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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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MAY 3, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
61ST ANNUAL WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION DINNER

THE WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL

10:23 P.M. EDT

Madam President, members and guests of the White House Correspondents' Association:

Let me say to Danny, I am deeply grateful for a fine evening, and to Marlo as well. We will have to work a little on her, I think, Danny. (Laughter)

But let me say I do appreciate the rather gentle and kind introduction because, Helen, as all of you know, has a well-earned reputation for speaking her own mind. I can remember several years ago when I was still a Congressman, Helen and I were walking down Pennsylvania Avenue when we passed one of those scales that gives you your weight as well as your fortune, and all for a penny.

Helen said, "Well, why don't you try it. I might get a scoop." So, I got on the scale, put in a penny, and the card came out that said, "You are handsome, debonair, sophisticated, a born leader of men, a silver-tongued orator, and some day you will make your own mark in history."

Helen leaned over, looked at the card, and said, "It has your weight wrong, too." (Laughter)

Really, it is a great pleasure to be here, and without further delay let me congratulate the distinguished members of the White House Correspondents' Association on your valiant, courageous and successful struggle to achieve one of the greatest and most consequential journalistic triumphs of all times.

I am referring, of course, to your heroic efforts to keep the press plane from converting to no frills. (Laughter)

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I don't know how you spend your time on the press plane. All I know is that every time I call it I say, "This is the President calling," and a voice answers, "I will drink to that, too." (Laughter)

I knew something was going on when I saw Dick Growald write ten pages of notes at my Tulane speech, and that is not easy with a swizzle stick. (Laughter)

Then Aldo Beckman came over and said, "Hello," and melted my cuff links. (Laughter)

Betty and I have looked forward to this evening because the White House Correspondents' Dinner is always an adventure. First, there is the reception, followed by the dinner, followed by the private parties, followed by the private, private parties, followed by the night-cap after the private parties. (Laughter)

Through the years I have found that a White House Correspondents' dinner is a little like one of Sarah McClendon's questions. You never really know when it is finished. (Laughter)

I have been coming to these dinners for quite a few years now, and I am embarrassed to admit I don't really know a great deal about how the White House Correspondents' Association operates. But since I am always interested in the electoral process, I asked Jim Deakin, "Just how do you go about choosing your president and vice president?"

Jim said, "It is rather hard to explain in a few words, but the procedure does have the seal of approval." I said, "Of what?" He said, "Cook County." (Laughter)

Incidentally, you may be interested to know that Ron Nessen's fame as a Press Secretary and his unparalleled skill at carrying out the duties of his office has spread far and wide. Last week at the Columbia School of Journalism in New York City, 50 graduate students were asked this question: "If you had the chance to study the art of the simple, direct communication with Ron Nessen, what would you ask for first?" Ninety-six percent answered, "Another chance." (Laughter)

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Another member of our staff has also achieved considerable recognition, David Hume Kennerly.

The very first day Dave Kennerly came to the White House to be my personal photographer, he shook my hand and promised to do for me exactly what he had done for his last employer. I said, "Great." Then I remembered who he had worked for -- Life. (Laughter)

As most of you know from the schedule, this has been a very long, busy and exhausting day, as well as week at the White House. I spent the morning working on my new book, "A Week in the Life of John Hersey." (Laughter)

Then, in the afternoon, I talked to Sonny Jurgensen. (Laughter) Now that he is no longer with the Washington Redskins, I suggested to Sonny that he run for Congress. I figure if there is one thing that Congress can use, it is a little help in passing. (Laughter)

You know, we are also redecorating. I am sure you have all noticed that the White House is getting a new coat of paint. The painter says, "It is leak-proof." I sure hope so. (Laughter)

But I do have one favor to ask of all the White House correspondents sitting here tonight. Every few years we do have to paint the White House. It is done for reasons of maintenance, asthetics and appearance. So please, would you just refer to this as a paint job, not a cover-up? (Laughter)

Now, before I do close, I would like to make a few acknowledgements, if I may. I want to thank Martin Agronsky for giving Pete Lisagor the night off. Peter, as you know, is one of Washington's foremost television personalities. It is not unusual for him to be on five or six shows a week, in addition to lectures, talks and personal appearances. And every time he appears he gets an enormous amount of fan mail. Pete was telling me just this morning he got a post card saying, "Having a wonderful time. Wish you were here." It was from the Chicago Daily News. (Laughter)

This has been a wonderful evening for Betty and for me, and we thank you all for it. You know, there is a great deal written and said about the First Family. This designation usually refers to Betty, to me, one daughter and three sons. But to me, it does not have this very limited connotation.

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I see the First Family as an extended family. One that draws in and includes all of the men and women who make the White House a living, breathing and functioning body. It encompasses a handful of Fords, completely and comfortably surrounded by staff and press alike.

We are not just Jerry, Betty, Susan, Jack, Steve, and Mike, but Bob, Helen, Ron, Frank, Fran, and a few hundred others as well.

We work together. We laugh together. We exchange ideas, facts and speculations. We interact. We cannot function well without each other. This is the stuff that families are made of. And like all families, we have our disagreements. We take in and assimilate individual attitudes, concerns, information, interests. Then, we shine the spotlight of our unique perceptions on each problem, each new challenge.

Your spotlight is not mine. Mine is not yours. Sometimes we differ but the essence and the glory of the true family is this: Decisions and conclusions may be questioned but motivation and commitment are not. We speak our differences in trust. We accept that we are travelers heading towards the same destination. It is only the road that has to be determined.

This is the First Family I know we all want to be a part of. We have shared some of these feelings here tonight. We should never aspire to less.

Thank you and goodnight.

END

(AT 10:34 P.M. EDT)

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL 6:00 p.m. EDT, THURSDAY,
JULY 3, 1975

JULY 2, 1975

Office of the White House Press Secretary'

THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

My fellow Americans:

As we begin the 200th year of our independence as a Nation, we the people of the United States still enjoy the blessings of liberty as we continue to build a more perfect union for ourselves and our posterity.

The great goals of America are never fully gained; the future of America is always brighter than its glorious past; the destiny of America demands the best of each succeeding generation, as it does of us today. While we cherish the many heritages that enrich our land, we of all peoples have no history except what we have written for ourselves. We are not Americans alone by birth or blood, by oath or creed or compact among princes. We are Americans because we deliberately chose to be one nation, indivisible, and for 199 years with God's help we have gone forward together.

Our Nation's first century saw the firm establishment of a free system of government on this continent, from Atlantic to Pacific. Our first century produced political institutions responsible to the people, and confirmed at tragic cost the proposition that all Americans are created equal. Our Nation's second century, now ending, saw the development of a strong economic society in the free climate which our political institutions sustained. Our second century transformed an underdeveloped country into the mightiest and most productive nation in human history, with ever more widespread sharing of economic gains and of responsibility for the less fortunate of our neighbors. Two centuries of sacrifice and struggle, of conflict and compromise, have gained for us an unprecedented measure of political and economic independence.

We have on this Independence Day of 1975 a free government that checks and balances its own excesses, and a free economic system that corrects its own errors, given the courage and constructive cooperation of a free and enlightened citizenry. This is the amazing history Americans have written for themselves as we begin our Bicentennial celebration.

But what will be the goal of our Nation's third century? I see the great challenge of our third century as the advancement of individual independence in this "sweet land of liberty."

(MORE)

We must devise safeguards for the sacred identity of each and every American, to protect personal freedom and individuality from the daily pressures of conformity whether they come from massive government, massive management and labor, massive education or massive communications.

While we want the benefits of advancing technology, individual Americans must never become coded ciphers in any central computer, unthinking parrots of any ideological slogans, uncaring slaves of any automated assembly line. Every citizen in our third century of freedom as a Nation must have the personal freedom to fulfill his or her potential in life, liberty and in the pursuit of happiness.

Many years ago, a Sunday School teacher taught me that the beauty of Joseph's coat was its many colors. And the beauty of America is its many individuals, each of us a little different from the other. Freedom for everyone who respects the freedom of others is the great goal which I see and commend to my countrymen for the third century of American Independence. Freedom is what the Fourth of July is all about.

I wish you all a grand and glorious day.

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Office of the White House Press Secretary
(Helsinki, Finland)

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

FINLANDIA HALL
HELSINKI, FINLAND

Mr. Chairman, my distinguished colleagues:

May I begin by expressing to the governments of Finland and Switzerland, which have been superb hosts for the several phases of this Conference, my gratitude and that of my associates for their efficiency and hospitality.

Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the long-standing affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land. We are bound together by the most powerful of all ties, our fervent love for freedom and independence, which knows no homeland but the human heart. It is a sentiment as enduring as the granite rock on which this city stands and as moving as the music of Sibelius. Our visit here, though short, has brought us a deeper appreciation of the pride, industry and friendliness which Americans always associate with the Finnish nation.

The nations assembled here have kept the general peace in Europe for thirty years. Yet there have been too many narrow escapes from major conflict. There remains, to this day, the urgent issue of how to construct a just and lasting peace for all peoples. I have not come across the Atlantic to say what all of us already know -- that nations now have the capacity to destroy civilization, and, therefore, all our foreign policies must have as their one supreme objective the prevention of a thermonuclear war. Nor have I come to dwell upon the hard realities of continuing ideological differences, political rivalries and military competition that persist among us.

I have come to Helsinki as spokesman for a nation whose vision has always been forward, whose people have always demanded that the future be brighter than the past, and whose united will and purpose at this hour is to work diligently to promote peace and progress not only for ourselves, but for all mankind.

I am here simply to say to my colleagues:

We owe it to our children, to the children of all continents, not to miss any opportunity, not to mangle for one minute, not to spare ourselves or allow others to shirk in the monumental task of building a better and a safer world.

The American people, like the people of Europe, know well that mere assertions of goodwill, passing changes in the political mood of governments, laudable declarations of principles, are not enough. But if we proceed with care, with commitment to real progress, there is now an opportunity to turn our people's hopes into realities.

In recent years, nations represented here have sought to ease potential conflicts. But much more remains to be done before we prematurely congratulate ourselves.

Military competition must be controlled.

Political competition must be restrained.

Crises must not be manipulated or exploited for unilateral advantages that could lead us again to the brink of war.

MORE

The process of negotiation must be sustained, not at a snail's pace, but with demonstrated enthusiasm and visible progress.

Nowhere are the challenges and opportunities greater and more evident than in Europe. That is why this Conference brings us all together. Conflict in Europe shakes the world. Twice in this century we have paid dearly for this lesson; at other times we have come perilously close to calamity. We dare not forget the tragedy and the terror of those times.

Peace is not a piece of paper.

But lasting peace is at least possible today because we have learned from the experiences of the last 30 years that peace is a process requiring mutual restraint and practical arrangements.

This Conference is part of that process -- a challenge, not a conclusion. We face unresolved problems of military security in Europe; we face them with very real differences in values and aims. But if we deal with them with careful preparation, if we focus on concrete issues, and if we maintain forward movement, we have the right to expect real progress.

The era of confrontation that has divided Europe since the end of the Second World War may now be ending. There is a new perception and a shared perception of a change for the better, away from confrontation and toward new possibilities for secure and mutually beneficial cooperation. That is what we all have been saying here. I welcome and I share these hopes for the future.

The postwar policy of the United States has been consistently directed toward the rebuilding of Europe and the rebirth of Europe's historic identity. The nations of the West have worked together for peace and progress throughout Europe. From the start we have taken the initiative by stating clear goals and areas for negotiation.

We have sought a structure of European relations, tempering rivalry with restraint, power with moderation, building upon the traditional bonds that link us with old friends and reaching out to forge new ties with former and potential adversaries.

In recent years there have been some substantial achievements.

We see the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin of 1971 as the end of a perennial crisis that on at least three occasions brought the world to the brink of doom.

The agreements between the Federal Republic of Germany and the states of Eastern Europe, and the related intra-German accords, enable Central Europe and the world to breathe easier.

The start of East-West talks on mutual and balanced force reductions demonstrated determination to deal with military security problems on the continent.

The 1972 treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union to limit anti-ballistic missiles, and the interim agreement limiting strategic offensive weapons, were the first solid breakthroughs in what must be a continuing, long-term process of limiting strategic nuclear arsenals.

(MORE)

I profoundly hope that this Conference will spur further practical and concrete results. It affords a welcome opportunity to widen the circle of those countries involved in easing tensions between East and West. Participation in the work of detente and participation in the benefits of detente must be everybody's business -- in Europe and elsewhere. But detente can succeed only if everybody understands what detente actually is.

First, detente is an evolutionary process, not a static condition. Many formidable challenges yet remain.

Second, the success of the detente process depends on new behavior patterns that give life to all our solemn declarations. The goals we are stating today are the yardstick by which our performance will be measured.

The people of all Europe and, I assure you, the people of North America are thoroughly tired of having their hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unfulfilled pledges. We had better say what we mean and mean what we say, or we will have the anger of our citizens to answer.

While we must not expect miracles, we can and do expect steady progress that comes in steps -- steps that are related to each other and that link our actions with our words in various areas of our relations.

Finally, there must be an acceptance of mutual obligation. Detente, as I have often said, must be a two-way street. Tensions cannot be eased by one side alone. Both sides must want detente and work to achieve it. Both sides must benefit from it.

This extraordinary gathering in Helsinki proves that all our peoples share a concern for Europe's future and for a better and more peaceful world. But what else does it prove? How shall we assess the results?

Our delegations have worked long and hard to produce documents which restate noble and praiseworthy political principles. They spell out guidelines for national behavior and international cooperation.

But every signatory should know that if these are to be more than the latest chapter in a long and sorry volume of unfulfilled declarations, every party must be dedicated to making them come true.

These documents which we will sign represent another step -- how long or short a step only time will tell -- in the process of detente and reconciliation in Europe. Our peoples will be watching and measuring our progress. They will ask how these noble sentiments are being translated into actions that bring about a more secure and just order in the daily lives of each of our nations and its citizens.

The documents produced here represent compromises -- like all international negotiations -- but these principles we have agreed upon are more than the lowest common denominator of governmental positions:

- They affirm the most fundamental human rights: liberty of thought, conscience and faith; the exercise of civil and political rights; the rights of minorities.
- They call for a freer flow of information, ideas and people; greater scope for the press, cultural and educational exchange, family reunification, the right to travel and to marriage between nationals of different states; and for the protection of the priceless heritage of our diverse cultures.

(MORE)

- They offer wide areas for greater cooperation: trade, industrial production, science and technology, the environment, transportation, health, space and the oceans.
- They reaffirm the basic principles of relations between states: non-intervention, sovereign equality, self-determination, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers and the possibility of change by peaceful means.

The United States gladly subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles.

Almost 200 years ago, the United States of America was born as a free and independent nation. The descendants of Europeans who proclaimed their independence in America expressed in that declaration "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" and asserted not only that all men are created equal, but that they are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The founders of my country did not merely say that all Americans should have these rights, but all men everywhere should have these rights. And these principles have guided the United States of America throughout its two centuries of nationhood.

They have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent.

I have been asked why I am here today.

I am here because I believe, and my countrymen believe, in the interdependence of Europe and North America -- indeed in the interdependence of the entire family of man.

I am here because the leaders of 34 other governments are here -- the states of Europe and of our good neighbor, Canada, with whom we share an open border of 5,526 miles along which there stands not a single armed soldier, and across which our two peoples have moved in friendship and mutual respect for 160 years. And I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single people represented here whose blood does not flow in the veins of Americans and whose culture and traditions have not enriched the heritage which we Americans prize so highly.

When, two centuries ago the United States of America issued a declaration of high principles the cynics and doubters of that day jeered and scoffed. Yet eleven long years later our independence was won and the stability of our republic was really achieved through the incorporation of those same principles in our Constitution.

But those principles, though they are still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of American policy, and the American people are still dedicated, as they were then, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples everywhere.

To our fellow participants in this Conference, my presence here symbolizes my country's vital interest in Europe's future. Our future is bound with yours. Our economic well-being as well as our security is linked increasingly with yours. The distance of geography is bridged by our common heritage and our common destiny. The United States therefore intends to participate fully in the affairs of Europe and in turning the results of this Conference into a living reality.

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To America's Allies: We in the West must pursue the course upon which we have embarked together, reinforced by one another's strength and mutual confidence. Stability in Europe requires equilibrium in Europe. Therefore I assure you that my country will continue to be a concerned and reliable partner. Our partnership is far more than a matter of formal agreements. It is a reflection of beliefs, traditions and ties that are of deep significance to the American people. We are proud that these values are expressed in this document.

To the countries of the East: The United States considers that the principles on which this Conference has agreed are part of the great heritage of European civilization which we all hold in trust for all mankind. To my country, they are not cliches or empty phrases. We take this work and these words seriously. We will spare no effort to ease tensions and solve problems between us. But it is important that you recognize the deep devotion of the American people and their Government to human rights and fundamental freedoms and thus to the pledges that this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas and information.

In building a political relationship between East and West, we face many challenges.

Berlin has a special significance. It has been a flashpoint of confrontation in the past; it can provide an example of peaceful settlement in the future. The United States regards it as a test of detente and of the principles of this conference. We welcome the fact that, subject to Quadripartite rights and responsibilities, the results of C. S. C. E. apply to Berlin, as they do throughout Europe.

Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces on both sides. Negotiations now underway in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions so far have not produced the results for which I had hoped. The United States stands ready to demonstrate flexibility in moving these negotiations forward, if others will do the same. An agreement that enhances mutual security is feasible -- and essential.

The United States also intends to pursue vigorously a further agreement on strategic arms limitation with the Soviet Union. This remains a priority of American policy. General Secretary Brezhnev and I agreed last November in Vladivostok on the essentials of a new accord limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next ten years. We are moving forward in our bilateral discussions here in Helsinki.

The world faces an unprecedented danger in the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The nations of Europe share a great responsibility for an international solution to this problem. The benefits of peaceful nuclear energy are becoming more and more important. We must find ways to spread these benefits while safeguarding the world against the menace of weapons proliferation.

To the other nations of Europe represented at this Conference: We value the work you have done here to help bring all of Europe together. Your right to live in peace and independence is one of the major goals of our effort. Your continuing contribution will be indispensable.

To those nations not participating and to all the peoples of the world: The solemn obligation undertaken in these documents to promote fundamental rights, economic and social progress and well-being applies ultimately to all peoples.

Can we truly speak of peace and security without addressing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world, or the creation of more sophisticated forms of warfare?

Can peace be divisible between areas of tranquility and regions of conflict?

Can Europe truly flourish if we do not all address ourselves to the evil of hunger in countries less fortunate than we?

- To the new dimension of economic and energy issues that underlie our own progress?
- To the dialogue between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between industrial countries and less developed ones?
- And can there be stability and progress in the absence of justice and fundamental freedoms?

Our people want a better future. Their expectations have been raised by the very real steps that have already been taken -- in arms control, political negotiations, and expansion of contacts and economic relations. Our presence here offers them further hope. We must not let them down.

If the Soviet Union and the United States can reach agreement so that our astronauts can fit together the most intricate scientific equipment, work together, and shake hands 137 miles out in space, we as statesmen have an obligation to do as well on earth.

History will judge this Conference not by what we say today, but what we do tomorrow -- not by the promises we make but by the promises we keep.

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AUGUST 1, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Helsinki, Finland)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE
CONFERENCE ON SECURITY
AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

FINLANDIA HALL

10:03 A.M. (Helsinki Time)

Mr. Chairman, my distinguished colleagues:

May I begin by expressing to the governments of Finland and Switzerland, which have been superb hosts for the several phases of this Conference, my gratitude and that of my associates for their efficiency and hospitality.

Particularly to you, President Kekkonen, I must convey to the people of the Republic of Finland, on behalf of the 214 million people of the United States of America, a reaffirmation of the long-standing affection and admiration which all my countrymen hold for your brave and beautiful land.

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The United States gladly subscribes to this document because we subscribe to every one of these principles.

Almost 200 years ago, the United States of America was born as a free and independent Nation. The descendants of Europeans who proclaimed their independence in America expressed in that declaration a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and asserted not only that all men are created equal, but they are endowed with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The founders of my country did not merely say that all Americans should have these rights, but all men everywhere should have these rights, and these principles have guided the United States of America throughout its two centuries of nationhood.

They have given hopes to millions in Europe and on every continent.

I have been asked why I am here today. I am here because I believe and my countrymen believe in the interdependence of Europe in North America, indeed in the interdependence of the entire family of man.

I am here because the leaders of 34 other Governments are here -- the States of Europe and of our good neighbor, Canada, with whom we share an open border of 5,526 miles, along which there stands not a single armed soldier, and across which our two peoples have moved in friendship and mutual respect for 160 years.

I can say without fear of contradiction that there is not a single people represented here whose blood does not flow in the veins of Americans and whose culture and traditions have not enriched the heritage which we Americans prize so highly.

When two centuries ago the United States of America issued a declaration of high principles, the cynics and doubters of that day jeered and scoffed. Yet, 11 long years later our independence was won and the stability of our Republic was really achieved through the incorporation of the same principles in our Constitution.

MORE

But those principles, though they are still being perfected, remain the guiding lights of an American policy and the American people are still dedicated, as they were then, to a decent respect for the opinions of mankind and to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for all peoples everywhere.

To our fellow participants in this Conference, my presence here symbolizes my country's vital interest in Europe's future. Our future is bound with yours. Our economic well being, as well as our security, is linked increasingly with yours.

The distance of geography is bridged by our common heritage and our common destiny. The United States, therefore, intends to participate fully in the affairs of Europe and in turning the results of this Conference into a living reality.

To America's allies: We in the West must vigorously pursue the course upon which we have embarked together, re-enforced by one another's strength and mutual confidence. Stability in Europe requires equilibrium in Europe. Therefore, I assure you that my country will continue to be a concerned and reliable partner.

Our partnership is far more than a matter of formal agreements. It is a reflection of beliefs, traditions and ties that are of deep significance to the American people. We are proud that these values are expressed in this document.

To the countries of the East: The United States considers that the principles on which this Conference has agreed are part of the great heritage of European civilization, which we all hold in trust for all mankind.

To my country, they are not cliches or empty phrases. We take this work and these words very seriously. We will spare no effort to ease tensions and to solve problems between us, but it is important that you recognize the deep devotion of the American people and their Government to human rights and fundamental freedoms, and thus to the pledges that this Conference has made regarding the freer movement of people, ideas, information.

In building a political relationship between East and West, we face many challenges.

Berlin has a special significance. It has been a flashpoint of confrontation in the past. It can provide an example of peaceful settlement in the future.

MORE

The United States regards it as a test of detente and of the principles of this Conference. We welcome the fact that, subject to Four Power rights and responsibilities, the results of CSCE apply to Berlin, as they do throughout Europe.

Military stability in Europe has kept the peace. While maintaining that stability, it is now time to reduce substantially the high levels of military forces on both sides. Negotiations now underway in Vienna on mutual and balanced force reductions so far have not produced the results for which I had hoped.

The United States stands ready to demonstrate flexibility in moving these negotiations forward, if others will do the same. An agreement that enhances mutual security is feasible -- and essential.

The United States also intends to pursue vigorously a further agreement on strategic arms limitations with the Soviet Union. This remains a priority of American policy.

General Secretary Brezhnev and I agreed last November in Vladivostok on the essentials of a new accord limiting strategic offensive weapons for the next ten years. We are moving forward in our bilateral discussions here in Helsinki.

The world faces an unprecedented danger in the spread of nuclear weapons technology. The nations of Europe share a great responsibility for an international solution to this problem. The benefits of peaceful nuclear energy are becoming more and more important. We must find ways to spread these benefits while safeguarding the world against the manace of weapons proliferation.

To the other nations of Europe represented at this Conference: We value the work you have done here to help bring all of Europe together. Your right to live in peace and independence is one of the major goals of our effort. Your continuing contribution will be indispensable.

To those nations not participating and to all the peoples of the world: The solemn obligation undertaken in these documents to promote fundamental rights, economic and social progress and well being, applies ultimately to all peoples.

MORE

Can we truly speak of peace and security without addressing the spread of nuclear weapons in the world, or the creation of more sophisticated forms of warfare? Can peace be divisible between areas of tranquility and regions of conflict?

Can Europe truly flourish if we do not all address ourselves to the evil of hunger in countries less fortunate than we; to the new dimensions of economic and energy issues that underlie our own progress; to the dialogue between producers and consumers, between exporters and importers, between industrial countries and less developed ones; and can there be stability and progress in the absence of justice and fundamental freedoms?

Our people want a better future. Their expectations have been raised by the very real steps that have already been taken -- in arms control, political negotiations and expansion of contacts and economic relations. Our presence here offers them further hope. We must not let them down.

If the Soviet Union and the United States can reach agreement so that our astronauts can fit together the most intricate scientific equipment, work together and shake hands 137 miles out in space, we as statesmen have an obligation to do as well on earth.

History will judge this Conference not by what we say here today, but what we do tomorrow; not by the promises we make, but by the promises we keep.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

END (AT 10:30 A.M. HELSINKI TIME)

AUGUST 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Minneapolis, Minnesota)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION

MINNEAPOLIS CONVENTION CENTER

10:34 A.M. CDT

Thank you very, very much, Commander Wagonseller, Governor Anderson, Senator Humphrey, Congressman Quie, Congressman Hagedorn, Mrs. Kubby, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

As a fellow Legionnaire of 30 years and as a Member of the Furniture City of Post Number 258, I am proud to be here with all of you as a fellow Legionnaire. I am proud of the organization, locally, nationally and otherwise.

I strongly commend the American Legion for its constant patriotism in peace as well as in war. This great organization has given life and meaning to our motto, "For God and Country".

As President, I salute you and say for all Americans, "Hang in there".

I am very, very happy to have this opportunity to talk with you, my fellow Legionnaires, about two things which the American Legion has always held dear -- freedom and peace for our country and for the world.

Freedom always comes first. Let there be no doubt about that. Patrick Henry answered that question for all of us some 200 years ago. The Marines, the Seamen and the Airmen who rescued the MAYAGUEZ gave the same clear answer which was heard 'round the world.

All Americans are terribly proud of their success. But in today's world of technological terror, with weapons of awesome sophistication and destructiveness, it is difficult to see how freedom, as we know it, could survive another all-out war. It is even questionable whether a free society such as ours could survive an all-out unrestricted arms race.

We are, therefore, confronted with this dilemma that has faced the American people and their Government since the post-war Administrations of Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. The question is this: How do we preserve, protect and defend our freedom and that of our allies? How do we advance the cause of freedom worldwide? And how do we at the same time preserve the general peace and create conditions that reduce the chances of war? How do we control the tremendous cost of maintaining the capabilities required for a potential major war.

MORE

These are exceedingly difficult questions to answer. At times we have come perilously close to a major military confrontation. We have suffered some serious setbacks, and we are still unable to resolve some dangerous conflicts festering on nearly every continent in the world.

But we have prevented World War Three. We have preserved civilization. Few who remember the immediate post-war period after World War II would say that the world is not calmer and better off today than it was.

The Free World, as we define it, is essentially intact after 30 years of uneasy peace between the super powers, instability in former Colonial areas and sporadic outbreaks of local and regional violence. And three decades of imperfect peace have permitted unprecedented gains in productivity and economic progress for much of mankind, including the United States.

Some fundamental lessons were learned in this period. They must not be forgotten. First, the military might, the material strength and moral purpose of the United States were absolutely essential to achieve the present level of international stability. They remain absolutely essential. We are still the principal defender of freedom throughout the world.

Second, our enormous defense capability and its economic base have been reinforced by the growing resources of our allies in Europe and in the Pacific --and by the increasing interdependence of industrial democracies in both military and economic areas. They must continue.

Third, the policies of five American Presidents before me for a strong national defense, for reduction of East-West tensions and the threat of thermo-nuclear war, and for the bolstering of our essential allies that have the unswerving and nonpartisan support of the Congress and the American people, I will continue to seek that support.

But today I ask you, my fellow Legionnaires, to help me achieve that objective, and I know that I can count on your support.

We share a very deep concern over the cracks now appearing in the foundations of essential national unity on defense and foreign policy. Without a clear consensus among 214 million Americans, the role of the United States as the champion of freedom and peace throughout the world would be crippled, crippled very seriously, if not fatally.

The ability of a President to carry out his constitutional duties would be dangerously diminished. The temptation to potential adversaries to take advantage of any apparent weakness, disunity and indecision could become irresistible. With your support and that of other Americans, my Administration will give them no such temptation.

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George Washington, our first President, said the best way to preserve peace is to be prepared for war. In one way or another, each of President Washington's successors has repeated that truth.

Unfortunately, we have historically ignored it. We have abruptly demobilized after war, and the next generation -- the next generation of Americans -- paid very dearly for this folly.

I see some danger signs of our doing it again, with the stakes infinitely higher than ever before. That is why I say to you, I am determined to resist unilateral disarmament. I am equally committed to keeping America's defenses second to none.

Now that Americans are no longer fighting on any front, there are many sincere -- but in my judgment shortsighted -- Americans who believe that the billions for defense could be better spent for social programs to help the poor and disadvantaged.

I am convinced that adequate spending for national defense is an insurance policy, an insurance policy for peace we cannot afford to be without.

It is most valuable if we never need to use it, but without it, we could be wiped out.

Certainly the most important social obligation of Government is to guarantee all citizens, including the disadvantaged, sufficient protection of their lives and freedoms against outside attack.

Today, that protection is our principle hope of peace. What expense item in our Federal Government is more essential?

This is one place where second best is worth nothing. The proportion of Federal spending for national security and the proportion of our Gross National Product going for defense requirements have declined in recent years. The dollar figures in the Federal budget is but simply because of inflation. The weapons we can purchase and the personnel we can afford have declined.

During the Vietnam War, defense spending concentrated -- and properly so -- on current combat requirements, shortchanging our long-range research and development efforts. If our technological lead is not rapidly recovered, this could be fatal to our qualitative superiority in the future.

Scientific progress in the Pentagon must be an equal partner with the best in personnel and the best in weapons in maintaining peace and deterring war.

MORE

Our potential adversaries are certainly not reducing the levels of their military power. The United States, as a result, must be alert and strong, and it will be.

The defense budget, which I submitted for fiscal year 1976, represents, under these circumstances, the bare minimum required for our national security. I will vigorously resist all major cuts in every way I can, and I hope I have your help.

For the next fiscal year -- 1977 -- I honestly and sincerely hope to hold down our spending on nuclear forces. This tentative judgment is conditioned on real progress in SALT II, but the Congress and the American people must realize that unless agreement is achieved, I will have no choice but to recommend to the Congress an additional \$2 billion to \$3 billion for strategic weapons programs in current and coming fiscal years.

In recent weeks, there has been a great deal said about the subject of detente. Today, let me tell you what I personally think about detente.

First of all, the word itself is confusing. Its meaning is not clear to everybody. French is a beautiful language, the classic language of diplomacy, but I wish there were one simple English word to substitute for detente. Unfortunately, there isn't.

Relations between the world's two strongest nuclear powers can't be summed up in a catch phrase. Detente literally means easing or relaxing, but definitely not -- and I emphasize not -- the relaxing of diligence or easing of effort. Rather, it means movement away from the constant crisis and dangerous confrontations that have characterized relations with the Soviet Union.

The process of detente -- and it is a process -- looks toward a saner and safer relationship between us and the Soviet Union. It represents our best efforts to cool the cold war, which on occasion became much too hot for comfort.

To me, detente means a fervent desire for peace, but not peace at any price. It means the preservation of fundamental American principles, not their sacrifice. It means maintaining the strength to command respect from our adversaries and provide leadership to our friends, not letting down our guard or dismantling our defenses or neglecting our allies. It means peaceful rivalry between political and economic systems, not the curbing of our competitive efforts.

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Since the American system depends on freedom, we are confident that our philosophy will prevail. Freedom is still the wave of the future. Detente means moderate and restrained behavior between two superpowers, not a license to fish in troubled waters. It means mutual respect and reciprocity, not unilateral concessions or one-sided agreements.

With this attitude, I shall work with determination for a relaxation of tensions. The United States has nothing to fear from progress toward peace.

Although we have still a long way to go, we have made some progress -- a defusing of the Berlin time-bomb, the ABM treaties, the first SALT agreement, and progress on SALT II, the start of mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe and other arms control agreements regarding space, the seabeds and germ warfare.

We have established the basis for progress toward detente and cooperation in Europe as a result of the summit meeting in Helsinki of some 35 nations, but the principles we adopted there must now be put into practice. The principles, I should say, will be put into practice.

We cannot raise the hopes of our people and shatter them by unkept promises. We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude toward detente and cooperation in European security.

The situation in Portugal is one of them. We are deeply concerned about the future of freedom in Portugal, as we have always been concerned about the future of people throughout the world.

The reality of the Portuguese situation is apparent to all. The wishes of the moderate majority have been subverted by forces more determined than representative.

We are hopeful that the sheer waste of numbers, the 80 percent of the Portuguese people who support the democratic process will prevail in this conflict of ideology. But they must find the solution in an atmosphere that is free from the pressures of outside forces.

So far, my meetings with General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and Helsinki have been constructive and helpful. Future success will, of course, depend on concrete developments.

Peace is the primary objective of the foreign and defense policies of the United States.

MORE

It is easy to be a cold warrior in peacetime, but it would be irresponsible for a President to engage in confrontation when consultation would advance the cause of peace.

So, I say to you -- as I said to Mr. Brezhnev and the leaders of other European nations in Canada and Helsinki -- peace is crucial, but freedom must come first.

Those who proclaimed American independence almost 200 years ago asserted not merely that all Americans should enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but that all men everywhere are endowed by their creator with such inalienable rights.

I told the leaders of Europe that these principles, though still being perfected, remain the guiding light of American policy, that the American people are still dedicated to the universal advancement of individual rights and human freedom implicit in the Helsinki declaration.

It gave me great pride, as the spokesman of the United States at Helsinki, to say to both East and West -- My country and its principles of freedom have given hope to millions in Europe and on every continent, and still does.

On the other hand, I emphasize that we are tired of having our hopes raised and then shattered by empty words and unkept promises.

I reminded all there in Helsinki that detente must be a two-way street because tensions cannot be eased with safety and security by one side alone.

Through detente, I hope that we are on a two-way street with the Soviet Union.

But, until I am certain of real progress, I must reserve final judgment about the defense budget, and particularly our plan for strategic nuclear forces.

We will, therefore, continue to seek meaningful arms agreement, but this will be possible only with sufficient and credible strength of our own, in concert with our allies. Moreover, any agreement we reach must be verifiable for our security. To put it very practically; that is, we must possess the means of making sure that they are being honored.

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The time has not yet come when we can entrust our hopes for peace to a piece of paper. Thus, another essential element of any real arms limitation, whether of strategic systems or conventional forces, is our own intelligence capability. Sweeping attacks, overgeneralization against our intelligence activities jeopardize vital functions necessary to our national security. Today's sensations must not be the prelude to tomorrow's Pearl Harbor.

I certainly do not condone improper activities or violations of the constitutional rights of Americans by any personnel or any agency of the Federal Government. On the basis of the comprehensive studies of our intelligence agencies by the Rockefeller Commission and the Murphy Commission on the conduct of foreign policy, I will take administrative action and recommend legislation to the Congress for whatever must be done to prevent future abuses.

Intelligence in today's world is absolutely essential to our national security, even our survival. It may be even more important in peace than in war. Any reckless Congressional action to cripple the effectiveness of our intelligence services in legitimate operations would be catastrophic. Our potential adversaries and even some of our best friends operate in all intelligence fields with secrecy, with skill and with substantial resources.

I know and I know you know that what we need is an American intelligence capacity second to none.

Finally -- and this relates both to our vital intelligence installations and to the imperative need to strengthen key alliances such as NATO--let us now consider our relations with our friend and ally of many years--Turkey. How do you explain to a friend and ally why arms previously ordered and paid for are not being delivered? How do you explain to your other allies in the potential damage that this may cause to the NATO Alliance? How do you justify to the American people the loss of strategic intelligence data with its attendant effect on our national security that this action has caused?

I don't know because I am at a loss to explain it myself. As a man of the Congress, and proudly so, for 25 years, the last thing I seek is confrontation with my friends, my former colleagues on Capitol Hill, both Democrats and Republicans.

Obviously, I am troubled that the House of Representatives has refused to permit the shipment of arms to Turkey. But I respect their sincerity and the motives of those who support this position. However, I know when the bottom line of any issue is the ultimate security of the United States -- which it is in this case -- the Congress and the President always found a way to close ranks and to act as one.

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This does not mean that one side or the other capitulates blindly. Let us put this issue on the table and once again debate it, not in a climate of fire and fury, but in a reasoned approach based on what is right and what is best for America.

I am convinced from my personal talks last month with the leaders of Greece and Turkey and Cyprus and that their differences can be settled peacefully.

We can help -- the Congress, the President and the American people. We can help cool the passions that have caused so much heartbreak in the Mediterranean.

The American political system is one of checks and balances, but it works best when the checks do not become roadblocks. As President, I need the cooperation and the full support of the Congress which I know is as concerned as I am about our Nation's security.

Just as important, your representatives in the Congress need to know where you stand. They have to realize that you place America's security above personal and political consideration.

This morning I am deeply honored to have had this great opportunity to meet with you here in the heartland of America and to share some of my deep concerns and some of my personal thoughts on the future of our Nation.

But talk is only the starting point, and so I ask each of you, as well as this great organization, to join with me in the commitment that I have made for the reinforcement of lasting peace and the enlargement of human freedom.

I ask this not only for ourselves but for our posterity and for all peoples who pray that the torch of liberty will continue to burn bright.

God helping us, freedom and peace will both prevail.

Thank you very much.

END

(AT 11:05 A.M. CDT)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Honolulu, Hawaii)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
EAST-WEST CENTER

THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

11:05 A.M. (Honolulu Time)

Dr. Kleingans, Governor Ariyoshi, Senator Fong, Congressman Matsunaga, Dr. Matsuda, students, faculty and members of the community here in Hawaii:

It was nice to see you, Doctor. I had the honor for a good many years of representing an area, a wonderful community, from which the Doctor came. I know more of his relatives perhaps than he does (Laughter) and they were all very kind to me, for which I was deeply grateful.

But, it is good to be home again in the United States. I have just completed, as many of you know, a seven-day trip to the State of Alaska, to the People's Republic of China, to our good friends, Indonesia and the Philippines, and now I am obviously happy to be home in our 50th State, Hawaii.

This morning I reflected on the past at the shrine of Americans who died on Sunday morning 34 years ago. I came away with a new spirit of dedication to the ideals that emerged from Pearl Harbor in World War II, dedication to America's bipartisan policy of pursuing peace through strength, and dedication to a new future of interdependence and cooperation with all the peoples of the Pacific.

I subscribe to a Pacific doctrine of peace with all -- and hostility toward none. The way I would like to remember or recollect Pearl Harbor is by preserving the power of the past to build the future.

Let us join with new and old countries of that great Pacific area in creating the greatest civilization on the shores of the greatest of our oceans.

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My visit here to the East-West Center holds another kind of meaning. Your center is a catalyst of America's positive concern for Asia, its people and its rich diversity of cultures.

You advance our hope that Asia will gain a better understanding of the United States.

Last year we were pleased to receive and to welcome nearly 54,000 Asian students to the United States while thousands upon thousands of American students went to Asian countries. I applaud your contribution to partnership in education. Your efforts represent America's vision of an open world of understanding, freedom and peace.

In Hawaii, the crossroads of the Pacific, our past and future join.

I was deeply moved when I visited Japan last year, and when I recently had the honor of welcoming the Emperor and the Empress of Japan to America. The gracious welcome that I received and the warmth of the welcome the American people bestowed upon the Emperor and the Empress testify to a growing friendship between our two great countries. This is a tribute to what is best in man -- his capacity to grow from fear to trust and from a tragedy of the past to a hopeful future.

It is a superb example of what can be achieved in human progress. It inspires our new efforts in Asia to improve relations. America, a nation of the Pacific Basin, has a very vital stake in Asia and a responsibility to take a leading part in lessening tensions, preventing hostilities and preserving peace. World stability and our own security depend upon our Asian commitments.

In 1941, 34 years ago today, we were militarily unprepared. Our trade in the Pacific was very limited. We exercised jurisdiction over the Philippines. We were pre-occupied with Western Europe.

Our instincts were isolationist. We have transcended that age. We are now the world's strongest nation. Our great commercial involvement in Asia is expanding. We led the way in conferring independence upon the Philippines. Now we are working out new associations and arrangements with the trust territories of the Pacific.

The center of political power in the United States has shifted westward. Our Pacific interests and concerns have increased. We have exchanged the freedom of action of an isolationist state for the responsibilities of a great global power.

As I return from this trip to three major Asian countries, I am even more aware of our interests in this part of the world. The security concerns of great world powers intersect in Asia, the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan are all Pacific powers.

MORE

Western Europe has historic and economic ties with Asia. Equilibrium in the Pacific is absolutely essential to the United States and to the other countries in the Pacific.

The first premise of a new Pacific Doctrine is that American strength is basic to any stable balance of power in the Pacific. We must reach beyond our concern for security, but without security, there can be neither peace nor progress.

The preservation of the sovereignty and the independence of our Asian friends and allies remain a paramount objective of American policy. We recognize that force alone is insufficient to assure security. Popular legitimacy and social justice are vital prerequisites of resistance against subversion or aggression. Nevertheless, we owe it to ourselves and to those whose independence depends upon our continued support to preserve a flexible and balanced position of strength throughout the Pacific.

The second basic premise of a new Pacific Doctrine is that the partnership with Japan is a pillar of our strategy. There is no relationship to which I have devoted more attention, nor is there any greater success story in the history of American efforts to relate to distant cultures and to people.

The Japanese-American relationship can be a source of great, great pride to every American and to every Japanese.

Our bilateral relations have never been better. The recent exchange of visits symbolizes a basic political partnership. We have begun to develop with the Japanese and other advanced industrial democracies better means of harmonizing our economic policy.

We are joining with Japan, our European friends and representatives of the developing nations this month to begin shaping a more efficient and more equitable pattern of North-South economic relations.

The third premise of a new Pacific Doctrine is the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China. The strengthening of our new ties with this great nation representing nearly one-quarter of mankind. This is another recent achievement of American foreign policy. It transcends 25 years of hostility.

MORE

I visited China to build on the dialogue started nearly four years ago. My wide-ranging exchanges with the leaders of the People's Republic of China -- with Chairman Mao Tse-Tung and Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-Ping -- enhanced our understanding of each other's views and each other's policy.

There were, as expected, differences of perspective. Our societies, our philosophies, our varying positions in the world, give us differing perceptions of our respective national interests.

But, we did find the common ground. We reaffirmed that we share very important areas of concern and agreement. They say, and we say, that the countries of Asia should be free to develop a world where there is mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States; where people are free from the threat of foreign aggression; where there is noninterference in the internal affairs of others; and where the principles of equality, mutual benefit and coexistence shape the development of peaceful international order.

We share opposition to any form of hegemony in Asia or in any other part of the world.

I reaffirmed the determination of the United States to complete the normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of the Shanghai Communiqué. Both sides regarded our discussions as significant, useful and constructive.

Our relationship is becoming a permanent feature of the international political landscape. It benefits not only our two peoples, but all peoples of the region, and the entire world.

A fourth principle of our Pacific policy is our continuing stake and stability and security in Southeast Asia.

After leaving China, I visited Indonesia and the Philippines. Indonesia is a nation of 140 million people, the fifth largest population in the world today. It is one of our important new friends and a major country in that area of the world.

The Republic of the Philippines is one of our oldest and dearest allies. Our friendship demonstrates America's longstanding interest in Asia.

MORE

I spent three days in Jakarta and Manila. I would have liked to have had time to visit our friends in Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia. We share important political and economic concerns with these five nations who make up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

I can assure you that Americans will be hearing much more about the ASEAN organization. All of its members are friends of the United States. Their total population equals our own. While they are developing countries, they possess many, many assets -- vital peoples; abundant natural resources and well-managed agricultures.

They have skilled leaders and the determination to develop themselves and to solve their own problems. Each of these countries protects its independence by relying on its own natural resilience and diplomacy. We must continue to assist them.

I learned during my visit that our friends want us to remain actively engaged in the affairs of the region. We intend to do so.

We retain close and valuable ties with our old friends and allies in the Southwest Pacific -- Australia on the one hand and New Zealand on the other.

A fifth tenet of our new Pacific policy is our belief that peace in Asia depends upon a resolution of outstanding political conflicts. In Korea, tension persists. We have close ties with the Republic of Korea, and we remain committed to peace and security on the Korean Peninsula, as the presence of our forces there attests.

Responding to the heightened tension last spring, we reaffirmed our support of the Republic of Korea. Today, the United States is ready to consider constructive ways of easing tensions on the Peninsula, but we will continue to resist any moves which attempt to exclude the Republic of Korea from discussion of its own future.

In Indochina, the healing effects of time are required. Our policies toward the new regimes of the Peninsula will be determined by their conduct toward us. We are prepared to reciprocate gestures of good will -- particularly the return of remains of Americans killed or missing in action or information about them.

If they exhibit restraint toward their neighbors and constructive approaches to international problems, we will look to the future rather than to the past.

MORE

The sixth point of our new policy in the Pacific is that peace in Asia requires a structure of economic cooperation reflecting the aspiration of all the peoples in the region.

The Asian-Pacific economy has recently achieved more rapid growth than any other region in the world. Our trade with East Asia now exceeds our transactions with the European community. America's jobs, currency and raw materials depend upon economic ties with the Pacific Basin.

Our trade with the region is now increasing by more than 30 percent annually -- reaching some \$46 billion last year. Our economies are increasingly inter-dependent as cooperation grows between developed and developing nations.

Our relations with the five ASEAN countries are marked by growing maturity and by more modest and more realistic expectations on both sides. We no longer approach them as donor to dependent. These proud people look to us less for outright aid than for new trading opportunities and more equitable arrangements for the transfer of science and technology.

There is one common theme which was expressed to me by the leaders of every Asian country that I visited. They all advocate the continuity of steady and responsible American leadership. They seek self-reliance in their own future and in their own relations with us.

Our military assistance to allies and friends is a modest responsibility, but its political significance far surpasses the small cost involved. We serve our highest national interest by strengthening their self-reliance, their relations with us, their solidarity with each other and their regional security.

I emphasized to every leader I met that the United States is a Pacific nation. I pledged, as President, I will continue America's active concern for Asia and our presence in the Asian-Pacific region.

Asia is entering a new era. We can contribute to a new structure of stability founded on a balance among the major powers, strong ties to our allies in the region, an easing of tension between adversaries, the self-reliance and regional solidarity of smaller nations, and expanding economic ties and cultural exchanges.

These components of peace are already evident. Our foreign policy in recent years and in recent days encourages their growth.

If we can remain steadfast, historians will look back and view the 1970s as the beginning of a period of peaceful cooperation and progress -- a time of growing community for all the nations touched by this great ocean.

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Here in the Pacific crossroads of Hawaii, we envision hope for a wider community of man. We see the promise of a unique republic which includes all world's races. No other country has been so truly a free, multi-racial society.

Hawaii is a splendid example, a splendid showcase of America and exemplifies our destiny as a Pacific nation.

America's Pacific heritage emerged from this remarkable state. I am proud to visit Hawaii --the island star in the American firmament which radiates the universal magic of Aloha.

Let there flow from Hawaii -- and from all of the States in our Union -- to all peoples, east and west, a new spirit of interchange to build human brotherhood.

Thank you very much.

END

(AT 11:30 A.M. Honolulu time)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT
BY
JOHN CHANCELLOR
AND
TOM BROKAW
OF THE
NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY

THE LIBRARY

11:36 A.M. EST

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, do you think it is possible for you to make decisions on national security if those decisions do not reflect the popular will of the people?

THE PRESIDENT: It does make it difficult, Tom, but I think it is the responsibility of the President to fully inform the American people and convince them that what we are seeking to do in foreign policy is in our best interest and if a President carries out that responsibility, then he can and will have the support of the American people.

MR. BROKAW: Is that the situation now in Angola? Do you have to convince the American people of what you consider to be the national security of the United States?

THE PRESIDENT: I believe there is a need and necessity for that. I don't believe that enough Americans understand the great responsibilities we have as a Nation on a worldwide basis, and that includes, of course, Africa as a whole. What we really want and what we are seeking to do in Angola is to get an African solution to an African problem and through bilateral negotiations, through working with the Organization of African Unity, through relations with the Soviet Union and others, we are trying to achieve that African solution to an African problem.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, the Soviet Union quite clearly has signaled in a Tass article that it wants all major powers to withdraw militarily from Angola. Has Moscow privately communicated that to you as well?

THE PRESIDENT: We are working with all powers, including the Soviet Union, to try and permit the Angolan people, the three different groups there at the present time, to get a decision or solution that will reflect a majority view of the Angolan people, and we are doing it, as I indicated, with a number of major powers, including the Soviet Union, as well as the many, many African countries that are a part of the Organization of African Unity.

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MR. BROKAW: But as a result of this Tass article, is it your understanding now that Russia is prepared to break off its military support and to have Cuba quit sending troops as well to Angola?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe we can say categorically that that is their intention. We are simply working with them because a continuation of that confrontation is destabilizing. It is, I think, inconsistent with the aims and objectives of detente and we are making some headway, but I can't say categorically that the end result is what we want it to be at the present time,

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, in a recent speech, Secretary Kissinger said there is a grey area between foreign policy and national security which he said, "We deny ourselves at great risk to our national security." I suppose that training foreign mercenaries for use in Angola might be called part of that grey area. Are we training foreign mercenaries for use in Angola?

THE PRESIDENT: The United States is not training foreign mercenaries in Angola. We do expend some Federal funds -- or United States funds -- in trying to be helpful, but we are not training foreign mercenaries.

MR. BROKAW: Are we financing the training of foreign mercenaries?

THE PRESIDENT: We are working with other countries that feel they have an interest in giving the Angolans an opportunity to make the decision for themselves and I think this is a proper responsibility of the Federal Government.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, while you may disagree with the results of the Senate vote on Angola, do you agree that it probably represents the will of the American people?

THE PRESIDENT: It may at this time, but I will repeat, as I said a few moments ago, the American people, I think, if told and fully informed as to the role and responsibility of the aims and objectives of the American Government in trying to let the Angolans and Africans come to a solution, I think in time the American people will support what we have been trying to do in Angola.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, in the past the Congressional role in foreign policy has been largely confined to a few Chairmen and senior members, now the process has been broadened considerably. You are formerly a man of Congress. Do you think that is a healthy sign?

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THE PRESIDENT: I think Congress, under the Constitution, does have a role in foreign policy, but I don't think our forefathers who drafted that Constitution ever envisioned that 535 Members of the House and Senate could execute foreign policy on a day-to-day basis. I think the drafters of the Constitution felt that a President had to have the opportunity for decisiveness, for flexibility, for continuity in the execution of foreign policy and somehow we have to measure the role and responsibility of the Congress, which is proper, with the opportunity for the President to carry out that foreign policy in the best interests of the United States.

Now, there have been some instances in recent months where I think the actions of the Congress have hampered, interfered with, the execution of foreign policy, and let me cite one or two examples. The action of the Congress about a year ago has harmed the opportunity of many to immigrate from the Soviet Union. I noticed just the other day that the immigration from the Soviet Union is down this year, including many reductions in the immigration of Soviet Jews from Russia.

I think the action of the Congress was harmful in that regard. It is my judgment that in the case of Congressional action on Turkish aid, they have slowed down the potential solution to the Cyprus problem. In some respects, and I emphasize some, the action of the Congress has hurt our efforts in the intelligence field, although the Congress in some respects in this area has illuminated what were, and I think we all recognize were, some abuses in the intelligence field.

But overall there has to be a better understanding of the role of Congress and the role of the President and they have to be meshed if we are going to be successful.

MR. CHANCELLOR: Mr. President, is it because of Vietnam and the fact that President Johnson and, to some degree, President Nixon had a lot of control over Vietnam and the Congress had very little control over it that you are in this fix?

THE PRESIDENT: I believe some of the instances that I have cited, John, are an aftermath of the trauma of Vietnam. Congress really asserted itself in the latter days of the Vietnam War. We all understand why and Congress, having whetted its appetite, to to speak, I think, in the last few months, has continued to do some things that have been harmful in the execution on a day-to-day basis of our foreign policy.

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MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, as a result of the Soviet role in Angola, the fact the SALT talks have bogged down somewhat, the fact that the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki agreements have not been fully carried out by Russia, are you now less enthusiastic about the prospects of detente?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not at all, and I think it would be very unwise for a President -- me or anyone else -- to abandon detente. I think detente is in the best interest of this country. It is in the best interest of world stability, world peace.

We have to recognize there are deep ideological differences between the United States and the Soviet Union. We have to realize they are a superpower militarily and industrially, just as we are. When you have two superpowers that have such great influence, it is in the best interest of those two countries to work together to ease tensions, to avoid confrontation where possible, to improve relations on a worldwide basis.

For us to abandon this working relationship and to go back to a cold war, in my opinion, would be very unwise for we in the United States and the world as a whole.

MR. BROKAW: But won't you be under a lot of domestic political pressure in this election year to change your attitude about detente?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it would be just the reverse because when we look at detente -- with the Berlin agreements of 1971, with SALT I, which put to some extent a limitation on nuclear developments, et cetera -- and when I look at the benefits that can come from the Vladivostok agreements of 1974, it is my opinion that we must continue rather than stop.

If the American people will take a good calculated look at the benefits from detente, I think they will support it rather than oppose it, and politically I think any candidate who says abandon detente will be the loser in the long run.

MR. BROKAW: Mr. President, the historian, Will Durant, has said a statesman can't afford to be a moralist as well. Briefly, do you agree with that statement?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe there is any necessary conflict between the two. We have to be pragmatic. At the same time, we have to be practical as we meet these specific problems, but if you lose your moral value, then I think you have destroyed your capability to carry out things in a practical way.

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MR. CHANCELLOR: Mr. President, I wonder if I could ask you a question about the United Nations, which seems to have less utility in the world these days than it did when it began, and also about some of the pressure groups we find both within the United Nations and as you see these pressure groups in foreign affairs, thinking, for example, of the influence of American Jews, of the growing influence of Arabs, of various groups.

Aren't those groups kind of closing in on you, or do you feel that sometimes, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I believe that substantial progress was made, John, in the United Nations in the Seventh Special Session late in 1975. That was a very constructive session of the United Nations, which sought to bring together a developing, as well as the developed, nations.

This was constructive. Now, it is true that subsequent to that there were some very vitriolic debates, there were some very serious differences that developed in the United Nations from various pressure groups.

I would hope that in the future some of this conflict would subside and there would be a more constructive effort made to solve the problems and, since I am always an optimist--and I think it is important and necessary for a President to be that--I think that as we move in the United Nations in the future that we can calm some of the voices and get to some of the answers.

So, this country's foreign policy in the United Nations will be aimed in that direction, and if we follow what we did in the Seventh Special Session, and what we are trying to do now, I think these pressure groups will recognize that words are not the answer, but solutions will be to the benefit of all parties concerned.

MR. CHANCELLOR: In your history in public life, as a Member of Congress, Mr. President, and now as the President, do you find that organized groups play a greater role now in terms of our foreign affairs, or trying to influence them, than they did when you began?

THE PRESIDENT: To some degree, yes. I think highly organized, very articulate pressure groups can, on occasion, tend to distort the circumstances and can hamper rather than help in the solution.

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I don't believe those pressure groups necessarily represent the American people as a whole. So, a President, myself included, has to look at the broader perspective and not necessarily in every instance respond to the pressure groups that are well-intentioned but who have a limited perspective, or scope.

And, as we move ahead, we are going to try and predicate our foreign policy on the best interests of all the people in this country, as well as our allies and our adversaries, rather than to respond to a highly articulate, a very tightly organized pressure group of any kind.

We cannot let America's policies be predicated on a limited part of our population or our society.

MR. CHANCELLOR: Mr. President, thank you for spending that extra minute with us. We thought that was an important point. I appreciate very much your answering that question.

END (AT 11:55 A.M. EST)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

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

9:00 P.M. EST

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

As we begin our Bicentennial, America is still one of the youngest Nations in recorded history. Long before our forefathers came to these shores, men and women had been struggling on this planet to forge a better life for themselves and their families.

In man's long upward march from savagery and slavery -- throughout the nearly 2,000 years of the Christian calendar, the nearly 6,000 years of Jewish reckoning -- there have been many deep, terrifying valleys and also many bright and towering peaks.

One peak stands highest in the ranges of human history. One example shines forth of a people uniting to produce abundance and to share the good life fairly and with freedom. One Union stands out the promise of justice and opportunity for every citizen. That Union is the United States of America.

We have not remade paradise on earth. We know perfection will not be found here. But, think for a minute how far we have come in 200 years. We came from many routes, and we have many branches. Yet, all Americans across the eight generations that separate us from the stirring deeds of 1776, those who know no other homeland and those who just found refuge among our shores, say in unison, "I am proud of America and I am proud to be an American. Life will be a little better here for my children than for me."

I believe this not because I am told to believe it, but because life has been better for me than it was for my father and my mother. I know it will be better for my children because my hands, my brains, my voice and my vote can help make it happen.

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It has happened here in America. It has happened to you and to me. Government exists to create and preserve conditions in which people can translate their ideas into practical reality. In the best of times much is lost in translation, but we try. Sometimes we have tried and failed. Always we have had the best of intentions.

In the recent past, we sometimes forgot the sound principles that guided us through most of our history. We wanted to accomplish great things and solve age-old problems, and we became overconfident of our abilities. We tried to be a policeman abroad and the indulgent parent here at home.

We thought we could transform the country through massive national programs, but often the programs did not work. Too often they only made things worse. In our rush to accomplish great deeds quickly, we trampled on sound principles of restraint, and endangered the rights of individuals. We unbalanced our economic system by the huge and unprecedented growth of Federal expenditures in borrowing, and we were not totally honest with ourselves about how much these programs would cost and how we would pay for them.

Finally, we shifted our emphasis from defense to domestic problems while our adversaries continued a massive build-up of arms.

The time has now come for a fundamentally different approach -- for a new realism that is true to the great principles upon which this Nation was founded. We must introduce a new balance to our economy, a balance that favors not only sound, active Government, but also a much more vigorous, healthier economy that can create new jobs and hold down prices.

We must introduce a new balance in the relationship between the individual and the Government, a balance that favors greater individual freedom than self-reliance.

We must strike a new balance in our system of Federalism, a balance that favors greater responsibility and freedom for the leaders of our State and local Governments. We must introduce a new balance between the spending on domestic programs and spending on defense, a balance that insures we will fully meet our obligations to the needy while also protecting our security in a world that is still hostile to freedom.

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In all that we do, we must be more honest with the American people, promising them no more than we can deliver and delivering all that we promise.

The genius of America has been its incredible ability to improve the lives of its citizens through a unique combination of governmental and free citizen activity.

History and experience tells us that moral progress comes not in comfortable and in complacent times, but out of trial and out of confusion. Tom Paine aroused the troubled Americans of 1776 to stand up to the times that try men's souls because the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.

Just a year ago I reported that the State of the Union was not good. Tonight, I report that the State of our Union is better -- in many ways a lot better -- but still not good enough.

To paraphrase Tom Paine, 1975 was not a year for summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. It was a year of fears and alarms and of dire forecasts, most of which never happened and won't happen.

As you recall, the year 1975 opened with rancor and with bitterness. Political misdeeds of the past had neither been forgotten nor forgiven. The longest, most divisive war in our history was winding toward an unhappy conclusion. Many feared that the end of that foreign war of men and machines meant the beginning of a domestic war of recrimination and reprisal.

Friends and adversaries abroad were asking whether America had lost its nerve. Finally, our economy was ravaged by inflation, inflation that was plunging us into the worse recession in four decades. At the same time, Americans become increasingly alienated from all big institutions. They were steadily losing confidence, not just in big Government, but in big business, big labor and big education, among others.

Ours was a troubled land. So, 1975 was a year of hard decisions, difficult compromises and a new realism that taught us something more important about America. It brought back a needed measure of common sense, steadfastness and self-discipline.

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Americans did not panic or demand instant but useless cures. In all sectors, people met their difficult problems with restraint and with responsibility worthy of their great heritage.

Add up the separate pieces of progress in 1975, subtract the setbacks, and the sum total shows that we are not only headed in a new direction, a direction which I proposed 12 months ago, but it turned out to be the right direction.

It is the right direction because it follows the truly revolutionary American concept of 1776, which holds that in a free society the making of public policy and successful problem solving involves much more than Government.

It involves a full partnership among all branches and all levels of Government, private institutions and individual citizens.

Common sense tells me to stick to that steady course. Take the state of our economy. Last January, most things were rapidly getting worse. This January, most things are slowly but surely getting better.

The worse recession since World War II turned around in April. The best cost of living news of the past year is that double-digit inflation of 12 percent or higher was cut almost in half. The worst -- unemployment remains far too high.

Today, nearly one million seven hundred thousand more Americans are working than at the bottom of the recession. At year's end, people were again being hired much faster than they were being laid off.

Yet, let us be honest. Many Americans have not yet felt these changes in their daily lives. They still see prices going up far too fast, and they still know the fear of unemployment.

We are also a growing Nation. We need more and more jobs every year. Today's economy has produced over 85 million jobs for Americans, but we need a lot more jobs, especially for the young.

My first objective is to have sound economic growth without inflation. We all know from recent experience what runaway inflation does to ruin every other worthy purpose. We are slowing it. We must stop it cold.

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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. The budget I am submitting Wednesday cuts this rate of growth in half.

I have kept my promise to submit a budget for the next fiscal year of \$395 billion. In fact, it is \$394.2 billion.

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 month 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 more than Congress agreed to in December.

My broader tax reduction would mean that for a family of four making \$15,000 a year, there will be \$227 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.

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.

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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 ask that Congress enact changes in Federal tax laws that will speed up plant expansion and the purchase of new equipment.

My recommendations will 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.

Within the strict budget total that I recommend for the coming year, I will ask for additional holding assistance for 500,000 families. These programs will expand housing opportunities, spur construction and help to house moderate and low income families.

We had a disappointing year in the housing industry in 1975. But, with lower interest rates and available mortgage money, we can have a healthy recovery in 1976.

A necessary condition of a healthy economy is freedom from the petty tyranny of massive Government regulation. We are wasting literally millions of working hours costing billions of taxpayers and consumer dollars because of bureaucratic red tape.

The American farmer, who now feeds 215 million Americans, but also millions worldwide, has shown how much more he can produce without the shackles of Government control.

Now, we badly need reforms in other key areas in our economy: The airlines, trucking, railroads and financial institutions.

I have submitted concrete plans in each of these areas, not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer.

This Administration, in addition, will strictly enforce the Federal antitrust laws for the very same purposes. Taking a longer look at America's future, there can be neither sustained growth nor more jobs unless we continue to have an assured supply of energy to run our economy.

Domestic production of oil and gas is still declining. Our dependence on foreign oil at high prices is still too great, draining jobs and dollars away from our own economy at the rate of \$125 per year for every American.

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Last month I signed a compromise national energy bill which enacts a part of my comprehensive energy independence program. This legislation was late, not the complete answer to energy independence, but still a start in the right direction.

I again urge the Congress to move ahead immediately on the remainder of my energy proposal to make America invulnerable to the foreign oil cartel.

My proposals, as all of you know, would reduce domestic natural gas shortages, allow production from Federal petroleum reserves, stimulate effective conservation, including revitalization of our railroads, and the expansion of our urban transportation systems, develop more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources; expedite clean and safe nuclear power production, create a new national Energy Independence Authority to stimulate vital energy investment and accelerate development of technology to capture energy from the sun and the earth, for this and future generations.

Also, I ask, for the sake of future generations, that we preserve the family farm and family-owned small business. Both strengthen America and give stability to our economy. I will propose 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.

The Federal Government must, and will, respond to clearcut national needs for this and future generations, Hospital and medical services in America are among the best in the world, but the cost of a serious and extended illness can quickly wipe out a family's life savings.

Increasing health costs are of deep concern to all, and a powerful force pushing up the cost of living. The burden of catastrophic illness can be borne by very few in our society. We must eliminate this fear from every family.

I propose catastrophic health insurance for everybody covered by Medicare. To finance this added protection, fees for short-term care will go up somewhat, but nobody, after reaching age 65, will have to pay more than \$500 a year for covered hospital or nursing home care, nor more than \$250 for one year's doctor bills. We cannot realistically afford Federally dictated national health insurance providing full coverage for all 215 million Americans. The experience of other countries raises questions about the quality as well as the cost of such plans.

But I do envision the day when we may use the private health insurance system to offer more middle income families high quality health services at prices they can afford and shield them also from their catastrophic illnesses.

Using resources now available, I propose improving the Medicare and other Federal health programs to help those who really need protection -- older people and the poor. To help States and local Governments give better health care to the poor, I propose that we combine 16 existing Federal programs, including Medicaid, into a single \$10 billion Federal grant.

Funds would be divided among States under a new formula which provides a larger share of Federal money to those States that have a larger share of low income families.

I will take further steps to improve the quality of medical and hospital care for those who have served in our Armed Forces.

Now, let me speak about Social Security. Our Federal Social Security system for people who have worked and contributed to it for all their lives is a vital part of our economic system. Its value is no longer debatable. In my budget for fiscal year 1977 I am recommending that the full cost of living increase in Social Security benefits be paid during the coming year.

But I am concerned about the integrity of our Social Security Trust Fund that enables people, those retired and those still working who will retire, to count on this source of retirement income. Younger workers watch their deductions rise and wonder if they will be adequately protected in the future. We must meet this challenge head on. Simple arithmetic warns all of us that the Social Security Trust Fund is headed for trouble. Unless we act soon to make sure the Fund takes in as much as it pays out, there will be no security for old or for young.

I must, therefore, recommend a three-tenths of one percent increase in both employer and employee Social Security taxes effective January 1, 1977. This will cost each covered employee less than one extra dollar a week and will insure the integrity of the Trust Fund.

As we rebuild our economy, we have a continued responsibility to provide a temporary cushion to the unemployed. At my request the Congress enacted two extensions and two expansions in unemployment insurance which helped those who were jobless during 1975. These programs will continue in 1976.

In my fiscal 1977 budget, I am also requesting funds to continue proven job training and employment opportunity programs for millions of other Americans.

Compassion and a sense of community -- two of America's greatest strengths throughout our history -- tell us we must take care of our neighbors who cannot take care of themselves. The host of Federal programs in this field reflect our generosity as a people.

But everyone realizes that when it comes to welfare, Government at all levels is not doing the job well. Too many of our welfare programs are inequitable and invite abuse. Too many of our welfare programs have problems from beginning to end. Worse, we are wasting badly needed resources without reaching many of the truly needy.

Complex welfare programs cannot be reformed overnight. Surely, we cannot simply dump welfare into the laps of the 50 States, their local taxpayers or their private charities, and just walk away from it. Nor is it the right time for massive and sweeping changes while we are still recovering from the recession.

Nevertheless, there are still plenty of improvements that we can make. I will ask Congress for Presidential authority to tighten up the rules for eligibility and benefits.

Last year I twice sought long overdue reform of the scandal riddled Food Stamp program. This year I say again: Let's give Food Stamps to those most in need. Let's not give any to those who don't need them.

Protecting the life and property of the citizen at home is the responsibility of all public officials, but it is primarily the job of local and State law enforcement authorities.

Americans have always found the very thought of a Federal police force repugnant, and so do I, but there are proper ways in which we can help to insure domestic tranquility as the Constitution charges us.

My recommendations on how to control violent crime were submitted to the Congress last June with strong emphasis on protecting the innocent victims of crime. To keep a convicted criminal from committing more crimes, we must put him in prison so he cannot harm more law-abiding citizens. To be effective, this punishment must be swift and it must be certain.

Too often criminals are not sent to prison after conviction but are allowed to return to the streets.

Some judges are reluctant to send convicted criminals to prison because of inadequate facilities. To alleviate this problem at the Federal level, my new budget proposes the construction of four new Federal facilities.

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To speed Federal justice, I propose an increase this year in the United States Attorneys prosecuting Federal crimes and the reinforcement of the number of United States Marshals.

Additional Federal judges are needed, as recommended by me and the Judicial Conference.

Another major threat to every American's person and property is the criminal carrying a handgun. A way to cut down on the criminal use of guns is not to take guns away from the law-abiding citizens, but to impose mandatory sentences for crimes in which a gun is used; make it harder to obtain cheap guns for criminal purposes and concentrate gun control enforcement in high crime areas.

My budget recommends 500 additional Federal agents in the 11 largest metropolitan high crime areas to help local authorities stop criminals from selling and using handguns.

The sale of hard drugs is tragically on the increase again. I have directed all agencies of the Federal Government to step up law enforcement efforts against those who deal in drugs.

In 1975, I am glad to report, Federal agents seized substantially more heroin coming into our country than in 1974.

As President, I have talked personally with the leaders of Mexico, Columbia and Turkey to urge greater efforts by their Governments to control effectively the production and shipment of hard drugs.

I recommended months ago that the Congress enact mandatory fixed sentences for persons convicted of Federal crimes involving the sale of hard drugs. Hard drugs, we all know, degrade the spirit as they destroy the body of their users.

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It is unrealistic and misleading to hold out the hope that the Federal Government can move into every neighborhood and clean up crime. Under the Constitution, the greatest responsibility for curbing crime lies with State and local authorities. They are the frontline fighters in the war against crime.

There are definite ways in which the Federal Government can help them. I would propose in the new budget that the Congress authorize almost \$7 billion over the next five years to assist State and local Governments to protect the safety and property of all their citizens.

As President, I pledge the strict enforcement of Federal laws, and by example, support and leadership, to help State and local authorities enforce their laws. Together, we must protect the victims of crime and insure domestic tranquility.

Last year I strongly recommended a five-year extension of the existing revenue sharing legislation which thus far has provided \$23.5 billion to help State and local units of Government solve problems at home. This program has been effective with decision-making transfers from the Federal Government to locally elected officials.

Congress must act this year or State and local units of Government will have to drop programs or raise local taxes.

Including my health care program reforms, I propose to consolidate some 59 separate Federal programs and provide flexible Federal dollar grants to help States, cities and local agencies in such important areas as education, child nutrition and social services.

This flexible system will do the job better and do it closer to home.

The protection of the lives and property of Americans from foreign enemies is one of my primary responsibilities as President. In a world of instant communications and intercontinental ballistic missiles, in a world economy that is global and interdependent, our relations with other nations become more, not less, important to the lives of Americans.

America has had a unique role in the world since the day of our independence 200 years ago, and ever since the end of World War II we have borne successfully a heavy responsibility for insuring a stable world order and hope for human progress.

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Today, the state of our foreign policy is sound and strong. We are at peace, and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.

Our military forces are capable and ready. Our military power is without equal, and I intend to keep it that way.

Our principal alliances with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic community and Japan have never been more solid. A further agreement to limit the strategic arms race may be achieved. We have an improving relationship with China, the world's most populous nation.

The key elements for peace among the nations of the Middle East now exist. Our traditional friendships in Latin America, Africa and Asia continue. We have taken the role of leadership in launching a serious and hopeful dialogue between the industrial world and the developing world.

We have helped to achieve significant reform of the international monetary system. We should be proud of what America, what our country, has accomplished in these areas, and I believe the American people are.

The American people have heard too much about how terrible our mistakes, how evil our deeds, and how misguided our purposes. The American people know better.

The truth is we are the world's greatest democracy. We remain the symbol of man's aspiration for liberty and well being. We are the embodiment of hope for progress. I say it is time we quit downgrading ourselves as a Nation.

Of course, it is our responsibility to learn the right lesson from past mistakes. It is our duty to see that they never happen again. But, our greater duty is to look to the future. The world's troubles will not go away.

The American people want strong and effective international and defense policies. In our constitutional system, these policies should reflect consultation and accommodation between the President and the Congress. But, in the final analysis, as the framers of our Constitution knew from hard experience, the foreign relations of the United States can be conditioned effectively only if there is strong central direction that allows flexibility of action.

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That responsibility clearly rests with the President.

I pledge to the American people policies which seek a secure, just and peaceful world. I pledge to the Congress to work with you to that end.

We must not face a future in which we can no longer help our friends, such as Angola, even in limited and carefully controlled ways. We must not lose all capacity to respond short of military intervention.

Some hasty actions of the Congress during the past year, most recently in respect to Angola, were, in my view, very shortsighted. Unfortunately, they are very much on the minds of our allies and our adversaries.

A strong defense posture gives weight to our values and our views in international negotiations. It assures the vigor of our alliances and it sustains our efforts to promote settlements of international conflicts.

Only from a position of strength can we negotiate a balanced agreement to limit the growth of nuclear arms. Only a balanced agreement will serve our interests and minimize the threat of nuclear confrontation.

The defense budget I will submit to the Congress for fiscal year 1977 will show an essential increase over the current year. It provides for real growth in purchasing power over this year's defense budget, which includes the cost of the all-volunteer force.

We are continuing to make economies to enhance the efficiency of our military forces, but the budget I will submit represents the necessity of American strength for the real world in which we live.

As conflicts and rivalry persist in the world, our United States intelligence capabilities must be the best in the world.

The crippling of our foreign intelligence services increases the danger of American involvement in direct arms conflict. Our adversaries are encouraged to attempt new adventures while our own ability to monitor events and to influence events short of military action, is undermined.

MORE

Without effective intelligence capability, the United States stands blindfolded and hobbled.

In the near future, I will take actions to reform and strengthen our intelligence community. I ask for your positive cooperation. It is time to go beyond sensationalism and ensure an effective, responsible, and responsive intelligence capability.

Tonight I have spoken about our problems at home and abroad. I have recommended policies that will meet the challenge of our third century. I have no doubt that our Union will endure, better, stronger and with more individual freedom. We can see forward only dimly -- one year, five years, a generation perhaps. Like our forefathers, we know that if we meet the challenges of our own time with a common sense of purpose and conviction; if we remain true to our Constitution and to our ideals, then we can know that the future will be better than the past.

I see America today crossing a threshold, not just because it is our Bicentennial, but because we have been tested in adversity. We have taken a new look at what we want to be and what we want our Nation to become.

I see America resurgent, certain once again that life will be better for our children than it is for us, seeking strength that cannot be counted in megatons and riches that cannot be eroded by inflation.

I see these United States of America moving forward as before, toward a more perfect Union where the Government serves and the people rule.

We will not make this happen simply by making speeches, good or bad, yours or mine, but by hard work and hard decisions made with courage and with common sense.

I have heard many inspiring Presidential speeches but the words I remember best were spoken by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"America is not good because it is great," the President said. "American is great because it is good."

President Eisenhower was raised in a poor but religious home in the heart of America. His simple words echoed President Lincoln's eloquent testament that "right makes might." And Lincoln in turn evoked the silent image of George Washington kneeling in prayer at Valley Forge.

MORE

So all these magic memories which link eight generations of Americans are summed up in the inscription just above me.

How many times have we seen it? -- "In God We Trust."

Let us engrave it now in each of our hearts as we begin our Bicentennial.

END (AT 9:55 P.M. EST)

JANUARY 29, 1976

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
24TH ANNUAL NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST

WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL

9:11 A.M. EST

Congressman Preyer, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Our Nation was born 200 years ago poor and very weak. Our leaders were untested and our land remote from much of the world. This continent was mostly a virgin wilderness.

Yet our new Nation displayed extraordinary determination and near limitless capacity for discovery about ourselves and about our future. Our Declaration of Independence surpassed all worldly doctrines in its enlightened pronouncements on human rights and individual liberty.

Our leaders showed that the inspired will and raw courage of our ragged defenders could defeat not only hardship and privation but the disciplined power of an empire. Our people demonstrated extraordinary belief that their cause was just and that it would prevail.

I think it is well to recall at the start of this Bicentennial year that it was not might nor wealth which ultimately gained American independence and liberty but more powerful forces -- the unshakeable, unbreakable belief of our people in themselves and in their cause. They proved that a people's greatest strength is its own faith.

We are gathered here this morning to recall and to renew that faith -- faith in God and belief in the future of our country. We seek to sustain and to increase our spiritual strength at this time of prayer and recollection.

John Muhlenburg wrote in his diary in 1776, about 200 years ago: "There is a time to pray and a time to fight. This is the time to fight."

If he were alive today and writing in 1976, he may have written "This is the time to pray."

MORE

Let men and women of faith remember that this Nation, endowed by God with so many blessings, is also surrounded by incredible needs. At the beginning of this century in American history let us remember Jesus who surrounded by needs still early in the morning went away to a solitary place to pray.

We are one people, one Government and one Nation. We are, by any name, an indivisible land and people.

Benjamin Franklin, addressing himself to religious faith and worship in God in the society in which he lived, told the framers of the Constitution: "Without God's concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial local interests. Our projects will be confounded and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages."

Today, unlike the times of Dr. Franklin, our Nation is mighty and is wealthy. The many changes in our land in these 200 years may be as frightening as they are wondrous.

This becomes apparent when we ask ourselves this question: Do we have the faith, the belief of Washington, Adams, Jefferson and the others? Has our spiritual growth matched our temporal destiny as a Nation?

We know that wealth and power do not measure the greatness of this or any other Nation. Our spiritual principles and moral values transcend the physical capacities and the boundaries of our land.

That is why we come here humbly this morning -- to ask from God strength and guidance so we may leave to our third century a legacy of leadership worthy of the inheritance left us by our forebears.

Often, as I walk into the office, I realize that man's wisdom and strength are not sufficient so I try to practice the truth of Proverbs 3:5-6:

"Trust in the Lord with all thine heart;
Lean not unto thine own understanding.
In all thy ways acknowledge Him,
And He shall direct thy path."

Tolerance, understanding, love -- let us pray for all of these because we need them as a people. Let us pray for God's guidance in our pursuit of peace.

Let us rediscover our past and renew ourselves in its cherished principles, and then let us begin our journey into this third century with the same faith and the same purpose of our Nation's founders. Let us span the centuries at this moment and unite the past, the present and the future in spiritual communion.

MORE

Let us make it our "earnest prayer," as George Washington did two centuries ago, that "God would graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with charity and humility and a peaceful temper of mind, without which we can never hope to be a happy Nation."

And let us make it our "constant prayer," as Lincoln did more than a century ago -- not only that God is on our side, but that we "and this Nation should be on the Lord's side."

Finally, let it be said that in this great Nation of ours freedom still flourishes and liberty still lives. As we declare our dependence on God, let us unite in the same bond which united those who signed America's Declaration of Independence 200 years ago.

Let us today reaffirm their pledge, as written in the closing words of that majestic document, that "For the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Thank you.

END (AT 9:19 A.M. EST)