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FIRST 100 DAYS

INITIAL PLANNING VOLUME

December 8, 1988

December 7, 1988

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Retrospective on First 100 Days

A. Presidential Actions

1. Memorandum Early Actions

2. Index of Early Activity

- Ronald Reagan: First Term

- Jimmy Carter

- Richard Nixon: First Term

B. Inaugural Speeches

- Ronald Reagan: First Term

- Jimmy Carter

- Richard Nixon: First Term

C. State of the Union Reports (to be provided)

II. Key Dates

- January: Pre-inauguration key dates

- Draft Beginning integrated list of key dates
(post-inauguration key dates)

- 1989 Budget Calendar

- OVP Master Calendar

- Congressional Calendars

III. Issues

A. Possible Executive Orders

B. Issues and Initiatives for the First 100 Days

IV. Heritage Report

- Memorandum

12/7/88

MEMORANDUM TO KATE MOORE

FROM: EMILY MEAD *EM*

SUBJECT: EARLY ACTIONS BY NIXON, CARTER AND REAGAN

The first three weeks of any administration are dominated by appointments followed by Memorandums and Executive Orders which often indicate the priorities of the Administration.

NIXON

In the first three weeks of the Nixon Administration he issued three Executive Orders dealing with the establishment of a Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy; establishment of a Council on Urban Affairs and provision for Inspection of Certain Tax returns.

CARTER

Five Executive Orders were issued by Carter after his inaugural covering a variety of subjects:

1. Pardons for all Selective Service Offenders
2. Emergency Natural Gas Act
3. Withholding of DC, State and Fed Income Tax from Federal government employees.
4. Establishment of a Committee to select new FBI Director.
5. Establish a Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments.

REAGAN

Reagan came into office and implemented his first orders by Memorandum. These called for a freeze on hiring of federal employees, resignations of noncareer federal employees and a reduction in federal agency spending.

In the third week he issued an Executive order decontrolling oil and terminating the Wage and Price Council.

It is interesting to note that President Carter spoke to the world on inauguration day through the USIA. It was an especially recorded speech.

President Reagan was the only one of the three to receive foreign heads of state in the first weeks.

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

Cabinet members	
Meeting	30
Signing of nominations.....	6
Council of Economic Advisers, selection of Chairman.....	38
Federal employee hiring freeze memorandum, signing.....	6
Federal spending reduction memorandum, signing.....	32
Freed American hostages, remarks to reporters	19
Inaugural events	
Address at Capitol.....	1
Balls	19
Luncheon	18
Presidential inaugural committee, reception	31
Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, establishment.....	33
White House staff, swearing in.....	30

Appointments and Nominations

Agriculture Department	
Deputy Secretary.....	37
Secretary	11
Air Force Department, Secretary.....	35
Army Department, Secretary.....	34
Central Intelligence Agency, Director.....	17
Commerce Department, Secretary.....	11
Council of Economic Advisers, Chairman	37
Defense Department, Secretary.....	9
Education Department, Secretary.....	15
Energy Department, Secretary.....	15
Health and Human Services Department, Secretary.....	13
Housing and Urban Development Department, Secretary.....	13
Interior Department, Secretary.....	10
Justice Department	
Deputy Attorney General.....	36
Attorney General.....	9

Appointments and Nominations—Continued

Labor Department, Secretary.....	12
Navy Department, Secretary.....	35
Office of Management and Budget, Director	17
State Department	
Deputy Secretary.....	36
Secretary	17
Transportation Department, Secretary	14
Treasury Department	
Deputy Secretary.....	36
Secretary	8
United Nations, U.S. Representative.....	16
U.S. Trade Representative.....	18

Communications to Congress

Inspector General appointees, letters	
Energy Department.....	28
Federal departments and agencies.....	27
Health and Human Services Department	29

Letters, Messages, Telegrams

Freed American hostages, message.....	14
---------------------------------------	----

Memorandums to Federal Agencies

Federal employee hiring freeze.....	11
Federal spending reduction.....	11
Noncareer Federal employees, resignation	11

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President.....	
Checklist of White House press releases	
Digest of other White House announcements	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Appointments and Nominations—Continued	
(See also Bill Signings; Meetings With Foreign Leaders; News Conferences)		Treasury Department	
Families of freed American hostages, White House reception.....	47	Assistant Secretaries	
Freed American hostages	49	Economic Policy.....	74
White House ceremony.....	52	Legislative Affairs.....	48
White House reception.....	52	Under Secretary.....	45
Announcements		Under Secretary for Monetary Policy	61
Ronald Reagan personal assets trust..	75	White House staff	
Appointments and Nominations		Assistant Counsellor to the President	64
Agency for International Development, Administrator	60	Counsel to the President.....	63
Agriculture Department, Assistant Secretary for Marketing and Transportation Services.....	61	Deputy Staff Secretary.....	47
Central Intelligence Agency, Deputy Director	45	Bill Signings	
Commerce Department, Deputy Secretary	61	Freed American hostages, day of thanksgiving	47
Federal Highway Administration, Administrator	63	Communications to Congress	
Federal Railroad Administration, Administrator	46	Council on Wage and Price Stability, budget rescission message.....	73
Housing and Urban Development Department, Under Secretary.....	49	Executive Orders	
Interior Department, Under Secretary	48	Council on Wage and Price Stability..	72
Internal Revenue Service, Commissioner	45	Decontrol of oil.....	52
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Administrator.....	62	Meetings With Foreign Leaders	
State Department		Prime Minister Edward Philip George Seaga of Jamaica	
Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations	59	Departure	56
Counselor	60	Luncheon	54
Under Secretaries		Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
Coordination of Security Assistance Programs.....	59	Federal regulations, postponement....	73
Management	58	News Conferences	
Political Affairs.....	58	Thursday, January 29 (No. 1).....	64
Transportation Department		Statements by the President	
Assistant Secretary for Governmental Affairs.....	62	Decontrol of oil.....	53
General Counsel.....	46	Index of Leading Economic Indicators	74
		Supplementary Materials	
		Acts approved by the President.....	78
		Checklist of White House press releases	77
		Digest of other White House announcements	75
		Nominations submitted to the Senate..	77

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Communications to Congress	
(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders)		1982 budget for the District of Columbia, message-----	79
International Year of Disabled Persons, remarks on signing proclamation----	98	Letters, Messages, Telegrams	
National Prayer Breakfast-----	91	Chinese New Year, 1981-----	85
Salute to Congress dinner-----	89	National Afro-American (Black) History Month, February 1981-----	79
The Nation's economy, address to the Nation -----	93	Meetings With Foreign Leaders	
U.S. Senate Youth Group Program, remarks to delegates-----	92	President Chun Doo Hwan of the Republic of Korea	
Appointments and Nominations		Departure -----	81
ACTION, Director-----	86	Luncheon -----	79
Agriculture Department, Under Secretary for International Affairs and Commodity Programs-----	87	Joint communique-----	82
Health and Human Services Department, Under Secretary-----	87	Proclamations	
State Department, Assistant Secretary for International Organizations-----	86	International Year of Disabled Persons -----	98
United Nations		Statements by the President	
Alternate Representative for Political Affairs-----	85	Death of Gov. Ella T. Grasso-----	99
Deputy U.S. Representative-----	85	<hr/>	
White House staff		Supplementary Materials	
Deputy Counsellor to the President.	84	Acts approved by the President-----	102
Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Advance Office -----	88	Checklist of White House press releases -----	102
Special Assistant to the President for Policy Development-----	89	Digest of other White House announcements -----	100
Special Consultant to the President.	99	Nominations submitted to the Senate.	101

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Appointments and Nominations—Continued	
Audit of U.S. economy-----	111	State Department—Continued	
Lincoln's birthday ceremonies-----	112	Assistant Secretary for Oceans and	
The Nation's economy, remarks at		International Environmental and	
White House meeting-----	104	Scientific Affairs-----	109
Announcements		Chief of Protocol for the White	
President's Economic Policy Advisory		House-----	110
Board, formation-----	105	Personal Representative of the Presi-	
Appointments and Nominations		dent to the Holy See-----	110
Agriculture Department		Treasury Department	
Assistant Secretary for Economics--	106	Assistant Secretary (Tax Policy)---	113
Assistant Secretary (Natural Re-		Treasurer of the United States---	113
sources and Environment)-----	108	White House staff	
Commerce Department, Under Secre-		Assistant Director, Office of Cabinet	
tary for International Trade-----	112	Administration; Staff Assistant to	
Defense Department, Under Secretary		the President-----	114
for Policy-----	103	Assistant to the President for Inter-	
Energy Department, General Counsel	114	governmental Affairs-----	105
Health and Human Services Depart-		Special Assistant to the President---	104
ment, Assistant Secretary (Health)	115	Letters, Messages, Telegrams	
Housing and Urban Development De-		National Brotherhood Week-----	116
partment, Assistant Secretary (Hous-		Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
ing)-----	108	Fiscal Year 1982 Budget-----	103
Justice Department, Assistant Attorney		Proclamations	
General (Land and Resources Divi-		National Agriculture Day-----	116
sion)-----	106	Supplementary Materials	
Labor Department		Acts approved by the President-----	120
Assistant Secretary (Employment		Checklist of White House press re-	
and Training)-----	107	leases-----	119
Assistant Secretary (Occupational		Digest of other White House announce-	
Safety and Health)-----	108	ments-----	117
Solicitor-----	107	Nominations submitted to the Senate-	119
Office of Personnel Management, Di-			
rector-----	115		
Peace Corps, Director-----	115		
State Department			
Ambassador at Large for Cultural			
Affairs-----	109		

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Executive Orders	
Program for economic recovery, address before joint session of Congress-----	130	Federal exports and excessive regulation -----	124
Appointments and Nominations		Federal regulation-----	124
Defense Department, General Counsel-----	122	Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System-----	121
Interior Department, Assistant Secretary for Fish and Wildlife-----	123	Letters, Memorandums, Etc.	
Justice Department		Program for economic recovery, White House report-----	138
Assistant Attorney General (Anti-trust Division)-----	158	Proclamations	
Assistant Attorney General (Criminal Division)-----	159	Emergency Building Temperature Restrictions -----	123
Assistant Attorney General (Legal Counsel) -----	158		
Associate Attorney General-----	158	Supplementary Materials	
Small Business Administration, Administrator -----	159	Acts approved by the President-----	161
State Department, Assistant Secretary (Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs) -----	157	Checklist of White House press releases -----	161
Communications to Congress		Digest of other White House announcements -----	160
(See also Addresses and Remarks)		Editor's note-----	162
Budget rescissions and deferrals, message -----	121	Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	161
Program for economic recovery, message -----	137		

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Communications to Congress—Continued	
(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders)		U.S.-Norway fishery agreement, message	184
Medal of Honor award ceremony.....	185	Executive Orders	
National Governors' Association		Foreign Service Act of 1980.....	178
White House dinner.....	192	Foreign Service of the United States..	180
White House meeting.....	176	Nuclear cooperation with EURA-TOM	190
Pt. Mugu Naval Air Station, Calif., arrival	172	Suspension of litigation against Iran..	188
Program for economic recovery		Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
Exchange with reporters.....	171	Red Cross Month, 1981.....	203
White House breakfast for editors..	163	Meetings With Foreign Leaders	
White House briefing.....	182	Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom	
U.S.-Soviet relations, White House briefing	182	Arrival	194
Appointments and Nominations		Dinner honoring the President.....	204
Commerce Department		Remarks following meetings.....	196
Assistant Secretary (Administration)	174	State dinner.....	198
Assistant Secretary (International Economic Policy).....	174	Proclamations	
Assistant Secretary (Trade Development)	175	Red Cross Month, 1981.....	202
Environmental Protection Agency		Save Your Vision Week.....	177
Administrator	175	Resignations and Retirements	
Deputy Administrator.....	176	Veterans Administration, Administrator	194
Federal Emergency Management Agency, Director.....	184	Statements Other Than Presidential	
Housing and Urban Development Department, Assistant Secretary (Policy Development and Research).....	176	Cabinet Councils, White House Press Secretary	197
Securities and Exchange Commission, Chairman	184	U.S. Business Committee on Jamaica, White House Press Secretary.....	191
Transportation Department, Assistant Secretary (Policy and International Affairs)	173		
White House staff, Associate Director of Presidential Personnel.....	203	Supplementary Materials	
Communications to Congress		Acts approved by the President.....	211
Nuclear cooperation with EURA-TOM, letter to Speaker of House and President of Senate.....	190	Checklist of White House press releases	210
Suspension of litigation against Iran, message	189	Digest of other White House announcements	208
		Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	210

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

(See also News Conferences)	
Interview with Walter Cronkite of CBS News	229
National League of Cities conference	213

Appointments and Nominations

Commerce Department	
Assistant Secretary (Congressional Affairs)	222
Assistant Secretary (Trade Administration)	222
Commodity Futures Trading Commission, Chairman	228
Defense Department, Under Secretary for Research and Engineering	223
Education Department, Under Secretary	223
General Services Administration, Administrator	213
Health and Human Services Department	
Assistant Secretary (Human Development Services)	223
Social Security Administration, Commissioner	227
Housing and Urban Development Department	
Assistant Secretary (Legislation)	243
General Counsel	224
Interior Department	
Bureau of Land Management, Director	225
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement, Director	224
International Communication Agency, Director	254
State Department	
Assistant Secretary (African Affairs)	226
Assistant Secretary (East Asian and Pacific Affairs)	226
Assistant Secretary (Economic Affairs)	225

Appointments and Nominations—Continued

State Department—Continued	
Assistant Secretary (European Affairs)	244
Assistant Secretary (Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs)	226
Under Secretary for Economic Affairs	225
Superior Court of the District of Columbia, Associate Judges	245
Transportation Department	
Federal Aviation Administration, Administrator	228
Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Administrator	243
Treasury Department, Assistant Secretary (Domestic Finance)	227
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, members of the Board of Trustees	220

Executive Orders

President's Economic Policy Advisory Board	221
--	-----

News Conferences

Friday, March 6 (No. 2)	245
-------------------------	-----

Proclamations

World Trade Week, 1981	242
------------------------	-----

Statements by the President

Murdered and missing children in Atlanta, Ga	244
--	-----

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President	257
Checklist of White House press releases	257
Digest of other White House announcements	255
Nominations submitted to the Senate	257

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Communications to Congress—Continued	
<i>(See also The President's Trip to Canada)</i>		Supplemental appropriations and amendments, letter to Speaker of House	270
Murdered and missing children in Atlanta, Ga.....	290	Executive Orders	
National Association of County Officials, question-and-answer session..	259	International Coffee Agreement 1976..	287
Program for economic recovery, remarks on signing documents.....	267	Lake Tahoe Region.....	287
Appointments and Nominations		Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
Education Department		Tahoe Regional Planning Agency.....	287
Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education.....	288	Statements by the President	
General Counsel.....	288	National defense stockpile of strategic and critical materials.....	291
Energy Department, Assistant Secretary (Congressional, Intergovernmental and Public Affairs).....	266	The President's Trip to Canada	
Federal Communications Commission, member	289	1. Welcoming ceremony.....	270
Interior Department, Solicitor.....	288	2. Remarks on Parliament Hill.....	271
President's Economic Policy Advisory Board, member.....	289	3. State dinner.....	273
Treasury Department, Deputy Under Secretary (International Affairs).....	266	4. Address before joint session of Parliament	276
Communications to Congress		5. Remarks to reporters.....	283
Budget rescissions and deferrals, message	270	Supplementary Materials	
Fiscal year 1982 budget revisions, message	268	Acts approved by the President.....	293
		Checklist of White House press releases	292
		Digest of other White House announcements	291
		Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	292

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Appointments and Nominations—Continued	
Associated General Contractors of America, reception.....	308	Energy Department	
Conservative Political Action Conference, dinner.....	327	Assistant Secretary (Administration, Procurement, Comptroller, and Finance)	298
Economic recovery program		Assistant Secretary (Conservation and Renewable Energy).....	324
Congressional women, luncheon meeting	299	Deputy Secretary.....	315
Republican congressional leadership, breakfast meeting.....	309	Director of the Office of Minority Economic Impact.....	324
National Association of State Departments of Agriculture, dinner.....	317	Export-Import Bank of the United States, President and Chairman.....	320
New York, N.Y.		Federal Home Loan Bank Board, member	312
Angelo's Restaurant, remarks.....	296	Housing and Urban Development Department, Assistant Secretary (Community Planning and Development)	325
Informal exchange with reporters.....	295	International Boundary Commission, United States and Canada, U.S. Commissioner	313
St. Patrick's Day luncheon, toast.....	311	Office of Management and Budget, Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy.....	320
Appointments and Nominations		Office of the United States Trade Representative, Deputy U.S. Trade Representatives	327
Administrative Conference of the United States, Chairman.....	319	Organization of American States, Permanent U.S. Representative.....	299
Agriculture Department		Transportation Department, Assistant Secretary (Budget and Programs).....	325
Assistant Secretary (Food and Consumer Services).....	297	U.S. Ambassador to Ireland.....	313
General Counsel.....	319	White House staff	
Commerce Department		Deputy Counsels.....	326
Assistant Secretary for Tourism.....	297	Office of Public Liaison.....	313
Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks	325	Special Assistant to the President for Administration and Director of the Office of Administration.....	322
General Counsel.....	323		
Defense Department		Statements by the President	
Assistant Secretary (International Security Affairs).....	323	Meeting with President-designate Roberto Viola of Argentina.....	317
Assistant Secretary (Legislative Affairs)	298	St. Patrick's Day.....	310
Assistant Secretary (Public Affairs).....	298	Westway Highway project.....	296
Communications to Congress		Statements Other Than Presidential	
Budget rescissions and deferrals....	316, 322	Meeting with Auto Task Force, White House Press Secretary.....	322
Generalized System of Preferences, letter to Speaker of House and President of Senate.....	316		
Executive Orders		Supplementary Materials	
Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments.....	319	Acts approved by the President.....	335
Letters, Messages, Telegrams		Checklist of White House press releases	335
St. Patrick's Day, 1981.....	307	Digest of other White House announcements	332
Proclamations		Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	334
National Day of Prayer, 1981.....	321		
National Farm Safety Week, 1981.....	309		
National Poison Prevention Week, 1981	295		

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Communications to Congress	
Academy Awards presentation ceremonies.....	377	Federal Advisory Committees, report.....	366
Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, national conference.....	367	Internal situation in Zimbabwe, letter to chairmen of Senate and House foreign affairs committees.....	387
Cancer Courage Award, remarks of Vice President.....	385	Executive Orders	
Federal budget revisions, remarks of Vice President.....	386	Generalized System of Preferences.....	377
President's recovery period, Vice President's exchange with reporters.....	373	Meetings With Foreign Leaders	
Appointments and Nominations		Netherlands, Prime Minister, remarks of Vice President and Prime Minister.....	374
ACTION, Deputy Director.....	389	Poland, Deputy Prime Minister, remarks of Vice President and Deputy Prime Minister.....	381
Agriculture Department, Assistant Secretary.....	364	Turkey, Foreign Minister, White House statement.....	384
Army Department, Assistant Secretary-Council of Economic Advisers, member.....	363	Proclamations	
Defense Department, Assistant Secretary.....	378	Law Day, U.S.A., 1981.....	383
Education Department		Statements by the President	
Assistant Secretary.....	388	Centennial anniversary of birth of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk.....	385
Deputy Under Secretary.....	389	Statements Other Than Presidential	
Energy Department, Assistant Secretary.....	379	Attempted assassination of the President	
Federal Emergency Management Agency, Deputy Director.....	380	Assistant to the President David R. Gergen.....	372
Health and Human Services Department, Assistant Secretaries.....	365	Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr.....	372
Housing and Urban Development Department		Vice President George Bush.....	373
Assistant Secretary.....	363	Southern Africa, Deputy White House Press Secretary.....	376
New Community Development Corporation, General Manager and member of Board of Directors.....	380		
Interior Department, Assistant Secretaries.....	366	Supplementary Materials	
Merit Systems Protection Board, Special Counsel.....	364	Acts approved by the President.....	397
Overseas Private Investment Corporation, President.....	383	Checklist of White House press releases.....	396
Postal Rate Commission, Chairman and member.....	381	Digest of other White House announcements.....	390
U.S. Ambassador to Mexico.....	389	Medical Reports.....	391
U.S. Synthetic Fuels Corporation, Chairman of Board of Directors.....	384	Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	396
Water Resources Council, Chairman.....	364		

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Appointments and Nominations—Continued	
Law Day, U.S.A., 1981, remarks of Vice President.....	399	U.S. Ambassadors	
Republican Senate-House dinner, remarks of Vice President.....	407	Central African Republic.....	400
Appointments and Nominations		El Salvador.....	400
ACTION, Assistant Director for Voluntary Citizen Participation.....	404	Malawi	401
Agency for International Development, Assistant Administrator (External Affairs)	401	White House staff, Office of Intergovernmental Affairs.....	420
Agriculture Department		Communications to Congress	
Federal Grain Inspection Service, Administrator	416	Federal budget revisions, message....	406
Rural Electrification Administration, Administrator.....	416	Executive Orders	
Council on Environmental Quality, member and Chairman.....	405	Presidential Advisory Committee on Federalism	411
Education Department		Letters, Messages, Telegrams	
Assistant Secretary for Post Secondary Education.....	419	Inaugural flight of space shuttle, message to crew.....	419
Assistant Secretary for Special Education and Rehabilitative Services	417	Program for economic recovery, letter to House Minority Leader.....	414
Deputy Under Secretary for Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs	402	Proclamations	
Rehabilitation Services Administration, Commissioner.....	417	African Refugee Relief Day.....	418
Federal Aviation Administration, Deputy Administrator.....	416	Death of General Bradley.....	414
Federal Communications Commission, Commissioner	405	Victims Rights Week, 1981.....	411
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, member and Chairman.....	406	Statements by the President	
Housing and Urban Development Department, Assistant Secretary (Administration)	402	U.S. automobile industry.....	403
Interior Department, Assistant Secretary (Energy and Minerals).....	403	Presidential Advisory Committee on Federalism	412
Presidential Advisory Committee on Federalism, Chairman and members	413	General Omar N. Bradley, death.....	415
President's Export Council, member and Vice Chairman.....	420	Statements Other Than Presidential	
		NATO Defense Ministers position on Poland, Deputy White House Press Secretary	415
		Supplementary Materials	
		Acts approved by the President.....	428
		Checklist of White House press releases	427
		Digest of other White House announcements	421
		Medical Reports.....	423
		Nominations submitted to the Senate..	427

Index of Contents

Appointments and Nominations

Agency for International Development Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Asia.....	435
Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean	435
Air Force Department	
Assistant Secretary (Financial Management)	440
Assistant Secretary (Manpower, Reserve Affairs & Installations) ..	434
Commerce Department, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, Administrator.....	440
Education Department	
Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education.....	434
Deputy Under Secretary for Management	429
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, member.....	437
Health and Human Services Department, General Counsel.....	441
Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal, members..	442
Labor Department, Assistant Secretary (Labor Management Relations)....	441
U.S. Ambassador to Australia and the Republic of Nauru.....	442

Communications to Congress

U.S. Sinai Support Mission, report....	433
--	-----

Proclamations

Import quota on peanuts.....	431
Loyalty Day, 1981.....	432
Mother's Day, 1981.....	430

Statements by the President

Celebration of Passover and Easter....	439
Federal income tax reductions.....	436
Freed American hostages.....	430
Inaugural flight of the space shuttle..	431
Joe Louis, death.....	430
Pardons for W. Mark Felt and Edward S. Miller.....	437
President's recovery period, departure from hospital.....	429
Waste, fraud, and abuse in the Federal Government	438

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President.....	445
Checklist of White House press releases	444
Digest of other White House announcements	443
Nominations submitted to the Senate..	444

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Communications to Congress—Cont.	
President's recovery period, interview with reporters.....	452	U.S.-Canadian maritime boundary treaty and fishery agreement, message	449
Appointments and Nominations		Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
ACTION, Associate Director (Domestic and Anti-Poverty Operations) ..	458	Federal credit management.....	462
Agency for International Development, Assistant Administrator (Bureau for Private and Development Cooperation)	458	Limitation on agricultural sales to the Soviet Union.....	466
Army Department, Assistant Secretary (Installations, Logistics and Financial Management).....	450	Proclamations	
Commerce Department		Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week, 1981.....	447
Assistant Secretary (Economic Affairs)	450	Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust.....	459
Inspector General.....	457	National Day of Recognition for Veterans of the Vietnam Era.....	464
Federal Maritime Commission, Commissioner and Chairman.....	466	National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1981	459
International Joint Commission—United States and Canada, U.S. Commissioner	463	National Maritime Day, 1981.....	460
National Aeronautics and Space Administration		Statements by the President	
Administrator	463	Federal audiovisual aids and publications	447
Deputy Administrator.....	463	Federal credit management.....	461
State Department, Assistant Secretary (Inter-American Affairs).....	457	Limitation on agricultural sales to the Soviet Union.....	465
Transportation Department, Inspector General	451	<hr/>	
Treasury Department		Supplementary Materials	
Assistant Secretary (Public Affairs)	451	Acts approved by the President.....	470
Director of the Mint.....	452	Checklist of White House press releases	470
U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia.....	448	Digest of other White House announcements	467
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Director.....	461	Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	469
Communications to Congress			
U.S.-British Virgin Islands convention on taxation and fiscal evasion, message	449		

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		Appointments and Nominations—Cont.	
Days of Remembrance of Victims of the Holocaust, commemoration-----	483	International Monetary Fund, U.S. Executive Director-----	475
Program for economic recovery, address before joint session of Congress-----	478	Justice Department, Assistant Attorney General (Office of Legal Policy)---	483
White House Correspondents Association annual dinner-----	472	Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs-----	489
Appointments and Nominations		Special Representative for Arms Control and Disarmament Negotiations--	486
Administrator of Veterans Affairs-----	487	Tennessee Valley Authority, member of Board of Directors and Chairman-----	485
Agency for International Development Assistant Administrator (African Affairs)-----	486	Communications to Congress	
Assistant Administrator (Near East)-----	476	Budget rescissions and deferrals, message-----	475
Commerce Department, Assistant Secretary for Communications and Information-----	473	Executive Orders	
Community Services Administration, Director-----	488	Seal for the Panama Canal Commission-----	482
Education Department, Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights-----	488	Proclamations	
Energy Department Assistant Secretary (Defense Programs)-----	474	Memorial Day, May 25, 1981-----	471
Energy Information Administration, Administrator-----	474	Older Americans Month, 1981-----	482
Office of Alcohol Fuels, Director---	485	Statements by the President	
Government National Mortgage Association, President-----	476	Fiscal year 1982 budget resolution---	477
Government Printing Office, Public Printer-----	477	Supplementary Materials	
Health and Human Services Department		Acts approved by the President-----	491
Assistant Secretary (Planning and Evaluation)-----	475	Checklist of White House press releases-----	491
Inspector General-----	477	Digest of other White House announcements-----	489
		Nominations submitted to the Senate--	490

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

Departure of the Vice President on his trip to Europe and Japan.....	95
National Prayer Breakfast.....	103
Natural gas legislation.....	102
Swearing-in ceremonies	
Attorney General of the United States.....	100
Cabinet members.....	96
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.....	99
Secretary of Labor.....	105
Washington Press Club dinner.....	102
West Chester, Pennsylvania students.....	106

Announcements

Gasoline decontrol.....	98
Secretary of State's trip to the Middle East.....	99

Appointments and Nominations

Ambassador at Large and Special Representative of the President for the Law of the Sea Conference (Elliot L. Richardson).....	99
---	----

Communications to Congress

Natural gas legislation.....	101
------------------------------	-----

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President.....	109
Checklist of White House press releases.....	109
Digest of other White House announcements.....	108
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	109

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

See also Bill Signings

Energy crisis and severe weather conditions	
Cabinet meeting -----	112
Trip to Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Westinghouse Plant -----	114
White House, return -----	118
Reorganization plan extension legislation -----	149
Report to the American people -----	138
Swearing-in ceremony for Andrew J. Young as	
U.S. Representative to the United Nations and	
Representative in the Security Council -----	119
United States Senate Youth Program -----	145
Vice President Mondale's return from Europe and	
Japan -----	131

Announcements

Ambassador Andrew J. Young's trip to Africa -----	111
Clark M. Clifford's trip to Greece, Turkey, and	
Cyprus -----	145
Formation and membership of Presidential Advisory	
Board on Ambassadorial Appointments -----	145

Appointments and Nominations

Army Department, Secretary -----	135
Director of the United States Arms Control and	
Disarmament Agency and special SALT negotiator -----	136
Federal Energy Administration, Administrator -----	130
Transportation Department, officials -----	149
United States Ambassador to Lebanon -----	147

Bill Signings

Emergency Natural Gas Act of 1977 -----

Communications to Congress

Economic recovery program -----	
Reorganization plan extension legislation	
Letter -----	
Message -----	

Executive Orders

Administration of the Emergency Natural Gas Act	
of 1977 -----	11
Withholding of District of Columbia, State and	
City Income or Employment Taxes by Federal	
Agencies -----	11

Letters, Messages, Telegrams

Telegram to Governors on natural gas emergency -----

News Conferences Other Than Presidential

Vice President Mondale on his trip to Europe and

Japan -----

Proclamations

International Clergy Week, 1977 -----	11
Natural gas emergency -----	13

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President -----	15
Checklist of White House press releases -----	15
Digest of other White House announcements -----	14
Nominations submitted to the Senate -----	15

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

See also News Conferences

Commerce Department employees.....	166
Housing and Urban Development Department employees	181
Labor Department employees.....	161
Treasury Department employees.....	177
White House Conference for the Business Community	173

Announcements

Exceptions to the conflict of interest and financial guidelines	175
Special Representative for the Panama Canal negotiations	161
The Jimmy Carter Personal Assets Trust.....	185

Appointments and Nominations

Central Intelligence Agency, Director.....	154
Chief of Protocol for the White House.....	161
Justice Department, Assistant Attorney General..	189
Navy Department, Secretary.....	154
Office of Drug Abuse Policy, Director and Deputy Director	155
Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments, Chairman and members.....	154

Communications to Congress

Cyprus conflict report.....

Executive Orders

Committee on selection of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	
Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments	

News Conferences

Tuesday, February 8 (No. 1).....

Proclamations

National Poison Prevention Week, 1977.....

Statements by the President

Alliance to Save Energy, formation.....

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President.....	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	
Digest of other White House announcements.....	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks	
<i>(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders)</i>	
Agriculture Department employees.....	206
Democratic National Committee.....	221
Health, Education, and Welfare Department employees	200
President's Commission on Mental Health.....	218
Announcements	
Committee on Selection of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, membership.....	216
Appointments and Nominations	
ACTION, Director.....	223
Defense Department, Assistant Secretary.....	195
Environmental Protection Agency, Administrator and Deputy Administrator.....	211
Justice Department, officials.....	198
Office of Management and Budget, Deputy Director	199
Treasury Department, Assistant Secretary.....	215
Veterans' Administration, Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.....	223
White House staff.....	217
Communications to Congress	
Treaty between the United States and Mexico on the Execution of Penal Sentences.....	199
Executive Orders	
President's Commission on Mental Health.....	
United States Circuit Judge Nominating Commission	
Meetings With Foreign Leaders	
Visit of President Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico	
Arrival ceremony.....	
Exchange of toasts.....	
Joint communique.....	
Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
Reduction in reports required of the American public	
Zero-base budgeting for fiscal year 1979 budget.....	
Proclamations	
National Employ the Older Worker Week, 1977.....	
Save Your Vision Week, 1977.....	
Statements Other Than Presidential	
White House Press Secretary	
Landing rights for Concorde aircraft.....	
Sale of concussion bombs to Israel.....	
Supplementary Material	
Acts approved by the President.....	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	
Digest of other White House announcements.....	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

(See also News Conferences)

Interior Department employees.....	227
1978 budget revisions.....	239
Red Cross Month, 1977.....	236
State Department employees.....	255
Transportation Department employees.....	252
Visit of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada	
Arrival ceremony.....	234
Exchange of toasts.....	237
Visit of Secretary General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations.....	261

Announcements

Carter-Mondale transition team funds.....	248
Personal statements of Cabinet and Cabinet-level officers.....	262

Appointments and Nominations

ACTION, Deputy Director.....	241
Commerce Department	
Assistant Secretary for Domestic and Interna- tional Business Affairs.....	250
Assistant Secretary for Policy.....	263
Council on Environmental Quality, member.....	251
Defense Department	
Assistant Secretary.....	262
Assistant Secretary for International Security Affairs.....	262
Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Reserve Affairs.....	261
Health, Education, and Welfare Department, In- spector General.....	251
Interior Department	
Solicitor.....	249
Under Secretary.....	248

Appointments and Nominations—continued

Labor Department	
Assistant Secretary for Employment Standards.....	
Assistant Secretary for Employment and Train- ing.....	
Solicitor.....	
Under Secretary.....	
Navy Department, Under Secretary.....	
Special Advisor to the President for Women.....	

Bill Signings

Fishery Conservation Zone Transition Act.....	
---	--

Communications to Congress

International fishery agreements	
European Economic Community.....	
Japan.....	
Republic of Korea.....	
Spain.....	
1978 budget revisions.....	
Water resources projects.....	

Memorandums to Federal Agencies

Red Cross Month, 1977.....	
Review of advisory committees.....	

News Conferences

Wednesday, February 23 (No. 2).....	
-------------------------------------	--

Proclamations

Red Cross Month, 1977.....	
----------------------------	--

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President.....	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	
Digest of other White House announcements.....	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks	
Defense Department employees.....	273
Department of Energy legislation.....	268
Swearing-in ceremony for Administrator of Veterans Affairs, Director of ACTION, and Chief of Protocol.....	280
White House dinner for Governors.....	278
Announcements	
Invitation to the public to assist in the formulation of a national energy policy.....	282
President's Special Representative for negotiations on United States-United Kingdom bilateral air services agreement.....	267
Rank of Personal Ambassador for George H. Aldrich	284
Review of Special Air Mission aircraft.....	285
Appointments and Nominations	
Housing and Urban Development Department Under Secretary.....	283
Interior Department	
Assistant Secretary for Fish, Wildlife and Parks.....	281
Assistant Secretary for Land and Water Resources	281
Appointments and Nominations—Continued	
Treasury Department	
Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs.....	
Under Secretary.....	
Communications to Congress	
Department of Energy legislation.....	
Reciprocal fisheries agreement between the United States and Canada.....	
Reduced Federal regulation of the domestic commercial airline industry.....	
Executive Orders	
Generalized system of preferences for developing countries	
Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
Involvement of State and local officials in the administration's policies and programs.....	
Limitation on hiring in the Federal Government.....	
Supplementary Material	
Acts approved by the President.....	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	
Digest of other White House announcements.....	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders; News Conferences)

Ad Hoc Coalition for Women.....	340
Children's Hospital National Medical Center.....	318
Interview with publishers, editors, and broad- casters	311
Swearing-in ceremony for Director of Central In- telligence	335
Telephone call-in program.....	289

Announcements

Designations

Goodwin Chase as Chairman of the Renegotia- tion Board	325
Henry Owen as President's Personal Representa- tive to participate in preparations for a sum- mit meeting	322
William B. Gunter as President's Special Repre- sentative on the Indian claims matter in Maine	344
White House sponsorship of 20 mini-conferences on a national energy policy.....	344

Appointments and Nominations

Agency for International Development, Adminis- trator	326
Agriculture Department	
Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services	322
Deputy Secretary.....	327
Commerce Department, General Counsel.....	326
Commodity Credit Corporation, Board of Direc- tors, members.....	326, 347
Council on Environmental Quality, member.....	322
Defense Department, Director, Defense Research and Engineering.....	348
Health, Education, and Welfare Department	
Assistant Secretary for Legislation.....	349
General Counsel.....	348
Housing and Urban Development Department	
Assistant Secretaries	
Community Development and Planning.....	347
Housing	346
Justice Department, Deputy Attorney General....	325

Appointments and Nominations—Continued

Labor Department

Assistant Secretaries

Labor-Management Relations.....	345
Occupational Safety and Health.....	345
Policy, Evaluation, and Research.....	346
Director, Women's Bureau.....	346
Renegotiation Board, members.....	347
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations.....	349
State Department, Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.....	311

Communications to Congress

Appropriation authorization for the Arms Con- trol and Disarmament Agency.....	341
Budget rescission and deferrals.....	336
Federal coal mine health and safety report.....	327
Youth employment programs.....	334

Executive Orders

Executive schedule.....	344
President's Economic Policy Board.....	323

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

Visit of Prime Minister James Callaghan of Great Britain	
Arrival	337
Exchange of toasts.....	342
Visit of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel	
Arrival	320
Exchange of toasts.....	323

News Conferences

Wednesday, March 9 (No. 3).....	328
---------------------------------	-----

Proclamations

Cancer Control Month, 1977.....	327
---------------------------------	-----

Statements by the President

D.C. General Hospital Commission Act.....	323
---	-----

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President.....	351
Checklist of White House press releases.....	351
Digest of other White House announcements.....	349
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	351

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

(See also Bill Signings)

Charleston, W. Va., energy discussion.....	371
Clinton, Mass., town meeting.....	358
Swearing-in ceremonies	
Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, Deputy Director of ACTION, Administrator and Deputy Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency.....	353
Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.....	356
United States Ambassador to Italy.....	411
United Nations General Assembly.....	397

Appointments and Nominations

Agriculture Department, Assistant Secretary for Conservation, Research and Education.....	410
Commerce Department, Assistant Secretary for Administration.....	357
Commodity Credit Corporation, Board of Directors, member.....	410
Health, Education, and Welfare Department, Commissioner of Education.....	358
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, Administrator.....	410
Office of Science and Technology Policy, Director.....	409
Science Advisor to the President.....	409
Treasury Department, Assistant Secretaries Administration.....	409
Capital Markets and Debt Management.....	409
Economic Policy.....	354

Bill Signings

Rhodesian chrome legislation, remarks and statement.....	402, 403
--	----------

Communications to Congress

Foreign assistance programs.....	405
Oil pollution of the oceans.....	408
Water resource projects.....	403

Executive Orders

Privileges, exemptions, and immunities for certain public international organizations.....	357
Trade involving Southern Rhodesia.....	403

Letters, Messages, Telegrams

St. Patrick's Day message.....	370
--------------------------------	-----

Memorandums to Federal Agencies

Office of Drug Abuse Policy.....	355
----------------------------------	-----

Statements by the President

<i>(See also Bill Signings)</i>	
Presidential Commission for Americans Missing and Lost in Southeast Asia.....	354

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President.....	419
Checklist of White House press releases.....	412
Digest of other White House announcements.....	411
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	412

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders; News Conferences)

- National Teacher of the Year Award ceremony..... 423
 Presidential Commission on Americans Missing and Unaccounted for in Southeast Asia..... 434

Announcements

- Salary increases for White House staff..... 434
 Water resource projects review..... 435

Appointments and Nominations

- Agriculture Department, Assistant Secretaries International Affairs and Commodity Programs... 438
 Marketing Services..... 445
 Air Force Department, Secretary..... 421
 Commodity Credit Corporation, Board of Directors, members..... 438, 445
 Federal Trade Commission, Chairman and member..... 432
 Housing and Urban Development Department, Assistant Secretaries
 Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity..... 446
 Legislative Affairs..... 419
 Neighborhood and Consumer Affairs..... 446
 Policy Development and Research..... 418
 Internal Revenue Service, Commissioner..... 418
 Navy Department, Assistant Secretary for Research and Development..... 419
 Small Business Administration, Administrator..... 422
 State Department, Legal Adviser..... 418
 Treasury Department, Deputy Secretary..... 432
 United Nations, U.S. Deputy Representative..... 445

Communications to Congress

- Budget deferrals..... 438
 Drought assistance for Western and Plains States... 439
 Election reform legislation..... 427
 International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships..... 422
 Report on the status of Indochina refugees..... 445
 United States international broadcasting..... 423

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

- Visit of Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda of Japan
 Arrival..... 415
 Exchange of toasts..... 420
 Joint communique..... 424

Memorandums to Federal Agencies

- Urban and regional development policies..... 431

News Conferences

- Thursday, March 24 (No. 4)..... 439

Proclamations

- Armed Forces Day..... 422
 Loyalty Day, 1977..... 432
 Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1977... 417

Supplementary Material

- Acts approved by the President..... 449
 Checklist of White House press releases..... 449
 Digest of other White House announcements.... 447
 Nominations submitted to the Senate..... 449

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

Interview with publishers, editors, and broadcasters	452
National Women's Political Caucus	473
1977 Cherry Blossom Festival princesses	475
SALT negotiations with the Soviet Union, question-and-answer session	469
Swearing-in ceremonies	
Special Representative for Trade Negotiations and Administrator, Agency for International Development	465
Deputy Director, Office of Management and Budget, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, and Director, U.S. Information Agency	451

Appointments and Nominations

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, members	477
Agriculture Department, Assistant Secretary for Rural Development	466
Commerce Department, Assistant Secretary for Science and Technology	480
Commodity Credit Corporation, Board of Directors, member	466
Defense Department	
Assistant Secretary for Program Analysis and Evaluation	477
General Counsel	477
Export-Import Bank of the United States, President	467
Federal Aviation Administration	
Administrator	467
Deputy Administrator	468
Federal Energy Administration, Deputy Administrator	476
Federal Highway Administration, Administrator	476
Interior Department, Assistant Secretary for Energy and Minerals	467
National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975, members	460
Navy Department, Assistant Secretary for Manpower and Logistics	478
President's Commission on Mental Health	462
Securities and Exchange Commission, member	468

Appointments and Nominations—Continued

Treasury Department, Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs	475
United Nations, U.S. Deputy Representative in the Security Council	461
Communications to Congress	
Federal advisory committees report	462
Legislation authorizing foreign development assistance programs and security assistance programs	458
Protocol to the convention on the Sockeye Salmon Fisheries	476
U.S.-Canadian transit pipeline agreement	466
Executive Orders	
Interagency Committee for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds	464
National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, 1975	
EO 11979	459
EO 11980	461
Joint Statements	
Secretary of State Vance's meetings with Soviet leaders	474
Memorandums to Federal Agencies	
American non-rubber footwear industry	479
Interagency Committee for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds	464
Proclamations	
National Farm Safety Week, 1977	459
Termination of Natural Gas Emergency	480
Statements by the President	
Decision on import relief for non-rubber footwear industry	478
Supplementary Material	
Acts approved by the President	482
Checklist of White House press releases	482
Digest of other White House announcements	481
Nominations submitted to the Senate	482

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks			
<i>(See also Bill Signings; Meetings With Foreign Leaders)</i>			
Cancer Courage Award for 1977.....	489		
Nuclear power policy.....	502		
Secretary of State Vance's meetings with Soviet leaders	483		
Announcements			
Ambassadorial nominations selection.....	498		
Congressional visit to the People's Republic of China	483		
Appointments and Nominations			
Army Department, Assistant Secretary for Installations and Logistics.....	509		
Civil Service Commission, Chairman and member.....	492		
Community Services Administration, Director.....	488		
Federal Energy Administration, Assistant Administrator	508		
General Services Administration, Administrator.....	508		
Government National Mortgage Association, President	509		
Housing and Urban Development Department, General Counsel.....	498		
Immigration and Naturalization Service, Commissioner	508		
Interior Department, Commissioner of Reclamation	488		
Interstate Commerce Commission, Chairman.....	492		
New Community Development Corporation, Board of Directors, member.....	497		
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, U.S. Permanent Representative on the Council.....	508		
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs	489		
United States Ambassadors			
Australia	498		
Belgium	499		
India	499		
Appointments and Nominations—Continued			
United States Ambassadors—Continued			
Iran	501		
Israel	500		
Japan	500		
Kenya and Seychelles.....	499		
Mexico	507		
Pakistan	501		
United Kingdom.....	498		
Bill Signings			
Drought relief bill.....	509, 510		
Reorganization Act of 1977.....	493		
Communications to Congress			
Budget deferrals.....	490		
Consumer protection legislation.....	495		
Meetings With Foreign Leaders			
Visit of President Anwar al-Sadat of Egypt			
Arrival	485		
Exchange of toasts.....	490		
Memorandums to Federal Agencies			
Minority bank deposit program.....	511		
Proclamations			
World Trade Week, 1977.....	511		
Statements by the President			
<i>(See also Bill Signings)</i>			
Nuclear power policy.....	506		
Supplementary Material			
Acts approved by the President.....	513		
Checklist of White House press releases.....	513		
Digest of other White House announcements.....	512		
Editor's note.....	513		
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	513		

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		
<i>(See also News Conferences)</i>		
ACTION review project.....	521	
Georgia visit		
Calhoun	518	
Dobbins Air Force Base.....	515	
Organization of American States.....	523	
Withdrawal of \$50 tax rebate and business tax credit from the economic stimulus package....	530	
Announcements		
Commutation of prison sentence of G. Gordon Liddy	522	
Appointments and Nominations		
Bureau of the Census, Director.....	529	
Commerce Department, Assistant Secretary for Tourism	530	
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Director	528	
National Labor Relations Board, Chairman.....	529	
Office of Management and Budget, Administrator for Federal Procurement Policy.....	520	
U.S. Ambassador to Turkey.....	529	
Communications to Congress		
Cyprus conflict report.....	546	
Radiation Control for Health and Safety Act report	521	
Memorandums to Federal Agencies		
Briefings for administration executives.....	511	
Childhood immunization program.....	510	
News Conferences		
Friday, April 15 (No. 5)	540	
Proclamations		
Earth Week, 1977.....	510	
Law Day, U.S.A., 1977.....	520	
National Defense Transportation Day and National Transportation Week, 1977.....	522	
National Maritime Day, 1977.....	547	
Older Americans Month, 1977.....	510	
Small Business Week, 1977.....	522	
Statements by the President		
Anti-inflation program.....	533	
Supplementary Material		
Acts approved by the President.....	549	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	549	
Digest of other White House announcements.....	547	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	549	

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks

(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders)

Democratic National Committee.....	615
John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.....	597
Health care legislation.....	603
National energy legislation.....	619

Announcements

Energy Expo '82.....	617
Fact sheet on the proposed Nuclear Non-proliferation Policy Act of 1977.....	611
Presidential Scholars for 1977.....	608

Appointments and Nominations

Agency for International Development, Assistant Administrator.....	618
Army Department, Assistant Secretary for Research and Development.....	600
Council on Wage and Price Stability, Chairman, members, and adviser-members.....	600
Federal Railroad Administration, Administrator.....	618
Housing and Urban Development Department, Assistant Secretary for Administration.....	600
SALT, Alternate Chairman, U.S. Delegation, rank of Ambassador.....	618
United States Information Agency, Deputy Director.....	613
United States Ambassadors	
Algeria.....	610
Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.....	601
Cameroon.....	601
Malta.....	601
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	602
United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Deputy Director.....	614

Communications to Congress

Budget deferrals.....	617
Health care legislation.....	603
National energy legislation.....	619
Nuclear non-proliferation policy proposals.....	611
United States Sinai Support Mission report.....	614

Letters, Messages, Telegrams

Better Hearing and Speech Month, May, 1977.....	620
---	-----

Memorandums to Federal Agencies

Dam safety.....	607
Zero-based budgeting in the executive branch.....	610

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

Visit of King Hussein I of Jordan	
Arrival.....	598
Exchange of toasts.....	605
White House departure.....	607

Proclamations

Prayer for Peace, Memorial Day, May 30, 1977.....	602
---	-----

Statements by the President

National energy plan.....	620
---------------------------	-----

Supplementary Material

Acts approved by the President.....	622
Checklist of White House press releases.....	622
Digest of other White House announcements.....	620
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	622

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		
American Society of Newspaper Editors.....	650	
Interviews		
European broadcast journalists.....	631	
European newspaper journalists.....	640	
Radio-Television News Directors Association....	623	
Welfare reform.....	638	
White House Correspondents Association.....	630	
Announcements		
Decision concerning sugar industry.....	656	
Presidential Task Force on the District of Columbia	646	
Appointments and Nominations		
Agency for International Development, Assistant Administrators		
Asia	660	
Population	660	
Asian Development Bank, U.S. Director.....	654	
Civil Service Commission, Commissioners.....	653	
Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations	654	
Intelligence Oversight Board, members.....	658	
Inter-American Development Bank, U.S. Executive Director and Alternate U.S. Executive Director.....	655	
Interior Department, Assistant Secretary for Management, Program Development and Budget	661	
Justice Department, Assistant Attorneys General...	659	
State Department, Assistant Secretary for European Affairs.....	660	
Treasury Department, Assistant General Counsel (Chief Counsel for the Internal Revenue Service)	660	
Appointments and Nominations—Continued		
United States Ambassadors		
Finland	646	
Nepal	645	
Communications to Congress		
Decision concerning sugar industry.....	658	
Ethics in Government legislation.....	647	
Executive Orders		
Committee on Selection of the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.....	623	
Executive schedule.....	658	
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.....	659	
Letters, Messages, Telegrams		
(See also Communications to Congress)		
Letter to Secretary of Agriculture concerning decision on sugar industry.....	657	
Message on Better Hearing and Speech Month, May, 1977.....	659	
Memorandums to Federal Agencies		
Memorandum to Special Representative for Trade Negotiations concerning decision on sugar industry	657	
Statements by the President		
Anti-foreign boycott bill.....	650	
Intelligence Oversight Board.....	658	
Vice President Mondale's trip to Europe.....	647	
Supplementary Material		
Acts approved by the President.....	663	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	662	
Digest of other White House announcements.....	661	
Editor's Note.....	663	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	662	

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED -----	166	CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES -----	166
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCE-	
<i>(See also Swearing-In Ceremonies)</i>		MENTS -----	165
Inaugural address-----	150	EXECUTIVE ORDERS	
Reception for campaign workers-----	154	Cabinet Committee on Economic Policy (Executive	
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		order) -----	163
Agriculture Department		Council for Urban Affairs (EO 11452)-----	161
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation		Statement upon signing-----	160
Service, Deputy Administrator for State and		LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
County Operations (William Eugene Gal-		Trans-Pacific Route Investigation (to the Chair-	
braith) -----	164	man of the Civil Aeronautics Board)-----	164
Rural Electrification Administration, Adminis-		STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
trator (David A. Hamil)-----	164	Appointments of Dr. Arthur Burns as Counsellor	
Bureau of the Budget, Deputy Director (Phillip S.		to the President-----	162
Hughes) -----	158	Council for Urban Affairs-----	160
Counsellor to the President (Dr. Arthur Burns) --	162	SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES	
Deputy Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs		Cabinet members, Director, Bureau of the Budget,	
(Stephen Hess) and 5 staff assistants-----	160	and Ambassador to the United Nations-----	157
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	165	Secretary of the Interior, Walter J. Hickel-----	162
Treasury Department, Under Secretary (Dr.		White House staff members-----	156
Charls Walker) and Under Secretary for Mon-			
etary Affairs (Paul Volcker)-----	159		

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED.....	202	CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Reorganization of the Executive Branch, message..	190
(See also News Conferences)		DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS..	201
Defense Department employees.....	194	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Goodwill tour by Col. Frank Borman.....	189	Death of Repr. Robert A. Everett (telegram to	
Justice Department employees.....	191	Mrs. Charlie Everett).....	175
Presidential prayer breakfast.....	188	MEMORANDUMS TO FEDERAL AGENCIES	
State Department personnel.....	185	Implementation of task force recommendations,	
ANNOUNCEMENT		announcement of directives to heads of depart-	
California, disaster assistance.....	175	ments and agencies.....	192
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		Request for review of the budget by heads of de-	
Agriculture Department, Deputy Under Secretary		partments and agencies.....	180
for Congressional Relations (George B. Han-		NEWS CONFERENCES	
sen).....	185	The President, Monday, January 27 (No. 1).....	175
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Director		Minority leaders, following meeting with the Presi-	
(Gerald Smith).....	188	dent.....	181
Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, Di-		PROCLAMATIONS	
rector (J. Curtis Counts).....	196	American Heart Month, 1969 (Proc. 3892).....	181
Housing and Urban Development Department (5		STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
nominations).....	174	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, nomina-	
Interior Department, Under Secretary (Russell E.		tion of Gerard Smith as Director.....	188
Train).....	185	Death of Allen Dulles.....	194
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	202	Disaster relief for Mississippi.....	174
Office of Emergency Preparedness, Deputy Di-		District of Columbia, actions and recommenda-	
rector (Fred J. Russell).....	185	tions.....	197
Post Office Department (5 nominations).....	193		
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES.....	202		

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED -----	240	AWARDS AND CITATIONS	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Presidential Unit Citation (716th Military Police Battalion and attached units)-----	215
<i>(See also News Conferences and Swearing-In Ceremonies)</i>		CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES -----	240
Agriculture Department employees-----	211	CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO	
Commerce Department employees-----	237	Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, message to Senate -----	219
HUD employees-----	210	DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS -----	239
Labor Department officials-----	216	EXECUTIVE ORDERS	
National Science Foundation, increase in expenditure ceiling-----	224	Inspection of tax returns (EO 11454)-----	234
Post Office Department employees-----	231	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Postmaster appointments policy-----	223	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, message to meeting in Addis Ababa-----	218
Statement by Postmaster General-----	224	NEWS CONFERENCES	
Senate Youth Program representatives-----	234	The President's, Thursday, February 6 (No. 2)---	225
Transportation Department employees-----	236	Minority leadership, following meeting with the President -----	219
Visit with General Eisenhower at Walter Reed Hospital-----	208	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
ANNOUNCEMENTS		Death of Ralph McGill-----	218
Implementation of recommendations on domestic programs-----	209	Education, upon announcing nomination of Dr. James E. Allen, Jr.-----	214
Goodwill tour by Col. Frank Borman, itinerary--	208	European visit-----	225, 231
National Security Council, structure, role, and staff-----	232	Feed grain program, continuation of advance payments-----	223
Post-Vietnam economic adjustment programs, study group-----	214	National Science Foundation, increase in expenditure ceiling-----	225
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		Urban and related problems, upon announcing nomination of John G. Veneman-----	233
Health, Education, and Welfare Department Assistant Secretary for Education and U.S. Commissioner of Education (Dr. James E. Allen, Jr.)-----	214	SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES	
Under Secretary (John G. Veneman)-----	233	Council of Economic Advisers, Counsellor to the President, and Director, Office of Emergency Preparedness-----	216
National Alliance of Businessmen (Executive Vice President and 13 metropolitan chairmen)-----	214		
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	240		
Transportation Department (Under Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, and Deputy Under Secretary)-----	237		

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED -----	261	EXECUTIVE ORDERS—Continued	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Special Assistant to the President for Liaison with Former Presidents (EO 11456)-----	259
(See also Swearing-In Ceremonies)			
Meeting with Roy Wilkins-----	248	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Transportation Department officials-----	251	Trans-Pacific route investigation	
ANNOUNCEMENTS		The President's letter to Civil Aeronautics Board Chairman-----	251
Disaster assistance for Mississippi-----	249	Robert Ellsworth's memorandum to interested parties-----	250
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS	
District of Columbia Council (3 members)-----	256	Forthcoming visit of Prime Minister John G. Gorton of Australia-----	254
Labor Department, Assistant Secretary for Policy Development and Research (Jerome M. Rosow)-----	253	MEMORANDUMS TO FEDERAL AGENCIES	
1969 Assay Commission (19 members)-----	254	Implementation of certain recommendations, announcements of directives-----	249, 250
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	261	Release of statistics by Federal agencies, memorandum to Budget Bureau Director-----	248
Office of Emergency Preparedness, Assistant Director (James D. O'Connell)-----	253	PROCLAMATIONS	
Office of Intergovernmental Relations, Director (Nils A. Boe)-----	258	National Poison Prevention Week, 1969 (Proc. 3893)-----	257
Panel to study oil spillage problems (14 members)-----	257	REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT	
President's staff		Emergency board's investigation of the railway labor dispute-----	257
Deputy Counsel to the President (Richard T. Burress)-----	255	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
Deputy Special Assistant to the President (Tom Cole)-----	255	Coastal oil pollution and offshore drilling-----	254
Special Assistant to the President for Liaison with Former Presidents (Gen. Robert L. Schulz)-----	259	Establishment of the Office of Intergovernmental Relations-----	258
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES -----	261	SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES	
DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS -----	260	Commissioner of the District of Columbia, Walter E. Washington-----	256
EXECUTIVE ORDERS			
Office of Intergovernmental Relations, establishment (EO 11455)-----	258		

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED-----	293	DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS-----	292
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		EDITOR'S NOTE-----	294
American Heart Association awards ceremony---	278	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Health, Education, and Welfare employees-----	270	Oil import policies (to Secretary of the Interior) ..	292
Interior Department employees-----	288	Resignation of Chairman, Republican National Committee (exchange of letters with Ray C. Bliss) -----	280
Treasury Department employees-----	272	NEWS CONFERENCES	
ANNOUNCEMENTS		Senator Dirksen and Representative Ford, after meeting with the President-----	277
Consultant for Consumer Affairs, decision of Miss Willie Mae Rogers not to serve-----	275	REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS	
Foreign air carrier permit, approval of CAB action-----	292	(See Congress, Communications to)	
Presidential cabin cruisers, renaming in honor of President's daughters-----	275	REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT	
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		Bureau of Indian Affairs, structure and programs..	282
Commerce Department (7 key officials)-----	289	RESIGNATIONS	
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	293	Chairman, Republican National Committee (see Letters, Memorandums, Etc.)	
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES-----	293	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO		Governor Rockefeller's mission to Latin America..	276
Antipoverty programs, message-----	282	Urban Coalition-----	276
Commodity Credit Corporation, announcement of supplemental appropriation request-----	290		
Electoral reform, message-----	290		
Head Start program, message transmitting report..	287		
National Science Board, message transmitting report-----	281		

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED.....	331	EUROPEAN TRIP—Continued	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		London, England	
(See European Trip)		Arrival ceremony.....	317
ANNOUNCEMENTS		Departure.....	321
California, disaster relief.....	305	Bonn, Germany	
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		Arrival ceremony.....	322
Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Board of		Remarks before the Bundestag.....	323
Directors (Albert L. Cole).....	304	West Berlin	
General Services Administration, Administrator		Arrival ceremony.....	325
(Robert L. Kunzig).....	330	Charlottenburg Palace.....	326
Interdepartmental committee to review the super-		Siemens Factory.....	327
sonic transport program (Chairman and 10		Departure.....	328
members).....	329	Rome, Italy	
National Alliance of Businessmen, Chairman		Arrival ceremony.....	328
(Donald M. Kendall).....	303	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	331	Death of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, message to	
Special Coordinator on relief to victims of the		Israeli President.....	329
Nigerian civil war (Clarence Clyde Ferguson,		Narcotic and dangerous drug traffic in the District	
Jr.).....	306	of Columbia, memorandum to the Attorney	
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES.....	331	General.....	305
CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO		Student unrest, letter to Notre Dame president.....	317
Postal service reform, message.....	319	MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS	
Public debt limit, message.....	314	(See European Trip)	
DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCE-		PROCLAMATIONS	
MENTS.....	330	Red Cross Month, 1969 (Proc. 3894).....	302
EDITOR'S NOTE.....	331	Save Your Vision Week, 1969 (Proc. 3895).....	301
EUROPEAN TRIP		RESIGNATIONS AND RETIREMENTS	
Remarks to members of the press accompanying the		General Services Administrator (Lawson B.	
President.....	306	Knott).....	330
Departure, Andrews Air Force Base.....	309	List of accepted resignations.....	324
Brussels, Belgium		STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
Arrival ceremony.....	310	Appointment of Donald M. Kendall as National	
Meeting with NATO Council.....	311	Alliance of Businessmen Chairman.....	303
Luncheon with King Baudouin.....	313	Remarks.....	303
Departure.....	314	Nigerian civil war, relief to civilian victims.....	305
		Use of Federal laboratories by university scientists.....	304
		Washington's Birthday message.....	302

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED-----	380	EUROPEAN TRIP—Continued	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Rome, Italy	
(See also European Trip and News Conferences)		Dinner with President Saragat-----	342
Central Intelligence Agency employees-----	377	Departure-----	345
Medal of Honor ceremony-----	375	Prepared remarks-----	345
Robert H. Goddard Memorial Trophy ceremony--	369	Paris, France	
ANNOUNCEMENTS		Arrival ceremony-----	347
Flood threat from accumulated snow-----	349	Prepared remarks-----	346
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		Dinner with President de Gaulle-----	347
Central Intelligence Agency, Deputy Director (Lt. Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr.)-----	374	Dinner honoring President de Gaulle-----	348
Export-Import Bank of the United States, President (Henry Kearns)-----	377	Developments in Berlin, meeting of Secretary Rogers and Ambassador von Braun-----	349
National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Administrator (Thomas O. Paine)-----	369	American Embassy personnel-----	353
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	380	Departure-----	354
Virgin Islands, Governor (Peter A. Bove)-----	377	The Vatican	
AWARDS AND CITATIONS		American priests, nuns, and students-----	355
Federal Woman's Award (6 recipients)-----	373	Andrews Air Force Base, arrival ceremony-----	356
Medal of Honor (S. Sgt. Joe R. Hooper, Sfc. Fred W. Zabitosky, Sp5c. Clarence E. Sasser, USA)---	375	EXECUTIVE ORDERS	
Presidential Unit Citation (1st Battalion, 28th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division, USA)-----	373	Inspection of tax returns (EO 11457)-----	359
Robert H. Goddard Trophy (Apollo 8 astronauts)-----	369	International transport of goods under customs seal (EO 11459)-----	379
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES-----	380	Minority business enterprise (EO 11458)-----	372
CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO		MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS	
Coal mine safety, message-----	357	(See European Trip)	
Incentive awards to military personnel, message transmitting report-----	360	MEMORANDUMS TO FEDERAL AGENCIES	
DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS-----	380	(See White House Statements)	
EUROPEAN TRIP		NEWS CONFERENCES	
(See also preceding issue)		Tuesday, March 4 (No. 3)-----	360
London, England		PROCLAMATIONS	
American Embassy staff-----	340	Law Day, U.S.A., 1969 (Proc. 3898)-----	369
West Berlin		National Farm Safety Week, 1969 (Proc. 3897)---	359
Charlottenburg Palace, prepared remarks-----	342	National Safe Boating Week, 1969 (Proc. 3896)---	356
Departure, prepared remarks-----	342	REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT	
		Emergency board to investigate dispute between certain railroads and signalmen-----	377
		STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
		Apollo 9 launching-----	356
		Minority business enterprise-----	371
		WHITE HOUSE STATEMENTS	
		Presidential directives to Government departments and agencies-----	349

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED.....	412	APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS—Continued	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		United States Information Agency, Deputy Director (Henry Loomis).....	398
(See also European Trip and News Conferences)		CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES.....	412
Easter Seal Campaign ceremony.....	395	CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO	
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		International conventions on intellectual and industrial property, message to the Senate.....	397
Commission on Civil Rights, Chairman (Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh).....	396	World Weather Program, message transmitting plan for U.S. participation.....	399
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (William H. Brown III).....	400	DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS..	411
Federal Home Loan Bank Board, Chairman (Preston Martin).....	397	EUROPEAN TRIP	
Labor Department		(See also preceding issues)	
Assistant Secretary for Wage and Labor Standards (Arthur Fletcher).....	409	Meeting with Pope Paul VI at the Vatican.....	410
Solicitor (Lawrence H. Silberman).....	398	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
National Alliance of Businessmen, Vice Chairman (Lynn Townsend) and Executive Vice Chairman (Paul W. Kayser).....	399	Telegram to Apollo 9 crew.....	400
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	412	NEWS CONFERENCES	
Special Emissary to Peru (John N. Irwin II).....	395	The President, Friday, March 14 (No. 4).....	400
State Department, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (Marshall Green).....	409	Minority leaders, following meeting with the President	392
Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster).....	397	RESIGNATIONS AND RETIREMENTS	
United Nations, U.S. delegation		Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer)	397
Deputy Representative (William B. Buffum)....	396	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
Deputy Representative in the Security Council (Christopher H. Phillips).....	396	Appointment of Special Emissary to Peru.....	395
Economic and Social Council Representative (Glenn A. Olds).....	396	Ballistic Missile Defense System.....	406
		Manpower Administration reorganization.....	398

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED.....	443	EDITOR'S NOTE.....	443
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		EXECUTIVE ORDERS	
(See also Swearing-In Ceremonies)		President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board	
American Legion anniversary dinner.....	425	(EO 11460).....	441
Boy of the Year award ceremony.....	438	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Medal of Honor ceremony.....	433	Antiballistic missile system, letter from the Science	
National Alliance of Businessmen.....	424	Advisor to the President.....	430
St. Patrick's Day remarks with Ambassador Fay		Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee conference	
of Ireland.....	427	in Geneva, letter to Ambassador Gerard C.	
ANNOUNCEMENTS		Smith.....	434
Presidential actions on the price of lumber and ply-		St. Patrick's Day message to President de Valera of	
wood.....	437	Ireland.....	427
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		NEWS CONFERENCES	
Ambassador to Ireland (John D. J. Moore).....	428	Senator Dirksen and Representative Ford after	
Appalachian Regional Commission, Federal Co-		meeting with the President.....	431
chairman (John B. Waters).....	440	PROCLAMATIONS	
Export-Import Bank of the United States, First		National Defense Transportation Day and National	
Vice President (Walter C. Sauer).....	434	Transportation Week, 1969 (Proc. 3900).....	430
Internal Revenue Service, Commissioner (Ran-		National Maritime Day, 1969 (Proc. 3902).....	436
dolph W. Thrower).....	434	Senior Citizens Month, 1969 (Proc. 3899).....	429
Marine Corps, promotion to lieutenant general		World Trade Week, 1969 (Proc. 3901).....	436
(Maj. Gen. Louis B. Robertshaw).....	437	REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	443	Plans for Progress Advisory Council, increased job	
Peace Corps, Director (Joseph H. Blatchford)....	435	opportunities for minorities.....	439
President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board		STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
(11 members).....	441	St. Patrick's Day.....	427
Subversive Activities Control Board (Otto F.		STATEMENTS OTHER THAN PRESIDENTIAL	
Otepka).....	437	National summer youth sports program, statement	
AWARDS AND CITATIONS		by the Vice President.....	428
Boy of the Year award (Perry Joseph Ludy).....	438	SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES	
Medal of Honor (Pfc. Melvin E. Newlin, USMC)....	433	Interstate Commerce Commissioner (Donald L.	
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES.....	443	Jackson).....	440
DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCE-			
MENTS.....	442		

Index of Contents

<p>ACTS APPROVED----- 489</p> <p>ADDRESSES AND REMARKS (See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders)</p> <p>American Cancer Society Crusade, ceremony inaugurating 1969 drive----- 475, 476</p> <p>California</p> <p>Point Mugu Naval Air Station----- 457</p> <p>Santa Barbara, inspection of oil damage----- 457</p> <p>Independence, Mo.</p> <p>Van Horn High School----- 456</p> <p>Visit with President Truman----- 456</p> <p>National Association of Broadcasters convention-- 469</p> <p>Walt Disney Commemorative Medal, presentation ceremony ----- 468</p> <p>APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS</p> <p>Advisory Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force (15 members)----- 482</p> <p>Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (7 members)----- 480</p> <p>Assistant Physician for the President (Col. S. H. Bear, USAF)----- 462</p> <p>Defense Department</p> <p>Commanding General, II Field Force, Vietnam (Maj. Gen. Julian J. Ewell, USA)----- 461</p> <p>Deputy Commander, U.S. Military Assistance Command, Vietnam (Lt. Gen. William R. Rosson, USA)----- 461</p> <p>Nominations submitted to the Senate----- 489</p> <p>Treasury Department</p> <p>Director, Bureau of the Mint (Mary Brooks) -- 484</p> <p>Treasurer of the United States (Dorothy A. Elston) ----- 484</p> <p>CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES----- 489</p> <p>CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO</p> <p>Broadcasting agreements with Mexico, message to the Senate----- 476</p> <p>Fiscal policy message----- 477</p>		<p>CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO—Continued</p> <p>Message informing the Congress of the death of General Eisenhower----- 486</p> <p>Supplemental appropriations requests----- 479</p> <p>DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS— 488</p> <p>EXECUTIVE ORDERS</p> <p>Inspection of tax returns (EO 11461)----- 483</p> <p>LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.</p> <p>Miami Teen-Age Rally for Decency, letter to Mike Levesque----- 479</p> <p>MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS</p> <p>Canada, Prime Minister Trudeau</p> <p>Arrival ceremony----- 460</p> <p>Exchange of toasts----- 462</p> <p>Departure remarks----- 466</p> <p>MEMORANDUMS TO FEDERAL AGENCIES</p> <p>Equal employment opportunity in the Federal Government ----- 484</p> <p>NEWS CONFERENCES</p> <p>Senator Dirksen and Representative Ford after meeting with the President----- 464</p> <p>PROCLAMATIONS</p> <p>Announcing the death of Dwight David Eisenhower (Proc. 3907)----- 487</p> <p>Cancer Control Month, 1969 (Proc. 3903)----- 475</p> <p>Loyalty Day, 1969 (Proc. 3904)----- 478</p> <p>North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 20th anniversary (Proc. 3906)----- 485</p> <p>Small Business Week, 1969 (Proc. 3905)----- 483</p> <p>STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT</p> <p>Appointment of an Advisory Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force----- 482</p> <p>Bank holding companies, legislation to regulate-- 461</p> <p>Campus disorders----- 458</p> <p>Death of General Eisenhower----- 485</p> <p>Restructuring of Government service systems----- 480</p>
---	--	---

Index of Contents

<p>ACTS APPROVED----- 512</p> <p>ADDRESSES AND REMARKS</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Eulogy during the State funeral of Dwight David Eisenhower ----- 502</p> <p>ANNOUNCEMENTS</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Visit to the Far East by the Secretary of Commerce Maurice H. Stans----- 509</p> <p>APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Ambassadors, U.S.</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Finland (Val Peterson)----- 506</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Hungary (Alfred Puhon)----- 508</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">India (Kennth B. Keating)----- 506</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Spain (Robert Charles Hill)----- 506</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Turkey (William J. Handley)----- 508</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">Yugoslavia (William Leonhart)----- 507</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Nominations submitted to the Senate----- 512</p>	<p>APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS—Continued</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">United States Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs (Dr. Homer D. Babbidge, Jr.)----- 507</p> <p>CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES----- 512</p> <p>DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS-- 511</p> <p>EDITOR'S NOTE----- 512</p> <p>EXECUTIVE ORDERS</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Closing of Government departments and agencies in respect for General Eisenhower (EO 11462) - 502</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Federal executive salary schedule (EO 11463)---- 506</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Modifying rates of interest equalization tax (EO 11464) ----- 510</p> <p>STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Balance of payments----- 509</p>
--	--

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED-----	546	APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS—Continued	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Special Representative for Trade Negotiations (Carl J. Gilbert)-----	543
North Atlantic Council, 20th anniversary commemorative session-----	538	Transportation Department, Assistant Secretary in Charge of Public Affairs (Walter L. Mazan)-----	535
ANNOUNCEMENTS		U.S. Ambassador, Brazil (Charles Burke Elbrick)-----	531
Inspection of flood preparations by Director, Office of Emergency Preparedness-----	535	CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES-----	546
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS-----	545
Agriculture Department, Assistant Secretary for Rural Development and Conservation (Dr. Thomas K. Cowden)-----	544	EXECUTIVE ORDERS	
Defense Department, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force for Installations and Logistics (Philip N. Whittaker)-----	534	Inspection of tax returns by the House Committee on Internal Security (EO 11465)-----	537
Health, Education, and Welfare Department Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation (Lewis Butler)-----	531	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
General Counsel (Robert C. Mardian)-----	531	Transpacific Route Investigation, letter to CAB chairman-----	545
Indian Claims Commission (Brantley Blue)-----	545	MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS	
INTELSAT Conference, U.S. Representative (William W. Scranton)-----	533	King Hussein I, of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	
National Water Commission (Howell Appling, Jr.)-----	537	Arrival ceremony-----	532
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	546	Joint statement-----	543
President's Advisory Council on Executive Organization (Chairman and 4 members)-----	530	PROCLAMATIONS	
Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs (Mrs. Virginia H. Knauer)-----	535	Pan American Day and Pan American Week, 1969 (Proc. 3908)-----	544
		STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
		Establishment of the Office of Child Development-----	536
		Rehabilitation of riot-damaged areas-----	534

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED-----	578	CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES-----	578
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS (See also News Conferences)		CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO	
League of Women Voters-----	567	Convention on Conduct of Fishing Operations in the North Atlantic, transmittal to the Senate--	563
Organization of American States Assembly meet- ing-----	554	Domestic programs and policies, message-----	556
Republican Women's Conference-----	564	United States-Canadian agreements involving the Niagara River, message to the Senate-----	560
ANNOUNCEMENTS		DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCE- MENTS-----	577
Disaster relief for Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota-----	575	EXECUTIVE ORDERS	
Federal employment of the handicapped-----	575	Administration of certain jointly funded projects--	576
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		LETTER, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
Ambassadors, U.S.		Federal Trade Commission, exchange of letters with William T. Gossett of the American Bar Association-----	576
Norway (Philip K. Crowe)-----	552	NEWS CONFERENCES	
Somali Republic (Fred Latimer Hadsel)-----	570	The President's, Friday, April 18 (No. 5)-----	570
Switzerland (Shelby Cullom Davis)-----	569	Representative Ford, following meeting with the President-----	561
Assistant to the President (Peter M. Flanigan)--	564	PROCLAMATIONS	
Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organiza- tion, U.S. Permanent Representative (Robert Ellsworth)-----	552	League of Women Voters of the United States (Proc. 3909)-----	567
Health, Education, and Welfare Department, Ad- ministration on Aging, Commissioner (John B. Martin, Jr.)-----	560	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
Justice Department, Assistant Attorney General, Land and Natural Resources Division (Shiro Kashiwa)-----	563	Life insurance industry investment in urban core areas-----	563
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	578	Review of the 1970 budget-----	553

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED -----	607	CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Food for Peace Program, message transmitting report-----	593
(See also Swearing-In Ceremonies)		National Capital Housing Authority, message transmitting report-----	590
Nomination of Donald Rumsfeld as Office of Economic Opportunity Director-----	585	Organized crime, message-----	594
ANNOUNCEMENTS		Postal rate increase, message-----	601
Disaster relief		Tax reform, message-----	586
Arkansas and Iowa-----	604	DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCEMENTS -----	605
Nevada-----	585	LETTERS, MEMORANDUMS, ETC.	
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		Interracial Council for Business Opportunity, message on fifth anniversary-----	600
Ambassadors, U.S.		Twenty-first anniversary of the State of Israel, letter to President Zalman Shazar-----	593
Czechoslovakia (Malcolm Toon)-----	584	NEWS CONFERENCES	
Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa) (Sheldon B. Vance)-----	604	Senator Dirksen and Representative Ford, following meeting with the President-----	590
Denmark (Guilford Dudley, Jr.)-----	593	PROCLAMATIONS	
Dominican Republic (Francis E. Meloy, Jr.)-----	603	Mother's Day, 1969 (Proc. 3910)-----	604
Indonesia (Francis J. Galbraith)-----	602	REPORTS TO THE CONGRESS	
Mexico (Robert H. McBride)-----	600	(See Congress, Communications to)	
Assistant to the President (Donald Rumsfeld)-----	585	REPORTS TO THE PRESIDENT	
Atomic Energy Commission (Dr. Theos J. Thompson)-----	599	Railway labor dispute, report of Emergency Board No. 173-----	590
Nominations submitted to the Senate-----	607	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
Office of Economic Opportunity, Director (Donald Rumsfeld)-----	585	Office of Economic Opportunity, nomination of Donald Rumsfeld as Director-----	585
President's Science Advisory Committee (5 members)-----	602	SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES	
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, High Commissioner (Edward E. Johnston)-----	600	Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs (Mrs. Virginia H. Knauer)-----	584
AWARDS AND CITATIONS			
Presidential Unit Citation (I Corps River Patrol Group)-----	603		
CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES -----	607		

Index of Contents

ACTS APPROVED -----	671	BILL SIGNINGS	
ADDRESSES AND REMARKS		Marine Corps, provision for placing Assistant Com-	
(See also Meetings With Foreign Leaders; Swear-		mandant in grade of general.....	654
ing-In Ceremonies)		Winston Churchill Memorial and Library, com-	
Republican Victory Dinner.....	666	memorative medals of dedication at Westminster	
Visit with former Governor and Mrs. James		College.....	664
Byrnes.....	652	CHECKLIST OF WHITE HOUSE RELEASES -----	671
ANNOUNCEMENTS		CONGRESS, COMMUNICATIONS TO	
FBI National Academy graduation exercises.....	670	Hunger in America, message to Congress on recom-	
APPOINTMENTS AND NOMINATIONS		mendations for program.....	659
Ambassadors, U.S.		Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, message	
Cyprus (David H. Popper).....	654	of transmittal to Senate.....	654
Gabon Republic (Richard Funkhouser).....	669	DIGEST OF OTHER WHITE HOUSE ANNOUNCE-	
Laos (G. McMurtrie Godley).....	668	MENTS -----	670
Luxembourg (Kingdon Gould, Jr.).....	653	EDITOR'S NOTE -----	671
The Netherlands (J. William Middendorf II) ..	669	MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS	
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission,		Prime Minister John G. Gorton of Australia	
Chairman (William H. Brown III).....	658	Dinner honoring the Prime Minister, exchange	
Export-Import Bank of the United States, member,		of toasts.....	662
Board of Directors (R. Alex McCullough).....	653	Remarks at departure.....	665
Federal Home Loan Bank Board, member (Carl		Statement following visit.....	664
O. Kamp, Jr.).....	669	NEWS CONFERENCES	
Guam, Governor (Dr. Carlos Camacho).....	653	Senator Dirksen and Representative Ford, follow-	
Mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Super-		ing meeting with the President.....	655
intendent (Nicholas G. Theodore).....	653	STATEMENTS BY THE PRESIDENT	
National Transportation Safety Board, Chairman		Visit of Prime Minister Gorton of Australia.....	664
(John H. Reed).....	658	SWEARING-IN CEREMONIES	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	671	Central Intelligence Agency, Deputy Director (Lt.	
State Department, Assistant Secretary for Economic		Gen. Robert E. Cushman, Jr.).....	665
Affairs (Philip H. Trezise).....	657	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission,	
Transportation Department, General Counsel		Chairman (William H. Brown III).....	658
(James A. Washington, Jr.).....	655	Peace Corps, Director (Joseph H. Blatchford).....	652

ADMINISTRATION OF RONALD REAGAN

Week Ending Friday, January 23, 1981

Inaugural Address of President Ronald Reagan

Following the Swearing In as the 40th President of the United States. January 20, 1981

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens:

To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion. And, yet, in the history of our Nation it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place, as it has for almost two centuries, and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our Republic.

The business of our Nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery, and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.

You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a

Jan. 20

Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1981

nation, we're not bound by that same limitation? We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we are going to begin to act, beginning today.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now, as we've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we've been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together—in and out of government—must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

We hear much of special interest groups. Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we're sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truckdrivers. They are, in short, "We the people," this breed called Americans.

Well, this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America, at peace with itself and the world.

So, as we begin, let us take inventory. We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the Earth. Our government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal Government did not create the States; the States created the Federal Government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work—work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look to the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on Earth, it was because here in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than has ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth. The price for this freedom at times has been high. But we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government. It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we're in a time when there are no heroes, they just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter. And they're on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They're individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

Now, I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your," because I'm addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen; and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick, and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic "yes." To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I've

Jan. 20

Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1981

just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy.

In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow, measured in inches and feet, not miles, but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. . . . On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves."

Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children, and our children's children. And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it now or ever.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength.

Above all we must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I'm told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I'm deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inaugural Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held, as you've been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man, George Washington, father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence. And then, beyond the Reflecting Pool, the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery, with its row upon row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno, and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

Under one such marker lies a young man, Martin Treptow, who left his job in a small town barbershop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There, on the western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

We're told that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," he had written these words: "America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us.

And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans.

God bless you, and thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12 noon from a platform erected at the West Front of the Capitol. Immediately before the address, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger.

The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

Administration of Jimmy Carter

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Saturday, January 22, 1977

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER

*Following His Swearing In as the 39th President of the United States.
January 20, 1977*

For myself and for our Nation, I want to thank my predecessor for all he has done to heal our land.

In this outward and physical ceremony, we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our Nation. As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman, used to say, "We must adjust to changing times and still hold to unchanging principles."

Here before me is the Bible used in the inauguration of our first President, in 1789, and I have just taken the oath of office on the Bible my mother gave me just a few years ago, opened to a timeless admonition from the ancient prophet Micah: "He hath showed thee, o man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (Micah 6:8)

This inauguration ceremony marks a new beginning, a new dedication within our government, and a new spirit among us all. A President may sense and proclaim that new spirit, but only a people can provide it.

Two centuries ago, our Nation's birth was a milestone in the long quest for freedom. But the bold and brilliant dream which excited the Founders of this Nation still awaits its consummation. I have no new dream to set forth today, but rather urge a fresh faith in the old dream.

Ours was the first society openly to define itself in terms of both spirituality and human liberty. It is that unique self-definition which has given us an exceptional appeal—but it also imposes on us a special obligation to take on those moral duties which, when assumed, seem invariably to be in our own best interests.

You have given me a great responsibility—to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a

new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes.

Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right.

The American dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country—and in one another. I believe America can be better. We can be even stronger than before.

Let our recent mistakes bring a resurgent commitment to the basic principles of our Nation, for we know that if we despise our own government, we have no future. We recall in special times when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united. In those times no prize was beyond our grasp.

But we cannot dwell upon remembered glory. We cannot afford to drift. We reject the prospect of failure or mediocrity or an inferior quality of life for any person. Our government must at the same time be both competent and compassionate.

We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now struggling to enhance equality of opportunity. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute, our laws fair, our national beauty preserved; the powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced.

We have learned that *more* is not necessarily *better*, that even our great Nation has its recognized limits, and that we can neither answer all questions nor solve all problems. We cannot afford to do everything, nor can we afford to lack boldness as we meet the future. So together, in a spirit of individual sacrifice for the common good, we must simply do our best.

Our Nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home. And we know that the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation.

To be true to ourselves, we must be true to others. We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that the trust which our Nation earns is essential to our strength.

The world itself is now dominated by a new spirit. Peoples more numerous and more politically aware are craving, and now demanding, their place in the sun—not just for the benefit of their own physical condition, but for basic human rights.

The passion for freedom is on the rise. Tapping this new spirit, there can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America to undertake on this day of a new beginning than to help shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane.

We are a strong Nation, and we will maintain strength so sufficient that it need not be proven in combat—a quiet strength based not merely on the size of an arsenal, but on the nobility of ideas.

We will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable, and we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice, for those are the enemies against which our forces can be honorably marshalled.

We are a proudly idealistic Nation, but let no one confuse our idealism with weakness.

Because we are free, we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. Our moral sense dictates a clearcut preference for those societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights. We do not seek to intimidate, but it is clear that a world which

others can dominate with impunity would be inhospitable to decency and a threat to the well-being of all people.

The world is still engaged in a massive armaments race designed to ensure continuing equivalent strength among potential adversaries. We pledge perseverance and wisdom in our efforts to limit the world's armaments to those necessary for each nation's own domestic safety. And we will move this year a step toward our ultimate goal—the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this Earth. We urge all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death.

Within us, the people of the United States, there is evident a serious and purposeful rekindling of confidence. And I join in the hope that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our Nation:

—that we had remembered the words of Micah and renewed our search for humility, mercy, and justice;

—that we had torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion and where there had been mistrust, built unity, with a respect for diversity;

—that we had found productive work for those able to perform it;

—that we had strengthened the American family, which is the basis of our society;

—that we had ensured respect for the law and equal treatment under the law, for the weak and the powerful, for the rich and the poor; and

—that we had enabled our people to be proud of their own government once again.

I would hope that the nations of the world might say that we had built a lasting peace, based not on weapons of war but on international policies which reflect our own most precious values.

These are not just my goals—and they will not be my accomplishments—but the affirmation of our Nation's continuing moral strength and our belief in an undiminished, ever-expanding American dream.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: President Carter spoke at 12:05 p.m. from a platform erected at the East Front of the Capitol. Immediately before the address, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger.

Address to People of Other Nations

The President's Remarks to People of Other Nations on Assuming Office. January 20, 1977

I have chosen the occasion of my inauguration as President to speak not only to my own countrymen—which is traditional—but also to you, citizens of the world who did not participate in our election but who will nevertheless be affected by my decisions.

I also believe that as friends you are entitled to know how the power and influence of the United States will be exercised by its new Government.

I want to assure you that the relations of the United States with the other countries and peoples of the world will be guided during my own administration by our

desire to shape a world order that is more responsive to human aspirations. The United States will meet its obligation to help create a stable, just, and peaceful world order.

We will not seek to dominate nor dictate to others. As we Americans have concluded one chapter in our Nation's history and are beginning to work on another, we have, I believe, acquired a more mature perspective on the problems of the world. It is a perspective which recognizes the fact that we alone do not have all the answers to the world's problems.

The United States alone cannot lift from the world the terrifying specter of nuclear destruction. We can and will work with others to do so.

The United States alone cannot guarantee the basic right of every human being to be free of poverty and hunger and disease and political repression. We can and

will cooperate with others in combating these enemies of mankind.

The United States alone cannot ensure an equitable development of the world resources or the proper safeguarding of the world's environment. But we can and will join with others in this work.

The United States can and will take the lead in such efforts.

In these endeavors we need your help, and we offer ours; We need your experience; we need your wisdom.

We need your active participation in a joint effort to move the reality of the world closer to the ideals of human freedom and dignity.

As friends, you can depend on the United States to be in the forefront of the search for world peace. You can depend on the United States to remain steadfast in its commitment to human freedom and liberty. And you can also depend on the United States to be sensitive to your own concerns and aspirations, to welcome your advice, to do its utmost to resolve international differences in a spirit of cooperation.

The problems of the world will not be easily resolved. Yet the well-being of each and every one of us—indeed our mutual survival—depends on their resolution. As President of the United States I can assure you that we intend to do our part. I ask you to join us in a common effort based on mutual trust and mutual respect.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President's remarks were videotaped by the United States Information Agency for broadcast to 26 nations on January 20, 1977.

Presidential Proclamation of Pardon

Proclamation 4483. January 21, 1977

GRANTING PARDON FOR VIOLATIONS OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, AUGUST 4, 1964 TO MARCH 28, 1973

*By the President of the United States of America
a Proclamation*

Acting pursuant to the grant of authority in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, I, Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, do hereby grant a full, complete and unconditional pardon to: (1) all persons who may have committed any offense between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973 in violation of the Military Selective Service Act or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder; and (2) all persons heretofore convicted, irrespective of the date of conviction, of any offense committed between August 4, 1964

and March 28, 1973 in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, restoring to them full political, civil and other rights.

This pardon does not apply to the following who are specifically excluded therefrom:

(1) All persons convicted of or who may have committed any offense in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, involving force or violence; and

(2) All persons convicted of or who may have committed any offense in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, in connection with duties or responsibilities arising out of employment as agents, officers or employees of the Military Selective Service system.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 21st day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and first.

JIMMY CARTER

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1:04 p.m.
January 21, 1977]

Executive Order Relating to Proclamation of Pardon

Executive Order 11967. January 21, 1977

RELATING TO VIOLATIONS OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT, AUGUST 4, 1964 TO MARCH 28, 1973

The following actions shall be taken to facilitate Presidential Proclamation of Pardon of January 21, 1977:

1. The Attorney General shall cause to be dismissed with prejudice to the government all pending indictments for violations of the Military Selective Service Act alleged to have occurred between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973 with the exception of the following:

(a) Those cases alleging acts of force or violence deemed to be so serious by the Attorney General as to warrant continued prosecution; and

(b) Those cases alleging acts in violation of the Military Selective Service Act by agents, employees or officers of the Selective Service System arising out of such employment.

2. The Attorney General shall terminate all investigations now pending and shall not initiate further investigations alleging violations of the Military Selective Service

Index of Contents

Addresses and Remarks		
Address to people of other nations.....	89	
Inaugural address.....	87	
Appointments and Nominations		
State Department officials.....	92	
Executive Orders		
Executive order relating to proclamation of pardon (EO 11967).....	90	
Proclamations		
Presidential proclamation of pardon (Proc. 4483)	90	
Statements by the President		
Energy crisis.....	91	
Statements other than Presidential		
National Security Council organization, White House Press Secretary.....	92	
Vice President Mondale's trip to Europe and Japan, White House Press Secretary.....	92	

Supplementary Material		
Acts approved by the President.....	93	
Checklist of White House press releases.....	93	
Digest of other White House announcements...	92	
Nominations submitted to the Senate.....	93	

Weekly Compilation of
PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Week Ending Friday, January 24, 1969

**INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF
PRESIDENT RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON**

*Following His Swearing In as the 37th President of the United States.
January 20, 1969*

Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans—and my fellow citizens of the world community:

I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries.

This can be such a moment.

Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized. The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.

For the first time, because the people of the world want peace, and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.

Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years—the beginning of the third millennium.

What kind of a nation we will be, what kind of a world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

This is our summons to greatness.

I believe the American people are ready to answer this call.

The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth.

We have given freedom new reach. We have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white.

We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history.

No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. And because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles: "They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our crisis today is in reverse.

We find ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth.

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

And to find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.

When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.

Greatness comes in simple trappings.

The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.

For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways—to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart—to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard.

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.

Those left behind, we will help to catch up.

For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure.

As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before—not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new.

We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.

Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition—not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man.

As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together—not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.

With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.

Over the past 20 years, since I first came to this Capital as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world. I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the hatreds, the fears that divide the world.

I know that peace does not come through wishing for it—that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy.

I also know the people of the world.

I have seen the hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.

I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer, and those who sorrow.

I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my Office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations.

Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike:

The peace we seek—the peace we seek to win—is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes “with healing in its wings”; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.

Only a few short weeks ago we shared the glory of man’s first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon’s gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of earth—and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God’s blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write: “To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as

In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history.

In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life—in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward.

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.

Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed.

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing—with the people we can do everything.

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit—each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself, and exciting as the times we live in.

The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny.

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents. We achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce; but as we chart our goals, we shall be lifted by our dreams.

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to insure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.

As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.

Let us take as our goal: Where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open.

riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who know now they are truly brothers.”

In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity—seeing in that far perspective that man’s destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts.

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.

Our destiny offers not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it not in fear, but in gladness—and “riders on the earth together,” let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers; but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man.

THE STATE OF THE UNION

*The President's Address Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress.
January 12, 1977*

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of the 95th Congress, and distinguished guests:

In accordance with the Constitution, I come before you once again to report on the state of the Union.

This report will be my last—maybe—[laughter]—but for the Union, it is only the first of such reports in our third century of independence, the close of which none of us will ever see. We can be confident, however, that 100 years from now, a freely elected President will come before a freely elected Congress chosen to renew our great Republic's pledge to the Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

For my part, I pray the third century we are beginning will bring to all Americans, our children and their children's children, a greater measure of individual equality, opportunity, and justice, a greater abundance of spiritual and material blessings, and a higher quality of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The state of the Union is a measurement of the many elements of which it is composed—a political union of diverse States, an economic union of varying interests, an intellectual union of common convictions, and a moral union of immutable ideals.

Taken in sum, I can report that the state of the Union is good. There is room for improvement, as always, but today we have a more perfect Union than when my stewardship began.

As a people, we discovered that our Bicentennial was much more than a celebration of the past; it became a joyous reaffirmation of all that it means to be Americans, a confirmation before all the world of the vitality and durability of our free institutions. I am proud to have been privileged to preside over the affairs of our Federal Government during these eventful years when we proved, as I said in my first words upon assuming office, that "our Constitution works; our great Republic is a Government of laws and not of men. Here the people rule."

The people have spoken; they have chosen a new President and a new Congress to work their will. I congratulate you—particularly the new Members—as sincerely as I did President-elect Carter. In a few days, it will be his duty to outline for you his priorities and legislative recommendations. Tonight, I will not infringe on that responsibility, but rather wish him the very best in all that is good for our country.

During the period of my own service in this Capitol and in the White House, I can recall many orderly transitions of governmental responsibility—of problems as well as of position, of burdens as well as of power. The genius of the American system is that we do this so naturally and so normally—there are no soldiers marching in the street except in the Inaugural Parade; no public demonstrations except for some of the dancers at the Inaugural Ball; the opposition party doesn't go underground, but goes on functioning vigorously in the Congress and in the country; and

our vigilant press goes right on probing and publishing our faults and our follies, confirming the wisdom of the framers of the first amendment.

Because the transfer of authority in our form of government affects the state of the Union and of the world, I am happy to report to you that the current transition is proceeding very well. I was determined that it should; I wanted the new President to get off on an easier start than I had.

When I became President on August 9, 1974, our Nation was deeply divided and tormented. In rapid succession, the Vice President and the President had resigned in disgrace. We were still struggling with the after-effects of a long, unpopular, and bloody war in Southeast Asia. The economy was unstable and racing toward the worst recession in 40 years. People were losing jobs. The cost of living was soaring. The Congress and the Chief Executive were at loggerheads. The integrity of our constitutional process and other institutions was being questioned. For more than 15 years, domestic spending had soared as Federal programs multiplied, and the expense escalated annually. During the same period, our national security needs were steadily shortchanged. In the grave situation which prevailed in August 1974, our will to maintain our international leadership was in doubt.

I asked for your prayers and went to work.

In January 1975, I reported to the Congress that the state of the Union was not good. I proposed urgent action to improve the economy and to achieve energy independence in 10 years. I reassured America's allies and sought to reduce the danger of confrontation with potential adversaries. I pledged a new direction for America.

Nineteen seventy-five was a year of difficult decisions, but Americans responded with realism, common sense, and self-discipline.

By January 1976, we were headed in a new direction, which I hold to be the right direction for a free society. It was guided by the belief that successful problemsolving requires more than Federal action alone; that it involves a full partnership among all branches and all levels of government, and public policies which nurture and promote the creative energies of private enterprises, institutions, and individual citizens.

A year ago, I reported that the state of the Union was better—in many ways a lot better—but still not good enough.

Common sense told me to stick to the steady course we were on, to continue to restrain the inflationary growth of government, to reduce taxes as well as spending, to return local decisions to local officials, to provide for long-range sufficiency in energy and national security needs. I resisted the immense pressures of an election year to open the floodgates of Federal money and the temptation to promise more than I could deliver. I told it as it was to the American people and demonstrated to the world that in our spirited political competition, as in this chamber, Americans can disagree without being disagreeable.

Now, after 30 months as your President, I can say that while we still have a way to go, I am proud of the long way we have come together.

I am proud of the part I have had in rebuilding confidence in the Presidency, confidence in our free system, and confidence in our future. Once again, Americans believe in themselves, in their leaders, and in the promise that tomorrow holds for their children.

I am proud that today America is at peace. None of our sons are fighting and dying in battle anywhere in the world. And the chance for peace among all nations is improved by our determination to honor our vital commitments in defense of peace and freedom.

I am proud that the United States has strong defenses, strong alliances, and a sound and courageous foreign policy.

Our alliances with major partners, the great industrial democracies of Western Europe, Japan, and Canada, have never been more solid. Consultations on mutual security, defense, and East-West relations have grown closer. Collaboration has branched out into new fields such as energy, economic policy, and relations with the third world. We have used many avenues for cooperation, including summit meetings held among major allied countries. The friendship of the democracies is deeper, warmer, and more effective than at any time in 30 years.

We are maintaining stability in the strategic nuclear balance and pushing back the spectre of nuclear war. A decisive step forward was taken in the Vladivostok Accord which I negotiated with General Secretary Brezhnev—joint recognition that an equal ceiling should be placed on the number of strategic weapons on each side. With resolve and wisdom on the part of both nations, a good agreement is well within reach this year.

The framework for peace in the Middle East has been built. Hopes for future progress in the Middle East were stirred by the historic agreements we reached and the trust and confidence that we formed. Thanks to American leadership, the prospects for peace in the Middle East are brighter than they have been in three decades. The Arab states and Israel continue to look to us to lead them from confrontation and war to a new era of accommodation and peace. We have no alternative but to persevere—and I am sure we will. The opportunities for a final settlement are great, and the price of failure is a return to the bloodshed and hatred that for too long have brought tragedy to all of the peoples of this area and repeatedly edged the world to the brink of war.

Our relationship with the People's Republic of China is proving its importance and its durability. We are finding more and more common ground between our two countries on basic questions of international affairs.

In my two trips to Asia as President, we have reaffirmed America's continuing vital interest in the peace and security of Asia and the Pacific Basin, established a new partnership with Japan, confirmed our dedication to the security of Korea, and reinforced our ties with the free nations of Southeast Asia.

An historic dialog has begun between industrial nations and developing nations. Most proposals on the table are the initiatives of the United States, including those on food, energy, technology, trade, investment, and commodities. We are well launched on this process of shaping positive and reliable economic relations between rich nations and poor nations over the long term.

We have made progress in trade negotiations and avoided protectionism during recession. We strengthened the international monetary system. During the past 2 years, the free world's most important economic powers have already brought about important changes that serve both developed and developing economies. The momentum already achieved must be nurtured and strengthened, for the prosperity of the rich and poor depends upon it.

In Latin America, our relations have taken on a new maturity and a sense of common enterprise.

In Africa, the quest for peace, racial justice, and economic progress is at a crucial point. The United States, in close cooperation with the United Kingdom, is actively engaged in this historic process. Will change come about by warfare and chaos and foreign intervention? Or will it come about by negotiated and fair solutions, ensuring majority rule, minority rights, and economic advance? America is committed to the side of peace and justice and to the principle that Africa should shape its own future, free of outside intervention.

American leadership has helped to stimulate new international efforts to stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to shape a comprehensive treaty governing the use of oceans.

I am gratified by these accomplishments. They constitute a record of broad success for America and for the peace and prosperity of all mankind. This administration leaves to its successor a world in better condition than we found. We leave, as well, a solid foundation for progress on a range of issues that are vital to the well-being of America.

What has been achieved in the field of foreign affairs and what can be accomplished by the new administration demonstrate the genius of Americans working together for the common good. It is this, our remarkable ability to work together, that has made us a unique nation. It is Congress, the President, and the people striving for a better world.

I know all patriotic Americans want this Nation's foreign policy to succeed. I urge Members of my party in this Congress to give the new President loyal support in this area. I express the hope that this new Congress will reexamine its constitutional role in international affairs.

The exclusive right to declare war, the duty to advise and consent on the part of the Senate, the power of the purse on the part of the House, are ample authority for the legislative branch and should be jealously guarded. But because we may have been too careless of these powers in the past does not justify congressional intrusion into, or obstruction of, the proper exercise of Presidential responsibilities now or in the future. There can be only one Commander in Chief. In these times, crises cannot be managed and wars cannot be waged by committee; nor can peace be pursued solely by parliamentary debate. To the ears of the world, the President speaks for the Nation. While he is, of course, ultimately accountable to the Congress, the courts, and the people, he and his emissaries must not be handicapped in advance in their relations with foreign governments, as has sometimes happened in the past.

At home, I am encouraged by the Nation's recovery from the recession and our steady return to sound economic growth. It is now continuing

after the recent period of uncertainty, which is part of the price we pay for free elections.

Our most pressing need today and the future is more jobs—productive, permanent jobs created by a thriving economy. We must revise our tax system both to ease the burden of heavy taxation and to encourage the investment necessary for the creation of productive jobs for all Americans who want to work.

Earlier this month, I proposed a permanent income tax reduction of \$10 billion below current levels, including raising the personal exemption from \$750 to \$1,000. I also recommended a series of measures to stimulate investment, such as accelerated depreciation for new plants and equipment in areas of high unemployment, a reduction in the corporate tax rate from 48 to 46 percent, and eliminating the present double taxation of dividends. I strongly urge the Congress to pass these measures to help create the productive, permanent jobs in the private economy that are so essential for our future.

All the basic trends are good; we are not on the brink of another recession or economic disaster. If we follow prudent policies that encourage productive investment and discourage destructive inflation, we will come out on top—and I am sure we will.

We have successfully cut inflation by more than half. When I took office, the Consumer Price Index was rising at 12.2 percent a year. During 1976, the rate of inflation was 5 percent.

We have created more jobs—over 4 million more jobs today than in the spring of 1975. Throughout this Nation today, we have over 88 million people in useful, productive jobs—more than at any other time in our Nation's history. But there are still too many Americans unemployed. This is the greatest regret that I have as I leave office.

We brought about with the Congress, after much delay, the renewal of the general revenue sharing. We expanded community development and Federal manpower programs. We began a significant urban mass transit program.

Federal programs today provide more funds for our States and local governments than ever before—\$70 billion for the current fiscal year. Through these programs and others that provide aid directly to individuals, we have kept faith with our tradition of compassionate help for those who need it. As we begin our third century, we can be proud of the progress that we have made in meeting human needs for all of our citizens.

We have cut the growth of crime by nearly 90 percent. Two years ago, crime was increasing at the rate of 18 percent annually. In the first three quarters of 1976, that growth rate had been cut to 2 percent. But crime, and the fear of crime, remains one of the most serious problems facing our citizens.

We have had some successes. And there have been some disappointments. Bluntly, I must remind you that we have not made satisfactory progress toward achieving energy independence.

Energy is absolutely vital to the defense of our country, to the strength of our economy, and to the quality of our lives. Two years ago, I proposed to the Congress the first comprehensive national energy program: a

specific and coordinated set of measures that would end our vulnerability to embargo, blockade, or arbitrary price increases, and would mobilize U.S. technology and resources to supply a significant share of the free world's energy after 1985.

Of the major energy proposals I submitted 2 years ago, only half, belatedly, became law. In 1973, we were dependent upon foreign oil imports for 36 percent of our needs. Today, we are 40-percent dependent, and we'll pay out \$34 billion for foreign oil this year. Such vulnerability at present or in the future is intolerable and must be ended.

The answer to where we stand on our national energy effort today reminds me of the old argument about whether the tank is half full or half empty. The pessimist will say we have half failed to achieve our 10-year energy goals; the optimist will say that we have half succeeded. I am always an optimist, but we must make up for lost time.

We have laid a solid foundation for completing the enormous task which confronts us. I have signed into law five major energy bills which contain significant measures for conservation, resource development, stockpiling, and standby authorities. We have moved forward to develop the naval petroleum reserves; to build a 500 million-barrel strategic petroleum stockpile; to phase out unnecessary government allocation and price controls; to develop a lasting relationship with other oil consuming nations; to improve the efficiency of energy use through conservation in automobiles, buildings, and industry; and to expand research on new technology and renewable resources such as wind power, geothermal and solar energy.

All these actions, significant as they are for the long term, are only the beginning. I recently submitted to the Congress my proposals to reorganize the Federal energy structure, and the hard choices which remain if we are serious about reducing our dependence upon foreign energy. These include programs to reverse our declining production of natural gas and increase incentives for domestic crude oil production. I proposed to minimize environmental uncertainties affecting coal development, expand nuclear power generation, and create an energy independence authority to provide government financial assistance for vital energy programs where private capital is not available.

We must explore every reasonable prospect for meeting our energy needs when our current domestic reserves of oil and natural gas begin to dwindle in the next decade. I urgently ask Congress and the new administration to move quickly on these issues. This Nation has the resources and the capability to achieve our energy goals if its Government has the will to proceed—and I think we do.

I have been disappointed by inability to complete many of the meaningful organizational reforms which I contemplated for the Federal Government, although a start has been made. For example, the Federal judicial system has long served as a model for other courts. But today, it is threatened by a shortage of qualified Federal judges and an explosion of litigation claiming Federal jurisdiction.

I commend to the new administration and the Congress the recent report and recommendations of the Department of Justice, undertaken at my request, on "the needs of the Federal Courts." I especially endorse its proposals for a new commission on the judicial appointment process.

While the judicial branch of our Government may require reinforcement, the budgets and payrolls of the other branches remain staggering. I cannot help but observe that while the White House staff and the Executive Office of the President have been reduced and the total number of civilians in the executive branch contained during the 1970's, the legislative branch has increased substantially although the membership of the Congress remains at 535. Congress now costs the taxpayers more than a million dollars per Member; the whole legislative budget has passed the billion dollar mark.

I set out to reduce the growth in the size and spending of the Federal Government, but no President can accomplish this alone. The Congress sidetracked most of my requests for authority to consolidate overlapping programs and agencies, to return more decisionmaking and responsibility to State and local governments through block grants instead of rigid categorical programs, and to eliminate unnecessary redtape and outrageously complex regulations.

We have made some progress in cutting back the expansion of government and its intrusion into individual lives but, believe me, there is much more to be done—and you and I know it. It can only be done by tough and temporarily painful surgery by a Congress as prepared as the President to face up to this very real political problem. Again, I wish my successor, working with a substantial majority of his own party, the best of success in reforming the costly and cumbersome machinery of the Federal Government.

The task of self-government is never finished. The problems are great; the opportunities are greater.

America's first goal is and always will be peace with honor. America must remain first in keeping peace in the world. We can remain first in peace only if we are never second in defense.

In presenting the state of the Union to the Congress and to the American people, I have a special obligation as Commander in Chief to report on our national defense. Our survival as a free and independent people requires, above all, strong military forces that are well-equipped and highly trained to perform their assigned mission. I am particularly gratified to report that over the past 2½ years, we have been able to reverse the dangerous decline of the previous decade in real resources this country was devoting to national defense. This was an immediate problem I faced in 1974.

The evidence was unmistakable that the Soviet Union had been steadily increasing the resources it applied to building its military strength. During this same period, the United States' real defense spending declined. In my three budgets we not only arrested that dangerous decline, but we have established the positive trend which is essential to our ability to contribute to peace and stability in the world.

The Vietnam war, both materially and psychologically, affected our overall defense posture. The dangerous antimilitary sentiment discour-

aged defense spending and unfairly disparaged the men and women who serve in our Armed Forces.

The challenge that now confronts this country is whether we have the national will and determination to continue this essential defense effort over the long term, as it must be continued. We can no longer afford to oscillate from year to year in so vital a matter; indeed, we have a duty to look beyond the immediate question of budgets and to examine the nature of the problem we will face over the next generation.

I am the first recent President able to address long-term, basic issues without the burden of Vietnam. The war in Indochina consumed enormous resources at the very time that the overwhelming strategic superiority we once enjoyed was disappearing. In past years, as a result of decisions by the United States, our strategic forces leveled off. Yet, the Soviet Union continued a steady, constant buildup of its own forces, committing a high percentage of its national economic effort to defense.

The United States can never tolerate a shift in strategic balance against us, or even a situation where the American people or our allies believe the balance is shifting against us. The United States would risk the most serious political consequences if the world came to believe that our adversaries have a decisive margin of superiority.

To maintain a strategic balance we must look ahead to the 1980's and beyond. The sophistication of modern weapons requires that we make decisions now if we are to ensure our security 10 years from now. Therefore, I have consistently advocated and strongly urged that we pursue three critical strategic programs: the Trident missile launching submarine; the B-1 bomber, with its superior capability to penetrate modern air defenses; and a more advanced intercontinental ballistic missile that will be better able to survive nuclear attack and deliver a devastating retaliatory strike.

In an era where the strategic nuclear forces are in rough equilibrium, the risks of conflict below the nuclear threshold may grow more perilous. A major long-term objective, therefore, is to maintain capabilities to deal with, and thereby deter, conventional challenges and crises, particularly in Europe.

We cannot rely solely on strategic forces to guarantee our security or to deter all types of aggression. We must have superior naval and marine forces to maintain freedom of the seas, strong multipurpose tactical air forces, and mobile, modern ground forces. Accordingly, I have directed a long-term effort to improve our worldwide capabilities to deal with regional crises.

I have submitted a 5-year naval building program indispensable to the Nation's maritime strategy. Because the security of Europe and the integrity of NATO remain the cornerstone of American defense policy, I have initiated a special, long-term program to ensure the capacity of the Alliance to deter or defeat aggression in Europe.

As I leave office, I can report that our national defense is effectively deterring conflict today. Our Armed Forces are capable of carrying out the variety of missions assigned to them. Programs are underway which will assure we can deter war in the years ahead. But, I also must warn that it will require a sustained effort over a period of years to maintain

these capabilities. We must have the wisdom, the stamina, and the courage to prepare today for the perils of tomorrow—and I believe we will.

As I look to the future—and I assure you I intend to go on doing that for a good many years—I can say with confidence that the state of the Union is good, but we must go on making it better and better.

This gathering symbolizes the constitutional foundation which makes continued progress possible, synchronizing the skills of three independent branches of government, reserving fundamental sovereignty to the people of this great land.

It is only as the temporary representatives and servants of the people that we meet here—we bring no hereditary status or gift of infallibility and none follows us from this place. Like President Washington, like the more fortunate of his successors, I look forward to the status of private citizen with gladness and gratitude. To me, being a citizen of the United States of America is the greatest honor and privilege in this world.

From the opportunities which fate and my fellow citizens have given me, as a Member of the House, as Vice President and President of the Senate, and as President of all the people, I have come to understand and place the highest value on the checks and balances which our founders imposed on government through the separation of powers among co-equal legislative, executive, and judicial branches. This often results in difficulty and delay, as I well know, but it also places supreme authority under God, beyond any one person, any one branch, any majority great or small, or any one party. The Constitution is the bedrock of all our freedoms. Guard and cherish it, keep honor and order in your own house, and the Republic will endure.

It is not easy to end these remarks. In this Chamber, along with some of you, I have experienced many, many of the highlights of my life. It was here that I stood 28 years ago with my freshman colleagues, as Speaker Sam Rayburn administered the oath. I see some of you now—Charlie Bennett, Dick Bolling, Carl Perkins, Pete Rodino, Harley Staggers, Tom Steed, Sid Yates, Clem Zablocki—and I remember those who have gone to their rest.

It was here we waged many, many a lively battle—won some, lost some, but always remaining friends. It was here, surrounded by such friends, that the distinguished Chief Justice swore me in as Vice President on December 6, 1973. It was here I returned 8 months later as your President to ask not for a honeymoon, but for a good marriage.

I will always treasure those memories and your many, many kindnesses. I thank you for them all.

My fellow Americans, I once asked you for your prayers, and now I give you mine: May God guide this wonderful country, its people, and those they have chosen to lead them. May our third century be illuminated by liberty and blessed with brotherhood, so that we and all who come after us may be the humble servants of thy peace. Amen.

Good night. God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:10 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol, after being introduced by Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

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PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

THE STATE OF THE UNION

*The President's Message Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress.
January 14, 1969*

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress and my fellow Americans:

For the sixth and the last time, I present to the Congress my assessment of the State of the Union.

I shall speak to you tonight about challenge and opportunity—and about the commitments that all of us have made together that will, if we carry them out, give America our best chance to achieve the kind of great society that we all want.

Every President lives, not only with what is, but with what has been and what could be.

Most of the great events in his Presidency are part of a larger sequence extending back through several years and extending back through several other administrations.

Urban unrest, poverty, pressures on welfare, education of our people, law enforcement and law and order, the continuing crisis in the Middle East, the conflict in Vietnam, the dangers of nuclear war, the great difficulties of dealing with the Communist powers, all have this much in common.

They and their causes—the causes that gave rise to them—all of these have existed with us for many years. Several Presidents have already sought to try to deal with them. One or more Presidents will try to resolve them or try to contain them in the years that are ahead of us.

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But if the Nation's problems are continuing, so are this Nation's assets:

- our economy,
- the democratic system,
- our sense of exploration, symbolized most recently by the wonderful flight of the Apollo 8, in which all Americans took great pride,
- the good common sense and sound judgment of the American people, and
- their essential love of justice.

We must not ignore our problems. But neither should we ignore our strengths. Those strengths are available to sustain a President of either party—to support his progressive efforts both at home and overseas.

Unfortunately, the departure of an administration does not mean the end of the problems that this administration has faced. The effort to meet the problems must go on, year after year, if the momentum we have all mounted together in these past years is not to be lost.

Although the struggle for progressive change is continuous, there are times when a watershed is reached—when there is—if not really a break with the past—at least the fulfillment of many of its oldest hopes, and a stepping forth into a new environment, to seek new goals.

I think the past 5 years has been such a time.

We have finished a major part of the old agenda.

Some of the laws that we wrote have already, in front of our eyes, taken on the flesh of achievement.

Medicare that we were unable to pass for so many years is now a part of American life.

Voting rights and the voting booth that we debated so long back in the fifties, and the doors to public service, are open at last to all Americans regardless of their color.

Schools and school children all over America tonight are receiving Federal assistance to go to good schools.

Preschool education—Head Start—is already here to stay and, I think, so are the Federal programs that tonight are keeping more than a million and a half of the cream of our young people in the colleges and universities of this country.

Part of the American earth—not only in description on a map, but in the reality of our shores, our hills, our parks, our forests, and our mountains—has been permanently set aside for the American public and for their benefit. And there is more that will be set aside before this administration ends.

Five million Americans have been trained for jobs in new Federal programs.

I think it is most important that we all realize tonight that this Nation is close to full employment—with less unemployment than we have had at any time in almost 20 years. That is not in theory; that is in fact. Tonight, the unemployment rate is down to 3.3 percent. The number of jobs has grown more than 8½ million in the last 5 years. That is more than in all the preceding 12 years.

These achievements completed the full cycle—from idea to enactment and, finally, to a place in the lives of citizens all across this country.

I wish it were possible to say that everything that this Congress and the administration achieved during this period had already completed that cycle. But a great deal of what we have committed needs additional funding to become a tangible realization.

Yet the very existence of these commitments—these promises to the American people, made by this Congress and by the executive branch of the Government—are achievements in themselves, and failure to carry through on our commitments would be a tragedy for this Nation.

This much is certain: No one man or group of men made these commitments alone. Congress and the executive branch, with their checks and balances, reasoned together and finally wrote them into the law of the land. They now have all the moral force that the American political system can summon when it acts as one.

They express America's common determination to achieve goals. They imply action.

In most cases, you have already begun that action—but it is not fully completed, of course.

Let me speak for a moment about these commitments. I am going to speak in the language which the Congress itself spoke when it passed these measures.

I am going to quote from your words.

In 1966, Congress declared that "improving the quality of urban life is the most critical domestic problem facing the United States." Two years later it affirmed the historic goal of "a decent home . . . for every American family." That is your language.

To meet these commitments, we must increase our support for the model cities program, where blueprints of change are already being prepared in more than 150 American cities.

To achieve the goals of the Housing Act of 1968 that you have already passed, we should begin this year more than 500,000 homes for needy families in the coming fiscal year. Funds are provided in the new budget to do just this. This is almost 10 times—10 times—the average rate of the past 10 years.

Our cities and our towns are being pressed for funds to meet the needs of their growing populations. I believe an Urban Development Bank should be created by the Congress. This bank could obtain resources through the issuance of taxable bonds and it could then lend these resources at reduced rates to the communities throughout the land for schools, hospitals, parks, and other public facilities.

Since we enacted the Social Security Act back in 1935, Congress has recognized the necessity to "make more adequate provision for aged persons . . . through maternal and child welfare . . . and public health". Those are the words of the Congress—"more adequate".

The time has come, I think, to make it more adequate. I believe we should increase social security benefits, and I am so recommending tonight.

I am suggesting that there should be an overall increase in benefits of at least 13 percent. Those who receive only the minimum of \$55 should get \$80 a month.

Our Nation, too, is rightfully proud of our medical advances. But we should remember that our country ranks 15th among the nations of the world in its infant mortality rate.

I think we should assure decent medical care for every expectant mother and for their children during the first year of their life in the United States of America.

I think we should protect our children and their families from the costs of catastrophic illness.

As we pass on from medicine, I think nothing is clearer to the Congress than the commitment that the Congress made to end poverty. Congress expressed it well, I think, in 1964, when they said:

"It is the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this nation."

This is the richest Nation in the world. The antipoverty program has had many achievements. It also has some failures. But we must not cripple it—after only 3 years of trying to solve the human problems that have been with us and have been building up among us for generations.

I believe the Congress this year will want to improve the administration of the poverty program by reorganizing portions of it and transferring them to other agencies. I believe, though, it will want to continue, until we have broken the back of poverty, the efforts we are now making throughout this land.

I believe, and I hope the next administration—I believe they believe—that the key to success in this effort is jobs. It is work for people who want to work.

In the budget for fiscal 1970, I shall recommend a total of \$3.5 billion for our job training program, and that is five times as much as we spent in 1964 trying to prepare Americans where they can work to earn their own living.

The Nation's commitments in the field of civil rights began with the Declaration of Independence. They were extended by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. They have been powerfully strengthened by the enactment of three far-reaching civil rights laws within the past 5 years, that this Congress, in its wisdom, passed.

On January 1 of this year, the Fair Housing Act of 1968 covered over 20 million American homes and apartments. The prohibition against racial discrimination in that act should be remembered and it should be vigorously enforced throughout this land.

I believe we should also extend the vital provisions of the Voting Rights Act for another 5 years.

In the Safe Streets Act of 1968, Congress determined "To assist state and local governments in reducing the incidence of crime."

This year I am proposing that the Congress provide the full \$300 million that the Congress last year authorized to do just that.

I hope the Congress will put the money where the authorization is.

I believe this is an essential contribution to justice and to public order in the United States. I hope these grants can be made to the States and they can be used effectively to reduce the crime rate in this country.

But all of this is only a small part of the total effort that must be made—I think chiefly by the local governments throughout the Nation—if we expect to reduce the toll of crime that we all detest.

Frankly, as I leave the Office of the Presidency, one of my greatest disappointments is our failure to secure passage of a licensing and registration act for firearms. I think if we had passed that act, it would have reduced the incidence of crime. I believe that the Congress should adopt such a law, and I hope that it will at a not too distant date.

In order to meet our longstanding commitment to make government as efficient as possible, I believe that we should reorganize our postal system along the lines of the Kappel report.

I hope we can all agree that public service should never impose an unreasonable financial sacrifice on able men and women who want to serve their country.

I believe that the recommendations of the Commission on Executive, Legislative and Judicial Salaries are generally sound. Later this week, I shall submit a special message which I reviewed with the leadership this evening containing a proposal that has been reduced and has modified the Commission's recommendation to some extent on the congressional salaries.

For Members of Congress, I will recommend the basic compensation not of the \$50,000 unanimously recommended by the Kappel Commission and the other distinguished members, but I shall reduce that \$50,000 to \$42,500. I will suggest that Congress appropriate a very small additional allowance for official expenses, so that Members will not be required to use their salary increase for essential official business.

I would have submitted the Commission's recommendations, except the advice that I received from the leadership—and you usually are consulted about matters that affect the Congress—was that the Congress would not accept the \$50,000 recommendation, and if I expected my recommendation to be seriously considered, I should make substantial reductions. That is the only reason I didn't go along with the Kappel report.

In 1967 I recommended to the Congress a fair and impartial random selection system for the draft. I submit it again tonight for your most respectful consideration.

I know that all of us recognize that most of the things we do to meet all of these commitments I talk about will cost money. If we maintain the strong rate of growth we have had in this country for the past 8 years, I think we shall generate the resources that we need to meet these commitments.

We have already been able to increase our support for major social programs—although we have heard a lot about not being able to do anything on the home front because of Vietnam—but we have been able in the last 5 years to increase our commitments for such things as health and education from \$30 billion in 1964 to \$68 billion in the coming fiscal year. That is more than double. That is more than it has ever been increased in the 188 years of this Republic, notwithstanding Vietnam.

We must continue to budget our resources and budget them responsibly in a way that will preserve our prosperity and strengthen our dollar.

Greater revenues and the reduced Federal spending required by Congress last year have changed the budgetary picture dramatically since last January when we made our estimates. At that time, you will remember that we estimated we would have a deficit of \$8 billion. Well,

I am glad to report to you tonight that the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, this June, we are going to have not a deficit—but we are going to have a \$2.4 billion surplus.

You will receive the budget tomorrow. The budget for the next fiscal year, that begins July 1, which you will want to examine very carefully in the days ahead, will provide a \$3.4 billion surplus.

This budget anticipates the extension of the surtax Congress enacted last year. I have communicated with the President-elect, Mr. Nixon, in connection with this policy of continuing the surtax for the time being.

I want to tell you that both of us want to see it removed just as soon as circumstances will permit, but the President-elect has told me that he has concluded that until his administration, and this Congress, can examine the appropriation bills, and each item in the budget, and can ascertain that the facts justify permitting the surtax to expire or to be reduced, he, Mr. Nixon, will support my recommendation that the surtax be continued.

Americans, I believe, are united in the hope that the Paris talks will bring an early peace to Vietnam. And if our hopes for an early settlement of the war are realized, then our military expenditures can be reduced and very substantial savings can be made to be used for other desirable purposes, as the Congress may determine.

In any event, I think it is imperative that we do all that we responsibly can to resist inflation while maintaining our prosperity. I think all Americans know that our prosperity is broad and it is deep, and it has brought record profits, the highest in our history, and record wages.

Our Gross National Product has grown more in the last 5 years than any other period in our Nation's history. Our wages have been the highest. Our profits have been the best. This prosperity has enabled millions to escape the poverty that they would have otherwise had the last few years.

I think also you will be very glad to hear that the Secretary of the Treasury informs me tonight that in 1968 in our balance of payments we have achieved a surplus. It appears that we have, in fact, done better this year than we have done in any year in this regard since the year 1957.

The quest for a durable peace, I think, has absorbed every administration since the end of World War II. It has required us to seek a limitation of arms races not only among the superpowers, but among the smaller nations as well. We have joined in the test ban treaty of 1963, the outer space treaty of 1967, and the treaty against the spread of nuclear weapons in 1968.

This latter agreement—the nonproliferation treaty—is now pending in the Senate and it has been pending there since last July. In my opinion, delay in ratifying it is not going to be helpful to the cause of peace. America took the lead in negotiating this treaty and America should now take steps to have it approved at the earliest possible date.

Until a way can be found to scale down the level of arms among the superpowers, mankind cannot view the future without fear and great apprehension. I believe that we should resume the talks with the Soviet Union about limiting offensive and defensive missile systems. I think they would already have been resumed except for Czechoslovakia and our election this year.

It was more than 20 years ago that we embarked on a program of trying to aid the developing nations. We knew then that we could not live in good conscience as a rich enclave on an earth that was seething in misery.

During these years there have been great advances made under our program, particularly against want and hunger, although we are disappointed at the appropriations last year. We thought they were woefully inadequate. This year I am asking for adequate funds for economic assistance in the hope that we can further peace throughout the world.

I think we must continue to support efforts in regional cooperation. Among those efforts, that of Western Europe has a very special place in America's concern.

The only course that is going to permit Europe to play the great world role that its resources permit is to go forward to unity. I think America remains ready to work with a united Europe, to work as a partner on the basis of equality.

For the future, the quest for peace requires

- that we maintain the liberal trade policies that have helped us become the leading Nation in world trade;
- that we strengthen the international monetary system as an instrument of world prosperity; and
- that we seek areas of agreement with the Soviet Union where the interests of both nations and the interests of world peace are properly served.

The strained relationship between us and the world's leading Communist power has not ended—especially in the light of the brutal invasion of Czechoslovakia. Totalitarianism is no less odious to us because we are able to reach some accommodation that reduces the danger of world catastrophe.

What we do, we do in the interest of peace in the world. We earnestly hope that time will bring a Russia that is less afraid of diversity and individual freedom.

The quest for peace tonight continues in Vietnam, and in the Paris talks.

I regret more than any of you know that it has not been possible to restore peace to South Vietnam.

The prospects, I think, for peace are better today than at any time since North Vietnam began its invasion with its regular forces more than 4 years ago.

The free nations of Asia know what they were not sure of at that time—that America cares about their freedom, and it also cares about America's own vital interests in Asia and throughout the Pacific.

The North Vietnamese know that they cannot achieve their aggressive purposes by force. There may be hard fighting before a settlement is reached; but, I can assure you, it will yield no victory to the Communist cause.

I cannot speak to you tonight about Vietnam without paying a very personal tribute to the men who have carried the battle out there for all of us. I have been honored to be their Commander in Chief. The Nation owes them its unstinting support while the battle continues—and its enduring gratitude when their service is done.

Finally, the quest for stable peace in the Middle East goes on in many capitals tonight. America fully supports the unanimous resolution of the U.N. Security Council which points the way.

There must be a settlement of the armed hostility that exists in that region of the world today. It is a threat not only to Israel and to all the Arab states, but it is a threat to every one of us and to the entire world as well.

Now, my friends in Congress, I want to conclude with a few very personal words to you.

I rejected and rejected and then finally accepted the congressional leadership's invitation to come here to speak this farewell to you in person tonight.

I did that for two reasons. One was philosophical. I wanted to give you my judgment, as I saw it, on some of the issues before our Nation, as I view them, before I leave.

The other was just pure sentimental. Most all of my life as a public official has been spent here in this building. For 38 years—since I worked on that gallery as a doorkeeper in the House of Representatives—I have known these halls and I have known most of the men pretty well who walked them.

I know the questions that you face. I know the conflicts that you endure. I know the ideals that you seek to serve.

I left here first to become Vice President, and then to become, in a moment of tragedy, the President of the United States.

My term of office has been marked by a series of challenges, both at home and throughout the world.

In meeting some of these challenges, the Nation has found a new confidence. In meeting others, it knew turbulence and doubt, and fear and hate.

Throughout this time, I have been sustained by my faith in representative democracy—a faith that I had learned here in this Capitol Building as an employee and as a Congressman and as a Senator.

I believe deeply in the ultimate purposes of this Nation—described by the Constitution, tempered by history, embodied in progressive laws, and given life by men and women that have been elected to serve their fellow citizens.

Now for 5 most demanding years in the White House, I have been strengthened by the counsel and the cooperation of two great former Presidents—Harry S. Truman and Dwight David Eisenhower. I have been guided by the memory of my pleasant and close association with the beloved John F. Kennedy, and with our greatest modern legislator, Speaker Sam Rayburn.

I have been assisted by my friend every step of the way, Vice President Hubert Humphrey. I am so grateful that I have been supported daily by the loyalty of Speaker McCormack and Majority Leader Albert.

I have benefited from the wisdom of Senator Mike Mansfield, and I am sure that I have avoided many dangerous pitfalls by the good common sense counsel of the President Pro Tem of the Senate, Senator Richard Brevard Russell.

I have received the most generous cooperation from the leaders of the Republican Party in the Congress of the United States, Senator Dirksen and Congressman Gerald Ford, the Minority Leader.

No President should ask for more, although I did upon occasions. But few Presidents have ever been blessed with so much.

President-elect Nixon, in the days ahead, is going to need your understanding, just as I did. And he is entitled to have it. I hope every Member will remember that the burdens he will bear as our President, will be borne for all of us. Each of us should try not to increase these burdens for the sake of narrow personal or partisan advantage.

Now, it is time to leave. I hope it may be said, a hundred years from now, that by working together we helped to make our country more just, more just for all of its people, as well as to insure and guarantee the blessings of liberty for all of our posterity.

That is what I hope. But I believe that at least it will be said that we tried.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:05 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol after being introduced by John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

12/8/88

January
Pre-Inauguration Key Dates
Draft List

January 9 President is scheduled to submit FY 1990 budget to
Congress.

January 16 Martin Luther King Federal Holiday (Jan. 15 actual
birthday)

12/8/88

Integrated Draft List
of
Important Dates

January 20	Inauguration
January 23	Anniversary of Roe v. Wade March for Life; 50,000 to 100,000 pro-life activists usually march to Supreme Court.
February 1	Due date for statutory establishment in EOP of the National Space Council, chaired by the Vice President.
February 15	Deadline for Soviet pullout from Afganistan.
mid-February	Space Shuttle launch.
February 23	Deadline for Presidential decision on whether to provide important relief to the oil industry for national security reasons.
March 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Statutory requirement for President's report to Congress outlining composition and function of the space council.o Deadline for report by the National Economic Commission.
March 5	20th anniversary of the Minority Business Development Agency
March 12	Fair Housing Act amendments become effective
March 26	10th anniversary of Camp David Accords
April 4	Actual 40th anniversary of NATO
April 14-20	NATO summit (G.B. will presumably attend - based on campaign rhetoric).
April 15	Deadline for Congressional action on the budget resolution.
May 30	Memorial Day
May 31/ June 1	OECD Ministerial Summit
June	Joint DOD / DOE report on nuclear weapons surety due to Congress.
July	<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Economic Summit (France; note GB commitment to focus on agriculture.)o Debt ceiling will probably need to be raised.

July 4 Fourth of July, Federal Holiday

August 15 Initial OMB/CBO snapshot of projected FY 1990 budget (GRH)

August 25 Initial sequester order for FY 1990

September 30 Steel voluntary restraint agreement program expires.
President must decide whether and in what form to extend.

October 1 Fiscal year 1990 begins.

October 15 Final sequester order for FY 1990.

IIIA. Possible Executive Orders

The following list contains possible Executive Orders for the earliest days of the Administration. The first six are good candidates for signing on Inauguration Day. The next two have specific deadlines. Others are simply listed as possible ideas.

1. Reform the Federal furlough program
2. Drugs
3. Ethics: -- establish White House Ethics Office
-- provide that Executive Branch personnel may not have contact with certain former Members or employees of Congress, as a means of equating ethics rules for Congress and the Executive Branch (a real shot across their bows)
-- prohibit the highest level Federal employees (Executive Levels I and II) from lobbying anywhere while President Bush remains in office
-- prohibit the highest level employees from working for foreign governments while President Bush remains in office
-- Remove "compartmentalization" of White House
4. Reform Pentagon procurement process
5. Homeless -- e.g. direct Secretary of Defense to provide surplus military equipment for use at homeless shelters
6. Cleanup of Federal nuclear weapons-producing facilities
7. Continue the existing ban on fetal tissue research. A possible order to be signed on Right to Life Day, 1/22.
8. Reestablish the National Space Council. This must be done by February 1, according to a statutory requirement.
9. YES program -- e.g. establish a national advisory board
10. Update regulatory reform program (Executive Order 12291)
11. Savings and loan industry (?)
12. No net loss of wetlands (?)
13. Cease production of chemical weapons pending international chemical weapons conference in early 1989 (?)
14. Name a Federal property or facility after President Reagan (possibly on his birthday, February 6)
15. Establish an interagency group to explore possible responses to the European Community's Project 1992

IIIB. Issues and Initiatives for the First Hundred Days

On Good Morning America on November 4, 1988, the President-elect listed several priorities for his first hundred days in office:

- o Get the deficit down through the flexible freeze. Will require tough negotiations with Congress.
- o On the peace agenda, move forward in discussions with foreign leaders.
- o Consult with the Secretary of Defense regarding nuclear and strategic forces and how to modernize them.

Then move "laser-like" on specific issues with the Cabinet:

- o Consult with Education Secretary to push with "Invest in Our Children" program.
- o Tackle environmental issues like acid rain.

We have transformed this list into the following six categories, reflecting promises the President-elect made during the campaign:

1. Budget deficit

- o Focus on the Presidential line-item veto, an essential budget process reform necessary to make future budget agreements enforceable
- o On day one, name negotiators to represent the Executive Branch in decisive deficit negotiations with Congress

2. Initiatives for a "kinder, gentler" nation:

- o Invest in Our Children
- o Environment (Clean Air Act, global conference)
- o Fighting drugs
- o Civil rights
- o YES to America/Thousand Points of Light
- o Homelessness

Each of these initiatives should emphasize that America is the United States of America; at the dawn of a new era of good feelings, for the first time since the early 60s.

3. Significant Pentagon reform

4. Ethics:

- o Establish White House Ethics Office
- o Remove "compartmentalization" in White House (see attached New York Times editorial, 12/2/88)
- o Introduce ethics legislation
- o Possible Executive Order stating that Executive Branch personnel may not have contact with certain former Members or employees of Congress, as a means of equating ethics rules for Congress and the Executive Branch

5. Education

- o Set in motion education conference with governors, including business and academia
- o New emphasis on special education and the handicapped
- o Merit School program, increase funding for magnet schools

6. World Peace:

- o There will be a chemical weapons conference in France in early 1989. We should tie into this the President-elect's desire to rid the world of chemical and biological weapons.
- o As appropriate, move forward on arms control initiatives and building the NATO alliance.

Further, there are other, secondary issues which we could address during the first hundred days. Most of these are taken from campaign promises:

- o Campaign financing reform -- abolish PACs?
- o Promote trade liberalization with Mexico
- o LDC country debt
- o Savings and loan industry reform
- o Get in front of the Congressional push for a crackdown on leveraged buyouts by combining an LBO reform of our own with our support for a capital gains tax rate reduction and a possible removal of the double taxation of dividends. We could call it the President's "Anti-Takeover, Pro-Entrepreneurship Act of 1989"
- o Announce a national initiative for American leadership in high-definition television (HDTV) research, or some other high-technological research
- o Request Congress to amend the 1958 Space Act to provide a new structure for leadership in space
- o AIDS -- show leadership on the issue
- o Promote adoption

3-3-3

- o Tort reform
- o Introduce the children's tax credit bill in Congress
- o Agriculture -- push for expanded markets, alternative fuels
- o Major push on nuclear non-proliferation
- o If possible, an initiative in the Middle East
- o End tobacco subsidies
- o Establish a police ROTC
- o Establish anti-crime and anti-gang units in the Justice Department
- o Work towards global conference on the environment

Here is a list of summits to which the President-elect committed himself during the campaign:

- o Agriculture Summit: Urge that the 1989 Economic Summit focus on agriculture.
- o Drug Summit: Seek a hemispheric summit on drugs.
- o Environment Summit: Global conference on the environment to address global warming, acid rain, and other challenges.
- o NATO Summit: Propose to convene an early NATO Summit as one of his first acts as President.
- o U.S.-Soviet: Seek an early summit with Soviet leader Gorbachev.

Mr. Deaver's Compartments

NYT

12/2/88 p.A30

"Never Again Mike Deaver" — that was the nickname for the ethics bill President Reagan pocket-vetoed last week. It would have closed the loophole through which Mr. Reagan's close friend and former deputy chief of staff escaped prosecution for lobbying former co-workers soon after leaving the White House in 1985.

White House regulations divide the Executive Office of the President into nine "separate" agencies. That made it lawful for Mr. Deaver, from one compartment, to lobby the Budget Director, in another, for a defense contractor.

Mr. Deaver was convicted not of illegal lobbying but of lying about it to Congress and a grand jury. The new bill would have denied authority for such compartmentalization, forcing a high official

like Mr. Deaver to wait a year before cashing in on his public job.

In a message explaining his veto, Mr. Reagan noted objections to other features of the bill but he did not criticize this compartmentalization provision. In fact, he commended it and said it should be included in any new ethics bill. During the campaign, President-elect Bush endorsed a bill containing the same provision.

But Mr. Reagan need not wait for Congress. His Office of Government Ethics can act on its own to kill the regulation compartmentalizing the White House, one that many in Congress deemed erroneous and foolish in the first place. Doing so offers Mr. Reagan a chance to recover a last bit of ethical credibility and credit.

The following memorandum is a summary of the Heritage Foundation's Mandate for Leadership III, A Strategy for the First 100 Days. We don't necessarily endorse all of these proposals. We simply listed the ones that seemed interesting and plausible, innovative reforms which would show George Bush as an active President in the first 100 days.

12/6/88

MEMORANDUM

RE: Notable Ideas in Mandate for Leadership III, A Strategy for the First 100 Days

This memo is based on the Heritage Foundation's Mandate for Leadership III, A Strategy for the First 100 Days [hereafter "100 Days"], a summary of Mandate for Leadership III [hereafter "Mandate"]. It lists suggestions for possible Presidential or Executive Branch actions we can take in the first hundred days of the Administration. We have reviewed Mandate specifically with that point in mind; it is important to understand that this memo does not attempt to be an exhaustive treatment of all the good ideas from Mandate we may wish to adopt over the next four years.

We don't necessarily endorse all these proposals. We simply listed the ones that seem interesting and plausible, innovative reforms which would show George Bush as an active President in the first hundred days.

The Federal Budget

1. "Call for a new budget act" [100 Days, p. 10, Mandate, p. 66].

This would include some or all of the following items: a line-item veto for the President, strengthened recission authority, ending the practice of the "current service budget", adoption of a two-year budget cycle, and requiring a statement of the long-term budget impact of new spending.

The current budget act was passed in 1974, during a time of weak Presidential authority. It prohibits impoundment, yet Heritage points out that "Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon reduced federal appropriations by between five and eight percent each year by making liberal use of the impoundment power." A line-item veto, of course, is a strong commitment of the President-elect. Combining these and other items in a budget would make the point that the President sees reform of the system as a major step towards solving the deficit.

Presidential Authority and the Separation of Powers

2 and 3. "Revise and reissue Executive Order 12291 to assert the President's authority to exercise effective control over the content of all government regulations, not just the process of regulatory development" [100 Days, p. 3, Mandate, p. 96].

"Direct the Office of Management and Budget to establish and monitor a system for identifying the full costs of executive

branch responses to inquiries by individual members of Congress regarding such matters as contract and grant awards, construction projects, and research facilities [100 Days, p. 3, Mandate, p. 18].

The original Executive Order 12291 was a symbolic beginning to the Reagan Administration in 1981. It provided that all regulations should be subject to a cost-benefit analysis, and it set up the Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which the Vice President chaired.

Now, we could expand Executive Order 12291 by stating explicitly that the President has authority to review all regulatory actions in the Executive Branch. Currently, OMB's authority here is only implicit; Congress could delegate that power to agency heads if it chose.

Congress, particularly through such devices as a continuing resolution or a simple letter from a Member, often mandates that agencies undertake reports and studies about a variety of administrative matters or provide large amounts of information.

In a time of tight budgets, these requests cause great difficulty in administering agencies. These Congressional requests sometimes drive the administration process, to the point where agencies cannot undertake administrative reform because their staff are needed to act on Congressional requests. Heritage suggests that OMB should account for these costs and agencies should develop "innovative" ways of publicizing them. By showing how much money is spent on these studies, this would strengthen the case for the line-item veto.

The first suggestion is minor and would only codify existing practice. The second is more of a threat to Congress, since many of the requests for information are politically motivated (e.g, a request to determine why a particular contractor did not receive a contract).

Thus we should bear in mind that Congress, perhaps someone like Congressman Dingell, would likely object to these reforms. We have to consider whether we want to highlight the institutional differences between Congress and the Presidency at the beginning of the Administration, although we think it will be crucial over the course of the Administration how Congress' agenda differs from that of the President.

Department of Commerce and U.S. Trade Representative

4. Free Trade Areas [100 Days, p. 12, Mandate, pp. 164, 170-1].

Mandate suggests that the Administration begin negotiations with countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, and Thailand "that want and wish fair trade." The proposal in 1983 for a Free Trade Zone with the ASEAN countries is a good idea and should be revived when practical.

A better idea for the short-term would be to build on the President-elect's meeting with President Salinas and seek liberalization of trade with Mexico during his first hundred days. Comprehensive trade talks are unlikely to succeed at this point, but liberalization in a few sectors can be achieved and should be pursued.

Environmental Protection Agency

5. "Begin to consolidate all government environmental data at the EPA" [100 Days, p. 15, Mandate, p. 226].

Consolidation of data would reduce conflicting policy decisions and improve the cost-benefit analysis of environmental regulatory decisions. Since this proposal comes from Heritage, one should note that its adoption might send the wrong signal to environmentalists, who might think it was poisoned by its association with Heritage. We would need to make clear that this would not be an attempt to weaken environmental regulation. However, if it were presented in the context of reform, i.e. having one agency responsible for collecting environmental data instead of several, it could have appeal.

Health and Human Services

6. "Launch an information campaign to encourage Americans to purchase long-term care insurance" [100 Days, p. 16, Mandate, p. 240].

This would fulfill a campaign promise, and it would alleviate the need for long-term care planning in the future. With a larger market, companies could offer more innovative long-term care plans.

7. "Establish a comprehensive federal long-term care database" [100 Days, p. 16, Mandate, pp. 243, 251].

It is difficult to bring long-term care insurance policies to market for two reasons -- the small market currently existing, and a lack of accurate actuarial knowledge. The federal government could work with insurers to develop a database on long-term care, to help insurers bring their products to market.

This is a good reform for a somewhat chaotic long-term care information system.

8. "Extend the existing ban on the use of fetal tissue in federally funded bio-medical research" [100 Days, p. 17, Mandate, p. 249].

A temporary ban was placed upon the National Institutes of Health in early 1988. The President could make this permanent by Executive Order. Alternatively, he could place a ban on fetal tissue obtained from abortions, thus permitting research on fetal tissue obtained from miscarriages, with the consent of the mother. An Executive Order on fetal tissue research would be an appropriate action for National Right to Life Day, January 22.

The right wing of the Republican Party is still suspicious of the President-elect. At the beginning of the Administration, we would do well to err on the side of appealing to conservatives and their concerns.

9. "Ensure that regulations to put into effect the new welfare legislation expand the scope for state innovation and work requirements" [100 Days, p. 17, Mandate, pp. 263, 270].

While this reform is not a subject for direct Presidential action, nevertheless, the new appointees at HHS should monitor closely the process of developing regulations to comply with the new welfare reform law, encouraging more scope for state government authority and more work requirements for able-bodied recipients.

Housing and Urban Development

10. "Expand public housing resident management and ownership" [100 Days, p. 19, Mandate, pp. 294, 301].

Again, this would be a fulfillment of a campaign promise. It would probably be impossible to enact or regulate comprehensive reform in the first hundred days, but a start can be made, and the President can announce that tenant management and ownership is his goal.

11. "Take the offensive on homelessness" [100 Days, p. 19, Mandate, 292, 301].

We certainly believe that we should be on the offensive on homelessness in any event. New bills are being prepared on the

5-5-5

Hill now for introduction early in January. With the onset of winter and the Christmas season, we know the issue is coming. It is to our advantage to propose something first.

Heritage recommends that the Administration should encourage cities to abide by the 1963 Community Mental Health Act. That is a good point. One suggestion is to issue "regulations which tie federal grants to states for mental health with a requirement that community mental health facilities be provided and that state-licensed psychiatric professionals agree to devote a minimum number of hours per month to treat the homeless mentally ill." The President-elect mentioned the need for community-based mental health clinics in the Presidential debate. While it may not be possible for regulations to be issued in the first hundred days, a start can be made, with the goal of expanding the number of community-based mental health clinics.

Somewhat surprisingly, Heritage includes the recommendation that psychiatrists should be required to practice pro bono with the mentally ill homeless as a condition of licensure -- a provision that would cause strong opposition among physicians, who fear the precedent.

However, homelessness is a broader phenomenon than the homeless mentally ill. The President could use the "bully pulpit" and the force of his own presence to call attention to the problem of homelessness and encourage private aid as well as full funding of the McKinney Act.

Interior

12. "Link technical assistance funds to the U.S. oversees territories directly to progress in privatization efforts" [100 Days, p. 20, Mandate, p. 321].

We might not want to link funding solely to privatization efforts, but clearly we should seek ways to improve the private sector in the territories and encourage private investment there. Sitting as they do either in the Caribbean, close to the U.S. market, or in the Pacific, the potential is there for the U.S. territories (Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa, the Northern Marianas) and the Federated States of Micronesia to share in the prosperity of their regions. This would be a small initiative, but one with good conservative overtones. It would link the President-elect with the worldwide privatization movement and help solidify support on the right.

6-6-6

Justice

13. "Propose legislation to improve enforcement of the Ethics in Government Act" [100 Days, p. 21, Mandate, p. 339, 342].

The President-elect has already promised that an ethics bill will be introduced early in his Administration. This should follow the lines suggested during the campaign: to cover Congress equally with the Executive Branch, to encourage the right people to enter government service, and to simplify ethics rules.

Labor

14. "Urge unions to expand their drive to eliminate drugs and alcohol abuse by their members" [100 Days, p. 23, Mandate, p. 357].

The President could make this an early feature of the public side of his anti-drug efforts. Unions are bitterly opposed to drug testing; this could give them a chance to show that they are serious about fighting drugs at the workplace. On the other hand, it would be difficult to institute drug testing programs if these efforts were already in place, since unions would argue that they should be given a chance to work.

Treasury

15. "Launch a national campaign to cut the top capital gains tax rate to 15 percent" [100 Days, p. 28, Mandate, 449, 458].

The President-elect may want to decide to begin a push for this campaign goal during the first hundred days. This could perhaps be linked with a proposal that we know will come from the Hill and one on which it might be to our advantage to seize the offensive: legislation to restrict highly leveraged buy-outs. This would link two proposals to promote the good side of capitalism.

16. "Propose a children's tax credit and order a Treasury study to devise a plan to achieve a \$,5600 children's exemption" [100 Days, p. 28, Mandate, 451, 457].

During the campaign, the President-elect proposed a \$1,000 children's tax credit for children under age four in low-income families. Child care bills will almost certainly be introduced early in the new Congress. To keep his ideas on the table, the President-elect may want to introduce his bill early as well.

7-7-7

Heritage's proposed tax exemption, it should be noted, is many times larger than the one proposed by the President-elect.

Western Europe

16. "Launch a 'Project Europe' at the United States Information Agency to explain and discuss U.S. foreign policy to the West European public" [100 Days, p. 37, Mandate, pp. 533, 536].

As the public reaction to such events as the projected deployment of Pershing II, the raid on Libya, and the denial of a U.S. visa to Yasir Arafat demonstrate, many Europeans do not understand or else seriously disagree with American policy actions. As Heritage notes, one solution is to improve our public diplomacy among our European allies. This would not be "propaganda"; it would merely attempt to explain how American policy helps the Alliance and how Americans and Europeans should work together. It would make the American point of view more easily obtainable in Europe.

South America

17. "Set up a multilateral anti-narcotics and terrorism task force" [100 Days, p. 39, Mandate, p. 559, 561].

This was a campaign promise of the President-elect. A beginning could be made in the first hundred days. This would be a dramatic gesture of our seriousness in fighting drugs and should be linked to the hemispheric summit on drugs which the President-elect proposed during the campaign.

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