUTS

For many Americans, the way to a healthy, non-inflationary economy has become increasingly apparent. The Government must stop spending so much and stop borrowing so much of our money. More money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good.

To hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of Government. In the past decade, the Federal budget has been growing at an average rate of over 10 percent a year. My proposed budget for the coming fiscal year cuts this rate of growth in half.

By holding down the growth of Federal spending, we can afford additional tax cuts and return to the people who pay taxes more decision-making power over their own lives.

Last year I signed legislation to extend the 1975 tax reductions for the first six months of this year. I now propose that effective July 1, 1976, we give our taxpayers a tax cut of approximately 10 billion dollars more than Congress agreed to in December.



My broader tax reduction would mean that for a family of four making 15,000 dollars a year, there will be 227 dollars more in take-home pay annually. Hard-working Americans caught in the middle can really use that kind of extra cash.

My recommendations for a firm restraint on the growth of Federal spending and for greater tax reduction are simple and straightforward. For every dollar saved in cutting the growth in the Federal budget, we could have an added dollar of Federal tax reduction.

We can achieve a balanced budget by 1979 if we have the courage and the wisdom to continue to reduce the growth of Federal spending.

If we succeed, I will propose another personal income tax reduction.

One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants to work. Government -- our kind of Government -- cannot create that many jobs. But, the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs.



Five out of six jobs in this country are in private business and industry. Common sense tells us this is the place to look for more jobs and to find them faster. I mean real, rewarding, permanent jobs.

To achieve this, we must offer the American people greater incentives to invest in the future. My tax proposals are a major step in that direction. To supplement these proposals, I have asked the Congress to enact changes in Federal tax laws that will speed up plant expansion and the purchase of new equipment.

My recommendations concentrate this job creation tax incentive in areas where the unemployment rate now runs over 7 percent. Legislation to get this started must be approved at the earliest possible date.

For the sake of future generations, we must preserve the family farm and family-owned small business. Both strengthen America and give stability to our economy. I have proposed estate tax changes so that family businesses and family farms can be handed down from generation to generation without having to be sold to pay taxes.



I propose tax changes to encourage people to invest in America's future and their own, through a plan that gives moderate income families income tax benefits if they make long-term investments in common stock in American companies.

# # # #

*Bonnetin*


DEFENSE SPEECH

In our two hundred years of independence, the United States of America has become the strongest Nation in the history of the world. As President, I intend to keep our military strength certain and our powder dry.

But in the last two centuries our world has become much more dangerous. It is also my duty as President to do all I can to reduce that level of danger by diplomatic means.

Our foreign policy and our defense policy are both part of a single national policy for national security -- the pursuit of peace through strength.

Under my Administration, the United States is at peace. Not one American serviceman is fighting in any part of the world today. Not one American mother or wife or daughter, father or brother or son lives in constant fear of losing their loved one on the battlefield.



History has taught us that we can remain at peace only if we remain strong. We can remain free only if we remain firm. And we can remain proud Americans only if we stand ready to defend America.

This concept is as old as our great Republic. George Washington told us, "To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual ways of preserving the peace."

We are well prepared today, and we will stay prepared. We are strong today, and we will stay strong. Not strong for the sake of war -- but strong for the sake of peace.

My wartime experience in the Navy taught me the valuable lesson that peace demands preparedness, and that weakness invites war.

That lesson was confirmed by my experience in the Congress. For fourteen of my twenty-five years in the Congress I had the privilege to serve on the appropriations subcommittee on Defense.



For fourteen years, for five months a year, I spent many hours each day listening to secretaries of Defense, Chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, all the top generals and admirals.

I used what I learned then to fight the dangerous trend that has developed in the Congress -- the trend toward cutting our defense budgets for purely political reasons.

The Congress, over the last decade, has reduced the Defense budget proposals of three Presidents by some 45 billion dollars.

The Congress has reduced the Defense share of our Federal budget to its lowest level since fiscal year 1940 -- and the lowest share of our Gross National Product since before the Korean War.

In my two budgets as President, I have taken firm steps to arrest that downward trend in American military spending. I intend to make sure that America stays as strong



in the future as it is today. That is why I have proposed the two largest peacetime Defense budgets in our Nation's history.

I have pledged myself to ensuring that our soldiers, sailors, airforcemen and Marines will have the finest tools this country can provide, so the United States of America will remain unsurpassed militarily for years to come.

We have recently laid the keel for the first of a new class of nuclear submarines to be armed with the most accurate submarine ballistic missiles in the world. The Trident missile fleet will be the foundation for a formidable and technologically superior force through the 1980s.

We are now completing the final testing of the world's most modern and capable strategic bomber, the B-1.

We are also accelerating work on a new intercontinental ballistic missile for the 1980s. We are developing a new main battle tank for our land forces, and a new cruise missile for our air and naval forces.



Nor does our effort stop with weapons, for we are also expanding our Army from 13 to 16 combat divisions. And that is an all volunteer Army at a high level of combat readiness.

We are seeking still other ways to carry out our military missions -- better, more efficient methods that will not only save taxpayers \$2.8 billion over the next fiscal year, but will also improve the readiness of our Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines.

This is a program designed to insure that America will never become number two in military power. It is a sound investment in our future, and I intend to see it through -- this year, next year, right through to the end of the decade.

The weapons we hold today, and those we plan for the future, give America a mighty power. But with such power comes a mighty responsibility. We must never forget the purpose for which our arsenal is intended.



That purpose is not to terrify the weak, to provoke armed confrontation nor to lay claim to that which is not ours.

Our purpose is to defend our precious freedom, and to maintain a foundation of strength on which to build a better and more peaceful world.

Let us also remember that our military might is only part of our national strength. America is the most powerful Nation on earth because of the combined strength of our agriculture, industry and technology, as well as our defense establishment.

And America is strong because its spirit is unbeatable. America's values are good values -- and that is why I can say, I'm proud to be an American.

Our country is prosperous, peaceful and proud on its 200th birthday.

All of us must do our part to see that America remains strong in every respect. And with your help, I will do everything I can to see that we stand ready to meet



the challenges of our third century.

Thank you very much.

# # #

Revised

## FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS

Our foreign and defense policies have become important issues in the Presidential campaign. I want to take this opportunity to tell you my position, not for partisan purposes, but to clarify what my Administration stands for, what we have accomplished in keeping America at peace, and what we envisage for the future.

Our basic foreign policy is sound. In one of our most difficult and turbulent periods at home, this country has pursued an effective and successful policy abroad.

We are still the leaders in the world. We are a powerful force for justice, and a steady force for world peace.

The policy choices that this country makes will have a decisive impact on the kind of world our children will inherit in the last quarter of this century. This is a tremendous responsibility on the President, on the Congress, and on the American people. But this nation has been summoned to greatness two hundred years ago. If we remain united, there is no limit to what we can accomplish.

For the past 21 months, my policies have had two overriding aims: To protect our security and to preserve the peace.

We have not only preserved peace, but on all the major foreign policy issues we have recorded significant progress.

-- Our alliances in Europe and Asia are stronger than they have been in over a decade.



-- We are leading the industrial democracies out of a worldwide recession.

-- We are creating a new, healthy long-term economic relationship between the industrial nations and developing nations.

-- Major reforms have taken place in the world monetary system, and major negotiations are taking place on world trade reform.

-- In the Middle East, we have worked tirelessly and successfully for peace.

-- New American initiatives have strengthened our many friendships in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

-- Our historic new relationship with the People's Republic of China has proven its durability and its importance for peace.

-- And we have pursued new agreements with the Soviet Union to check the dangerous competition in nuclear arms.

#### Goals for the Future

Of course, there have been setbacks. There have been deep differences between the President and the Congress over foreign policy. But we cannot afford to be diverted from the pursuit of our long-term interests.

I recall that 25 years ago I ran my first Congressional campaign on a platform against isolationism. Now we face another great challenge: we hear shouts of alarm from one side, and cries of despair from the other. In all my public life I have fought for a responsible and strong

foreign policy and defense policy for America. I intend to continue this policy as President.

Today we face new problems, under unprecedented conditions that were not imagined when I came to Congress in 1948. But the same basic truth remains: We must be strong and we must act responsibly. We must maintain our strength, but we need strength not for its own sake, but to use it intelligently for peace. Tough talk can be no substitute for policy.

For 35 years the world has looked to us for leadership. We are their hope.

In the 1930's when the forces of democracy faced a great threat, the United States was waiting in the wings to come to the rescue. Then, we paid a heavy price for our shortsighted isolationism. Today, if we were to abdicate our responsibility, there is no one waiting in the wings to come to our rescue.

But the American people can face the future knowing that we uniquely have the strength to shape a better future.

Our responsibilities in this period are clear. I intend to follow on a six point program:

1. Domestic Prosperity

First of all, we must continue the steady progress of our national economy, which is a fundamental underpinning of our international

position. As we advance unmistakably on the path of steady expansion, without inflation, the world takes heart. Nothing else we do has such an immediate impact, benefiting not only every American family, but millions of people around the world, who are affected directly by an upturn in the global economy. American prosperity promotes a flourishing of trade, and better conditions for economic cooperation among the industrial nations and with the developing nations. It promotes well-being, and political stability.

## 2. National Defense

Second, we must commit the necessary economic resources to our national defense.

The defense budget I have submitted to the Congress is a realistic budget, and a prudent budget, reflecting both our immediate and long-term needs. We must be strong in all the areas of strength relevant to the challenges -- in strategic forces; in land, sea and air forces; in research and development; and in assistance to our friends and allies. As President, I have a solemn obligation to future Presidents: for the decisions we make today will shape our national defense for the next decade. The programs now underway will ensure our security in the coming generation of military technology -- the B-1 strategic bomber; the Trident submarine and missile; the F-15, F-16, and F-18 fighters; the A-10 attack aircraft, a modernized air defense, and Airborne Warning and

Control System; increasing our Army from 13 to 16 divisions; new anti-tank missiles; new precision air-to-surface missiles; a new attack helicopter, a new advanced tanker cargo aircraft; a new program for a new generation of naval surface ships; and advanced-technology work on a possible new and heavier ICBM.

The American economy, which is the technological base for our military power, is nearly twice the size of the Soviet Union's. Our allies are the major industrial nations of the world. We have friendly nations on our borders. Our free system gives us the greatest strength of all -- the moral strength and unfettered talents and energy of a free people.

American technology and the American fighting man are preeminent in the world.

I would not trade our strategic position for that of any other country in the world.

### 3. Strong Alliances

The third element of our security policy is our alliance with the great industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan.

Today, our defense cooperation is closer than ever; our political cooperation has been tested and proven in East-West negotiation. Our economic cooperation has been strengthened and we have successfully confronted the energy crisis. We have a program to pool our research and technology on new energy sources; to coordinate our conservation



measures; to create emergency sharing arrangements to safeguard our economies against a new oil embargo; to create new arrangements of financial solidarity to protect against disruption of the monetary system.

The leaders of the free world are united, to an extraordinary degree, on the broad range of challenges that test the democracies in a new period. We can be proud of what has been accomplished.

#### 4. Reducing Tensions

Our fourth objective is to reduce tensions with our Communist adversaries.

We know the Soviet Union stands for a political system very different from our own. We know the Soviet Union has growing military power -- which it has developed, inevitably, in nearly 60 years of economic and industrial growth. We know their desire is to promote their interests and their goals. We start from these assumptions, without any illusions.

Our task is to shape our relationship with the Soviet Union according to our objectives and the world's interest in peace. In the age of thermonuclear weapons and strategic competition, we proceed on two parallel courses.

First, we must be prepared to sustain a vigorous competition over a long period. We have no reason to fear competition. It is vital that we maintain the military balance, so there is never any possibility that political changes can be brought about by blackmail and threats. We will

not tolerate Soviet strategic superiority, but just as important, we cannot permit an imbalance in forces for regional and local defense. For the testing and probing will continue at a level beneath the nuclear umbrella. The Soviets know that if they can achieve unilateral gains without great risks, they can gradually tip the balance and determine the political future of the world. That is what was at stake in Angola, and that is why I am determined to resist any further Soviet or Cuban intervention.

But as we must resist Soviet expansion, we must also ensure that the competition between two nuclear superpowers does not break down into all-out nuclear war. Soviet military power will not go away or be driven away by tough talk. We must counterbalance it and resist its use, and at the same time pursue reliable ways of stabilizing our relationship in the long-term interest of peace.

This is a permanent responsibility of any President and any Administration. This is why I am pursuing a SALT agreement, to bring to completion the Vladivostok accord which I negotiated with General Secretary Brezhnev. If both sides have a genuine interest in reduction of tensions -- and if we meet our responsibility to resist and discourage aggression -- our children have a prospect of a more secure and hopeful world.

We will continue this course, because it is right -- for us, and for peace.



## 5. Interdependence

Our fifth major objective is to build on the good will we have in almost all of the countries of the developing world, in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

These nations want genuine independence, they want human dignity, and they want an assurance of economic progress for their peoples. They look to the United States and to the free world for moral support and assistance. They know that no free world country seeks to dominate them or tie them into a Western bloc. They know that the free world has the resources, the technology and the managerial skills they need for economic growth. They look to the American tradition -- of Jefferson and Lincoln -- when they seek inspiration for the ideals of freedom.

The American people have a right to ask why they must continue to bear the burden of economic assistance. I believe they will understand that we have a moral responsibility as the greatest country, to offer the leadership we are capable of. And it is clearly in our national interest. We have seen it just recently in Secretary Kissinger's mission to Africa, where the appreciation for America's constructive role was everywhere evident. We could have turned our back on this course, but that would have been wrong.

And our role in the future is also critical. This was apparent to me during my two visits to Asia as President. In the wake of Vietnam we could have turned away from Asia. But this too would have been wrong.



One of the most significant achievements of our foreign policy is the leadership that we have offered in confronting the basic questions between the industrial countries and the Third World. At the UN General Assembly last September, in the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation, and in the recent UN Conference in Africa, it was the United States that offered constructive and realistic proposals for cooperation.

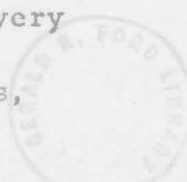
We told the nations of the Third World: You can choose between propaganda and real progress; between slogans and solutions. You cannot extort our help by pressure. But if you want to work in cooperation and mutual respect, the United States is willing to devote a great effort to the cause of economic progress.

All nations must recognize their interdependence and turn it into a positive force for common progress. This is the American approach, and we can be proud of the leadership we have taken.

#### 6. Resolving Conflicts

Our final objective is to continue the able role of the United States in helping resolve the old and dangerous conflicts and confronting the new issues of this era.


We have negotiated an agreement in Berlin, ending a perpetual crisis that had lasted 25 years. We have striven diligently to promote a negotiated settlement in Cyprus. We have made some progress, despite setbacks, and we will continue. Most recently, we have exerted a very valuable constructive influence in Lebanon to help dampen the crisis,



and we shall be glad to give any assistance that is desired as the new government establishes its authority.

The Middle East is the most crucial area of conflict, and it is here we have seen the most striking success. Moderate Arab countries, and Israel, have shown not only courage in battle but courage in taking political steps toward peace. We have many friends in the Arab world, and a long-standing moral commitment to the survival and security of Israel. The world has important economic interests in the region. In 1973, the war and oil embargo disrupted the global economy, strained relations between the United States and its major allies, and came close to provoking a confrontation with the Soviet Union. The oil embargo cost Americans half a million jobs and one percent of national output.

So we are involved in Middle East diplomacy not only by choice, but also of necessity. And the agreements that have been achieved in negotiation between the parties have been a milestone. The Sinai Agreement between Egypt and Israel was the first Arab-Israeli agreement that was not just in the immediate aftermath of a war. It was a significant step towards a peace settlement in accordance with UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. Prime Minister Rabin and President Sadat both hailed it as a possible turning point. In my talks with these leaders, and with King Hussein and other leaders of the Middle East, I have explored the possibility of new steps that can be taken to maintain the momentum of diplomacy. We are at a moment of great opportunity. The possibility exists of even greater progress.



If the Middle East is a real crisis area, the Panama Canal is not.

The United States has a vital strategic interest in the defense and operation of the Canal. No one questions this. The issue is how best to protect that interest: by threats and confrontation, or by an equitable long-term agreement that both sides will want to continue. Since 1964, three Administrations have chosen the course of the good neighbor, choosing to negotiate our differences. Every single country in Latin America strongly supports Panama. We and Panama have been negotiating responsibly. There is no new treaty, but I hope these negotiations will succeed. If we succeed the American people can approve the results through Senate ratification. This is in the right course for the United States, for Panama, for Latin America and for peace.

Let me take up one further issue that is on the international agenda and cannot be ignored: the spread of nuclear weapons. We have proceeded along two parallel lines: First we have organized the main nuclear suppliers to agree on safeguards to minimize the risk of nuclear power being diverted to military uses. This is a major breakthrough which we will build on in the coming months.

Secondly, we have completed a major treaty with the USSR regulating the conduct of peaceful nuclear explosions. This treaty includes unprecedented arrangements for cooperation in verifying that peaceful explosions will not

be used for any military purposes. It includes on-site observations and extensive exchange of information. It is truly an historic milestone. It is a companion to the earlier treaty limiting military testing to no more than 150 kilotons -- thus ruling out testing of massive new weapons.

These agreements create the possibility, for the first time, that we may be able to end all tests, and end them in a truly verifiable agreement.

### Conclusion

This is the agenda we face and our objectives. There will be no easy answers. We will need the courage to persevere in a great cause, the cause of peace.

Common sense, the realities of the modern world, and the ideals of Americans shall be our guide.

This nation today is called upon to be the World's leader. We must be steady and strong. We cannot swing back and forth between isolationism and confrontations between despair and euphoria. Extremism can have no place in defining our national interest, or our foreign policy.

The American people are justly proud of their country. They want their country to be strong but they want this strength to be used to serve peace.

In this Bicentennial year, we cannot but recall that our forefathers were called on to pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor. The spirit that sustained America for two centuries was the spirit of optimism, of faith and determination. Let us build a future of peace that will be the ultimate fulfillment of our heritage of independence.

