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APRIL 25, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(New Haven, Connecticut)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
YALE SESQUICENTENNIAL
CONVOCATION DINNER

YALE LAW SCHOOL

9:57 P.M. EDT

President Brewster, Dean Goldstein, Governor Grasso, Justices Stewart and White, the Secretary of HUD, Carla Hills, the Members of the House of Representatives with whom I served, and others who are now Members, but with whom I did not have that privilege and pleasure, good mayor, fellow alumni, students, and guests of Yale Law School:

Obviously, it is a very great privilege and pleasure to be here at the Yale Law School Sesquicentennial Convocation, and I defy anyone to say that and chew gum at the same time. (Laughter)

Every time I come back to Yale, I find myself almost overwhelmed by nostalgia. It has been so long, and so much has happened since I first got off the train at the New Haven station in 1935.

For the first several years I was an assistant football coach, but during that period, I decided against a career in athletics and set my goal as a degree in law.

At that time, one of the entrance requirements to the Yale Law School was a personal interview with three distinguished members of the faculty. In my case, one of them was Professor Myres McDougal, whom I am delighted to see is with us tonight.

It was wonderful to chat with you, Myres, before dinner.

You might be interested to know that Professor McDougal, in remarks given to the Yale Law School Association in Washington last year, mentioned the fact that he still had his notes from that interview.

MORE

He said that under the appropriate headings there were entries like the following: Good looking, well dressed, plenty of poise, personality excellent. (Laughter)

Then, under another heading: Informational background, not too good. (Laughter)

Professor McDougal, what he doesn't know is that while he was keeping notes on me, I was keeping notes on him. (Laughter) By coincidence, I just happen to have them with me here tonight. (Laughter)

Under the appropriate headings, I find entries like these: Good looking, well dressed, plenty of poise, personality excellent. Then under another heading: Informational background about football, not so good. (Laughter)

As I remember it, the only benchwarmer Professor McDougal took an interest in at that time was Oliver Wendell Holmes. I won't go into any more details about that interview. Suffice it to say that Professor McDougal was extraordinarily impressed with my capabilities and so caught up with my capabilities, and my vision, and my potentialities that in a whirlwind of enthusiasm, he wrote: "I see no reason why we should not take him." (Laughter)

My biggest problem at that time was convincing the school I could continue as a full-time assistant football coach and still carry on a full schedule in the law school.

Fortunately, I was able to convince them, and I have always been very grateful for the help, the encouragement I consistently received from such great educators as Gene Rostow, Thurman Arnold, Jimmy James, and, in particular, Myres McDougal.

Myres, all I can say is may your retirement provide you with the same riches of fulfillment and satisfaction your career has already brought to the students of Yale.

May God go with you.

MORE



Obviously, a lot has happened since I left Yale Law School in 1941. I practiced law. I joined the Navy. I was elected to Congress, became Minority Leader, Vice President, and now President.

But no matter how far I have traveled, something from Yale has always followed with me -- and I am not just referring to those letters from the Alumni Fund (Laughter) -- but something very special, something that adds to character, something that clings to our character, and in time, something that becomes our character.

It is rather hard to put feelings into words, but the motto of our school is, "For God, for country, and for Yale," and I think that says it all.

The 150th anniversary of this great law school -- one of the outstanding institutions of the world for the study of law -- suggests better than I the subject for my remarks this evening. On May 1, we celebrate Law Day. Most of you in this audience have devoted your academic years, and a good part of your lives, to the development and to the promulgation of the law.

Today as President, I sense, and I think the American people sense, that we are facing a basic and a very serious problem of disregard for the law.

I would like to talk with you tonight about law and the spirit of abiding by the law. I ask you to think along with me about the concern of so many Americans about the problem of crime. Let us start with the great Preamble of our Constitution which seeks "to insure domestic tranquility."

Have we achieved on our streets and in our homes that sense of domestic tranquility so essential to the pursuit of happiness? With the launching of our Bicentennial year, it has been argued that the American Revolution was the most successful in history, because the principles of the Revolution -- liberty and equality under the law -- became the functioning Constitutional principles of our great Government.

The founding fathers governed well and governed prudently, with restraint and respect for justice and law. There was no reign of terror, no repression, no dictatorship. The institutions they have founded became durable and effective.

Because of all of this, we tend to think of them now as respectable and conservative. But the **fact** is that ours remains the great Revolution of modern history, and we should be proud of it.

MORE

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

The argument was made that sound government and just laws had to be restored to the land. The theme was that independence was needed to restore a representative government of laws in order to secure liberty.

Our revolutionary leaders heeded John Locke's teaching: "Where there is no law, there is no freedom."

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

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

The number of violent crimes rises steadily and we have recently suffered the national disgrace of lawbreaking in high places. Violent crimes on our streets and in our homes makes fear pervasive. They strike at the very roots of community life. They sever the bonds that link us as fellow citizens. They make citizens fear each other.

Crime in high places, whether in the Federal Government, State government, or in business or in organized labor, sets an example that makes it all the more difficult to foster a law-abiding spirit among ordinary citizens.

When we talk about obeying the law, we think of police and courts and prisons, and the whole apparatus of the law enforcement process. But the truth is that most of us obey the law because we believe that compliance is the right thing to do and not because the police may be watching.

As far as law violations in high places are concerned, let me stress this point: In the present Administration, I have made it a matter of the highest priority to restore to the Executive Branch decency, honesty and adherence to the law at all levels. This has been done, and it will be continued.

MORE

I urge the same effort and the same dedication in State governments where recently there have been too many scandals. I urge the same standards in local governments, also in industry and in labor. There is no way to inculcate in society the spirit of law if society's leaders are not scrupulously law-abiding.

We have seen how law-breaking by officials can be stopped by the proper functioning of our basic institutions -- Executive, Legislative and Judicial Branches.

But America has been far from successful in dealing with the sort of crime that obsesses America day and night -- I mean street crime, crime that invades our neighborhoods and our homes, murders, robberies, rapes, muggings, hold-ups, break-ins -- the kind of brutal violence that makes us fearful of strangers and afraid to go out at night.

In thinking about this problem, I do not vindictive punishment of the criminal, but protection of the innocent victim.

The victims are my primary concern. That is why I do not talk about law and order and why I return to the Constitutional phrase -- insuring domestic tranquility.

The overwhelming majority of Americans obey the law willingly and without coercion, but even the most law-abiding among us are still human, and so it makes ordinary common sense that we promulgate rules and that there be enforcement of the rules to buttress the normal inclination of most people to obey the rules.

As James Madison asked in The Federalist, and I quote, "But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections of human nature? If men were angels," said Madison, "no government would be necessary."

MORE

Since men and women are not angels, we must have the apparatus of law enforcement. Those who prey on others, especially by violence, are very, very few in number. A very small percentage of the whole population accounts for a very large proportion of the vicious crimes committed.

For example, in one study of nearly 10,000 males born in 1945, it was found that only 6 percent of them accounted for two-thirds of all of the violent crimes committed by the entire group.

Most serious crimes are committed by repeaters. These relatively few persistent criminals who cause so much misery and fear are really the core of the problem. The rest of the American people have a right to protection from their violence.

Most of the victims of violent crime are the poor, the old, the young, the disadvantaged minorities, the people who live in the most crowded parts of our cities, the most defenseless.

These victims have a valid claim on the rest of society for the protection and the personal safety that they cannot provide for themselves--in short, for domestic tranquility.

Hardly a day passes when some politician does not call for a massive crackdown on crime, but the problem is infinitely more complex than that. Such an approach has not proven effective in the long haul. It is not the American style.

We need a precise and effective solution. One problem is that our busiest courts are overloaded. They are so overloaded that very few cases are actually tried.

One study showed that in a county in Wisconsin, only 6 percent of the convictions resulted from cases which came to trial. According to another study, over a three-year period in Manhattan, only about 3 percent of the persons indicted were convicted after trial.

I think this audience knows the explanation. It is plea bargaining--in many cases, plea bargaining required by the ever growing pressure of an increased caseload.

The popular notion that trial follows arrest is a misconception in a vast majority of cases, and this audience will also be quick to guess one of the basic reasons.

MORE

The increase in arrests has been much more rapid than the increase in the number of judges, prosecutors and public defenders. The most obvious response to this imbalance has been to accept pleas of guilt in return for short prison terms or sentences, or no sentences at all.

According to a recent authoritative report, half of the persons convicted of felonies in New York received no detention whatsoever. And of the other half, only one-fifth were sentenced to more than one year of imprisonment.

Imprisonment thus too seldom follows conviction for a felony.

In the Sixties, crime rates went higher and higher, but the number of persons in prisons, State and Federal, actually went down. A Rand Corporation report of one major jurisdiction showed that of all convicted robbers with a major prior record, only 27 percent were sent to prison after conviction.

Notice, please, that I am speaking only of convicted felons. I am not chastising our system for determining guilt or innocence. I am urging that virtually all of those convicted of a violent crime should be sent to prison.

This should be done especially if a gun was involved or there was other substantial danger or injury to a person or persons. There certainly should be imprisonment if the convicted person has a prior record of convictions.

Most serious offenders are repeaters. We owe it to their victims--past, present and future--to get them off the streets. This is just everyday common sense, as I see it. The crime rate will go down if persons who habitually commit most of the predatory crimes are kept in prison for a reasonable period, if convicted, because they will then not be free to commit more crimes.

Convicts should be treated humanely in prison. Loss of liberty should be the chief punishment. Improvement in the treatment of and facilities for prisoners is long overdue, but it is essential that there be less delay in bringing arrested persons to trial, less plea bargaining, and more courtroom determination of guilt or innocence, and that all -- or practically all -- of those convicted of predatory crime be sent to prison.

MORE



What can the White House do about this? The Federal role is limited because most violent crimes are matters for State and local authorities. Further, the creation of criminal sanctions and their interpretation are the concerns of the Legislative and Judicial Branches, as well as the Executive Branch.

The principal role of the Federal Government in the area of crime control has centered in providing financial and technical assistance to the several States. However, while we are all aware that the actual control of crime in this country is a matter primarily of State responsibility under the Constitution, there are several areas in which it is the chief responsibility of the Federal Government.

MORE

In many other areas, it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to augment the enforcement efforts of the States when it becomes necessary. What else can we do? The Federal Code can be modified to make more sentences mandatory and, therefore, punishment more certain for those convicted of violent crimes.

We can provide leadership in making funds available to add judges, prosecutors and public defenders to the Federal system. This Federal model should encourage States to adopt similar priorities for the use of their own funds and those provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

We can encourage better use of existing prison facilities to minimize detention of persons convicted of minor crimes, thus making more room for the convicted felons to be imprisoned.

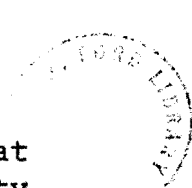
There are a number of estimates of how much the crime rate would be reduced if all convicted criminals with major records were sent to prison instead of being set free after conviction, as too many are today.

Although we might expect the certainty of a prison sentence to serve as a deterrent, let us remember that one obvious effect of prison is to separate lawbreakers from the law-abiding society.

In totalitarian states, it is easier to assure law and order. Dictators eliminate freedom of movement, of speech and of choice. They control the news media and the educational system. They conscript the entire society and deprive people of basic civil liberties.

By such methods, crime can be strictly controlled. But, in effect, the entire society becomes one huge prison. This is not a choice we are willing to consider.

Edmund Burke commented appropriately in his Reflections on the French Revolution. Burke said, and I quote, "To make a government requires no great prudence. Settle the seat of power, teach obedience and the work is done. To give freedom is still more easy. It is not necessary to guide, it only requires to let go the rein. But to form a free Government, that is to temper together these opposite elements of liberty and restraint in one consistent work requires much thought, deep reflection, a sagacious, powerful and combining mind."



Since these words were written, the world has changed profoundly. But the old question still remains: Can a free people restrain crime without sacrificing fundamental liberties and a heritage of compassion?

I am confident of the American answer. Let it become a vital element on America's new agenda. Let us show that we can temper together those opposite elements of liberty and restraint into one consistent whole.

Let us set an example for the world of a law-abiding America glorying in its freedom as well as its respect for law. Let us, at last, fulfill the Constitutional promise of domestic tranquility for all of our law-abiding citizens.

Thank you very much.

END

(AT 10:25 P.M. EDT)



City Residents Would Ban Handguns

PUBLIC OVERWHELMINGLY FAVORS
REGISTRATION OF ALL FIREARMS

By George Gallup

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PRINCETON, N.J., June 4 -- A large majority of the American public, 67 per cent, favor the registration of all firearms, consistent with Gallup surveys over the last three decades which have shown similar majorities supporting such legislation.

Support for registration of guns (shotguns, rifles, and handguns) is found among all major segments of the population and among gunowners as well as non-gunowners.

More dramatically, a majority of persons living in high crime areas -- large cities and in the East -- would go so far as to ban the possession of handguns by anyone except the police or other authorized persons.



Persons living outside the East and in smaller communities, however, would oppose such a ban. Nationally, 55 per cent think there should NOT be a law forbidding the possession of handguns by private citizens, while 41 per cent say they would favor such a law.

REASONS PRO
AND CON

Among those who favor a ban on handguns is a 24-year-old female social worker from Los Angeles who questions the need for this type of gun: "Gun abuse is a growing problem that needs to be addressed. Access to guns by almost anyone is socially dangerous. The populace doesn't need handguns -- they breed more trouble than they prevent."

A 25-year-old female teacher from Chicago had this to say: "Handguns are a menace to public safety and are more of a liability than an aid to a family when they are used as protection."

A retired public utility executive from Sarasota, Fla., opposes a ban on handguns: "Guns don't kill, people do. Enforcement of our laws, promptly and efficiently, is



what is needed to curtail crime."

The findings show support for such handgun legislation highest among women, persons with a college background, Easterners, and persons living in the largest cities in the nation.

Here is the question dealing with registration:

"Do you favor or oppose the registration of all firearms?"

Here are the figures nationwide, by key groups and by gun-owners and non-gunowners:

	Favor Registration	Oppose Registration	No Opinion
NATIONWIDE	67%	27%	6%
Men	61	33	6
Women	72	22	6
College background	73	22	5
High school	68	27	5
Grade school	57	33	10
East	74	20	6
Midwest	64	31	5
South	66	28	6
West	63	33	4



City size:

1 million & over	81	15	4
500,000-999,999	77	17	6
50,000-499,999	71	25	4
2,500-49,999	64	30	6
Under 2,500	50	42	8
Gunowners	55	39	6
Non-gunowners	76	18	6

The following question was asked to determine attitudes toward making possession of pistols illegal:

"Here is a question about pistols and revolvers.

Do you think there should or should not be a law which would forbid the possession of this type of gun except by the police and other authorized persons?"

Analysis of the findings show that outside the high crime areas -- the East and the nation's largest cities -- all major groups oppose the banning of handguns, with two exceptions. Among women and persons with a college background, opinion is closely divided.

Here are the findings:

	Should Be Law Forbidding Possession	Should Not Be	No Opinion
NATIONWIDE	41%	55%	4%
East	58	37	5
Midwest	44	53	3
South	27	69	4
West	29	65	6
City size:			
1 million & over . . .	66%	29	5
500,000-999,999 . . .	44	53	3
50,000-499,999 . . .	40	55	5
2,500-49,999	36	58	6
Under 2,500	28	69	3
Men	35	62	3
Women	46	49	5
College background . .	49	47	4
High school	39	57	4
Grade school	36	59	5
Gunowners	24	74	2
Non-gunowners	54	40	6

GUN OWNERSHIP

HIGHEST IN SOUTH

More than four in 10 households in the U.S. (44 per cent) have at least one gun -- pistol, shotgun or rifle, as determined by interviews in 3,108 households.

The highest proportion of households have a shotgun

(26 per cent) or rifle (also 26 per cent), followed by pistol or handgun (18 per cent).

Gun ownership is highest in the nation's smaller communities and in the South where a majority of residents (58 per cent) say there is some kind of gun in their homes.

It is interesting to note that gun ownership is considerably higher among whites than among non-whites.

Following are the questions asked to determine gun ownership:

"Now, here is a question on gun ownership. Do you have any guns in your home?" (IF YES: "Is it a pistol, shotgun or rifle?")

DEBATE ON ISSUE
HAS BEEN INTENSE

Debate over gun controls has been intense, with police across the nation reporting sharp increases in the number of violent crimes, particularly those involving handguns. Pressure has been on Congress to prohibit the manufacture of handguns or handgun parts in the United States and to amend the 1972 "Saturday night special" law and thus end all wholesale importation of handguns and handgun parts.



Sen. Philip A. Hart (D.-Mich.) and Rep. Jonathan Bingham (D.-N.Y.) recently introduced bills in the Senate and House to limit handgun ownership to law-enforcement officials, security guards, military personnel and members of licensed pistol clubs. Atty. Gen. Edward H. Levi also recently called for banning possession of handguns in high-crime areas of the nation.

The results reported today are based on two nationwide surveys of adults, 18 and older, interviewed in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities in the nation. The first survey was conducted March 7-10 with 1,542 persons; the second was conducted March 28-31 with 1,566 persons.

July 1975

... she also is quite pointing out that "The IRS dependable and responsive answer public grievances". Having retired after more than 23 years as an IRS lawyer, I well know how indifferent the Service had been to the many taxpayers who believe themselves to have been ill treated by IRS functionaries.

Because of Civil Service Commission requirements the IRS has a rather comprehensive system for handling grievances raised by its own employees, although the system's promise often exceeds its fulfillment. But little attention has been paid to taxpayer grievances, simply because no outside authority has compelled it to do so. And such compulsion can come only from the Congress.

Ms. Brown has well stated the problem of IRS unresponsiveness, but I believe that her proposed solution is inadequate. Taxpayer complaints lodged in the field offices and there investi-

report directly to the Commissioner, and not be subordinate to any Assistant Commissioner or Regional Commissioner.

2. The Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation maintain continuous oversight over the IRS ombudsman program, reporting to the Congress on the conduct of the program and making recommendations for such legislation as may appear necessary.

3. Each member of the Congress refer to the Joint Committee staff those taxpayer complaints directed to them. However, the Member should thereafter not be in any way involved in the grievance, the disposition of the grievance being the responsibility of the IRS and the Joint Committee.

The Service has done a superb job in keeping the agency and its people honest and efficient. It ought have no real difficulty in directing some of its attention to a forgotten duty of every public servant—to serve the public.

M. Stanton Hunter.

Bethesda.

Handguns: 'We Must Begin to Dry Up the Supply'

The most encouraging part of Attorney General Edward H. Levi's handgun control proposal is that it signals the need for a ban on all handguns, not only Saturday Night Specials.

Unfortunately, however, the need will not be met by the proposed solutions. According to Mr. Levi's plan, controls on most handguns will occur only in metropolitan areas, and then only when violent crime reaches "the crisis level." In the rest of the country, handguns would be as readily available—no doubt even more available—than they are now.

As a recent Washington Post editorial observed, there is already ample evidence to show that relatively tough local handgun laws are ineffective when abundant supplies of guns can be imported from other parts of the country. We cannot and do not want to search every car that comes into Chicago, New York or Washington from wherever the "non-high-crime zones" are. In short, there can be no islands of safety as long as handguns are readily available somewhere in this country and are easily transported from one area to another, which is the case now and would continue to be the case under the Levi plan.

The most disturbing part of the "crisis level" approach is the implication that there is an acceptable level of violent crime. According to one test of the Levi plan, an acceptable level for metropolitan areas would be a crime rate no higher than 20 per cent



W. J. Wescott

above the national average. In theory, then, if you live in a big city with a crime rate only 19 per cent above the national average, you would be well advised to begin dodging bullets. But as soon as the crime rate hits the magic mark of 20 per cent, the streets will be safe again—that is, until the crime rate falls to "more acceptable levels," at which time the streets might be more dangerous.

The problem with the "acceptable

level" approach is similar to the problem with the proposal of others to ban only the cheap Saturday Night Special handgun. There is no solace for a victim or his family in the knowledge that a bullet came from an expensive "Sunday through Friday" handgun rather than a cheap handgun. And there will be no solace either in the knowledge that a deadly bullet found its mark when the crime rate was at "acceptable levels."

The only plan that makes sense is to ban all hand guns. Several weeks ago, the Yellow and Checker Taxi-cab Companies in Chicago, using a Yes-No poll sheet, asked their customers if they wanted a national law to ban handguns. In one week, more than 10,000 people voted and 85 per cent favored such a law. Currently, most retail cleaners and tailors in Chicago, as well as 1,500 druggists, are asking their customers the same question.

The opponents to an effective handgun law will be just as vociferous in their opposition to the Attorney General's plan. No ingredient is added to the coalition for a solution to the problem by the "zone defense" offered by Mr. Levi. We must begin to dry up the supply of handguns and give back the streets of this country to law-abiding people. To do that, we must have a ban on the manufacture and sale of all handguns.

Abner J. Mikva,
U.S. Representative (D.-Ill.)

Washington



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 28, 1975

Subj.
Crime Message

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

JIM CANNON *Jm*

Here is Ed Levi's summary of Senator Hruska's objections to the President's Crime Bill.

Attachment



owners. He does not object to those portions of section (1) that (1) prohibit dealers from transferring two or more handguns to the same person, or (2) prohibit any person from purchasing two or more handguns from one or more dealers. His only reservation appears to be directed at the trade between owners, preferring that it be unfettered by such restraints.

3. Prohibition of Sale to Certain Groups --

Proposed section (j) prohibits a person from selling a handgun to one who is prohibited from possessing it under subsection (h) -- felons, fugitives, juveniles, etc. -- or subsection (i) -- employees of employers who are prohibited from possessing handguns. The Senator, as best I can ascertain, objects to placing such criminal liability on owners.



4. Prohibition of Sale of "Saturday Night Specials" --

Proposed section (d)(2) prohibits any person from selling a handgun knowing that the handgun has been classified as a Saturday Night Special. The Senator's objection here again is that owners should not be subject to such criminal liability, and that such sales (not by dealers) should be allowed in any event as an incident of ownership.

5. Definition of "Saturday Night Specials" --

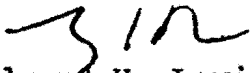
Senator Hruska believes that the definition of "Saturday Night Specials" sweeps too broadly, and that in any event he would prefer legislation which allows the Secretary of the Treasury to promulgate criteria determining which handguns should be prohibited and which should not.

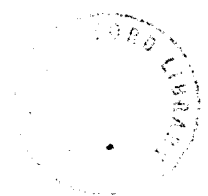
I suppose that of these objections, 3, 4, and 5 may raise the more serious policy questions.

The Senator thought a bill should go in before the Congress adjourns.

I have asked my staff to attempt redrafting to see what this different bill would look like and to see whether it would then meet the concerns of the Senator. Whether such a bill would still carry forward the President's initiative would have to be decided. The Senator also suggested that I -- not the President -- transmit the proposed legislation.

All of this is by way of information and is not a recommendation. Senator Hruska made no commitment in any direction.


Edward H. Levi
Attorney General





[July 1975]
to the President
for Domestic Affairs

Office of the Attorney General
Washington, D. C. 20530

MEMORANDUM FOR:

James M. Cannon
Assistant to the President
for Domestic Affairs

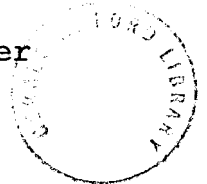
I spoke to Senator Hruska this morning about the gun control bill. On the basis of our discussion, he appears to have five reservations along the following lines:

1. Interstate Shipment of Firearms --

Subsection (o) of the bill adds a new subsection (k) -- page 11 -- which prohibits the shipment of firearms to or through a State or locality that prohibits shipment or transportation of firearms. The Senator objected to that portion of the provision prohibiting shipment "through" a State or locality since this constitutes a burden on the interstate transportation of firearms requiring shippers to route through States that do not have such a prohibition.

2. Multiple Sales --

Senator Hruska objected to the last sentence of proposed section (1)(2) -- page 11 - which prohibits owners from purchasing or receiving two or more handguns in a period of 30 days from other



owners. He does not object to those portions of section (1) that (1) prohibit dealers from transferring two or more handguns to the same person, or (2) prohibit any person from purchasing two or more handguns from one or more dealers. His only reservation appears to be directed at the trade between owners, preferring that it be unfettered by such restraints.

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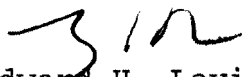
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Edward H. Levi
Attorney General



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: PHIL BUCHEN
FROM: KEN LAZARUS
SUBJECT: Gun Control Legislation



Current plans are to forward the President's gun control proposals to the Congress tomorrow or at the latest Friday. Three issues are presented by the draft legislation which are worthy of further consideration. Accordingly, a meeting will be held in Jim Cannon's office at 5:30 today in an attempt to resolve these issues. For your information, the issues may be summarized as follows:

1. "Sportsmen's Exception". Under current law, only licensed gun dealers are permitted to ship long guns or handguns through the mails. Since gun buffs are interested in trading, selling and buying handguns and long guns which are not available in their local communities, many of them are licensed as dealers under current law and thus are able to utilize the mails in order to effect interstate trades, sales and purchases.

The draft gun control legislation would change current law by limiting federal licenses to only bona fide dealers in handguns and long guns. In addition to the bona fide dealers, only "licensed collectors" would be permitted to trade, buy or sell directly through the mails a very limited number of collectors' pieces. Other individuals currently possessing dealers' licenses would not be able to utilize the mails in order to trade, purchase or sell any weapons interstate. Instead, they would be forced to go to a local licensed dealer who, for a fee, would then serve as a "straw man" in order to effect a sale. We might consider the possibility of authorizing a "sportsmen's exception" in addition to the "collectors" exception which would authorize only purchase through the mails of only long guns through catalogues from mail-order houses. This relatively modest change would have political utility on the Hill.

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2. Saturday-Night Specials. The definition which is included in this bill focuses on concealability and disregards the President's concern that value be a central element in any definition of Saturday-Night Special. Thus, for example, a \$250 Baretta would be caught up within the definition as it now stands. I should point out in this regard that this is basically the approach taken in the existing definition of Saturday-Night Specials which is contained in the 1968 provision barring importation. I would propose that we consider the possibility of including an additional criterion in the definition along the following lines . . . "and has a retail value less than \$100."

3. Fees. Currently, dealers' licenses carry a price tag of \$10. The draft legislation contains a range of fees from \$25 for an ammo dealer up to \$500 for an individual dealing in handguns. I have two objections to this provision. First, there is a recent Supreme Court decision which stands for the principle that fees which are in excess of the amount necessary to recapture administrative costs are unconstitutional. Secondly, fees at this level could work a real injustice in their impact on small dealers in the South and Midwest. I propose we consider cutting the fees in half.

In addition to these three principle issues, there is a timing question to consider -- it might be better to delay the legislation until Congress returns next week.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES CANNON
THRU: MAX FRIEDERSDORF *M.F.*
FROM: PATRICK E. O'DONNELL *POD*
SUBJECT: Saturday Night Specials

To recap what I've already told you, Senator Hruska advises that he cannot, in good faith, support or co-sponsor our proposed legislation on Saturday Night Specials. Among other things, he claims that the proposal seriously infringes upon the rights of private owners; that the factoring provisions are totally unrealistic and would, by definition, include weapons which could not possibly be classified as Saturday Night Specials; that the overall tone smacks of registration and confiscation and that its terms make it virtually impossible for a private owner to trade or sell a gun(s) [See Section 922(L)(2)].

As a result, he will introduce legislation using most of our package but substituting his own version of a hand-gun law. I've given a copy of this section to Dick Parsons for review.

The Senator doubts that the President is fully aware of what his staff has done on the specifics and will so state when he sees him on the Sequoia later this week --

Hruska's words: "Jerry Ford knows this issue too well to buy the staff proposal when faced with its practical realities."

He is preparing a detailed memo for the President's consideration.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

~~Write to~~

See JACK

Morsh

Gun Control



MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 3, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: Paul Theis

FROM: Dick Parsons

SUBJECT: Remarks to the Joint Session of the
California State Legislature

At the risk of incurring your eternal wrath, I make the following observations about the subject speech:

1. The tone of the speech differs from the tone of the President's Yale speech and his Crime Message. This speech is vintage-Nixon -- law and order, lock 'em up and throw away the key. Thus, the substance is consistent with President Ford's remarks but the speech is not. What comes through is not his concern for the victims of crime but his determination to deal harshly with the perpetrators of crime.
2. I would assume that the President would want to take this opportunity to speak to a State Legislature about the roles States and local governments must play in reducing crime. This speech comes across as simply a reiteration of his Crime Message. I think we need to do a little bit more lecturing about State and local government roles and less about the Federal role.

If you concur in the thrust of these comments, it would seem that the speech is in need of major revision.

Since you may not concur in my observations, however, I have made several editorial suggestions which are attached hereto. Most important among these is the insert relating to drug abuse.

cc: Jim Cannon ✓

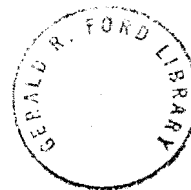
Attachments



DRUG INSERTS FOR CALIFORNIA SPEECH

1. Page 10, third paragraph: change to read:

"I am also convinced that we as a nation must devote greater attention and resources to preventing crime, drug abuse and other forms of destructive behavior by diverting young persons into programs that will lead them along productive pathways. Such efforts can save us untold billions of dollars in the long haul. Our experiences over the past several years have taught us that successful rehabilitation programs of this type must deal with the broad range of youth behavior and must be deeply intertwined with the specific community in which they are located. Thus, the Federal role in this area should be catalytic in nature and be directed at revitalizing State and local resources to deal with youth prevention activities implemented at the community level."



2. Page 12 -- before first paragraph, insert the following:

"A related problem which goes hand in hand with crime is drug abuse. Recent evidence suggests an increase in the availability and use of dangerous drugs in spite of greatly expanded Federal and State efforts over the past six years.

"My deep personal concern about this problem and the tragic human toll it exacts led me to create a high-level task force last May to undertake a comprehensive review of overall Federal drug law enforcement and prevention efforts. I directed that task force to make whatever recommendations were necessary for improving our ability to deal with the problem at the Federal level. The task force's report should be in my hands later this month, and I shall move quickly to implement the key recommendations. However, elimination of drug abuse is a task which the Federal government cannot accomplish alone. Our role is limited. Only in concert with you can we hope to eventually prevail."



(Longood) PT

September 3, 1975
FOURTH DRAFT
w/ changes

PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS BEFORE THE JOINT LEGISLATURE
SESSION, SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1975

I want to talk today about a topic that has been deep in your deliberations
and high in my concerns -- crime.

I choose ~~this forum~~ because California illustrates the depth of our
dilemma in trying to stem the rising tide of crime in the Nation at large.

You have some of the finest law enforcement agencies in the Nation
ablest
here. Some of the ~~/~~ crime fighters in the world ^gat work here in California
and some of the best minds are trying to improve your criminal justice
system.

Yet, despite this talent and this expertise, the magnitude of the
crime problem is threatening to overwhelm even California.



From 1968 up to 1974, violent crime in your state has risen 43 percent. During the first three months of this year alone, crime rose by a startling 13 percent over the same three-month period in 1974. Although California's crime statistics are well below the national average, they still reflect a steep upward trend.

I'd leave out. [If California, with the best talent and crime-fighting expertise to be found anywhere, cannot get a handle on crime, who can?]

It is this epidemic of crime that has alarmed and frightened Americans everywhere. Not long ago, I read a letter from the mother of two children. Her home has been robbed six times -- twice this summer.

[Things have gotten so bad, she says, that when she leaves for work she has to put her major household valuables in the trunk of her car. "I now live in fear, she wrote, "What does one do for protection of your life and freedom?"

She deserves an answer to that question. So do the American people.

crime, particularly violent crime.

We need to get a handle on the problem. A few months ago, I proposed an approach that can give us this handle. ^(would enable us to begin to do just that) Most serious crimes

are committed by repeaters. A survey taken here in California, for example, shows that about 2,300 violent criminals in this State are returned to the streets every year -- even though they committed crimes against another person and used a gun to do it.

One doesn't have to be an expert in criminology to know, that if we put violent criminals back on the streets, the incidence of violent crime will not go down. Instead, it can, ^{and} it will ^{go up} and it has -- gone up.

What does this mean. People who have been convicted, sentenced and subsequently paroled? People who have been convicted but not sentenced? People who have not been convicted? This needs further elaboration.

I cannot understand how anyone can expect our laws to deter violent crime when we tolerate lenient treatment for violent offenders.

We must take the

~~The American people want~~ hardened criminals -- the repeaters --

off the streets ~~to~~ *period!*

*Don't blame the courts.
"We" would be better.*

For too long, courts have emphasized the rights of criminal

defendants and neglected ^{the rights of} victims of crime. ~~Our first concern must~~

is for the innocent
~~be to protect the~~ victims of crime, ~~not the perpetrators.~~

One of the

The most dangerous weapon of violence is the firearm. One

squeeze of a trigger and the victim is dead, injured or maimed for life.

This slaughter ~~of innocent lives~~ must stop.

In my recommendations to the Congress, I have proposed mandatory jail sentences for offenders who commit crimes under Federal jurisdiction with a dangerous weapon.

I have also recommended that
Mandatory sentences ~~should also~~ be meted out to those who

commit such extraordinary crimes as aircraft hijacking, kidnapping

and trafficking in hard drugs, *and for repeat offenders who*
commit federal crimes that threaten personal safety.

As lawmakers, you well know that prime responsibility for
law enforcement is vested in the States.

It is to you, the States and the communities, that we must
look primarily to reverse the tidal wave of violent crime. Most
serious and violent crimes are committed under your jurisdictions.

have called
I ~~call~~ for concerted action by the Federal Government, States
and communities to stop this epidemic of violent crime. Only by
working together -- through our legislative bodies and our crime fighting
agencies -- can we make America safe for the law-abiding and peaceful
citizens.

Only by reducing violent crime can we create an atmosphere more conducive to programs of overall reform. A cooperative effort to reverse the tide of violent crime must therefore be our first priority.

I take heart from the fact that here, in the Nation's most populous State, you have been able to keep your crime rate below the national average.

Americans everywhere look to States such as California to lead the way in the fight to reduce crime.

And you have been leading the way -- right here in these chambers. I commend this legislature for your efforts to develop sound legislation to deter the use of firearms by criminals. This legislation would deny probation to any convicted person who uses a firearm in the commission of a crime.

I understand that you have under consideration legislation

that would ban probation to the pushers of hard drugs and to repeated

offenders who have been convicted of first degree burglary.

This is the kind of legislation I had in mind when I made my
recommendations for reform of the Federal code of criminal justice

last June.

California's leadership in this crime-fighting legislation can

be an example to the Nation of what we mean when we talk about the

Federal Government and the States working together.

I pledge you my personal support in this partnership venture.

As a further step in this partnership, I have recommended that ~~The~~

ing authorization funds for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration be ~~increased~~ ^{extended}

over the next five years and the money put where the problems are.

One such problem is that our courts in some jurisdictions are

Seems to me all the Pres wants to say is that this is a good first step. After all, the Calif. legislation is not as far-reaching as that recommended by the Pres.

overloaded -- resulting in very few cases being actually tried.

*What
regional
trial
is
of
the
court
backlog
in
California*
One study has shown that, over a three-year period in Manhattan, ..

only about three percent of the persons indicted were convicted after

trial. The reason for so low a rate is plea bargaining -- a practice

growing out of the pressure of heavy court dockets.

Here in California, you have been able to use LEAA money to

relieve the court backlog in one of your major cities. This has speeded

up the process of criminal justice and the incarceration of _____

more convicted criminals this year over last.

And there are other forms of assistance the Federal Government

can provide. I have, for example, proposed to the Congress that

legislation be passed to prohibit the manufacture, assembly or sale of

easily concealable
cheap handguns -- Saturday Night Specials. I have asked for the strengthening

of Federal laws aimed at cutting off illegal commerce in handguns.

I have also directed the Treasury Department to double its firearms

*'s Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco
& Firearms*

investigations^{ors} in Los Angeles and nine other large metropolitan areas.

The Bureau will have to
and to employ and train an additional 500 investigators for this effort.

We also need to strengthen the Federal mandate to crack down on organized and white collar crime.

We need a law that would make it a Federal crime to operate or control a racketeering syndicate. This would bring the force of Federal law enforcement efforts to bear against those leaders of organized crime who have been able to disguise their role in syndicated crime.

Price fixing, industrial espionage and other white collar crimes need to be attacked more vigorously. Consumers are being cheated out of an estimated \$40 billion a year by these crimes, which also serve to undermine faith in our economic, legal and political systems. In recognition of this major threat, I have directed the Attorney General to coordinate Federal efforts to enforce and prosecute white collar crimes.

We need to take another look at prisons. Too many inmates come out of these institutions more committed to crime than when they went in. Something is obviously wrong when a system designed to correct criminal behavior is reinforcing it instead.

Here in California, you have an Attorney General's Task Force on prisoner rehabilitation. Every Californian -- and every American -- may well benefit from its findings and recommendations.

*See
INSET*

I am also convinced that we need to devote greater resources to preventing crime by diverting young persons into programs that will lead them along new pathways. Such efforts can save us untold billions of dollars in the long haul.

Statistics two years ago indicate that 45 percent of all the persons arrested for crimes are under 18 years of age. Not to focus more of our resources on these young offenders is to miss an unparalleled opportunity. I have directed the Attorney General to work closely with other concerned

agencies to ensure that the Federal Government makes the best possible use of its resources in this crucial area.

One of the most effective forms of rehabilitation is a job. An offender returned to society but unable to find a job is more likely to return to criminal activity. I urge employers to keep an open mind on the hiring of these persons. I have also directed the U. S. Civil Service Commission to review its program designed to prevent Federal employers from unjustly discriminating against ex-felons. I call upon you in California to join in this effort to see to it that ex-offenders get a fair shake in the job market.

[We can also provide leadership in making Federal funds available to add judges, prosecutors and public defenders to the Federal system.

This should encourage States to adopt similar priorities.]

I would leave this out:

(a) it doesn't track; and

(b) we haven't done this (i.e., it ain't done).

see
INSBY

Finally, I believe that Federal law should be revised to take into greater account the needs of those victimized by crime. Our first consideration must be to the victims of crime. That is why I have urged the Congress to pass legislation to compensate those who have suffered economic losses due to personal injury in crimes coming under Federal jurisdiction.

If the Congress enacts the proposals I have made to combat crime, I am confident that we will immeasurably strengthen the attack on the problem. If the States follow suit, we will be well on our way.

No overnight success is in prospect. The fight against crime will be an uphill fight. But only if we begin now to act can that fight be won.

Alone, the Federal Government can do relatively little. Most of the violent crimes committed in America are under the jurisdiction of States and localities.

Cahill already has one.

Together, we can achieve success. Here in California, you have made an auspicious beginning and I commend you for it.

Together, we can make domestic tranquility a reality in our time. We can make America safe and secure.

Together, we can make that new start so essential to the quest.

Let us begin.

#

Sacrametnto

Bob Longford's letter
draft
9/3/75

I want to talk with you today about a topic that
is of deep concern to Americans ~~ax~~ everywhere. It has been
deep in your deliberations and it is high in my concerns -- crime.

P2 { My personal philosophy in approaching this subject
is to think first and foremost about the innocent victims of crime.

The great preamble to our Constitution -- which each of us has
taken a solemn oath to uphold -- charges us "to insure domestic
tranquility." Those words ~~px~~ place primary emphasis on the
peace and good order of ~~1~~ our communities, ~~and the law-abiding~~
~~citizens who live in them.~~

~~That is why I have said~~

That domestic tranquility has been placed in jeopardy
by the rising tide of criminal violence that has been taking place
in our Nation.

p. 1  Last year, 20,000 Americans were murdered; 55,000

~~were~~ raped took ~~place~~ place, and 452,000 citizens were brutally assaulted

in on the streets or in the sanctity of their homes.

That is not what our Founding Fathers had in mind
when they spoke of domestic tranquility. And it is not what the
American people have in mind either.

Not long ago, I read a letter from a the mother of two
children. Her home has been robbed six times -- twice this summer.

Things have gotten so bad, she says, that when she leaves
for work she has to put her major household valuables in the trunk of
her car. "I now live in fear," she wrote, "What does one do for
protection of your life and freedom?"

Americans everywhere are asking that question.

And I know that you in this great legislative body are working to develop answers.

You have some of the finest law enforcement agencies in the Nation in this state. Some of the ablest crime fighters in the world are at work here in California. And you have some of the best minds to be found anywhere trying to improve your system of criminal justice.

And yet, despite these efforts, the magnitude of the national crime problem is threatening to overwhelm California. From 1968

up until 1974, violent crime in your state has risen 43 percent. In the first three months of this year, crime rose by a startling 13 percent over the same three-month period last year. ~~I point out that~~ These figures are below the national average for these periods, yet they still reflect a steep and alarming upward trend.

1
If California, with the best talent and crime-fighting expertise
to be found anywhere cannot ~~get the crime epidemic~~ stop the crime
epidemic, who can?

I chose California ~~xx~~ as a forum to discuss crime ~~just~~ because
your State illustrates the depth of our dilemma in trying to stem the
rising tide of crime in the Nation at large.

If we are to find our way out of this dilemma it is important
that we ~~don~~ do some straight thinking. There are many different
~~directions~~ ways to tackle the crime epidemic -- pre-delinquent programs,
better law enforcement, more effective criminal justice system, prison
and parole systems, ~~and~~ rehabilitation after release from jail.

All of these approaches are important in the ~~total effort~~
in the long-range ~~planned effort~~ effort to reduce crime and lawlessness.

Yet there is something we can do now to reduce crime,
that will have an immediate impact on the situation. We
can put the convicted offender behind bars.

The person who has committed a crime -- and particularly a violent crime -- cannot commit further violent crimes while serving a sentence in jail.

A survey taken here in California shows that about 2,300 violent criminals in this State are returned to the streets every year -- even though they committed crimes against another person and even though they used a gun to do it.

One doesn't have to be an expert in criminology to know that if we put violent criminals back on the streets, the incidence of violent crime will not go down. It can only go up.

It is not difficult to understand why offenders are going back on the streets -- our courts are overloaded. They are so overloaded that very few cases are actually tried. ~~As a result~~

has shown that in one Wisconsin county only 6 percent of the convictions resulted from cases which came to trial.

6

Anothe study shows that over a three-year period in
Manhattan, only about 3 percent of the persons indicted were
convicted after trial
and overworked ~~pro~~ public prosecutors

Our ~~crowded~~ ¹ ~~crowded~~ courts have simply been unable to
prepare sound cases ~~x~~ most of the time and ^{show} to get them scheduled
~~crowded~~ ^{in time} the presentation of
on court dockets to ensure ~~prompt~~ effective prosecutions

~~They have~~ ^{Resort to}
This means they have had to ~~substantially~~ engage in
plea bargaining ^{if} -- in effect, to settle out of court. These reduced
charges that result from plea bargaining all too often mean ^{suspended} ~~small~~
jail sentences for ~~or~~ ^{acknowledged} felons ~~or no jail at all.~~

^{one}
According to ~~only~~ ~~almost~~ one authoritative report, half of the persons
convicted of felonies in New York ~~were~~ escaped jail altogether
and ~~only one-fifth~~ of those who were sentenced to ~~a~~ prison served for

Most of ~~these~~ serious offenders who escape prison are
not persons committing ^{their} first crime. They are repeated offenders.

It is only common sense, as I see it, to ^{see that they} ~~put~~ ^{serve a sentence} these offenders ~~off the street~~.

If we do that, the crime rate will go down because offenders
serving jail sentences cannot commit crimes against law-abiding
citizens while in prison.

~~What can~~ What can we in the Federal government do to
speed up the workings of our criminal justice system and thus
ensure that serious offenders receive adequate prison terms?

To answer that, we must first recognize that a

^{major effort must be made}
~~direct Federal role is limited by the recognition that most serious~~

^{the overwhelming majority of serious}
crimes fall under the jurisdiction of States and local governments.

~~This~~ ~~Ed~~ ~~all~~ ~~the~~ ~~states~~ ~~can~~ ~~do~~ ~~this~~

States and communities are ~~the~~ the ones who ~~are~~ in the trenches
in this war against crime.

~~and must~~

But the Federal government can provide the leadership

< Focus you attack on special problems
~~and funding support~~ to enable you to ~~launch~~ initiatives. Here

in California, for example, you have been able to use funds from

the Federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration to relieve

the backlog of court cases involving serious crimes ~~through~~ through

a computerized tracking system, > those cases involving serious offenders are
identified and given priority attention.

This tracking system will ~~help~~ help

to ensure that justice will be swift and sure for those criminal offenders

who pose the greatest threat to the lives and safety of innocent citizens.

^{When} ~~When~~ The LEAA was created ^{Many} ~~in the~~ belief that it would :
become a major new force in ^{the fight against} ~~reversing the upward spiral of~~

crime. Admittedly, LEAA has ^{yet not} ~~been~~ not ~~it~~ ^{not} solved ~~the~~ major ^{impact}

^{But} ~~problem, even though~~ it has been helpful in providing funds for

innovative new programs to control crime.

^{these} But the very nature of innovative programs means
that some of them will succeed and others will ^{not} ~~fail~~ LEAA funds

are nonetheless providing money for ~~the~~ programs, some frankly
experimental, that may one day bring us big payoffs.

But ~~under our~~ under our Federal system, states
were seen to be living laboratories where programs of all kinds
would be attempted. Those which failed ^{are} ~~would be~~ discarded.

which succeed are adopted by other states. The LEAA
concept of providing seed money is faithful to this ^{is} concept.

The very essence of ~~the~~ our Federal system is partnership.

The Federal partner provides the leadership and the seed money, the State and local government partners carry out the innovative programs made possible by Federal funds and ~~technical~~ leadership efforts.

Major states such as California also have a leadership

in the crime fighting efforts
role to play ~~and~~ you have been leading the way -- right here in these

chambers.

I commend this legislature for your current effort to

develop sound legislation to deter the use of firearms by criminals.

The legislation you have under consideration would deny probation to

any convicted person who uses a firearm in the commission of a crime.

I understand also that you have under consideration legislation

that would ~~has~~ prohibit probation to pushers of hard drugs and to repeated

offenders convicted of first degree burglary.

11
This is the kind of legislation I had in mind when I made
my recommendations for reform of the Federal code of criminal
justice.

California's leadership in this crime-fighting legislation
can be an example to the Nation of ~~what we mean when we talk~~
~~about the Federal government and the States working together.~~

There are, however, two areas of crime ^{which} that the
Federal government must play a leading role because their very
~~nature~~ ^{often has interstate} implications. I am referring to
organized crime and to white collar crime.

We need a law that would make it a Federal crime
to operate or control a racketeering syndicate. This would bring
the force of Federal law enforcement efforts to bear against
leaders of organized crime, who have been able to disguise
their connections with syndicated crime.

White collar crime also needs ~~to~~ to be attacked more effectively by the Federal government. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce estimates that consumers are being cheated out of an estimated \$40 billion a year by these crimes ^{and} that does not even ^{or} include price fixing, industrial espionage.

~~These crimes also undermine faith in our economic, legal and political systems.~~

In recognition of ^{this} ~~the~~ major threat, I have directed the Attorney General ~~to~~ to coordinate Federal efforts to enforce and prosecute white collar crimes.

Another major area of concern is prisons. The :

Federal Bureau of Prisons has embarked on a program to replace

large, outdated prisons with smaller, more modern ones. In all,

seven new ^{all}corrections institutions of this sort are under

construction. All are designed to be civilized places that can be

governed more effectively by the wardens and prisoners.

The program to improve Federal prisons must be

be paralleled by State efforts. Unless prisons are improved,

many judges will be reluctant to commit convicted offenders to

them, even ^{Through} if they are guilty of serious crimes and have previous

criminal records.



Too many inmates come out of ~~these kind of~~ prisons more committed to crime than when they went in. Something is obviously wrong when a system aimed at correcting criminal behavior is reinforcing it instead.

Here in California, ~~you~~^{the} ~~Attorney General's~~ Task Force on prisoner rehabilitation. ~~It has already conducted~~ ^{has submitted its findings and} recommendations for your consideration. ~~This is the kind of~~ ^{intensive look at that is needed} if we are to get ~~a better~~^{a more realistic} understanding of how we can rehabilitate ~~more~~ offenders.

I am also convinced that we need to devote greater resources to preventing crime by diverting young persons into programs that will lead them along new pathways. The Department of Justice^e has begun a pilot program of this kind. It has two goals:

First, it will seek to reduce the caseloads of Federal courts through ~~expedited~~^{expedited} treatment of offenders who are good prospects for rehabilitation.

Second, it will seek to help ~~offenders~~ these offenders to avoid criminal records, and thus increase the likelihood that they will return to a productive

lives.

~~Overcoming~~

(of course is a job)
A ~~job~~ is one of the best forms of rehabilitation. Those

Leave prison work
who ~~fail to~~ return to society and cannot find a ~~job~~ are much more likely

over
~~to~~ turn again to crime. I urge employers to keep an open

mind
mind on hiring former offenders. I have also directed the U.S.

Civil Service Commission to review its program ~~is~~ designed to prevent

Federal employers from unjustly discriminating against ex-felons.

I call upon ~~of~~ you in California to join in this effort to see to it

that ex-offenders get a fair shake in the job market.

The concrete
Finally, and most important, I believe that we must

Action to compensate individual
~~give first consideration to~~ the victims of crime. *(is one of 11 states that)* California has a law

which provides

~~that provides~~ victims of crime with compensation.

the concept
~~get full support~~ for I have long believed

Believe
that our system of justice ~~is~~ must

itself justice
be concerned with justice ~~for~~ the victims. ~~and~~

That is why I am urging Congress to pass similar legislation that would compensate those who have suffered economic losses due to personal injuries resulting from crimes¹² that come under Federal jurisdiction.

If Congress enacts the proposals I have made to combat crime, I am confident that we ^{can and we will} ~~will immeasurably~~ strengthen the

attack. But it is to you, the States and the communities, that

we must look primarily to reverse the tidal wave of violent crime.

I call for concerted action by the Federal government, States and communities to stop this epidemic of violent crime. Only by working together can we ensure that

Each of us here, when we took office, swore an oath
to uphold ~~the~~ and defend the Constitution. That ~~a~~ document
written by our Founding Fathers, charges us with ensuring
domestic tranquility.

It is to that charge and in that quest that I came here
to speak with you today. The eyes of America are upon us.

It is a gaze of hope and of expectation.

Let us not fail them.

###