

State of the Union Message
By the President to a
Joint Session of the Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE

January 4, 1965



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Lyndon B. Johnson

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MR. SPEAKER, MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF CONGRESS,
MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

On this Hill which was my home, I am stirred by old friendships.

Though total agreement between the Executive and the Congress is impossible, total respect is important.

I am proud to be among my colleagues of the Congress whose legacy to their trust is their loyalty to their Nation.

I am not unaware of the inner emotions of the new Members of this body tonight.

Twenty-eight years ago, I felt as you do now. You will soon learn that you are among men whose first love is their country, men who try each day to do as best they can what they believe is right.

We are entering the third century of the pursuit of American union.

Two hundred years ago, in 1765, nine assembled colonies first joined together to demand freedom from arbitrary power.

For the first century we struggled to hold together the first continental union of democracy in the history of man. One hundred years ago, in 1865, following a terrible test of blood and fire, the compact of union was finally sealed.

For a second century we labored to establish a unity of purpose and interest among the many groups which make up the American community.

That struggle has often brought pain and violence. It is not yet over. But we have achieved a unity of interest among our people that is unmatched in the history of freedom.

And so tonight, now, in 1965, we begin a new quest for union. We seek the unity of man with the world that he has built—with the knowledge that can save or destroy him—with the cities which can stimulate or stifle him—with the wealth and the machines which can enrich or menace his spirit.

We seek to establish a harmony between man and society which will allow each of us to enlarge the meaning of his life and all of us to elevate the quality of our civilization.

This is the search that we begin tonight.

STATE OF THE WORLD

But the unity we seek cannot realize its full promise in isolation. For today the state of the union depends, in large measure, upon the state of the world.

Our concern and interest, compassion and vigilance, extend to every corner of a dwindling planet.

Yet, it is not merely our concern but the concern of all free men. We will not, and we should not, assume that it is the task of Americans alone to settle all the conflicts of a torn and troubled world.

Let the foes of freedom take no comfort from this. For in concert with other nations, we shall help men defend their freedom.

Our first aim remains the safety and the well-being of our own country.

We are prepared to live as good neighbors with all, but we cannot be indifferent to acts designed to injure our interests, or our citizens, or our establishments abroad. The community of nations requires mutual respect. We shall extend it—and we shall expect it.

In our relations with the world we shall follow the example of Andrew Jackson who said: "I intend to ask for nothing that is not clearly right and to submit to nothing that is wrong." And he promised, that "the honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth or for the performance of duty." That was this Nation's policy in the 1830's and that is this Nation's policy in the 1960's.

Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream.

We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a worldwide desert of disappointed dreams. Our Nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they keep man less than God means him to be.

We are moving toward that destiny, never more rapidly than we have moved in the last 4 years.

In this period we have built a military power strong enough to meet any threat and destroy any adversary. And that superiority will continue to grow so long as this office is mine—and you sit on Capitol Hill.

In this period no new nation has become Communist, and the unity of the communist empire has begun to crumble.

In this period we have resolved in friendship our disputes with our neighbors of the hemisphere, and joined in an Alliance for Progress toward economic growth and political democracy.

In this period we have taken more steps toward peace—including the test ban treaty—than at any time since the cold war began.

In this period we have relentlessly pursued our advances toward the conquest of space.

Most important of all, in this period, the United States has re-emerged into the fullness of its self-confidence and purpose. No longer are we called upon to get America moving. We are moving. No longer do we doubt our strength or resolution. We are strong and we have proven our resolve.

No longer can anyone wonder whether we are in the grip of historical decay. We know that history is ours to make. And if there is great danger, there is now also the excitement of great expectations.

AMERICA AND THE COMMUNIST NATIONS

Yet we still live in a troubled and perilous world. There is no longer a single threat. There are many. They differ in intensity and in danger. They require different attitudes and different answers.

With the Soviet Union we seek peaceful understandings that can lessen the danger to freedom.

Last fall I asked the American people to choose that course.

I will carry forward their command.

If we are to live together in peace, we must come to know each other better.

I am sure that the American people would welcome a chance to listen to the Soviet leaders on our television—as I would like the Soviet people to hear our leaders on theirs.

I hope the new Soviet leaders can visit America so they can learn about our country at first hand.

In Eastern Europe restless nations are slowly beginning to assert their identity. Your Government, assisted by the leaders in American labor and business, is now exploring ways to increase peaceful trade with these countries and with the Soviet Union. I will report our conclusions to the Congress.

In Asia, communism wears a more aggressive face.

We see that in Vietnam.

Why are we there?

We are there, first, because a friendly nation has asked us for help against the Communist aggression. Ten years ago our President pledged our help. Three Presidents have supported that pledge, and we will not break it now.

Second, our own security is tied to the peace of Asia. Twice in one generation we have had to fight against aggression in the Far East. To ignore aggression now would only increase the danger of a much larger war.

Our goal is peace in Southeast Asia. That will come only when aggressors leave their neighbors in peace.

What is at stake is the cause of freedom and in that cause America will never be found wanting.

THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD

But communism is not the only source of trouble and unrest. There are older and deeper sources—in the misery of nations and in man's irrepressible ambition for liberty and a better life.

With the free Republics of Latin America I have always felt—and my country has always felt—very special ties of interest and affection. It will be the purpose of my Administration to strengthen these ties. Together we share and shape the destiny of the new world and in the coming year I hope to pay a visit to Latin America. And I will steadily enlarge our commitment to the Alliance for Progress as the instrument of our war against poverty and injustice in this hemisphere.

In the Atlantic community we continue to pursue our goal of 20 years—a Europe that is growing in strength, unity, and cooperation with America. A great unfinished task is the reunification of Germany through self-determination.

This European policy is not based on any abstract design. It is based on the realities of common interests and common values, common dangers and common expectations. These realities will continue to have their way—especially, I think, in our expanding trade and especially in our common defense.

Free Americans have shaped the policies of the United States. And because we know these realities, those policies have been, and will be, in the interest of Europe.

Free Europeans must shape the course of Europe. And, for the same reasons, that course has been, and will be, in our interest and in the interest of freedom.

I found this truth confirmed in my talks with European leaders in the last year. I hope to repay these visits to some of our friends in Europe this year.

In Africa and Asia we are witnessing the turbulent unfolding of new nations and continents.

We welcome them to the society of nations.

We are committed to help those seeking to strengthen their own independence, and to work most closely with those governments dedicated to the welfare of all of their people.

We seek not fidelity to an iron faith, but a diversity of belief as varied as man himself. We seek not to extend the power of America but the progress of humanity. We seek not to dominate others but to strengthen the freedom of all people.

I will seek new ways to use our knowledge to help deal with the explosion in world population and the growing scarcity in world resources.

Finally, we renew our commitment to the continued growth and the effectiveness of the United Nations. The frustrations of the United Nations are a product of the world that we live in, and not of the institution which gives them voice. It is far better to throw these differences open to the assembly of nations than to permit them to fester in silent danger.

These are some of the goals of the American Nation in the world in which we live.

For ourselves we seek neither praise nor blame, neither gratitude nor obedience.

We seek peace.

We seek freedom.

We seek to enrich the life of man.

For that is the world in which we will flourish and that is the world that we mean for all men to ultimately have.

TOWARD THE GREAT SOCIETY

World affairs will continue to call upon our energy and our courage.

But today we can turn increased attention to the character of American life.

We are in the midst of the greatest upward surge of economic well-being in the history of any nation.

Our flourishing progress has been marked by price stability that is unequalled in the world. Our balance of payments deficit has declined and the soundness of our dollar is unquestioned. I pledge to keep it that way and I urge business and labor to cooperate to that end.

We worked for two centuries to climb this peak of prosperity. But we are only at the beginning of the road to the Great Society. Ahead now is a summit where freedom from the wants of the body can help fulfill the needs of the spirit.

We built this Nation to serve its people.

We want to grow and build and create, but we want progress to be the servant and not the master of man.

We do not intend to live in the midst of abundance, isolated from neighbors and nature, confined by blighted cities and bleak suburbs, stunted by a poverty of learning and an emptiness of leisure.

The Great Society asks not how much, but how good; not only how to create wealth but how to use it; not only how fast we are going, but where we are headed.

It proposes as the first test for a nation: the quality of its people.

This kind of society will not flower spontaneously from swelling riches and surging power.

It will not be the gift of government or the creation of Presidents.

It will require of every American, for many generations, both faith in the destination and the fortitude to make the journey.

And like freedom itself, it will always be challenge and not fulfillment.

And tonight we accept that challenge.

A NATIONAL AGENDA

I propose that we begin a program in education to ensure every American child the fullest development of his mind and skills.

I propose that we begin a massive attack on crippling and killing diseases.

I propose that we launch a national effort to make the American city a better and a more stimulating place to live.

I propose that we increase the beauty of America and end the poisoning of our rivers and the air that we breathe.

I propose that we carry out a new program to develop regions of our country that are now suffering from distress and depression.

I propose that we make new efforts to control and prevent crime and delinquency.

I propose that we eliminate every remaining obstacle to the right and the opportunity to vote.

I propose that we honor and support the achievements of thought and the creations of art.

I propose that we make an all-out campaign against waste and inefficiency.

THE TASK

Our basic task is threefold:

First, to keep our economy growing;

– – to open for all Americans the opportunity that is now enjoyed by most Americans;

– – and to improve the quality of life for all.

In the next 6 weeks I will submit special messages with detailed proposals for national action in each of these areas.

Tonight I would like just briefly to explain some of my major recommendations in the three main areas of national need.

I. A GROWING ECONOMY

Basic Policies

First, we must keep our nation prosperous. We seek full employment opportunity for every American citizen. I will present a budget designed to move the economy forward. More money will be left in the hands of the consumer by a

substantial cut in excise taxes. We will continue along the path toward a balanced budget in a balanced economy.

I confidently predict—what every economic sign tells us tonight—the continued flourishing of the American economy.

But we must remember that fear of a recession can contribute to the fact of a recession. The knowledge that our Government will, and can, move swiftly will strengthen the confidence of investors and business.

Congress can reinforce this confidence by insuring that its procedures permit rapid action on temporary income tax cuts. And special funds for job-creating public programs should be made available for immediate use if recession threatens.

Our continued prosperity demands continued price stability. Business, labor, and the consumer all have a high stake in keeping wages and prices within the framework of the guideposts that have already served the Nation so well.

Finding new markets abroad for our goods depends on the initiative of American business. But we stand ready—with credit and other help—to assist the flow of trade which will benefit the entire Nation.

On the Farms

Our economy owes much to the efficiency of our farmers. We must continue to assure them the opportunity to earn a fair reward. I have instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to lead a major effort to find new approaches to reduce the heavy cost of our farm programs and to direct more of our effort to the small farmer who needs the help the most.

Increased Prosperity

We can help insure continued prosperity through:

- - a Regional Recovery Program to assist the development of stricken areas left behind by our national progress;
- - further efforts to provide our workers with the skills demanded by modern technology, for the laboring man is an indispensable force in the American system;
- - the extension of the minimum wage to more than 2 million unprotected workers;
- - the improvement and the modernization of the unemployment compensation system.

And as pledged in our 1960 and 1964 Democratic platforms, I will propose to Congress changes in the Taft-Hartley Act including Section 14-B. I will do so hoping to reduce the conflicts that for several years have divided Americans in various states of our Union.

In a country that spans a continent modern transportation is vital to continued growth.

Transportation for Growth

I will recommend heavier reliance on competition in transportation and a new policy for our merchant marine.

I will ask for funds to study high-speed rail transportation between urban centers. We will begin with test projects between Washington and Boston. On high-speed trains, passengers could travel this distance in less than 4 hours.

II. OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Second, we must open opportunity to all our people.

Most Americans enjoy a good life. But far too many are still trapped in poverty, and idleness, and fear.

Let a just nation throw open to them the city of promise:

- to the elderly, by providing hospital care under social security and by raising benefit payments to those struggling to maintain the dignity of their later years;

- to the poor and the unfortunate, through doubling the war against poverty this year;

- to Negro Americans, through enforcement of the civil rights law and elimination of barriers to the right to vote;

- to those in other lands that are seeking the promise of America, through an immigration law based on the work a man can do and not where he was born or how he spells his name.

III. TO ENRICH THE LIFE OF ALL

Our third goal is to improve the quality of American life.

Through Education

We begin with learning.

Every child must have the best education that this Nation can provide.

Thomas Jefferson said that no nation can be both ignorant and free. Today no nation can be both ignorant and great.

In addition to our existing programs, I will recommend a new program for schools and students with a first year authorization of \$1,500 million.

It will help at every stage along the road to learning.

For the preschool years we will help needy children become aware of the excitement of learning.

For the primary and secondary school years we will aid public schools serving low-income families and assist students in both public and private schools.

For the college years we will provide scholarships to high school students of the greatest promise and the greatest need and we will guarantee low-interest loans to students continuing their college studies.

New laboratories and centers will help our schools -- help them lift their standards of excellence and explore new methods of teaching. These centers will provide special training for those who need and those who deserve special treatment.

Through Better Health

Greatness requires not only an educated people but a healthy people.

Our goal is to match the achievements of our medicine to the afflictions of our people.

We already carry on a large program in this country for research and health.

In addition, regional medical centers can provide the most advanced diagnosis and treatment for heart disease, and cancer, and stroke, and other major diseases.

New support for medical and dental education will provide the trained people to apply our knowledge.

Community centers can help the mentally ill and improve health care for school-age children from poor families, including services for the mentally retarded.

Through Improving the World We Live In

The City

An educated and healthy people require surroundings in harmony with their hopes.

In our urban areas the central problem today is to protect and restore man's satisfaction in belonging to a community where he can find security and significance.

The first step is to break old patterns—to begin to think, and work, and plan for the development of the entire metropolitan areas. We will take this step with new programs of help for the basic community facilities and for neighborhood centers of health and recreation.

New and existing programs will be open to those cities which work together to develop unified long-range policies for metropolitan areas.

We must also make some very important changes in our housing programs if we are to pursue these same basic goals.

So a Department of Housing and Urban Development will be needed to spearhead this effort in our cities.

Every citizen has the right to feel secure in his home and on the streets of his community.

To help control crime, we will recommend programs:

- — to train local law enforcement officers;
- — to put the best techniques of modern science at their disposal;
- — to discover the causes of crime and better ways to prevent it.

I will soon assemble a panel of outstanding experts of this Nation to search out answers to the national problem of

crime and delinquency, and I welcome the recommendations and the constructive efforts of the Congress.

The Beauty Of America

For over three centuries the beauty of America has sustained our spirit and has enlarged our vision. We must act now to protect this heritage. In a fruitful new partnership with the States and the cities the next decade should be a conservation milestone. We must make a massive effort to save the countryside and to establish—as a green legacy for tomorrow—more large and small parks, more seashores and open spaces than have been created during any other period in our national history.

A new and substantial effort must be made to landscape highways to provide places of relaxation and recreation wherever our roads run.

Within our cities imaginative programs are needed to landscape streets and to transform open areas into places of beauty and recreation.

We will seek legal power to prevent pollution of our air and water before it happens. We will step up our effort to control harmful wastes, giving first priority to the cleanup of our most contaminated rivers. We will increase research to learn much more about the control of pollution.

We hope to make the Potomac a model of beauty here in the Capital, and preserve unspoiled stretches of some of our waterways with a Wild Rivers bill.

More ideas for a beautiful America will emerge from a White House Conference on Natural Beauty which I will soon call.

Art and Science

We must also recognize and encourage those who can be pathfinders for the Nation's imagination and understanding.

To help promote and honor creative achievements, I will propose a National Foundation on the Arts.

To develop knowledge which will enrich our lives and ensure our progress, I will recommend programs to encourage basic science, particularly in the universities—and to bring closer the day when the oceans will supply our growing need for fresh water.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT

For government to serve these goals it must be modern in structure, efficient in action, and ready for any emergency.

I am busy currently reviewing the structure of the entire executive branch of this government. I hope to reshape it and to reorganize it to meet more effectively the tasks of the 20th century.

Wherever waste is found, I will eliminate it.

Last year we saved almost 3 billion 500 million dollars by eliminating waste in the National Government.

And I intend to do better this year.

And very soon I will report to you on our progress and on new economies that your Government plans to make.

Even the best of government is subject to the worst of hazards.

I will propose laws to insure the necessary continuity of leadership should the President become disabled or die.

In addition, I will propose reforms in the Electoral College—leaving undisturbed the vote by States—but making sure that no elector can substitute his will for that of the people.

Last year, in a sad moment, I came here and I spoke to you after 33 years of public service, practically all of them here on this Hill.

This year I speak after 1 year as President of the United States.

Many of you in this Chamber are among my oldest friends. We have shared many happy moments and many hours of work, and we have watched many Presidents together. Yet, only in the White House can you finally know the full weight of this office.

The greatest burden is not running the huge operations of Government—or meeting daily troubles, large and small—or even working with the Congress.

A President's hardest task is not to *do* what is right, but to *know* what is right.

Yet the Presidency brings no special gift of prophecy or foresight. You take an oath, you step into an office, and you must then help guide a great democracy.

The answer was waiting for me in the land where I was born.

It was once barren land. The angular hills were covered with scrub cedar and a few large live oaks. Little would grow in that harsh caliche soil of my country. And each spring the Pedernales River would flood our valley.

But men came and they worked and they endured and they built.

And tonight that country is abundant; abundant with fruit and cattle and goats and sheep, and there are pleasant homes and lakes and the floods are gone.

Why did men come to that once forbidding land?

Well, they were restless, of course, and they had to be moving on. But there was more than that. There was a dream—a dream of a place where a free man could build for himself, and raise his children to a better life—a dream of a continent to be conquered, a world to be won, a nation to be made.

Remembering this, I knew the answer.

A President does not shape a new and personal vision of America.

He collects it from the scattered hopes of the American past.

It existed when the first settlers saw the coast of a new world, and when the first pioneers moved westward.

It has guided us every step of the way.

It sustains every President. But it is also your inheritance and it belongs equally to all the people that we all serve.

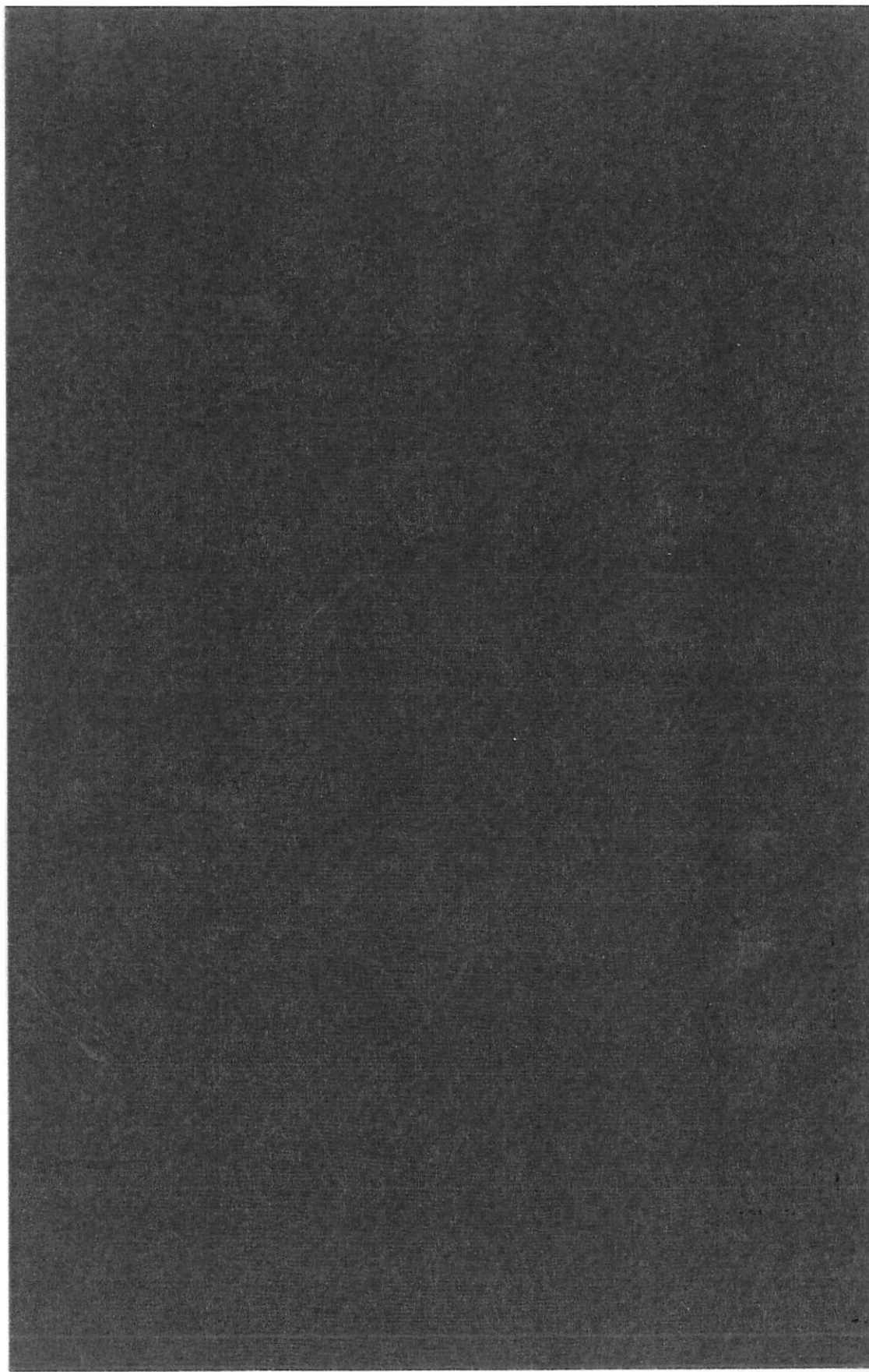
It must be interpreted anew by each generation for its own needs; as I have tried, in part, to do tonight.

It shall lead us as we enter the third century of the search for “a more perfect union.”

This, then, is the state of the Union: Free, and restless, growing, and full of hope.

So it was in the beginning.

So it shall always be, while God is willing, and we are strong enough to keep the faith.





DNC

MEMORANDUM

from the desk of **JOHN M. BAILEY**

National Democratic Chairman

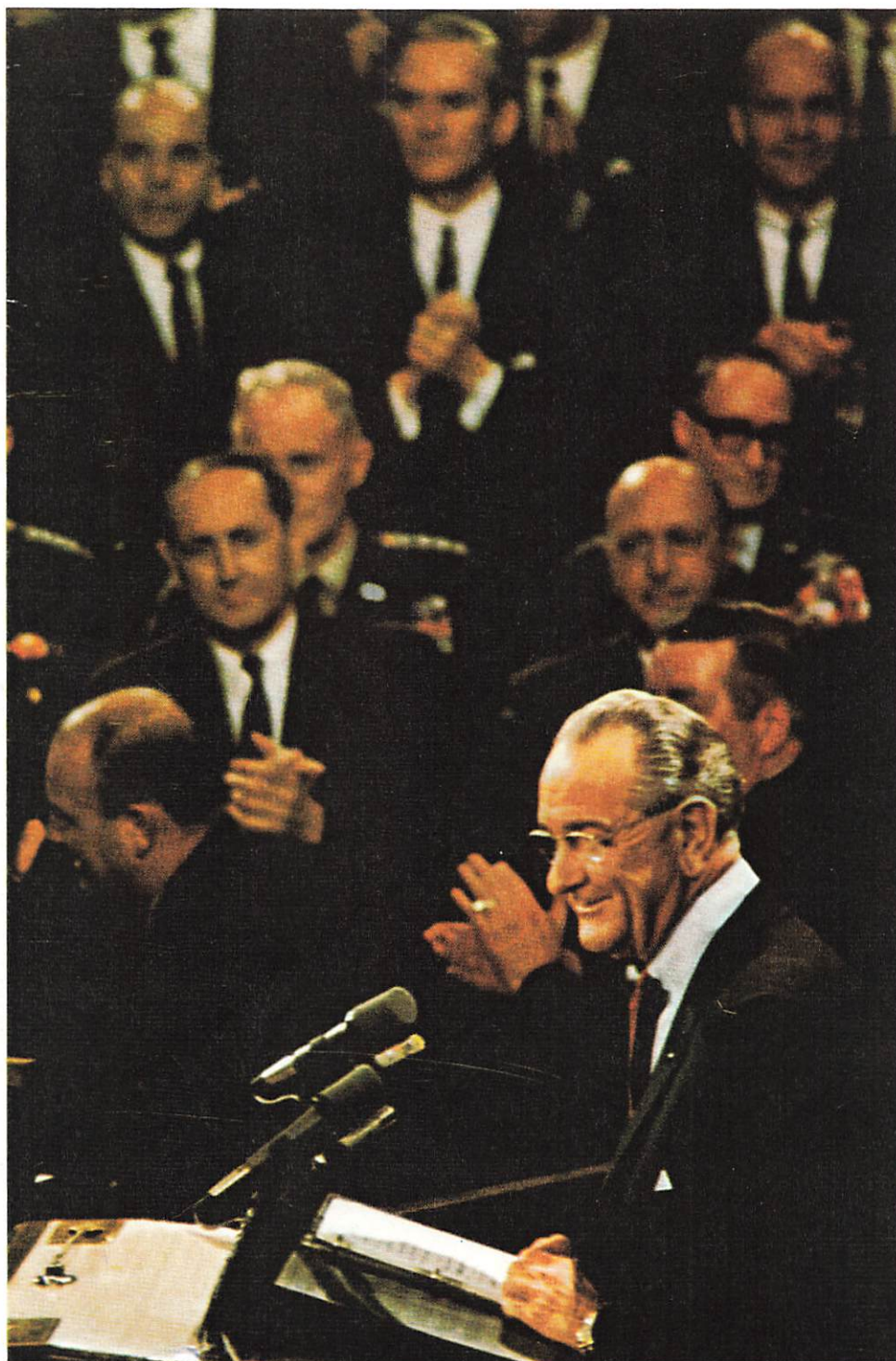
Enclosed is what I consider our best campaign document for 1968--President Johnson's State of the Union message. In it are specific programs and policies to keep the nation safe, strong and bountiful--hard kernels of future progress for America.

Here in President Johnson's words, on the record, is the best possible proof that ours is the DO party whose leaders deserve to be re-elected.

When people understand what President Johnson is trying to do, they will want to help him. Your job, and mine, is to be informed about the issues of the day and present the position of our party and President forcefully and factually.

One way to do this is by carefully studying the State of the Union message. It contains the best possible campaign strategy--sincere and sensible answers to all Republican criticism.

It is our campaign compass for '68.



State Of The Union

State Of The Union 1968

Message from Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
to the Congress

January 17, 1968

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 1, 1968

Dear Friend and Fellow Democrat:

I want to share my hopes for America with you.

This State of the Union message is a challenge and a summons to our people. It presents great tests and opportunities for each of us. It gives every one of us the tools to build a better life for ourselves, and our children.

The programs and priorities set forth here will decide the American future. It is for you to decide whether they will succeed in their purpose of winning new blessings for us and true peace for men.

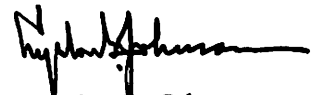
I believe that Americans will make the right decision.

My confidence comes, in vital part, from the evidence of character and courage that gleams from all we have accomplished. It is a striking and extraordinary fact that this generation of Americans has not grown soft or satisfied amidst unprecedented abundance. Instead, we have struck out against poverty, injustice, ignorance, disease. We have pushed out, from within ourselves, to rebuild the face of this land and refresh the quality of its life.

We have shown our mettle. Now the question comes again: Do we have the will to reach higher and move on? Let every American look at the peril and the promise of this moment, then answer in his own heart.

My answer is given here. This message conveys my hopes for America -- and they are strong and bright. I want you to know them, share them and build upon them. Others will be eager to join us when they appreciate our goals. I ask your help in carrying this message to your neighbors and friends.

You have all my gratitude and encouragement.



Lyndon B. Johnson

*The President's message delivered before a joint session
of the Congress, January 17, 1968.*

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

I was thinking as I was walking down the aisle tonight
of what Sam Rayburn told me years ago: The Congress
always extends a very warm welcome to the President — as
he comes in.

I thank all of you very, very much.

I have come once again to this chamber — the home of
our democracy — to give you, as the Constitution requires,
"information of the State of the Union."

I report to you that our country is challenged, at home
and abroad:

- that it is our will that is being tried, not our strength;
our sense of purpose, not our ability to achieve a better
America;
- that we have the strength to meet our every challenge;
the physical strength to hold the course of decency and
compassion at home; and the moral strength to support
the cause of peace in the world.

And I report to you that I believe, with abiding conviction,
that this people — nurtured by their deep faith, tutored
by their hard lessons, moved by their high aspirations — have
the will to meet the trials that these times impose.

Vietnam

Since I reported to you last January,

- Three elections have been held in Vietnam — in the
midst of war and under the constant threat of violence.
- A President, a Vice President, a House and Senate,
and village officials have been chosen by popular, contested
ballot.



- The enemy has been defeated in battle after battle.
 - The number of South Vietnamese living in areas under Government protection tonight has grown by more than a million since January of last year.
- These are all marks of progress. Yet,
- The enemy continues to pour men and material across frontiers and into battle, despite his continuous heavy losses.
 - He continues to hope that America's will to persevere can be broken. Well — he is wrong. America will persevere. Our patience and our perseverance will match our power. Aggression will never prevail.

But our goal is peace — and peace at the earliest possible moment.

Right now we are exploring the meaning of Hanoi's recent statement. There is no mystery about the questions which must be answered before the bombing is stopped.

We believe that any talks should follow the San Antonio formula that I stated last September, which said:

- The bombing would stop if talks would take place promptly and with reasonable hopes that they would be productive.
- And the other side must not take advantage of our restraint as they have in the past. This Nation simply cannot accept anything less without jeopardizing the lives of our men and of our allies.

If a basis for peace talks can be established on the San Antonio foundations — and it is my hope and my prayer that they can — we would consult with our allies and with the other side to see if a complete cessation of hostilities — a really true cease-fire — could be made the first order of business. I will report at the earliest possible moment the results of these explorations to the American people.

I have just recently returned from a very fruitful visit and talks with His Holiness the Pope and I share his hope — as he expressed it earlier today — that both sides will extend themselves in an effort to bring an end to the war in Vietnam. I have today assured him that we and our allies will do our full part to bring this about.

Other International Events

Since I spoke to you last January, other events have occurred that have major consequences for world peace.

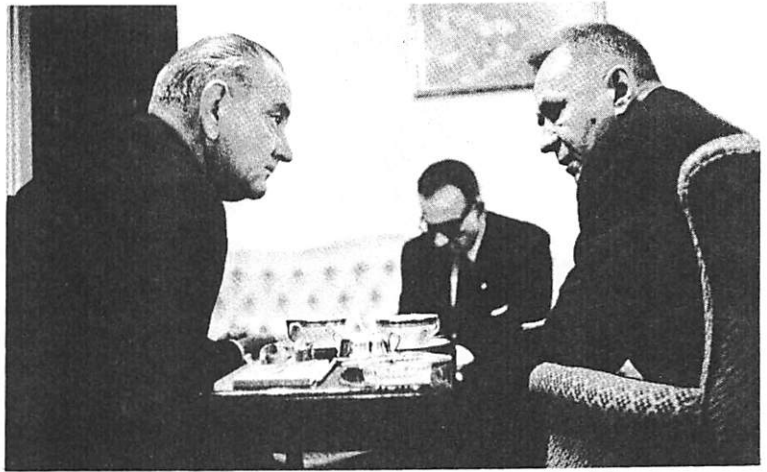
- The Kennedy Round achieved the greatest reduction in tariff barriers in all the history of trade negotiations.
- The nations of Latin America at Punta del Este resolved to move toward economic integration.
- In Asia, the nations from Korea and Japan to Indonesia and Singapore worked behind America's shield to strengthen their economies and to broaden their political cooperation.
- In Africa, from which the distinguished Vice President has returned, he reports to me there is a spirit of regional cooperation that is beginning to take hold in very practical ways.

These events we all welcomed. Yet since I last reported to you, we and the world have been confronted by a number of crises:

- During the Arab-Israeli war last June, the hot line between Washington and Moscow was used for the first time in our history. A cease-fire was achieved without a major power confrontation.

Now the nations of the Middle East have the opportunity to cooperate with Ambassador Jarring's U.N. mission and they have the responsibility to find the terms of living together in stable peace and dignity, and we shall do all in our power to help them achieve that result.

- Not far from this scene of conflict, a crisis flared on



Cyprus involving two peoples who are America's friends: Greece and Turkey. Our very able representative, Mr. Cyrus Vance, and others helped to ease this tension.

■ Turmoil continues on the mainland of China after a year of violent disruption. The radical extremism of their government has isolated the Chinese people behind their own borders. The United States however, remains willing to permit the travel of journalists to both our countries; to undertake cultural and educational exchanges; and to talk about the exchange of basic food crop materials.

Soviet Union

Since I spoke to you last, the United States and the Soviet Union have taken several important steps toward the goal of international cooperation.

As you remember, I met with Chairman Kosygin at Glassboro for two days, achieving, if not accord, at least a clearer understanding of our respective positions.

Because we believe the nuclear danger must be narrowed, we have worked with the Soviet Union and other nations to reach an agreement that will halt the spread of nuclear weapons. On the basis of communications from Ambassador Fisher in Geneva this afternoon, I am encouraged to believe that a draft treaty can be laid before the conference in Geneva in the near future. I hope to be able

to present that treaty to the Senate this year for the Senate's approval.

We achieved, in 1967, a consular treaty with the Soviets, the first commercial air agreement between the two countries, and a treaty banning weapons in outer space. We shall sign, and submit to the Senate shortly, a new treaty with the Soviets and with others for the protection of astronauts.

Serious differences still remain between us, yet in these relations, we have made some progress since Vienna, the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban missile crisis.

Defense

Yet despite this progress, we must maintain a military force that is capable of deterring any threat to this Nation's security, whatever the mode of aggression. Our choices must not be confined to total war — or to total acquiescence.

We have such a military force today. We shall maintain it.

I wish — with all of my heart — that the expenditures that are necessary to build and to protect our power could all be devoted to the programs of peace. But until world conditions permit, and until peace is assured, America's might — and America's bravest sons who wear our Nation's uniform — must continue to stand guard for all of us — as they gallantly do tonight in Vietnam and other places in the world.

Yet neither great weapons nor individual courage can provide the conditions of peace.

Sustaining Our Commitment

For two decades America has committed itself against the tyranny of want and ignorance in the world that threatens the peace. We shall sustain that commitment.

This year I shall propose

- That we launch, with other nations, an exploration of the ocean depths to tap its wealth, and its energy, and its abundance.
- That we contribute our fair share to a major expansion of the International Development Association, and to increase the resources of the Asian Development Bank.
- That we adopt a prudent aid program, rooted in the principle of self-help.

■ That we renew and extend the Food for Freedom program.

Our food programs have already helped millions avoid the horrors of famine.

But unless the rapid growth of population in developing countries is slowed, the gap between rich and poor will widen steadily.

Governments in the developing countries must take such facts into consideration. We in the United States are prepared to help assist them in those efforts.

But we must also improve the lives of children already born in the villages and towns and cities already on this earth. They can be taught by great teachers through space communications and the miracle of satellite television — and we shall bring to bear every resource of mind and technology to make this dream come true.

Here in America

Let me speak now about some matters here at home.

Tonight our Nation is accomplishing more for its people than has ever been accomplished before. Americans are prosperous as men have never been in recorded history. Yet there is in the land a certain restlessness — a questioning.

The total of our Nation's annual production is now above \$800 billion. For 83 months this Nation has been on a steady



upward trend of growth.

All about them, most American families can see the evidence of growing abundance: higher paychecks, humming factories, new cars moving down new highways. More and more families own their own homes, equipped with more than 70 million television sets.

A new college is founded every week. Today more than half of the high school graduates go on to college.

There are hundreds of thousands of fathers and mothers who never completed grammar school — who will see their children graduate from college.

Why, then, this restlessness?

Because when a great ship cuts through the sea, the waters are always stirred and troubled.

And our ship is moving. It is moving through new waters; it is moving toward new and better shores.

We ask now, not how can we achieve abundance? — but how shall we use our abundance? Not, is there abundance enough for all? — but how can all share in our abundance?

Problems

While we have accomplished much, much remains for us to meet and much remains for us to master.

- In some areas, the jobless rate is still three or four times the national average.
- Violence has shown its face in some of our cities.
- Crime increases on our streets.
- Income for farm workers remains far behind that for urban workers; and parity for our farmers who produce our food is still just a hope — not an achievement.
- New housing construction is far less than we need — to assure decent shelter for every family.
- Hospital and medical costs are high, and they are rising.
- Many rivers — and the air in many cities — remain badly polluted. And our citizens suffer from breathing that air.

We have lived with conditions like these for many, many years. But much that we once accepted as inevitable, we now find absolutely intolerable.

In our cities last summer, we saw how wide is the gulf for some Americans between the promise and the reality of our society.

We know that we cannot change all of this in a day. It represents the bitter consequences of more than three centuries.

But the issue is not whether we can change this; the issue is whether we will change this.

Well, I know we can. And I believe we will.

This then is the work we should do in the months that are ahead of us in this Congress.

More Jobs

The first essential is more jobs, useful jobs for tens of thousands who can become productive citizens and can pay their own way.

Our economy has created 7½ million new jobs in the past 4 years. It is adding more than a million and a half new jobs this year.

Through programs passed by the Congress, job training is being given tonight to more than a million Americans in this country.

This year, the time has come when we must get to those who are last in line — the hard-core unemployed — the hardest to reach.

Employment officials estimate that 500,000 of these persons are now unemployed in the major cities of America. Our objective is to place these 500,000 in private industry jobs within the next 3 years.

To do this, I propose a \$2.1 billion manpower program in the coming fiscal year — a 25 percent increase over the current year. Most of this increase will be used to start a new partnership between government and private industry to train and to hire the hard-core unemployed persons. I know of no task before us of more importance to us, to the country, or to our future.

Rebuilding Cities

Another essential is to rebuild our cities.

Last year the Congress authorized \$662 million for the model cities program. I requested the full amount of that authorization to help meet the crisis in the cities of America.



But the Congress appropriated only \$312 million — less than half.

This year I urge the Congress to honor my request for model cities funds to rebuild the centers of American cities by granting us the full amount that you in the Congress authorized — \$1 billion.

More Housing

The next essential is more housing — and more housing now.

Surely a nation that can go to the moon can place a decent home within the reach of its families.

Therefore we must call together the resources of industry and labor, to start building 300,000 housing units for low- and middle-income families next year — that is three times more than this year. We must make it possible for thousands of families to become homeowners, not rent-payers.

I propose, for the consideration of this Congress, a 10-year campaign to build 6 million new housing units for low- and middle-income families. Six million units in the next 10 years. We have built 530,000 the last 10 years.

Children's Health

Better health for our children — all of our children — is essential if we are to have a better America.

Last year, Medicare, Medicaid, and other new programs that you passed in the Congress brought better health to more than 25 million Americans.

American medicine — with the very strong support and cooperation of public resources — has produced a phenomenal decline in the death rate from many of the dread diseases.

But it is a shocking fact that, in saving the lives of babies, America ranks 15th among the nations of the world. And among children, crippling defects are often discovered too late for any corrective action. This is a tragedy that Americans can, and Americans should, prevent.

I shall, therefore, propose to the Congress a child health program to provide, over the next 5 years, for families unable to afford it — access to health services from prenatal care of the mother through the child's first year.

When we do that you will find it is the best investment we ever made because we will find these diseases in their infancy and we will find a cure in a great many instances that we can never find by overcrowding our hospitals when they are grown.

Consumers

When we act to advance the consumer's cause I think we help every American.

Last year, with very little fanfare the Congress and the executive branch acted in that field.

We enacted the Wholesome Meat Act, the Flammable Fabrics Act, the Product Safety Commission, and a law to improve clinical laboratories.

Now, it is time to complete our unfinished work. The Senate has already passed Truth-in-Lending, Fire Safety, and Pipeline Safety laws.

Tonight I plead with the House to immediately act upon these measures and I hope take favorable action on all of them. I call upon the Congress to enact, without delay, the remainder of the 12 vital consumer protection laws that I submitted to the Congress last year.

I also urge final action on a measure that is already passed by the House to guard against fraud and manipulation in the Nation's commodity exchange market.

These measures are a pledge to our people—to keep them safe in their homes and at work, and to give them a fair deal in the marketplace.

And I think we must do more. I propose:

- New powers for the Federal Trade Commission to stop those who defraud and who swindle our public.
- New safeguards to insure the quality of fish and poultry, and the safety of our community water supplies.
- A major study of automobile insurance.
- Protection against hazardous radiation from television sets and other electronic equipment.

And to give the consumer a stronger voice, I plan to appoint a Consumer Counsel in the Justice Department—a lawyer for the American consumer—to work directly under the Attorney General, and serve with the President's Special Assistant for Consumer Affairs, and to serve the consumers of this land.

This Congress—Democrats and Republicans—can earn the thanks of history. We can make this truly a new day for the American consumer, and by giving him this protection we can live in history as the consumer-conscious Congress.

So let us get on with the work. Let us act soon.

Crime

We, at every level of the government, State, local, Federal, know that the American people have had enough of rising crime and lawlessness in this country.

We recognize that law enforcement is first the duty of local police and local government.

They recognize that the frontline headquarters against crime is in the home, the church, the city hall and the county courthouse and the statehouse—not the far-removed National Capital of Washington.

But the people also recognize that the National Government should help the cities and the States in their war on crime to the full extent of its resources and its constitutional authority. And this we shall do.

This does not mean a national police force. It does mean



help and financial support:

- To develop State and local master plans to combat crime.
- To provide better training and better pay for police, and
- To bring the most advanced technology to the war on crime to every city and county in America.

There is no more urgent business before this Congress than to pass the Safe Streets Act this year that I proposed last year. That law will provide these required funds. They are so critically needed that I have doubled my request under this act to \$100 million in fiscal 1969.

I urge the Congress to stop the trade in mail-order murder, to stop it this year by adopting a proper gun control law.

This year, I will propose a Drug Control Act to provide stricter penalties for those who traffic in LSD and other dangerous drugs with our people.

Law Enforcement

I will ask for more vigorous enforcement of all of our drug laws by increasing the number of Federal drug and narcotics control officials by more than 30 percent. The time has come to stop the sale of slavery to the young. I also request you to give us funds to add immediately 100 assistant United States attorneys throughout the land to help prosecute our criminal laws. We have increased our judiciary by 40 percent and we have increased our prosecutors by 16

percent. The dockets are full of cases because we don't have assistant district attorneys to go before the Federal judge and handle them. We start these young lawyers at \$8,200 a year. And the docket is clogged because we don't have authority to hire more of them.

I ask the Congress for authority to hire 100 more. These young men will give special attention to this drug abuse law, too.

Finally, I ask you to add 100 FBI agents to strengthen law enforcement in the Nation and to protect the individual rights of every citizen.

A moment ago I spoke of despair and frustrated hopes in the cities where the fires of disorder burned last summer. We can — and in time we will — change that despair into confidence, and change those frustrations into achievements. But violence will not bring progress.

We can make progress only by attacking the causes of violence and only where there is a civil order funded on justice.

Today we are helping local officials improve their capacity to deal promptly with disorders.

Those who preach disorder and those who preach violence must know that local authorities are able to resist them swiftly, to resist them sternly, and to resist them decisively.

I shall recommend other actions:

- To raise the farmers' income by establishing a security commodity reserve that will protect the market from price-depressing stocks and protect the consumer from food scarcity.
- I shall recommend programs to help farmers bargain more effectively for fair prices.
- I shall recommend programs for new air safety measures.
- Measures to stem the rising cost of medical care.
- Legislation to encourage our returning veterans to devote themselves to careers in community service such as teaching, and being firemen, and joining our police force, and becoming law enforcement officials.
- I shall recommend programs to strengthen and finance our anti-pollution efforts.

■ Fully funding all of the \$2.2 billion poverty program that you in the Congress just authorized to bring opportunity to those who have been left far behind.

■ I shall recommend an Educational Opportunity Act to speed up our drive to break down the financial barriers that are separating our young people from college.

I shall also urge the Congress to act on several other vital pending bills — especially the civil rights measures; fair jury trials, protection of Federal rights, enforcement of equal employment opportunity, and fair housing.

The unfinished work of the first session must be completed — the Higher Education Act, the Juvenile Delinquency Act, conservation measures to save the redwoods of California, and to preserve the wonders of our scenic rivers, the Highway Beautification Act — and all the other measures for a cleaner and for a more beautiful America.

The Economy

Next month we'll begin our eighth year of uninterrupted prosperity. The economic outlook for this year is one of steady growth — if we are vigilant.

True, there are some clouds on the horizon. Prices are rising. Interest rates have passed the peak of 1966; and if there is continued inaction on the tax bill, they will climb even higher.

I warn the Congress and the Nation tonight that this failure to act on the tax bill will sweep us into an accelerating spiral of price increases; a slump in homebuilding; and a continuing erosion of the American dollar.

This would be a tragedy for every American family. And I predict that if this happens, they will all let us know about it.

We — those of us in the Executive branch, in the Congress, and the leaders of labor and business — must do all we can to prevent that kind of misfortune.

Under the new budget, the expenditures for 1969 will increase by \$10.4 billion. Receipts will increase by \$22.3 billion including the added tax revenues. Virtually all of this expenditure increase represents the mandatory cost of our defense efforts, \$3 billion; increased interest, almost \$1 billion; or mandatory payments under laws passed by Congress — such as those provided in the Social Security Act that you

passed in 1967, and to Medicare and Medicaid beneficiaries, veterans, and farmers, of about \$4½ billion; and the additional \$1 billion 600 million next year for the pay increases that you passed in military and civilian pay. That makes up the \$10 billion that is added to the budget. With few exceptions, very few, we are holding the fiscal 1969 budget to last year's level, outside of those mandatory and required increases.

New Budget

A Presidential commission composed of distinguished congressional fiscal leaders and other prominent Americans recommended this year that we adopt a new budget approach. I am carrying out their recommendations in this year's budget. This budget, therefore, for the first time accurately covers all Federal expenditures and all Federal receipts, including for the first time in one budget \$47 billion we will reduce the deficit from about \$20 billion in 1968 to \$8 billion in 1969.

The fiscal 1969 budget has expenditures of approximately \$186 billion, with total estimated revenues, including the tax bill, of about \$178 billion.

If the Congress enacts the tax increase, we will reduce the budget deficit by some \$12 billion. The war in Vietnam is costing us about \$25 billion and we are asking for about \$12 billion in taxes — and if we get that \$12 billion tax bill, we will reduce the deficit from about \$20 billion in 1968 to \$8 billion in 1969.

Now, this is a tight budget. It follows the reduction that I made in cooperation with the Congress — a reduction made after you had reviewed every appropriations bill and reduced the appropriations by some \$5 or \$6 billion and expenditures by \$1.5 billion. We conferred together and I recommended to the Congress and you subsequently approved taking 2 percent from payrolls and 10 percent from controllable expenditures. We therefore reduced appropriations almost \$10 billion last session and expenditures over \$4 billion. Now, that was in the budget last year.

Tax Increase

I ask the Congress to recognize that there are certain selected programs that meet the Nation's most urgent needs and they have increased. We have insisted that decreases in

very desirable but less urgent programs be approved before we make any increases.

So I ask the Congress tonight:

- to hold its appropriations to the budget requests, and
- to act responsibly early this year by enacting the tax surcharge which for the average American individual amounts to about a penny out of each dollar's income.

This tax increase would yield about half of the \$23 billion per year we returned to the people in the tax reduction bills of 1964 and 1965.

This must be a temporary measure, which expires in less than 2 years. Congress can repeal it sooner if the need has passed. But Congress cannot repeal inflation.

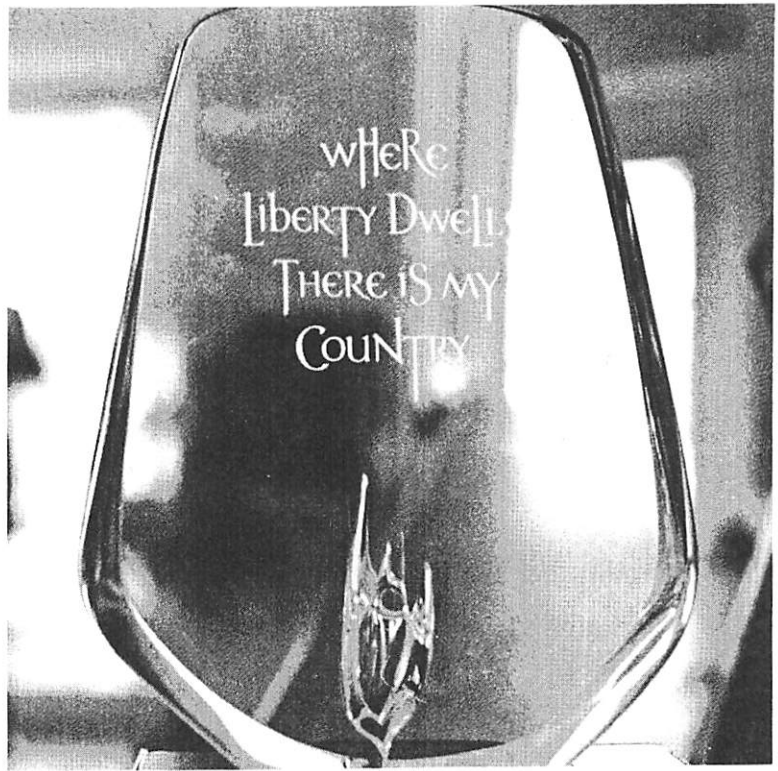
The leaders of American business and American labor — those who really have power over wages and prices — must act responsibly, and in the Nation's interest by keeping increases in line with productivity. If our recognized leaders do not do this, they and those for whom they speak and all of us will suffer serious consequences.

On January 1st, I outlined a program to reduce our balance of payments deficit sharply this year. We will ask the Congress to help carry out those parts of the program which require legislation. We must restore equilibrium to our balance of payments.

We must also strengthen the international monetary system. We have assured the world that America's full gold stock stands behind our commitment to maintain the price of gold at \$35 an ounce. We must back this commitment by legislating now to free our gold reserves.

Americans, traveling more than any other people in history, took \$4 billion out of their country last year in travel costs. We must try to reduce the travel deficit that we have of more than \$2 billion. We are hoping that we can reduce it by \$500 million — without unduly penalizing the travel of teachers, or students, or business people who have essential and necessary travel, or people who have relatives abroad whom they need to see. Even with the reduction of \$500 million, the American people will still be traveling more overseas than they did in 1967, 1966, or 1965 or any other year in their history.

If we act together as I hope we can, I believe we can continue our economic expansion which has already broken all past records.



Conclusion

Each of these questions I have discussed with you tonight is a question of policy for our people. Therefore, each of them should be — and doubtless will be — debated by candidates for public office this year.

I hope those debates will be marked by new proposals and by seriousness that matches the gravity of the questions themselves.

These are not appropriate subjects for narrow partisan oratory. They go to the heart of what we Americans are all about — all of us, Democrats and Republicans.

Tonight I have spoken of some of the goals I should like to see America reach. Many of them can be achieved this year — others by the time we celebrate our Nation's 200th birthday — the bicentennial of our independence.

Several of these goals will be very hard to reach. But the State of our Union will be much stronger 8 years from now on our 200th birthday if we resolve to reach these goals now. They are more important — much more important —

than the identity of the party or the President who will then be in office.

These goals are what the fighting and our alliances are really meant to protect.

Can we achieve these goals?

Of course we can — if we will.

If ever there was a people who sought more than mere abundance, it is our people.

If ever there was a nation that is capable of solving its problems, it is this Nation.

If ever there were a time to know the pride and the excitement and the hope of being an American — it is this time.

So, this, my friends, is the State of our Union: seeking, building, tested many times in this past year — and always equal to the test.

Thank you and good night.
