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*Pres.  
Buchen*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 16, 1975

Dear Dody:

You were thoughtful to write about your meeting with the President on the occasion of his television interview when he was recently in Rhode Island. I know the President was pleased with this interview and with the wide distribution it had in the New England area, thanks to your good efforts.

Very warmest regards from Bunny and me to you and Roz.

Sincerely,



Philip W. Buchen  
Counsel to the President

Mr. Joseph S. Sinclair  
Chairman of the Board  
Outlet Company  
176 Weybosset Street  
Providence, Rhode Island 02902

11:45 a.m.

Monday, September 22, 1975

Pat from the Press Office called to advise that the President's speech today at 2:00 p.m. will be heard (only) on Channel 6 at that time.

shirley



Arrived too late -  
no action  
D.C.

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

January 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN  
FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
SUBJECT: Presidential Speech Draft Attached

The President has asked me to obtain your comments on the draft attached and report them to him. Therefore, I respectfully request your priority attention and personal response on this draft (even if you simply approve it as is) **AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.**

Please return your comments to the Editorial Office in Room 115, OEOB.

To expedite this process, it is not necessary to have your views on the literary style or grammatical purity of this draft. Please indicate legibly your suggestions for improving the factual accuracy and/or the substantive policy statements that are within your area of expertise and responsibility (either on the attached drafts or on a separate piece of paper if extensive revisions or substitutions are recommended).

We will either incorporate your suggestions or, in case of conflicting views, present the options to the President for his final decision.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please check one box and sign below:

- ( ) I approve the draft without changes.
- ( ) Suggested revisions are noted on the draft or attached separately.

Initials: \_\_\_\_\_



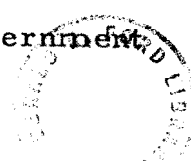
REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE VIRGINIA GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, SATURDAY, JANUARY 31

I am honored to speak before this special joint session of the Virginia State Legislature -- in my first address of 1976 devoted to the National Bicentennial.

Your Assembly, in this historic Hall of the House of Burgesses is the most appropriate forum in America for a discussion of self-government in the 200th year of our nationhood.

You sustain a continuation of our oldest representative legislative body -- a living shrine of the American heritage.

There would be no Bicentennial today without the concept of self-government which began here in Virginia in 1619. It was in Williamsburg where the representatives of the people of Virginia, held accountable by their electors, attended the House of Burgesses and learned the elements of self-government. It was here that republican principles evolved to challenge the oppression of a distant and unresponsive regime which sought to impose taxation without representation, and government without the consent of the governed.



The concept of self-determination flowed from stirrings of religious and political liberty in the mother country, from Magna Carta and Cromwell's Commonwealth. Along with those who signed the social contract of the Mayflower,

the Virginians created a new way of life strikingly different from the lives of the common people of Europe of that day.

When three small ships landed at nearby Jamestown, they brought the seeds of an idea that would make men strive for local control over the fate of local people.

America's most moving chronicle is how courageous Virginians defied the centralized authority represented by the royal governors and tax collectors appointed by a king on another continent. This distinguished assembly may agree that telling Virginians about their own glorious history would be like lecturing God on how the earth was created.

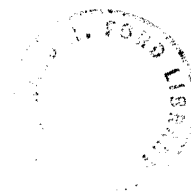
I will not so presume and will confine myself to those aspects of paramount relevance to the chain of inspiration, initiative, and action

originating in Virginia and culminating today in the great Bicentennial  
our nation is privileged to celebrate.

The process that began with the initial meeting of Burgesses led  
to Patrick Henry's defiant outcry for liberty or death, to George Mason's  
Virginia Declaration of Rights, to Thomas Jefferson's role in formulating  
our Declaration of Independence and Constitution, and to the service of  
yet another member of Burgesses, George Washington, as commander-  
in-chief and the first President of the United States of America.

As 38th President, I commend you for your initiative and  
patriotism in preserving and restoring these wonderful buildings of  
Colonial Williamsburg. Virginia has kept a sacred national trust with  
diligence and pride.


(more)



Nevertheless, you and I, and all Americans in this Bicentennial year, must do more than maintain the treasured structures of our national legacy. We must revive the cherished values of the American Revolution with a resurgence of the spirit that rang forth in these streets of Williamsburg in colonial times. I invoke the instructive motto of Colonial Williamsburg: "that the future may learn from the past."

This year we venerate the contributions of the Founding Fathers with timely and appropriate words of tribute. Yet, if we are to be faithful to the trust they bequeathed, we must redeem and perpetuate their legacy in a continuing quest for the principles of responsible self-government which they advocated.

Patrick Henry, calling for national unity in Philadelphia, said "I am not a Virginian, but an American." I believe that Patrick Henry would take a look at today's America and proclaim: "I am not only an American but also a Virginian who believes in the sanctity of local control over the fate of local people."





Two hundred years have demonstrated that there are certain vital functions, especially foreign policy and national security, which the Federal Government must perform.

George Washington and others warned -- in this very place -- against the danger of the centralized power of government. Yet we find ourselves in a Bicentennial year when we look back, with something less than pleasure, and measure the erosion of State and local authority.

Indeed, America has now reached the point where the Federal establishment employs over three million people. This is more than the combined populations of all 13 original states when the Virginia convention reserved to your people and your state government "all power not specifically bestowed upon the national government."

The Founding Fathers understood that republican self-government could not exist if people did not possess the traditional



virtues of self-discipline, self-reliance, and a disinterested concern for the public good. "Republican government," said James Madison, "presupposes the existence of these qualities in a higher degree than any other form."

In the early years, the American political system worked so well that we accepted it as a tradition. We did not question why it worked and only assumed that its magical providence would continue forever.

In the 18th century, Jefferson and Adams agreed that self-government, as they understood it, presupposed a lifestyle dependent upon qualities they called "republican virtues" -- attributes that would make self-government possible.

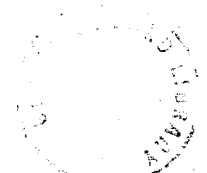
Our state Constitutions emerged. They took great care not to tamper with the tradition of self-government that flowed from the earliest precedents. The States demonstrated that the real strength



of American political tradition is that truly free people do not make a contract with a centralized government but only among themselves.

The Founding Fathers favored what they called "mild government." Their premise was that you can only achieve "mild government" if you maintain local governments so responsive that the responsibilities of national government are limited in scope. And their premise was one of confidence in the ability of individuals to govern themselves.

To better understand what we are celebrating, let us look back at the conciliation of democratic and republican principles incorporated into American popular government 200 years ago. Democratic principles tended to the liberal, and to the masses, the republican to the conservative and the individual. The lines were drawn between the emotions of the people and their rational consensus. But, with compromise and cooperation, the nation prospered and grew.

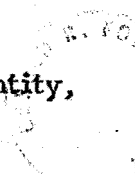


In recent years, with a complex and rapidly changing society, more and more people looked to Washington to solve local problems.

The view of too many was that the world's richest and most powerful nation can do anything -- and do it instantly. Far too much was promised and a new realism is now emerging all across America.

Could we expect a huge government to give people everything but to take nothing away? To support a massive new revolution, not merely of rising expectations but also of rising entitlements? I refer to the escalation of material things people feel automatically entitled to, without regard to their own productivity or to their contribution to the economy.

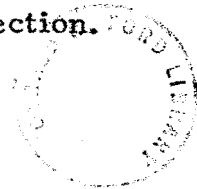
Freedom is now misinterpreted to mean the instantaneous redress of all social and economic inequalities, at the public expense, through the instrumentality of the federal government. In pursuit of that idyllic quest, the federal bureaucracy was expanded, power flowed from the towns, the cities and states to a highly centralized national entity, always bigger and more powerful -- though not always more efficient.



If this course is pursued, it will mean much less incentive to create capital and much more inflation. Two hundred years ago, men of vision understood that poverty is abolished by economic growth, not by economic redistribution. They knew that only a self-disciplined people can create a society in which ordered liberty will promote both economic prosperity and political participation at every level.

The founding of America was more than a political event. It was an act of political faith -- a promise to Americans and to the entire world. Inherent in the Declaration of Independence was the message: People can govern themselves. They can live in freedom with equal rights. They can also act in accord with reason, and restraint, and respect for the rights of others and the total community.

Today we celebrate this Bicentennial when too many continue to glorify instant gratification over everything else, change merely for the sake of change, and impetuous desire over thoughtful reflection.



Our Nation's founders held that civic virtue, or what they called "republican morality" , was a willingness to suspend the pursuit of immediate personal interest and personal gains for the common good.

American's self-government remains the most stirring -- and successful -- political experiment in history. Its survival and ultimate success requires a new concentration on the meaning of self-government, on duties and responsibilities as well as demands and desires.

We must regain the same willingness to work as those who built a colonial capital on this site, the same open mind as those who envisioned our freedom, the same sense of responsibility as those who preserved it. We must enshrine our rights, but perform our duties.

America must now evaluate what is possible with the common sense balance of what is practical.



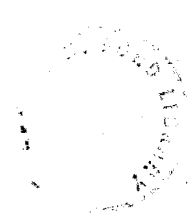
As a young Congressman, I listened in the 1950's to the warnings of President Eisenhower. He said that unless we preserved the traditional power and basic responsibilities of state government, we would not preserve the king of America previously known. We would have, instead, quite another kind of America. The pendulum has since swung very far in the direction that President Eisenhower feared. But I am today confident that the will of the people, voiced all across America, is beginning to bring the pendulum of power back to a balanced center.

I believe in the rights of the States. The preservation of the 50 States as vigorous units of government is vital to individual freedom and to the growth of real national strength and character. Yet it is useless to advocate states' rights without simultaneously honoring the responsibilities of the states.



An objective reallocation of state responsibilities can reduce central authority while reinforcing state and local governments. The states can regain and reassert their traditional rights and responsibilities if we remove federal barriers to responsive government, restore responsible taxing and fiscal systems, and encourage local initiative. But if the states fail to act, Federal power will plunge even more deeply into a new vacuum created by political expediencies and pressures.

We must, above all, see that Government remains responsive to the real and legitimate needs of the American people. And we must make sure that, in meeting those needs, each level of government performs its proper function -- no more and no less.

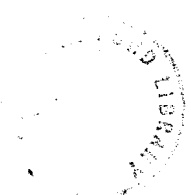




This is essential to preserve our system and to draw new energy from the source of all governmental power -- the people.

5 When the King's agents dissolved the House of Burgesses prior to the American Revolution, its members disagreed on some particulars. But they shared a common faith that led to a common glory. It did not matter whether they met in Raleigh's Tavern or in the designated chamber. They trusted one another and worked together in the common interest. They shared their confidence with like-minded people in every other colony.

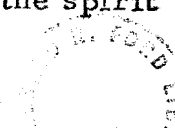
This trust is manifest in our flag with its alternate stripes and stars which share the same galaxy. It is inherent in every presumption on which our free system is based. Much has changed in American life. Yet the Bicentennial can remind ourselves of those values we wish to preserve, and the mutual cooperation and confidence we must restore.



The Bicentennial emphasizes three themes: heritage, festivity and horizons. Its spirit is exemplified by Colonial Williamsburg whose creativity has inspired communities throughout America. But our success in observing this great occasion shall not be gauged by the events we commemorate in a proud past. Nor, shall it be measured by expositions, fairs and fireworks or plans and programs for future projects.

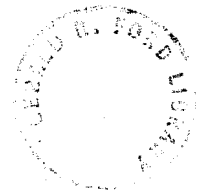
A real observance of our Bicentennial requires a combination of these and more. It is the capture of a new spirit from the old. It is the redemption, in a new reality, of the essence of the Virginia Declaration of Rights -- of the Declaration of Independence -- and of the Federal Constitution.

These documents are something more than compacts of government. They were, and still are, expressions of the will and the spirit of a people.



If the Bicentennial is to be more than a colorful historical pageant, we must restore on a local and state level the opportunity for individuals to have more say in how their taxes are spent, in how they live, how they work, how they fight crime, how they go to school and even how and where they recite their prayers.

Should the Bicentennial accomplish nothing else, this alone would be a resounding triumph -- a fitting tribute to our forebears.



Two hundred years ago, a distant government overtaxed individuals, created unemployment by stifling free enterprise, wrecked the Colonial economy, and denied local people any real say in local affairs. The Bicentennial is an instructive lesson in history.

1976 is the year for an Appeal to Greatness. The American Spirit has brought us to this point in human achievement. It is a greatness based upon reason, responsibility and leadership, a greatness based on individual opportunity and enlightenment, a greatness reflected in the quality of our lives and our pride in ourselves and in our nation.

Let us remain a nation respected for the things in which its people believe, rather than envied for the things they have.

Americans, after 200 years, remain pioneers -- pioneers in a complex modern world of confusion and rapid change.

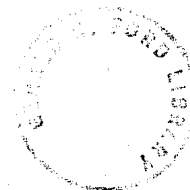


I am confident that our republic will continue to soar.

We will not clip the wings of the American eagle nor shrink from the heavens of opportunity open to us.

I believe in America. I reaffirm my faith in the unique value of a government of shared responsibility. I believe in our capacity to foster diversity within unity, to encourage innovation and creativity both privately and publicly, and to achieve a proper balance between the national and state governments.

This Bicentennial will foster new pride among our children as we renew a republic whose democratic values are manifest in responsive and ethical government.



The vision of this House of Burgesses, first expressed  
355 years ago in Colonial Virginia still lives. It is the simple truth  
that a government closest to the people is the best government.

# # #



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT HARTMANN

FROM: PHILIP BUCHEN 

Here is an incomplete suggestion for an acceptance speech prepared in haste, which I would gladly develop further if additional time is possible and you see any merit in some of my thoughts.

Attachment



Men and women of the Republican Party, I accept your nomination to be the Republican candidate for President in ~~the~~ 1976. I accept your nomination gladly, happily, enthusiastically, and with heart felt gratitude to you, and with a deep sense of obligation to the Republican Party and to this nation of ours.

The Republican Party has been represented in ~~thirty~~<sup>thirty</sup> consecutive national elections for President, starting one hundred and twenty years ago. Eighteen times out of the thirty, the Republican candidates for President and Vice President have won. And I am confident that on November 2nd of this year, the Republican Party will achieve its 19th victory in a national election for President and Vice President -- a .600 batting average which is a record to be proud of.

When I expressed my confidence that 1976 will be another Republican year, I am not about ~~to be so~~ ~~presumptuous as~~ to forget that the American people have yet to speak on November 2nd with their ballots. Just as I could not take<sup>e</sup> the nomination by ~~my~~ party for granted, I now decline to speak and act as though my election by the voters in the general election is a foregone conclusion.






My respect for the office of President of the United States and my deference to the will of the people who must register their choice for President in the general election is much greater than that. So is my regard for the process by which a political party like ours and the entire American electorate may fairly and fully judge a candidate by seeing the person as he really is and knowing what he really stands for. Certainly openness and candor of a candidate before the election is more in keeping with American political ideals than is a promise only of sunshine in government after the election.

The last previous time the Republican Party did me the honor of selecting me as its candidate for election to public office was when I stood for reelection as a Member of Congress from Michigan. At that time, I could have said as Abraham Lincoln did in 1858 when running for election to the Senate from the State of Illinois: "Nobody has ever expected me to <sup>be</sup> ~~the~~ President." Just as it was not Lincoln's ambition to become President, so it was not my ambition while in Congress.



Even as I became Vice President in 1973, I was not among those who expected me to become President. Many of my colleagues in the Congress of both parties who voted for my confirmation did so, they told me, in the expectation that they were voting not just for a Vice President but for the next President as well. Nevertheless, this expression of confidence in my qualifications for the higher office only helped sustain my own belief that if called upon, I could successfully meet the challenge. It did not impel me, while I was Vice President, into seeking the office of President. Only by force of circumstances was I called upon to become President for the unexpired balance of my predecessor's term.

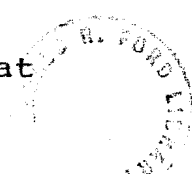
Of course, I have since come to seek nomination and election to continue as President for a full four-year term. I did so with the realization that I would have to seek the office and could not depend on having the office seek me. Rarely, if ever, has our nation produced men or women whose qualifications are so eminent and distinctive and so widely recognized that a political party would choose its nominee for high office without effort on his part. Certainly, the events leading up to this Republican convention



show that this was not the occasion for a nomination without effort. What this convention did show was that the more equally matched are a party's contenders, the greater must be their efforts to win the nomination. Governor Reagan made the choice extremely difficult for this convention and the campaign extremely vigorous for me. Also, it is tribute to the health of the Republican Party that our delegates were not left as the Democrats were this year with but a single candidate of demonstrated appeal. In fact, if I had not gotten a headstart at being President, other qualified Republicans would surely have come before this convention as candidates for the nomination.

My decision to seek this nomination came as a result of the headstart I have gotten as President. Not because my incumbency promised to give me an advantage over everyone else; but because a headstart is only a start and not a finish. Two years is too short a time to do what had to be done when I became President on August 9, 1974.

(Here recall the state of affairs during the early months of your Administration, made worse because of a weakened Presidency and a runaway, misguided Democrat-controlled Congress. With that



state of affairs contrast the conditions of this nation and its world relations as they have already improved under your leadership.)

The most impressive showing of how the people of the United States truly feel about themselves and about their nation and its place in the world came during the recent celebrations of the nation's Bicentennial birthday. (Here describe, in eloquent terms generally held impressions of the Bicentennial celebrations, using appropriate quotations from perceptive commentators.)


Surely no one person and no one political party can take credit for the expressions in this Bicentennial year <sup>of</sup> pride in the accomplishments of this nation and faith in its future. But neither can any political party rightfully ignore the commonly shared feelings of pride and faith in America by preaching that we are now a divided, disillusioned and disgruntled people. Such preaching smacks of political ambitions and strategies formed more than two years ago when conditions were very different. Such preaching comes out of a stubborn refusal to recognize this nation for what <sup>it</sup> is today. It demonstrates a foolhardy readiness to stir up division and to arouse disillusion-  
ment and dissatisfaction where none now exists. It



tries to create a crisis of confidence throughout our nation when we are not in crisis. The crisis of confidence is not in the people but only in certain politicians who despair of being elected unless they can deceive people into feeling a crisis is upon them.

Of course, I am not about to distribute rose-colored glasses as a campaign gimmick -- or even to revive "Happy Days are Here Again" as a campaign song. If I were to pick any title for my Campaign song, it would be (someone who is familiar with numerous recent popular songs ought to make a suggestion for the insertion here.)

If I held even the slightest notion that all is well with the Federal Government and that it is doing all it can effectively do at this time to serve the needs and goals of the American people, I would have refrained from seeking this nomination. Instead, all my knowledge and experience as President tells me that the Federal Government still has far to go to correct its ways and improve its methods. During my relatively short period in office, my Administration has just made a good start at relieving the people served by government from the burdens of complex,



extravagant, and counter-productive statutory programs and regulatory schemes. Moreover, I recognize that a good start in this direction is not enough. The follow-through is what the voters are looking for and what they are entitled to expect. But they cannot expect a follow-through from someone who has not even made a start -- and certainly not from an opposition party that promises no start at all but more and more of the legislative extravaganza which the public has seen before.

(What should follow is an account of your goals and objectives for the next four years, with an emphasis on program evaluation and reform that results in the satisfaction of unmet critical needs from eliminating or reducing outmoded, redundant and excessively broad programs.)



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1976

*Conrad  
10/4/76*

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN  
FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
SUBJECT: REMARKS AT PUBLIC RALLY IN GLENDALE,  
CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8th

I would like your priority attention and personal response on the attached draft (even if you approve it as is) BY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

Please return your comments to Bob Orben in the Editorial Office in Room 115, OEOB (Ext. 6573).

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please check one box and sign below:

- I approve the draft without changes.
- Suggested revisions are noted on the draft or attached separately.

Initials: P.W.B.



PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT PUBLIC RALLY IN GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA,  
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1977

In this Bicentennial year, America has drawn strength for the future, by renewing its acquaintance with the past. California's history does not go back as far as that of some other states. But it is just as rich and just as proud.

Your Days of Verdugo festival celebrates that fact. Here in the shadow of the Verdugo mountains, Americans of all heritages gather to celebrate the hispanic influence that gives so much to modern Californian life. It's great to be in Glendale.

When I accepted the nomination in Kansas City last August, I said I would not concede a single vote or a single state. Certainly we aren't conceding California and its 45 electoral votes!

All I've seen and heard in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Beverly Hills, Burbank and now here in Glendale tells me we are going to win California on November 2nd!





Californians are outraged at rapidly rising property taxes. So is the Democratic candidate for President. What's more he has a plan to do something about it. Last February, he said in New Hampshire that he was in favor of eliminating the deduction for mortgage interest on the Federal income tax. That will solve the problem of higher property taxes in California. Under his plan you won't be able to afford a home of your own, to pay taxes on.

Yes, property taxes in California are way too high. And they would get even higher if it weren't for the revenue sharing program which I signed on October \_\_\_\_\_. Revenue sharing is <sup>the</sup> kind of specific direct help that California citizens can support and California mayors can use.



Several weeks ago, my opponent also promised to raise taxes on Americans above the median level of income, which currently is very near 13,000 dollars a year.

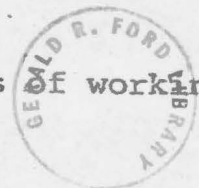
Now he says he won't do that. But what is the truth? Not the truth from Plains, but the plain truth. The truth is: Last March in an interview, my opponent advocated raising the wage base for the social security tax. That tax is currently levied on income up to 15,300 dollars a year. On January 1, 1977, it automatically goes to 16,300 dollars. My opponent wants to see it raised still further to 20 or 22 thousand dollars a year. For a person earning 22 thousand dollars a year that would mean an annual loss of over 300 dollars.

If that isn't raising taxes on middle income Americans ...

If that isn't raising taxes for those above the median level ...

If that isn't raising taxes on the wages of working people ...

Then peanuts grow on trees.



My plan for protecting the solvency of the Social Security system is much fairer to the middle income taxpayer.

I have proposed an across the board increase of one-third of one percent in the Social Security tax rate. That's less than a dollar a week at the maximum and significantly less for most Americans.

The Ford Administration doesn't look at a person making 17,000 or 19,000 or 21,000 dollars a year as a target for income redistribution.

As we move into the final month of this campaign the platform of our opponents is catching up with them. They're using the same promises they've used for years. But they're talking to a new audience.

Today's American is much wiser than our opponents think. You and I have heard the promises of October before. We know that for each one of those promises the bill comes due the following April 15th.

We've heard a lot in this campaign about sensitivity.

That's a fair subject. Let's talk about it.



How sensitive is the Democratic ticket to the elderly American who sees the value of his pension shrink ... because Congress adds to inflation by overriding Presidential vetoes?

How sensitive is the Democratic ticket to the young couple who can't afford a home of their own, because Federal borrowing has driven up the interest rates?

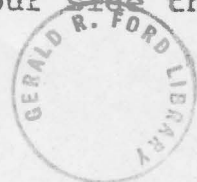
How sensitive is the Democratic ticket to the middle-income parents who can't afford college for their children, because Federal, State, and local taxes skyrocket?

When the issue of sensitivity is raised, we ought to ask: "sensitive to whom?" Sensitive to the people who may receive some help, after the Federal bureaucracy has siphoned off most of the money. Or sensitive to the hard working taxpayers who must pay for every nickel?

I said it in Kansas City and I will say it again.

I am against the big tax spender and for the little tax payer.

It is from your ranks that I come and on your ~~side~~ that I stand.



*This is not clear*

That's why I've called for catastrophic health insurance to protect the elderly without saddling young couples with a 70 billion dollar Federal program.

That's why I vetoed excessive Congressional spending schemes again and again and again. My vetoes could have saved you \_\_\_\_\_ billion dollars and actually did save you \_\_\_\_\_ billion dollars.

*What is relevance of this?*

That's why I've stood for a strong defense, when others proposed 5 to 7 billion dollar cuts in our defense spending.

America cannot afford -- financially or morally -- to have a President who tries to be all things to all people.

When American voters look at the record of the last two years, they will see clearly -- unmistakably -- without corrections, retractions or apologies, that we have made a great comeback. We are today firmly on the road to peace, prosperity, and trust.

If you want to have continued economic recovery -- and we can ...



If you want to have continued honesty in high office --  
and we will ...

If you want to have continued peace in the world --  
and we must ... then stand up and be counted on November 2nd.

With your help -- with the help of millions of Americans  
who understand the need for peace through strength --  
we'll keep America Number One for generations to come.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN

SUBJECT: Remarks at Public Rally in White Plains  
N.Y., October 13, 1976

I would like your priority attention and personal response on the attached draft (even if you approve it as is) by 10:00 MONDAY MORNING.

Please return your comments to Bob Orben in the Editorial Office in Room 115, OEOB (Ext. 6573).

Thank you for your cooperation.

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Initials: P.W.B.



PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK, MUNICIPAL  
BUILDING, COUNTY COURTHOUSE, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1976

Two hundred years ago this month, young Americans fought the British red coats in the Battle of White Plains. In 1976, a different sort of battle is raging. In this battle, the citizens of White Plains and all Americans are fighting not the red coats, but the red ink. The red ink of endless campaign promises and bloated Federal spending.

That's the basic difference between Plains, Georgia, and White Plains, New York. In Plains they make the promises; in White Plains, you have to pay for them.

One of the most important issues in this campaign is taxes. I want each and every one of you to hear both sides of that issue. And I'm sure when Mr. Carter comes to town, you will. So far the liveliest debate of this campaign has been the debate between Jimmy Carter and Jimmy Carter.



He says he is for a balanced budget. But he refuses to support my vetoes. He says America is weak militarily. But he wants to cut the defense budget. He says he's against inflation. But he supports the Democratic platform with its 100 to 200 billion dollars in new Federal spending.

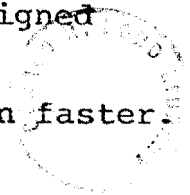
He says he's for tax reform. But he won't tell us whether his own tax shelters will be part of his program. He says he's for higher taxes for people earning over 14,000 dollars a year. But then he takes it all back.

Will the real Jimmy Carter please stand up?

Few things upset New Yorkers as much as your skyrocketing taxes. The way to reverse that trend is not to expand government spending, but to cut it back. Thanks to *my* 59 vetoes you know which candidate for President stands for cutting back.

Property taxes in Westchester are climbing, too.

If it weren't for the revenue sharing program that I signed into law in Yonkers this morning, they would climb even faster.



Revenue sharing is the kind of specific Federal help that encourages local solutions to local problems.

Last February, Mr. Carter came out in favor of eliminating the deduction for mortgage interest on your Federal income tax return. Today he has retreated back into his catalogue of generalities.

Well, there is no such confusion about my views on the deduction of mortgage interest. I have supported it for 25 years in the House of Representatives and two years as President. I am supporting it today in this campaign. And I will support it throughout the next four years.

I'm not going to let home owners become the newest endangered species.

To me, the best kind of tax reform is across the board tax reductions. Eight days ago, I signed a law which extended the tax cuts I initiated last year. But this Tax Reform Act of 1976 fails to include my proposals for permanent deeper cuts.

I had urged the Congress to increase the personal income tax exemption from 750 dollars to one thousand dollars. Congress refused. They said we couldn't afford it. But they could afford a record 925 million dollars of spending on themselves -- almost two million dollars per Congressman.

That's nearly three times what Congress spent on itself just six years ago.

Next year, I will again submit legislation to increase the personal exemption to 1,000 dollars. If Congress will cut spending -- on itself -- on the bureaucracy -- we can have this vitally needed tax reform.

We've heard a lot of talk in this campaign about the subject of compassion.

Our government must always show compassion towards the truly needy. But I think the time has come to show just as much compassion toward the people who make the generosity of government possible in the first place.

How about a little compassion for the taxpayers of America?

The people of White Plains work hard for every dollar they make. You are the people who get up early every day and go to bed tired every night, quietly building a better life for your families and fellow citizens. You pay the taxes and obey the laws. You are the people who make possible every good thing that government does.

So when a Federal spending bill reaches my desk, I keep you in mind. ~~It may be Congressional compassion.~~

~~But~~ **It** is your money **that is at stake.**

That's why I vetoed excessive Congressional spending schemes again and again and again. My vetoes saved you 9.4 billion dollars. That's almost 200 dollars for every family in America. Two hundred dollars of your money that Congress didn't get to spend.

America cannot afford to have leaders who try to be all things to all people. We already have a Congress full of self-appointed publicly -funded Santa Clauses. We don't need a taxpayer-financed Tooth Fairy in the White House.

When voters look at the record of the last two years, they will see that America has made a great comeback. We are today on the steady road to peace, prosperity and trust.

But on November 2nd we will reach a fork in that road. We can ~~continue~~ <sup>vote for</sup> the policies and the leadership that have brought us back from a national nightmare -- back from recession -- back from international conflict. Or we can ~~take~~ <sup>be led</sup> instead a ~~path which leads us~~ into the murky political swamp of endless promises and clever evasions.

The choice is yours.

Through two difficult years I have stood for the taxpayers of America. On November 2nd, I ask each of you to stand with me.

# # #



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

ROBERT T. HARTMANN

SUBJECT:

Remarks at Paramus, N.J., Shopping  
Center, October 13, 1976

I would like your priority attention and personal response on the attached draft (even if you approve it as is) by 10:00 MONDAY MORNING.

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*P.W.B.*



PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AT GARDEN STATE PLAZA SHOPPING MALL, PARAMUS,  
NEW JERSEY, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1976

Let me thank all of you for coming here today. Those people who say Americans aren't interested in this election should be here now. They would see that in Paramus -- you and your neighbors care what happens on November 2nd.

You care because you know what is at stake in this election. Despite the way my opponent tries to hedge his positions -- despite his attempts to take both sides of every issue -- there is a clear choice for you to make.

The choice is this -- do you want the Federal government to spend more and more of your money in the next four years? Do you want more Federal programs, more interference in your businesses and private lives? I don't think you do.

I think Americans have had enough of the overtaxing, overspending style of politics.

Americans have had enough of doubletalk and doubtful promises. Americans want a government that will promise only



what it can deliver -- and will deliver everything it promises.

You have heard my opponent's hazy rhetoric. You have heard him say he wants to balance the budget -- and then turn around and say he favors one hundred billion dollars in new programs.

You have heard him say he wants businessmen to pay a bigger share -- and then sit down with them and tell them not to worry about it.

I worry about it -- and I know a lot of you are worried about it too. We are all wondering -- just what lies behind the smile?

The people of New Jersey know just how risky it is when a candidate says one thing on the campaign trail -- and then does something else in office. You have learned what it's like when a candidate faces the voters with a smile -- and then turns his back on them later.

There is an alternative to that kind of acrobatics. You know where I stand.



I stand for the little tax payer -- not the big tax spender.

I stand for a government that is strong, stable and secure.

I stand for a government that doesn't get in the way of the American people -- but that lets them get on with the job.

All Americans can see just how far America has come in the last two years. When I became President, America was troubled.

In two short years, we have vastly increased the number of Americans who are working -- this year we have had more Americans working than ever before in our history.

In two short years, we have cut inflation in half.

In two short years, we have restored America's trust in the White House -- and America's pride in itself.

Today America is at peace. Not one American is fighting anywhere in the world -- not one American risks losing a loved

one on the field of battle -- and I intend to keep it that way.

We are at peace because we are strong -- and our allies and adversaries know it. Let's keep America strong.

My opponent thinks it would be a good idea to cut billions from our defense budget. He has said so many times. I think it would be a very bad idea -- and a dangerous idea as well. What we save in dollars today we might have to make up in blood tomorrow -- and that would be no bargain.

The next four years are going to present new challenges to this country -- *no matter who is in office.* ~~and to whoever leads it.~~ It will take a person with a steady hand, with broad experience in national and international affairs -- someone who knows how to deal with the Congress -- who knows how to handle our adversaries -- and who knows how to get the job done.

My opponent keeps talking about compassion and love and trust. We all know the value of those qualities. But a President of the United States has to be a lot tougher and a lot more specific.

Just what does my opponent think compassion means?

Let him ask an elderly person on Social Security -- let him ask a taxpayer trying to feed his family and educate his children -- they will tell him compassion means holding down Federal spending so Americans aren't hit with higher taxes and higher inflation.

Just how far does my opponent think a policy of love alone will get us in the tough top levels of world diplomacy?

I have sat there and I know -- those people aren't playing for peanuts.

Just how does my opponent expect the American people to trust him? Trust isn't like some other things he has mentioned -- thinking about it isn't the same as having it. Trust can't just be grabbed -- trust has to be earned.

In two years I have earned the trust of the American people. Now I need your help and <sup>I</sup>/need your vote so we can finish the job we have begun together.



We can turn aside from the tired old policies of  
overtaxing and overspending. On November 2nd, your vote  
can help keep America on a sound and steady course for an even  
greater future.

Thank you very much.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHIL BUCHEN

FROM:

ROBERT T. HARTMANN

SUBJECT:

Remarks in Union, New Jersey,  
Wednesday, October 13, 1976

I would like your priority attention and personal response on the attached draft (even if you approve it as is) by 10:00 MONDAY MORNING.

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NOTE: prefer taxation & reduction language  
used in pp 3-5 of white PLAIN'S speech  
to language in pp 3-6 of this speech. Reads  
better & has more style.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS IN UNION, NEW JERSEY, WEDNESDAY,  
OCTOBER 13, 1976

Eight weeks ago, in Kansas City, I said that the Presidency was not a prize to be won, but a duty to be done.

I said that it was not the power and the glamour of the Presidency that led me to ask for another four years. It is something every hard-working American will understand -- the challenge of a job well begun, but far from finished.

Today, I'm proud to be here in New Jersey to tell you that we are on the right track. With your help and with your votes -- I will finish the job.

We've come a long way -- together -- over the past two years.

We faced the worst recession in 40 years. We beat it. Four million new jobs have been added to America's economy and more Americans have been on the job in 1976 than ever before in the history of our country.

-2-

Payrolls are up. Profits are up. Production is up. Confidence has returned and we are on the sure and steady road to a new prosperity.

But the tragedy of unemployment is still with us. As long as a single American is looking for work -- and can't find a job -- I won't be satisfied. My goal is two and a half million new permanent jobs every year.

We will create those new jobs and effectively treat the human misery caused by unemployment --if we continue to win the battle over inflation. By curbing government spending, by using the veto against the irresponsible spenders in Congress, we have cut inflation in half and saved you over nine billion dollars in the bargain.

This afternoon, here in New Jersey, it is particularly appropriate to talk about taxes. After all, the people of this state are saddled with a Governor who was elected on the firm promise that he would not impose a state income tax.

He then flip-flopped on the issue. As you are painfully aware, the Governor signed the income tax into law last July and you -- the taxpayers, are paying for his change of heart.

All of this has a familiar ring to it. It reminds me of another fellow who is very active in this election year -- another fellow whose rhetoric is not matched by his performance.

The citizens of New Jersey are confronted by skyrocketing local property taxes. You also have a five percent state sales tax. The income tax was just one more burden you didn't need.

In all, the taxes imposed by the three levels of government -- Federal, State and local -- <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ a crushing burden that must not be <sup>increased.</sup> ~~added to.~~ Yet, this burden doesn't seem to concern some candidates for office this year. Some are more concerned with "soaking the rich" than helping the average taxpayer.



Last February, for example, Governor Carter said that the deduction for home mortgage interest payments on your Federal tax return would be among those he would do away with. Now, he tells us that we will have to wait until he has been in office for some|time before he announces which tax deductions he will eliminate.

There is no such confusion about my views. I supported the deduction of mortgage interest through 25 years in the Congress and two years as President. I support it -- unequivocally -- today. I will support it throughout the next four years.

A few weeks ago, Governor Carter said that his tax reform proposals would increase the income taxes on those above the median level of income. Then, he backed away from that statement and told us that there was not adequate time on the campaign trail to draw up a specific tax code. What does he mean? Which American taxpayers will bear the brunt of his tax reform ideas?

The American people demand answers to these questions before the election. After November 2nd, it will be too late.

My position has been clear. By matching Federal spending cuts with Federal tax cuts, you -- the taxpayers -- keep more of your own hard earned money.

The Tax Reform Act I signed into law last week extends the tax cuts which I initiated last year. But it failed to include my proposals for permanent deeper cuts.

I recommended that the personal exemption be increased by a third -- to 1,000 dollars.

The tax bill that Congress passed doesn't have the increase in the personal exemption. It doesn't have the incentives I proposed to increase business investment in areas of high unemployment. It failed to give the middle-income taxpayers the break they deserve.

The tax bill is simply half a loaf. It didn't go far enough to help you -- the individual taxpayer. *It didn't help you to keep in your own hands* ~~keep~~ the decisions about how you choose to spend your own money. ~~in~~ *your own hands*. To accomplish this, I will submit my tax

reform proposals to Congress, again, in 1977 -- and I won't let  
up the pressure until I see these proposals signed into law.

Two years ago, when I became President, I promised  
to talk straight to the American people.

The only politics I practiced was the politics of  
free expression between the people and their public servants.  
It is the politics of tough questions and unequivocal answers.

Today, by being open -- by being honest in both public  
and private conduct -- we have restored confidence trust and  
faith in the White House.

Trust must be earned. Effective leadership is derived  
from the peoples' faith and confidence.

A leader says the same thing to all people --  
in all parts of the country. He does not try to be all things  
to all people.

A leader does not cry out for tax reform for the  
wealthy and then take advantage of the same tax loopholes  
he would deny others.

A leader levels with the American people before the  
election about what he is going to do after the election.

I am proud of the maturity of the American people who demand more honesty and less hypocrisy of their elected representatives. Personal integrity is not too much to ask of public servants. We should accept nothing less.

I am particularly glad to be running for President in 1976, America's Bicentennial year. Over the 4th of July weekend we had a wonderful celebration and discovered a renewed spirit of confidence and unity. We emerged from the turmoil and neglect of recent years ready to tackle the problems and the challenges of America's third century.

We've had a fresh start in America. Our dreams will become reality, our goals will be met, our lives will be enriched -- if America remains on the steady course upon which it is now embarked.

With your faith and your support -- I will be proud to serve as your President for the next four years.

# # # #