

THE PRESIDENT'S READING COPY

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

January 30, 1974

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, my colleagues in the Congress, our distinguished guests, my fellow Americans:


1) We meet here tonight at a time of great challenge and great opportunity. *for America*

I. We meet at a time when we face great problems at home and abroad that will test the strength of our fiber as a nation.

(I) But we also meet at a time when that fiber has been tested, and found strong.

I. America is a great and good land because we are a strong, free, creative people, and the single greatest force for peace anywhere in the world.

Today, as always in our history, we can base our confidence in what the American people will achieve in the future on the record of what the American people have achieved in the past.



I. Tonight, for the first time in 12 years, a President of the United States can report to the Congress on the State of a Union at peace with all nations of the world.

(I) Because of this, in the 22,000 word message on the State of the Union that I handed just now to the Speaker of the House and to the President of the Senate, I have been able to deal primarily with the problems of peace -- with what we can do here at home, in America, for the American people -- rather than with the problems of war.

- (I) The measures I have outlined in this message set an agenda for truly significant progress in 1974.

Before we chart where we are going, let us see how far we have come.

I. Five years ago, on the steps of this Capitol, I took the oath of office as your President.

- (I) In those five years, because of the initiatives undertaken by this Administration, the world has changed.

I. America has changed.

- (I) As a result of these changes, America is safer today, more prosperous today, with greater opportunity for more of its people than ever before.

2. Five years ago America was at war in Southeast Asia, locked in confrontation with the Soviet Union in hostile isolation from a quarter of the world's population in mainland China.
3. Five years ago our cities were burning and besieged.
4. *Five years ago*
~~Five~~ years ago our college campuses were a battleground.
5. Five years ago crime was increasing at a rate that struck fear across the Nation.
6. Five years ago the spiraling rise in drug addiction was threatening human and social tragedy of massive proportion -- and there was no concerted program to meet it.
7. Five years ago -- as young Americans had done for a generation -- America's youth still lived under the shadow of the military draft.

8. Five years ago there was no national program to preserve our environment -- ~~and~~ day by day our air was getting dirtier and our water fouler.
9. Five years ago American agriculture was practically a depressed industry, with 100,000 farm families abandoning the farm every year.

~~As we look at America today, we find ourselves challenged by new problems.~~

- I. But we also find a record of progress to confound the professional criers of doom and prophets of despair.

(I) We met the challenges we faced five years ago.

- I. We can be equally confident of meeting those that we face today.

2. After more than ten years of military involvement, *all* our troops have returned from Southeast Asia.

(I) They have returned with honor.

I. We can be proud of the fact that our courageous prisoners of war came home with their heads high, on their feet and not on their knees.

3. In our relations with the Soviet Union, we have turned away from a policy of confrontation to one of negotiation.

(I) For the first time since World War II, the world's two strongest powers are working together toward peace.

4. With the People's Republic of China, after a generation of hostile isolation we have begun a period of peaceful exchange and expanding trade.

5. Peace has returned to our cities, and to our campuses.

6. The 17-year rise in crime has been stopped.

(1) We can confidently say today that we are finally beginning to win the war against crime.

(2) Here in the Nation's capital -- which a few years ago was threatening to become the crime capital of the world -- crime has been cut in half.

7. A massive campaign against drug abuse has been organized.

(1) The rate of new heroin addiction -- the most vicious threat of all -- is decreasing rather than increasing.

8. For the first time in a generation, no young Americans are being drafted into the armed forces.

9. For the first time ever, we have organized a massive national effort to protect the environment.

(1) Our air is getting cleaner.

(2) Our water is getting purier.

10. Our agriculture, which was depressed, is prospering.

(1) Farm income is up 70 percent.

(2) Farm production is setting all-time records.

(3) and the billions of dollars the taxpayers were paying in subsidies have been cut to nearly zero.

II. Overall, Americans are living more abundantly than ever *before*.

(1) More than two and a half million new jobs were created in the past year alone -- the biggest percentage increase in nearly 20 years.

(2) People are earning more, ~~and~~ what they earn buys more, than ever before in history.

I. In the past 5 years, the average American's real spendable income -- that is, what you can actually buy with your income, even after allowing for taxes and inflation -- has increased by 16 percent.

Despite the record of achievement, as we turn to the year ahead, we hear once again the familiar voice of the perennial prophets of gloom -- telling us now that because of the need to fight inflation, and because of the energy shortage, America may be headed for a recession.

I. Let me speak to that issue head on.

(I) There will be no recession *in the United States.*

I. Primarily because of the energy crisis, our economy is passing through a difficult period.

(I) But I pledge to you tonight the full powers of this Government will be used to keep America's economy producing and to protect the jobs of America's workers.

(2) We are engaged in a long, hard fight
against inflation.

I. There have been, and will be, ups
and downs in that fight.

(I) But if the Congress cooperates
in our efforts to hold down the
cost of government, we shall win
our fight to hold down the cost
of living. *for every American*

As we look back over history, the years that stand out as
the ones of signal accomplishment are those in which
the Administration and the Congress, working together,
had the wisdom and foresight to select those particular
initiatives for which the Nation was ready and the
moment was right -- and in which they seized that
moment, and acted.

Looking at 1974, there are 10 key areas in which landmark accomplishments are possible this year.

I. If we make these our national agenda, this is what we will achieve in 1974:

(1) We will break the back of the energy crisis, and lay the foundation for our future capacity to meet America's energy needs from America's own resources.

(2) We will take another giant stride toward lasting peace in the world not only by continuing our policy of negotiation rather than confrontation where the great powers are concerned, but also by helping toward the achievement of a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

- (3) We will check the rise in prices, without administering the harsh medicine of recession, and move the economy into a period of steady growth at a sustainable level.
- (4) We will establish a new system that makes high-quality health care available to every American, in a dignified manner and at a price he can afford.
- (5) We will make our States and localities more responsive to the needs of their own citizens.
- (6) We will make a crucial breakthrough toward better transportation in our towns and cities.
- (7) We will reform our system of Federal aid to education, to provide it when it is needed, where it is needed, ~~and~~ so that it will do the most for those who need it most.

(8) We will make an historic beginning on the task of defining and protecting the right of personal privacy. *for every American*

(9) We will start on a new road toward reform of a welfare system that bleeds the taxpayer, corrodes the community and demeans those it is meant to assist.

(10) And together with the other nations of the world, we will establish the economic framework within which Americans will share more fully in an expanding world-wide trade and prosperity in the years ahead, with more open access to both markets and supplies.

in our history

In all the 186 State of the Union messages, this is the first in which the number one problem before the Nation is energy.

I. Let me begin by reporting a new development which I know will be welcome news to every American.

(I) As you know, we have committed ourselves to an active role in helping to achieve a just and durable peace in the Middle East, on the basis of full implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

I. The first step in the process is the disengagement of Egyptian and Israeli troops now taking place.

(2) Because of this hopeful development, I can announce tonight that I have been assured through my personal contacts with friendly leaders in the Middle East area, that an urgent meeting will be called in the immediate future to discuss the lifting of the oil embargo.

I. This is an encouraging sign.

(1) However, it should be clearly understood by our friends in the Middle East that the United States will not be coerced on this issue.

(3) Regardless of the outcome of this meeting, the cooperation of the American people in our energy conservation program has already gone a long way towards achieving a goal to which I am deeply dedicated.

1. Let us do everything we can to avoid
gasoline rationing in America.

2. Last week I sent to the Congress a comprehensive
special message setting forth our energy situation,
and recommending the legislative measures
which are necessary to my program for meeting
our needs.

(1) If the embargo is lifted this will ease the crisis, but it will not mean an end to the energy shortage.

I. Voluntary conservation will continue to be necessary.

(1) Let me take this occasion to pay tribute once again to the splendid spirit of cooperation the American people have shown, which has made possible our success in meeting this emergency.

(2) The new legislation I have requested will also remain necessary.

I. Therefore, I urge again that the energy measures I have proposed be made the first priority of this session of the Congress.

- (3) These measures will require the oil companies and other energy producers to provide the public with the necessary information on their supplies.
- (4) They will prevent the injustice of windfall profits for a few as a result of the sacrifices of millions of Americans.
- (5) And they will give us the organization, the incentives and the authorities needed to deal with the short-term emergency and to move toward meeting our long-term needs.

I. Just as 1970 was the year in which we began a full-scale effort to protect the environment, 1974 must be the year in which we organize a full-scale effort to provide for our energy needs not only in this decade, but through the twenty-first century.

As we move toward the celebration two years from now of the 200th anniversary of our Nation's independence, we must press vigorously on toward the goal that I announced last November for Project Independence:

Let this be our national goal.

I. At the end of this decade, the United States will not be dependent on any other country for ^{the} energy we need to provide our jobs, to heat our homes, and to keep our transportation moving.

(I) To spur energy research and development, we already plan to spend \$10 billion in Federal funds over the next 5 years.

I. This is an enormous investment.

(I) But during the same 5 years, private enterprise will be investing as much as \$200 billion -- and in 10 years, \$500 billion -- to develop the new resources, the new technology and the new capacity America will require for its energy needs in the 1980s.

This is one measure of the magnitude of the project that we are undertaking.

I. But America performs best when called to its biggest tasks.

(1) It can truly be said that only in America could a task so tremendous be achieved so quickly -- and achieved not by regimentation, but through the effort and inegnuity of a free people, working together in a free system.

~~As we turn to the rest of the agenda for 1974, the time is at hand -- this year -- to bring comprehensive, high-quality health care within the reach of every American.~~

I. I shall propose a sweeping new program that will assure comprehensive health insurance protection to millions of Americans who cannot now obtain it or afford it, with vastly improved protection against catastrophic illness.

(1) This will be a plan that maintains the high standards of quality in America's health care.

I. It will not require additional taxes.

(2) Other plans have been put forward that would cost \$80 or \$100 billion, and that would put our whole health care system under the heavy hand of the Federal Government.

1. This is ~~wrong~~ *is the wrong approach.*

(1) This has been tried abroad,
and failed;

(2) ~~this~~ *is* not the way we do things
here in America;

(3) this kind of plan would threaten
the quality of care provided by
our whole health care system.

2. The right way is one that builds on
the strengths of our present system,
not one that destroys those strengths;

(1) one based on partnership,
not paternalism.

(2) Most important of all, let us keep this as the guiding principle of our health programs:

- I. Government has a great role to play -- but we must always make sure that our doctors will be working for their patients and not for the Federal Government.

In my State of the Union address three years ago, I commented that "Most Americans today are simply fed up with government -- at all levels" -- and I recommended a sweeping set of proposals to revitalize State and local governments, and to make them more responsive to the people they serve.

- I. I can report to you today that as a result of revenue sharing and other measures, ^{*we have made program through this year*} after 40 years of moving power from the States and communities to Washington, we have begun moving power back from Washington to the States and communities and to the people all across America.

In this session of the Congress, I believe we are near
the breakthrough point on others of my proposals to
let people themselves make their own decisions for their
own communities -- and in particular, on those to provide
broad new flexibility in Federal aid for community
development, for economic development and for education.

I. I look forward to working with the Congress in
resolving our remaining differences on this

legislation, so that we can make available nearly

~~five~~ ^{dollar} ~~and~~ a half billion to our States and localities

to use not for what a Federal bureaucrat wants,

but for what their own people want.

The energy crisis has given new urgency to the need to improve public transportation, not only in our cities but in rural areas as well.

1. The program I propose this year will give communities not only more money, but also more freedom to balance their own transportation needs.
2. ~~and~~ It will mark the strongest Federal commitment ever to the improvement of mass transit as an essential element of the improvement of life in our towns and cities.

One goal on which all Americans agree is that our children should have the best education this great Nation can provide.

I. In a special message last week, I recommended a number of important new measures that can make 1974 a year of truly significant advances for our schools, and for the children they serve.

(I) If the Congress will act on these proposals,

① more flexible funding will enable each Federal dollar to meet better the particular needs of each particular school district.

② Advance funding will give school authorities a chance to make each years plans, knowing ahead of time, what Federal funds they will receive.

2. Special targeting will give special help to the truly disadvantaged.
3. College students faced with rising costs for their education will be able to draw on an expanded program of loans and grants.

(I) These advances are a needed investment in America's next

generation and I urge
the Congress to act
on this legislation in 1974.

One measure of a free society is the vigor with which it protects the liberties of its individual citizens.

1. As technology has advanced, it has increasingly encroached on one of those liberties --- the right of personal privacy.

(1) Modern information systems, data banks, credit records, mailing list abuses, electronic snooping, the collection of personal data for one purpose that may then be used for another -- all these have left millions of Americans deeply concerned for the privacy ~~that~~ ^{they} cherish.

2. The time has come therefore, for a major initiative to define the nature and extent of the basic rights of privacy, and to erect new safeguards to ensure that those rights are respected.

(I) I shall launch such an effort this year
at the highest levels of the Administration.

I. I look forward to working with the
members of the Congress in establishing
a new set of standards that respect the
legitimate needs of society, but that
also recognize personal privacy as a
cardinal principle of American
liberty.

Three years ago I termed the Nation's welfare system
"a monstrous, consuming outrage -- an outrage against
the community, against the taxpayer, and particularly
against the children it is supposed to help."

I. The system is still an outrage.

(I) By improving its administration, we have
been able to reduce some of its abuses.

I. As a result, last year, for the first
time in 18 years, there has been a
halt in the growth of the welfare case load.

(I) But as a system, ^{our welfare program} ~~it~~ still needs
reform as urgently today as it did
when I first proposed in 1969
that we completely replace it.

2. In these final three years of my Administration
I urge the Congress to join me in mounting a
major new effort to replace the discredited
present ^{welfare} ~~system~~ with one that works -- one
that is fair to those who need help or cannot
help themselves, fair to the community and
fair to the taxpayer.

(I) Let us have as our goal that there will be
no government program which makes it more
profitable to go on welfare than to go to work.

3. I recognize that it is not realistic to expect enactment of such a reform overnight.


(1) But i do propose that the Congress and the Administration together make this the year in which we discuss, debate and shape such a reform, so that it can be enacted as quickly as possible.

America's own prosperity in the years ahead depends on our sharing fully and equitably in an expanding world prosperity.

1. Historic negotiations will take place this year that will enable us to ensure fair treatment in international markets for American workers, American farmers, American investors and American consumers.

(I) It is vital that the authorities contained in the trade bill I submitted to the Congress be enacted, so that the United States can negotiate flexibly and vigorously on behalf of American interests.

I. These negotiations can usher in a new era of international trade that not only increases the prosperity of all nations, but also strengthens the peace among all nations.

~~_____~~
 In the past five years, we have made more progress
toward a lasting structure of peace in the world than
in any comparable time in the Nation's history.

I. We could not have made that progress if we
had not maintained our military strength.

(I) Thomas Jefferson once observed that the
price of liberty is eternal vigilance.

I. By the same token, and for the
same reason, in today's world the
price of peace is a strong defense.

In the past five years, we have steadily reduced the burden of national defense as a share of the budget -- bringing it down from 44 percent in 1969 to 29 percent in the current year.

1. We have cut our military manpower by more than a third, from 3.5 million to 2.2 million.
2. In the coming year, however, increased expenditures will be needed to assure the continued readiness of our military forces, to preserve present force levels in the face of rising costs, and to give us the military strength we must have if our security is to be maintained and if our initiatives for peace are to succeed.

(1) The question is not whether we can afford to maintain the necessary strength of our defense.

(2) the question is whether we can afford not to maintain it -- and the clear answer to that is no.

I. We must never allow America to become the second strongest nation in the world.

(1) America's military strength has always been maintained to keep the peace, never to break it; and always to defend freedom, never to destroy it.

The world's peace as well as our own depends on our remaining as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.

1. In 1974, we will be negotiating with the Soviet Union to place further limits on strategic nuclear arms.
2. Together with our allies, we will be negotiating with the nations of the Warsaw Pact on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe.
3. We will continue our efforts to promote peaceful economic development in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia.
4. We will press for full compliance with the peace accords that brought an end to American fighting in Indochina -- including the provision that promised the fullest possible accounting for those Americans who are missing in action.

5. We will be working with the other nations of the world toward agreement on means by which oil supplies can be assured at reasonable prices on a stable basis, in a way fair to consuming and producing nations alike.

(I) All of these are steps toward a future in which the world's peace and prosperity are made more secure.

~~Through~~ *I have been honored as your President*
Throughout ~~these~~ five years, I have had one overriding aim: to establish a structure of peace in the world that can free future generations from the scourge of war.

I. Others may have different priorities;

(I) this has been and will remain my first priority, the chief legacy that I hope to leave from the eight years of my Presidency.

As we strengthen the peace, we must also continue
each year a steady strengthening of our society here
at home.

1. Our conscience requires it.
2. Our interests require it.
3. And we must insist on it.

As we create more jobs, as we build a better health care
system, and improve education; as we develop new sources
of energy, as we provide more abundantly for the elderly
and the poor, as we strengthen the system of private
enterprise that produces our prosperity -- as we do all
this and more, we solidify those essential bonds that
hold us together as a Nation.

I. Even more importantly, we advance what in
the final analysis government in America is
all about:

(I) More freedom, more security, a better
life for each one of the two hundred
eleven million individual persons who are
America.

We cannot afford to neglect progress at home while
pursuing peace abroad.

I. But neither can we afford to neglect peace
abroad while pursuing progress at home.

(I) With a stable peace, all is possible;

(2) without peace, nothing is possible.

To the Speaker & President of the Senate

In the written message that I have just delivered, I comment that "one of the continuing challenges facing us in the legislative process is that of the timing and pacing of our initiatives . . . selecting each year among many worthy projects those that are ripe for action at that time . . ."

I. What is true in terms of our domestic initiatives is true also in the world.

(I) This period we now are in -- these few years -- presents a junction of historic forces unique in this century, which provide an opportunity we may never have again to create a structure of peace solid enough to last a lifetime and more ~~of~~ not just peace in our time but peace in our children's time as well.

I. It is on the way we respond to this opportunity, more than anything else, that history will judge whether we in America have met our responsibility.

(I) I have full confidence that we
will meet that responsibility.

It was twenty-seven years ago that I first sat in this chamber, as a freshman Congressman, and listened as President Truman addressed us on the State of the Union.

I. It may well be that one of the freshmen Members of the Ninety-third Congress here tonight will deliver his own State of the Union address twenty-seven years from now -- in the year 2001, at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

(1) ~~And~~ ^{if} so -- whichever one of you that
is -- I want you to be able to look back
with pride, and to say that your first
years here were great years -- and to
recall that you were here, in this
Ninety-third Congress, when America
ended its longest war and began its
longest peace.

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