

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
S

FOIA Number:
S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13703
Folder ID Number: 13703-007

Folder Title:
State of the Union 1/31/90 [OA 8310] [7]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	19	6	2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	James W. Cicconi to Shief of Staff, re: Competitiveness Package for State of the Union. (1 pp.)	01/10/90	~~P-5~~	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: State of the Union 1/31/90 [7]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 10/13/2004	OA/ID Number: 08310
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

To Chris Winston

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1990

THE CHIEF of STAFF
has seen

MEMORANDUM FOR CHIEF OF STAFF

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI *Jim*
SUBJECT: Competitiveness Package for State of the Union

As you know, we have endorsed or will soon put forward three significant proposals which relate to the economy: capital gains, a permanent R&D tax credit, and a plan to boost domestic savings. All three will assist growth industries in the U.S., particularly high tech businesses, and enhance competitiveness. Accordingly, I would hope we will link these as part of a "competitiveness package" designed to boost investment in America's future. Such a link would enhance the legislative prospects for all three ideas, and would respond to calls for an Administration strategy to compete more effectively with Japan and the EC. All are also consistent philosophically, i.e. they approach the task via incentives and not by way of central planning and control (industrial policy). They seek to tap latent strength in America, showing that we do have some easily available tools to enhance America's competitiveness.

One might add our budget as a fourth prong of this package since it cuts the deficit without new taxes, thus helping cost of capital (not to mention the indirect pro-competitive aspects of a low taxes, low inflation, lower interest rates economic policy).

Of the above, the R&D tax credit, which could do perhaps as much for corporate investment as any of our other ideas, should not get short shrift in our legislative and communications strategy. A permanent credit came close to passage in both the House and Senate last year, and could pass this year with sufficient Administration support. Packaging these proposals and presenting them rhetorically as such will help provide that support. It is also a way of having some "old" ideas appear new for State of the Union.

If you agree with the above, we can see that it is presented accordingly in the State of the Union and subsequent speeches.

cc: Michael Boskin
Richard G. Darman

Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

*copy Chris
Dan*

January 11, 1990

Honorable George Bush
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In anticipation of the State of the Union address, I want to share some ideas from other House Republicans as well as myself.

I assume a major emphasis of your speech will concern the epic changes occurring in Eastern Europe. The Cold War philosophy of containment must now give way to a whole new approach to foreign policy. It is not just Eastern Europe but the new democracies in Asia, Western Europe and our own hemisphere which make this time even more profound.

A related matter to the changes in Eastern Europe is the so-called "peace dividend." I am sure you realize that the Democrat controlled Congress is prepared to spend that phantom dividend several times over. Debunking the myth of the peace dividend must be an important component of your speech. The debate on the issue needs to be formulated now, and there is no better spokesman than yourself, and no better forum than the State of the Union.

I trust that you will once again call for Congressional action on your previously expressed high priority items such as the war on drugs, crime package, child care, capital gains tax cut, and education. We deserve to be scolded for inaction. I also want to see Republicans continue to pursue a reform agenda which at a minimum should involve bipartisan agreement on budget and campaign reform.

136-
Your call for major campaign reform helped to set the debate and focus attention on the issue. House Republicans adopted an unprecedented 25-point program for reform in September.

While Congress is expected to act on clean air legislation, many hurdles remain, and clean air is only one element to a sound environmental agenda.

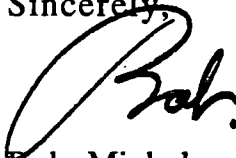
We must continue the effort to reduce the budget deficit to reach a balanced budget. Such an accomplishment would be a capstone to your Presidency as well as a legacy to our children. The new deficit projections are not good so it is imperative that we keep the dialogue moving in our direction.

A few issues which are germinating legislative proposals include: the portability of pensions to facilitate mobility in the workforce and the restructuring of companies; a major overhaul of our transportation infrastructure; modifications of the payroll tax; encouraging a free trade agreement with the European Economic Community similar to the one between the U.S. and Canada as well as more trade agreements in our own hemisphere.

I hope you will balance your attention to the dramatic shifts in Eastern Europe with emphasis on our own hemisphere and more importantly on the challenges we face domestically.

I have enclosed some letters from House Republicans suggesting these and other ideas for inclusion in the State of the Union. As always, I look forward to working with you in the Second Session of the 101st Congress.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bob Michel", written over a horizontal line.

Bob Michel
Republican Leader

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-2303

December 27, 1989

The Honorable Bob Michel
Republican Leader
H-232, The Capitol

Dear Bob:

Per your request of November 17, here are my thoughts on the SOTU address.

1. As a flint-hearted budgeteer, I hope we give first priority to realistic achievement of the Gramm-Rudman targets so that we actually get to zero deficit by the end of the first Bush term.
2. I hope the SOTU will contain no new tax proposals. Later, when we inevitably get around to summitry, we will have to see where the trail leads.
3. The Administration's DOD figures call for a slight nominal increase, but a real cut. I believe the President ought to get out in front of this idea and claim to be the first President in 40 years (or whatever) who has proposed a real cut. Cheney and Bush have endured some real pain. Lets not give the credit to the Democrats. They will feast off of Defense anyway. Let's advertise the President as the original promoter of defense spending reductions. Also, it will be easier to defend against over enthusiastic cuts if he is perceived as the guy who invented cutting in the first place.
4. I hope the President won't promise new programs. We don't know how to pay for the old ones yet. There is plenty of pending stuff, Clean Air, Child Care, etc., to promote. Especially, I hope he is careful on health programs. Lets not back into another catastrophic-insurance-type program.
5. The President ought to give a successful Uruguay Round Negotiation a plug, too. Few things are more important to the U.S. and world economies. He needs to start talking about it now, or it might escape us.

6. In general, the SOTU ought to be aimed at deficit reduction and a new international policy to replace containment. As a Party, we have some credit coming. Lets take it.

After the SOTU, I think we Republicans ought to work with the Administration on some other things.

1. Its time to abandon the losing position on abortion in cases of rape and incest. Our Party has dined on this issue for years, but now the dinner is eating us. The President can oppose and can moan, scream and wail, but he has to find a way to sign a bill with a principle in it that most Americans accept.
2. We need to continue your procedural (ethics) reforms. We have a long way to go on the frank yet. Committee budgets are obscene. Three committees have associate staff. Two are beyond the oversight of any authorizing committee.
3. House procedures still penalize us. We are still shorted on Committee ratios.
4. Budget procedures are an inadequate defense against scorekeeping legerdemain. They are not strong enough to defend a Bipartisan Budget Agreement. When we go to summit, we need process reform as badly as we need the right deficit numbers.

Thanks for your great leadership in past years. As usual, you have only ask when you need help.

Best regards,



Bill Frenzel
Member of Congress

BF:pb

DEC 20 1989

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 18, 1989

Hon. Robert H. Michel, Republican Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob,

Thank you for your letter of December 5, requesting my ideas for a 1990 legislative agenda for the President and for House Republicans. Here they are:

1. Pass EITC/child care to put parents in charge and help them to care for children regardless of whether they pay others for child care services.
2. Pass indexing of capital gains basis to account for inflation.
3. Adopt the Petri Income Dependent Education Assistance Act (IDEA -- to be introduced early in 1990) to establish a new, universal, cost-effective student loan program in which loan repayments are related to the post-school incomes of the borrowers and are collected by the IRS as income taxes (saves over \$3 billion per year while providing just as good a deal for students as current programs).
4. Reform health care system to provide vouchers, maximize competitive market forces, provide universal coverage, and control explosion of costs.
5. Promote competition in education.
6. Provide for some portability of pensions to facilitate mobility in workforce and restructuring of companies.
7. End prison overcrowding.
8. Announce downsizing of military and civilian bureaucracy.
9. Announce major overhaul of transportation infrastructure; expand and renovate air traffic support facilities, etc..
10. Support "polluter pays" policy to give incentives to private sector to invest in environmentally sound technology.
11. Continue progress toward balanced budget.

Sincerely,



Thomas E. Petri, M.C.

BILL GRADISON
2d DISTRICT, OHIO

MARGARET TOTTEN
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

COMMITTEES:
WAYS AND MEANS
BUDGET

2311 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
TELEPHONE: (202) 225-3164

FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDING
550 MAIN STREET
CINCINNATI, OH 45202
TELEPHONE: (513) 684-2456

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 19, 1989

DEC 20 1989

Hon. Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader
H-232 the Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

In response to your letter of December 5th, I wish to offer the following ideas for the House Republican legislative agenda and the President's State of the Union Address.

Health

As the country's largest health care payer, the federal government has a major role in assuring that all Americans have access to quality health care. To date, the Administration lacks a comprehensive health care policy. Decisions regarding health policy have been largely budget driven. As a result, a Republican president may soon be presiding over the deterioration of our nation's health care system, especially the hospital system -- in terms of both access and quality in both the public and private sectors.

Among the health care issues that will be on the front burner over the next few years are: how to address the growing problem of the health uninsured and underinsured, how to address the growing demand for long term care coverage, and how to reform the Medicaid program so that it meets the health care needs of those it is intended to serve.

Tax Reform

Despite the enactment of the Tax Reform Act of 1986, several major issues remain unresolved which should be addressed in the context of further tax reform (Tax Reform II).

Replace or reduce payroll taxes. As a result of the Social Security Amendments of 1983 and of ERTA, the federal revenue base has shifted significantly from income taxes toward payroll taxes. Yet payroll taxes are a direct tax on work. Alternative taxes should be considered. Such a tax could be structured to encourage saving over consumption which would help raise our national saving rate.

Integration of corporate and individual income tax. The current corporate tax system favors debt over equity. This contributes to over-leveraging and could prove harmful in an economic downturn. Integration of the corporate and individual tax systems would be a step in the right direction.

Expensing of capital investments. Another corporate tax reform would be to move to a system of expensing capital investments. This would be a significant tax simplification and would improve efficiency because investment decisions would not be influenced by depreciation schedules. When fully phased in, the effective tax rate on capital would be zero which would reduce the cost of capital. This could be achieved relatively cheaply through a system of incremental expensing starting with a fixed base.

Trade

Given the success of the US-Canadian Free Trade Agreement and the rapid integration of the European Economic Community (EC) planned for 1992, the U.S. should push for a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the EC. Such an agreement, like the Canadian and Israeli FTAs, would provide significant economic benefits to both parties. An US-EC FTA would supplement the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). As a general policy, the U.S. should declare its intent to negotiate other FTAs with other interested countries.

I hope these suggestions are helpful. Thanks for giving me the opportunity to provide some thoughts.

Sincerely,



Bill Gradison
Representative in Congress

cc: House Republican Leadership

GLENN M. ANDERSON, CALIFORNIA, CHAIRMAN

ROBERT A. ROE, NEW JERSEY
RODMAN Y. MINETA, CALIFORNIA
JAMES L. OBERSTAR, MINNESOTA
HENRY J. NOWAK, NEW YORK
RICK JOE RAHALL II, WEST VIRGINIA
DOUGLAS APPELGATE, OHIO
RON DE LUGO, VIRGIN ISLANDS
GUS SAVAGE, ILLINOIS
DOUGLAS H. BOSCO, CALIFORNIA
ROBERT A. BORSKI, PENNSYLVANIA
JOE KOLTER, PENNSYLVANIA
TIM VALENTINE, NORTH CAROLINA
EDOLPHUS TOWNS, NEW YORK
WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI, ILLINOIS
PETER J. VISCLOSKEY, INDIANA
JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR., OHIO
LOUISE M. SLAUGHTER, NEW YORK
JOHN LEWIS, GEORGIA
PETER A. DIFAZIO, OREGON
BENJAMIN L. CARDIN, MARYLAND
DAVID E. SKAGGS, COLORADO
JIMMY HAYES, LOUISIANA
BOB CLEMENT, TENNESSEE
LEWIS F. PAYNE, VIRGINIA
JERRY F. COSTELLO, ILLINOIS
FRANK PALLONE, JR., NEW JERSEY
BEN JONES, GEORGIA
MIKE PARKER, MISSISSIPPI
GREG LAUGHLIN, TEXAS
CARL C. PERKINS, KENTUCKY

JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT, ARKANSAS
BUO SHUSTER, PENNSYLVANIA
ARLAN STANGELAND, MINNESOTA
NEWTT GINGRICH, GEORGIA
WILLIAM F. CLINGER, JR., PENNSYLVANIA
GUY V. MOLINARI, NEW YORK
BOB MCEWEN, OHIO
THOMAS E. PETRI, WISCONSIN
RON PACKARD, CALIFORNIA
SHERWOOD BOEHLERT, NEW YORK
JIM LIGHTFOOT, IOWA
DENNIS HASTERT, ILLINOIS
JAMES M. INHOFE, OKLAHOMA
CASS BALLINGER, NORTH CAROLINA
FRED UPTON, MICHIGAN
BILL EMERSON, MISSOURI
LARRY E. CRAIG, IDAHO
JOHN J. DUNCAN, JR., TENNESSEE
MEL HANCOCK, MISSOURI
CHRISTOPHER COX, CALIFORNIA

Committee on Public Works and Transportation

One Hundred First Congress

U.S. House of Representatives

Room 2165, Rayburn House Office Building

Washington, DC 20515

TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 202, 225-4472

December 13, 1989

Hon. Robert H. Michel
Minority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

The widespread destruction created by Hurricane Hugo and the California earthquake served as a very graphic reminder of the importance of our public facility infrastructure. In fact, the better understanding that Americans now have of the essential role played by infrastructure as a result of those disasters provides President Bush an excellent and appropriate opportunity to raise the issue in next year's State of the Union address to Congress.

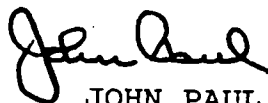
By any assessment, our infrastructure needs are enormous, with some estimates as high as \$1 trillion and more over the next 20 years. Growing public awareness of the problem and its serious consequences for our national economy make it imperative that as we set new spending priorities, the rebuilding of our crumbling public facility infrastructure be foremost among them.

President Bush, speaking for our Party, can take the lead in this effort by making a strong statement on infrastructure as part of his highly visible and significant State of the Union address. For that purpose and for the President's consideration, I have enclosed some attached language on this matter.

In order to further assist you in making recommendations to the President, I have attached a list of suggested public works and transportation objectives for our Republican Administration in 1990.

With highest regards,

Sincerely,



JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT
Member of Congress

JPH:gn

Suggested Language for State of the Union Message

In the aftermath of Hurricane Hugo and the California earthquake, Americans certainly have a better understanding of the importance of our Nation's public facility infrastructure. The disruption to essential services and the economies of the areas affected by those disasters should serve as a reminder of the urgent need to address the crumbling state of our infrastructure nationwide.

Past underinvestment and deferred investment in our expansive network of streets, roads, dams, waterways, airports, and water and sewage systems have left them in such a state of deterioration that some estimates put the cost to rebuild these vital facilities at \$1 trillion or more over the next two decades.

Our public works and transportation facilities are responsible for the growth and expansion of our industrialized economy and for the high standard of living we Americans enjoy. Fortunately there is a growing public awareness that the infrastructure which has served us so well for so long is wearing out and requires rehabilitation, repair and replacement. And, as with everything else, the longer we delay doing the work that must be done, the most costly the job will be.

The time has come for the strongest possible public response to the problems besetting our national infrastructure. The task will be large, and consideration must be given to the potential impact of anything that is done on the federal budget deficit. However, the job must be done, and many have a role to play in that effort.

Although the solution to the problems facing our infrastructure must be fashioned primarily at the grass roots level by state and local governments in cooperation with the private sector, there is nonetheless an important role for the Federal government in encouraging, coordinating and enhancing this effort. In this way and at this time of changing spending priorities, we will be able to restore our public facilities, which are so essential to the economic health and defense of our Nation.

OBJECTIVES FOR 1990

1. Make funding for infrastructure improvement a high priority. The National Council on Public Works Improvement has called for a doubling of infrastructure spending. Our nation's dramatic economic growth under the Reagan and Bush Administrations is at risk unless all levels of government and the private sector spend what is needed on infrastructure.
2. Fully utilize transportation trust fund revenues. The Highway and Airport and Airway Trust Fund balances should not be used to make the General Fund deficit look smaller. Moreover, states should be allowed to spend what they receive in obligational authority. Failure to fully use trust fund money for system improvements amounts to a breach of faith with the highway and aviation users who pay taxes just for that purpose.
3. Continue the 2-year cycle for reauthorizing water resources legislation. Although we enacted a water bill in 1988, prior to that it took 16 years to enact the 1986 Water Resources bill, during which the Corps of Engineers amassed a huge construction backlog. Biennial authorizations clearly best serve the long-term interests of our water resources program. It is important that we continue the momentum we have achieved in that regard under Presidents Reagan and Bush.
4. Lay the groundwork for the next major highway bill. With the Interstate System nearly complete, Congress will likely be reshaping the entire program to address highway needs in the next century. We will be setting policy for the post-Interstate period, and while the current authorization does not expire until October 1991, much of the preliminary work, including hearings by the Public Works and Transportation Committee, will be done next year.
5. Prepare for the reauthorization of other infrastructure programs. In addition to a new water resources bill, Congress will be preparing for the reauthorization of the Airport Improvement Program (AIP) and the 1986 Superfund Act, both of which expire in 1991.

* Important AIP funding decisions must be made. According to the Federal Aviation Administration, over the next 10 years, airports will need about \$25 billion to maintain the current airport system and increase capacity. Airport associations project that needs figure at \$40 billion. Modernizing air traffic control and airway facilities will require about \$23 billion in federal funds.

* With the Office of Technology Assessment report questioning the effectiveness of the Superfund program, it is important that as we lay the groundwork for the program's reauthorization next year, we give Administrator Reilly the tools he needs to increase the efficiency of Superfund.

6. We must address consumer issues in aviation. In order to avoid a complete re-regulation of the airline industry, which Republicans definitely do not want, we must find ways to address the existing problem of:

- * Too much concentration in the industry. Under deregulation, eight airlines now control more than 94% of the U.S. market, and 13 carriers handle 99% of the business. At individual hub airports, a single airline may control almost all the traffic. GAO tells us that air fares were 27% higher at 15 airports where one or two airlines dominate than at 38 less concentrated airports.

- * Lack of capacity. The shortage of capacity to handle more flight operations has resulted in flight delays, which, in turn, produce passenger and cargo delays. With the number of domestic airline passengers doubling since 1978, the increase will require new or expanded facilities at originating, connecting and destination airports.

7. A number of environmental issues require special attention:

- * Wetlands protection. We need to implement the President's goal of no net loss of wetlands. To that end, the Public Works Committee is examining wetlands mitigation projects during field investigations throughout the country. Hopefully the information gathered will help in the development of comprehensive wetlands legislation.

- * Groundwater protection. Since groundwater provides the drinking water for about half the nation, and in rural areas, close to 95%, we must ensure that these supplies are adequately protected. Although the past Congress failed to complete action on groundwater legislation, efforts in that regard are expected to be renewed. Major issues involved are whether states or the Federal government should take the lead on groundwater regulation and protection and whether the federal role should focus on research rather than regulation at this point.

- * Clean Water Act programs. We need to provide full funding for the \$18 billion phase-out of the sewer grant/loan program to help communities meet their secondary treatment requirements. Industrial development and commercial activity depend heavily on water supply and sewage treatment facilities, and it is essential that adequate funding be available to help communities meet their treatment needs when the federal revolving loan program ends. We also need to review other important water quality programs and initiatives in the context of the Clean Water Act's upcoming reauthorization.

MICHAEL G. OXLEY
4TH DISTRICT OHIO

1131 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-2878

COMMITTEE ON
ENERGY AND COMMERCE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
NARCOTICS ABUSE AND CONTROL
CONGRESSIONAL RURAL CAUCUS



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515
December 20, 1989

DEC 21 1989

DISTRICT OFFICES:
3121 WEST ELM PLAZA
LIMA, OH 45805
(419) 999-8455

110 WEST MAIN CROSS STREET
ROOM 208
FINDLAY, OH 45840
(419) 423-3210

24 WEST THIRD STREET
ROOM 314
MANSFIELD, OH 44902
(419) 522-5757

TOLL-FREE IN OHIO:
1-800-472-4154

Honorable Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader
H-232, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

As you work with the White House to develop priorities for the 1990 legislative calendar, I believe it is imperative that a balance be struck which will generate effective federal laws and demonstrate the differences between Democrats and the GOP. The two most important issues facing the country today, and also the two issues that best point out the fundamental differences between the parties, are drug abuse and crime.

On the drug war front, the President announced a bold strategy in September and asked for only four pieces of legislation to implement it. While we approved two anti-drug bills, the Congress has yet to pass H.R. 3630, the Emergency Drug Abuse Treatment Expansion Act, and H.R. 3550, the Forfeiture Amendments Act of 1989. These bills should be placed at the top of the domestic agenda, and the President should make it clear to the American people that Congress failed to enact his anti-drug proposals in a timely manner. Also, Drug Policy Director Bennett will release an updated National Drug Control Strategy next year, and if he asks for additional legislation, Republicans should move quickly to enact it.

On September 21, 1989, I introduced H.R. 3322, the Assault Weapon Crime Act of 1989. This measure is intended to severely punish those criminals using the most dangerous weapons on the streets today, and I believe it provides an important complement to the President's anti-crime initiatives.

At present, a violent criminal or drug trafficker caught with a machinegun can be sentenced to 30 years in prison for the first offense and to life in prison without parole for a second conviction. My bill would extend these penalties to apply to the use of pump action or semiautomatic shotguns (with barrels 20 inches or shorter in length) and semiautomatic center fire weapons (with ammunition capacities of 8 or more rounds) in the commission of violent or drug-related crimes.

Currently, the federal penalty for the criminal use of these weapons is only five years imprisonment. This is clearly an insufficient sentence for such dangerous offenders.

Also regarding crime issues, President Bush unveiled his anti-crime proposals in May. To the best of my knowledge, the Judiciary Committee has not acted on your bill, H.R. 2709, which embodies the Administration's package. In the Senate, the President's proposals were not met with bipartisan support, but rather with an "I'll see your billion and raise you a billion" attitude. We must keep the pressure on the Majority to permit votes on these important anti-crime initiatives.

Honorable Robert H. Michel

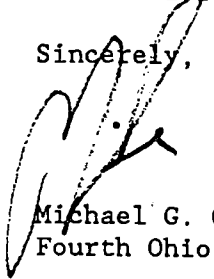
Page 2

December 20, 1989

These two issue, drugs and crime, are wedge issues that will be at the forefront of the 1990 election debates. They are also issues in which the American people firmly support GOP ideas and initiatives. We must place them on top of our list of priorities and make it abundantly clear to the American citizens that Democrats, by and large, oppose reasonable measures such as drug testing for workers in safety-oriented jobs, user accountability methods, reform of the exclusionary rule, *habeas corpus* reform, expanded use of the death penalty, and increased penalties for a variety of crimes.

I hope my ideas are useful and I look forward to working with you next year.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Michael G. Oxley", is written over the typed name.

Michael G. Oxley, M.C.
Fourth Ohio District

MGO/bkh

MATTHEW J. RINALDO
7TH DISTRICT, NEW JERSEY

COMMITTEES:
ENERGY AND COMMERCE
SUBCOMMITTEES:
TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND FINANCE
(RANKING MINORITY MEMBER)
TRANSPORTATION AND
HAZARDOUS MATERIALS
SELECT COMMITTEE
ON AGING
(RANKING MINORITY MEMBER)

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2469 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-5361

DISTRICT OFFICES:
1981 MORRIS AVENUE
UNION, NJ 07083
(201) 687-4235
290 ROUTE 22
GREEN BROOK, NJ 08812
(201) 981-9090

November 22, 1989

NOV 27 1989
The Hon. Bob Michel
Republican Leader
H232 The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your letter soliciting my suggestions on a Republican agenda for next year and for ideas the President can include in his State of the Union address.

At the top of a Republican agenda ought to be the need for true catastrophic health care coverage for senior citizens along the lines of the bill you and I have introduced (HR 3621). I honestly believe that spurring the development of private sector long-term care coverage represents the best hope for meaningful progress in this area, and I think both the President in his State of the Union and the Republican leadership in its priorities for next session should include this bill high on the list of things to do.

Another idea which I feel could have excellent appeal is my proposal for a savings plan for first-time homebuyers. It could be offered by employers (similar to a 401(k) pension plan) with favorable tax treatment, but it would have the advantage of having much broader appeal than merely a pension plan. Such a plan could be supplemented by provisions that would have employers guarantee a proportion of mortgages for their employees, again with favorable tax treatment.

Lastly, I would urge the Administration to continue its strong support of the Americans with Disabilities Act.

I hope these suggestions are helpful. If I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Cordially,



MATTHEW J. RINALDO
Member of Congress

MJR/p

EDWARD R. ROYBAL, CALIFORNIA
CHAIRMAN

CLAUDE PEPPER, FLORIDA
MARIO BIAGGI, NEW YORK
DON BONKER, WASHINGTON
THOMAS J. DOWNEY, NEW YORK
JAMES J. FLORIO, NEW JERSEY
HAROLD E. FORD, TENNESSEE
WILLIAM J. HUGHES, NEW JERSEY
MARILYN LLOYD, TENNESSEE
MARY ROSE OAKAR, OHIO
THOMAS A. LUKEN, OHIO
BEVERLY B. BYRON, MARYLAND
DAN MICA, FLORIDA
HENRY A. WAXMAN, CALIFORNIA
MIKE SYNAR, OKLAHOMA
BUTLER DERRICK, SOUTH CAROLINA
BRUCE F. VENTO, MINNESOTA
BARNEY FRANK, MASSACHUSETTS
TOM LANTOS, CALIFORNIA
RON WYDEN, OREGON
GEO. W. CROCKETT, JR., MICHIGAN
WILLIAM HILL BONER, TENNESSEE
IKE SKELTON, MISSOURI
DENNIS M. HERTZ, MICHIGAN
ROBERT A. BORSKI, PENNSYLVANIA
RICK BOUCHER, VIRGINIA
BEN ERDREICH, ALABAMA
BUDDY MACKAY, FLORIDA
NORMAN SISISKY, VIRGINIA
ROBERT E. WISE, JR., WEST VIRGINIA
BILL RICHARDSON, NEW MEXICO
HAROLD L. VOLKMER, MISSOURI
BART GORDON, TENNESSEE
THOMAS J. MANTON, NEW YORK
TOMMY F. ROBINSON, ARKANSAS
RICHARD H. STALLINGS, IDAHO
JAMES MCCLURE CLARKE, NORTH CAROLINA
JOSEPH P. KENNEDY, II, MASSACHUSETTS
LOUISE M. SLAUGHTER, NEW YORK

MANUEL R. MIRANDA, PH.D.
STAFF DIRECTOR

U.S. House of Representatives
Select Committee on Aging
Washington, DC 20515

Telephone: (202) 226-3375

November 2, 1989

MATTHEW J. RINALDO, NEW JERSEY
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

JOHN PAUL HAMMERSCHMIDT, ARKANSAS
RALPH REGULA, OHIO
NORMAN D. SHUMWAY, CALIFORNIA
OLYMPIA J. SNOWE, MAINE
JAMES M. JEFFORDS, VERMONT
THOMAS J. TAUBE, IOWA
GEORGE C. WORTLEY, NEW YORK
JIM COURTER, NEW JERSEY
CLAUDINE SCHNEIDER, RHODE ISLAND
THOMAS J. RIDGE, PENNSYLVANIA
CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH, NEW JERSEY
SHERWOOD L. BOENLERT, NEW YORK
JIM SAXTON, NEW JERSEY
HELEN DELUCH BENTLEY, MARYLAND
JIM LIGHTFOOT, IOWA
HARRIS W. FAWELL, ILLINOIS
JAN MEYERS, KANSAS
BEN BLAZ, GUAM
PATRICK L. SWINDALL, GEORGIA
PAUL B. HENRY, MICHIGAN
BILL SCHUETTE, MICHIGAN
FLOYD SPENCE, SOUTH CAROLINA
WILLIAM F. CLINGER, JR., PENNSYLVANIA
CONSTANCE A. MORELLA, MARYLAND
PATRICIA F. SAKI, HAWAII

PAUL SCHLEGEL
MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

Dear Colleague:

The Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act controversy will soon be behind us. Once it is, we will need to address the real health care concern of senior citizens: long-term nursing and home health care.

In the near future, we will jointly introduce legislation to do just that. We hope you will join us as an original cosponsor.

The "Older Americans Long-term Care Insurance Act" which we are introducing will put in place a Federal-private partnership that will cover older Americans who need long-term care. It would:

- o expand the availability of long-term care insurance at affordable prices (as low as \$15 a month for individuals at age 50);
- o provide consumer protection by mandating certification of long-term care insurance policies by the Secretary of HHS; and
- o mandate an annual report by the Secretary of HHS on the availability of long-term care policies.

We feel it is critical for Congress to develop a positive, substantive approach to the long-term care debate - particularly in the wake of senior citizen frustration with the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act.

The Older Americans Long-term Care Insurance Act is just such a positive approach, and we urge you to join us in introducing this legislation.

If you have any questions or would like to cosponsor, please contact Andrea Levario at x63393.

Cordially,

Edward R. Roybal
Chairman

Matthew J. Rinaldo
Matthew J. Rinaldo
Ranking Minority Member

CHARLES HATCHER, GEORGIA,
CHAIRMAN
LEON E. PANETTA, CALIFORNIA
DAN GLICKMAN, KANSAS
HARLEY O. STAGGERS, JR., WEST VIRGINIA
MIKE ESPY, MISSISSIPPI
BILL SARFALIUS, TEXAS
E (KIKI) DE LA GARZA, TEXAS,
EX OFFICIO MEMBER

JULIA PARADIS,
STAFF DIRECTOR

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Agriculture

**Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing,
Consumer Relations, and Nutrition**

Room 1301, Longworth House Office Building

Washington, DC 20515

December 6, 1989

BILL EMERSON, MISSOURI,
RANKING MINORITY MEMBER
TOM LEWIS, FLORIDA
WALLY HERGER, CALIFORNIA
EDWARD R. MADIGAN, ILLINOIS,
EX OFFICIO MEMBER

LYNN F. GALLAGHER,
MINORITY CONSULTANT

The Honorable Robert H. Michel
Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
H-232, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

As I promised in my earlier letter to you of November 21, 1989, I do have some thoughts on specific items that can be included in the Administration's objectives for 1990 and in particular in the State of the Union Address. As you know I serve as the Ranking Republican on both the Subcommittee on Domestic Marketing, Consumer Relations, and Nutrition and the Select Committee on Hunger. In that capacity I have come to realize that the system we have of providing assistance to families in need of help is complex, contradictory and confusing. I feel that this is true both for families applying for help and for those administering the several programs of the federal government.

The federal government operates a multitude of assistance programs which are under the jurisdiction of several Committees of the Congress, several different federal agencies, and in some cases, different state and local agencies. Some of this disparity is appropriate, because of the different nature of the programs. However, for major income and food assistance programs, this lack of coordination and resolution of the differences among the programs is extremely troublesome.

When a family is in need of help that need often crosses program lines. Need for income assistance often means a need for food assistance, and in some cases, a need for help to find and to keep a job. The hurdles that families must scale in applying for assistance are immense. They must go to different agencies, meet different eligibility standards and abide by different rules and regulations. That families are able to receive help is often a reflection of their abilities, rather than the system presented to them. Administrators of these programs have similar problems. The resolution of the program differences often is not within their ability to achieve. Many efforts have been made by states; however, they may have gone as far as they can go.

I would like to see true reform of the welfare system so that benefits can be provided to families in need of help in a coordinated and simplified way and also provide employment and training to able-bodied participants. We must maintain programs for the aged and disabled; but we must simplify the programs we have and provide a method to make taxpayers of those able-bodied people now in need of help.

I would like to see this issue addressed in the Administration's plans for 1990 and in the State of the Union Address, particularly as it relates to the food stamp program and the Aid To Families with Dependent Children Program. It is an issue that reflects the concern Republicans have for needy families and the knowledge that permanent improvement in the lives of these families can be found only through bringing them into employment.

I appreciate the opportunity to share these views with you and will be pleased to offer any further assistance you feel is necessary.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Emerson".

Bill Emerson
Ranking Minority Member

PETER SMITH
VERMONT

1020 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
202-225-4115

MEMBER:
COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND LABOR
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
CHILDREN, YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 13, 1989

The Honorable Robert H. Michel
Minority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
H-232 The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

I have received your letter regarding the Republican agenda for 1990 and am responding forthwith.

The overriding issue for 1990 will be the budget and deficit reduction.

Given the events in Eastern Europe and increasing evidence of rampant waste and poor business practices in the Department of Defense, we have a significant opportunity to reduce defense spending and reform Department of Defense management, thus creating latitude for domestic priorities and Gramm-Rudman requirements.

I recognize that this approach could be controversial to some people and understand the danger in overreacting to events in Eastern Europe. But, on the other hand, we need to recognize the need for a Republican domestic agenda that is recognized as being helpful and useful by the man in the street. And, defense cuts are part of it.

In the Education and Labor Committee area, I think the issues of school restructuring (my bill, H.R. 3347), the cost of a postsecondary education, and national volunteer service (Connie Morella has a bill on this) are all extremely important issues.

Finally we have to finish off the child care initiative and pass a clean air bill.

I've omitted any conversation about the issue of abortion and right to choose. We must craft a moderate position on this issue. The issue of choice will be a major negative issue for our Party's candidates if we continue as we are (witness the San Diego elections of this week).

DISTRICT OFFICES
THE MONTPELIER HOTEL
100 STATE STREET
MONTPELIER, VT 05602
(802) 223-0521

KIDDER NEWHOUSE BUILDING
18 BLAIR PARK
WILLISTON, VT 05495
(802) 878-7712

THE OPERA HOUSE
67 MERCHANTS ROW
RUTLAND, VT 05701
(802) 773-5790

FEDERAL BUILDING
ROOM 324
204 MAIN STREET
BRATTLEBORO, VT 05301
(802) 254-7400

FEDERAL BUILDING
ROOM 5A
SOUTH STREET
BENNINGTON, VT 05201
(802) 442-2999

The Honorable Robert H. Michel -- Page 2

Hope this is helpful. If I can be of further help, please don't hesitate to contact me. Thanks for asking in the first place.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Peter", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Peter Smith
Member of Congress

PS:mh

ARTHUR RAVENEL, JR.
1ST DISTRICT, SOUTH CAROLINA

COMMITTEE ON
ARMED SERVICES

SUBCOMMITTEES:

MILITARY INSTALLATIONS
AND FACILITIES

MILITARY PERSONNEL
AND COMPENSATION

WASHINGTON OFFICE:

Room 606

CAMPBELL BUILDING
205-25-3176

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

December 28, 1989

DISTRICT OFFICES:
640 FEDERAL BUILDING
CHARLESTON, SC 29403
803-724-4175

283 HAMPTON STREET
WALTERBORO, SC 29488
803-549-5395

P.O. Box 1538
BEAUFORT, SC 29902
803-524-2168

P.O. Box 550
ESTILL, SC 29818
803-625-3177

JAN 03 1990

The Honorable Robert H. Michel
Republican Leader
U. S. House of Representatives
H-232, The Capitol
Washington, DC 20515

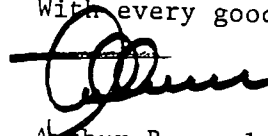
Dear Leader,

Thank you for your kind letter of recent date.

Let me respectfully suggest that we recommend to President Bush that he include a strong environmental agenda as a prime Administration objective for 1990. This is an area where Republican candidates for Congress particularly need help from the Administration. Fortunately, to frame an impressive environmental stance, the President has as a resource the good offices of Mr. William K. Reilly who heads the Environmental Protection Agency. As you know, Mr. Reilly was president of the World Wildlife Fund and is one of the world's best known and most respected environmentalists.

I firmly believe that environmental matters will dominate the politics of the next decade and that this is the year that we should bid for the high ground in this vital and popular area. You can depend on me to do my part.

With every good wish,



Arthur Ravenel, Jr.

AR:ksw

cc: The Honorable Newt Gingrich



NOV 22 1989

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

BILL EMERSON
EIGHTH DISTRICT
MISSOURI

November 21, 1939

The Honorable Robert H. Michel
Office of the Republican Leader
United States House of Representatives
H-252, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your letter of November 17 about the year-end and some suggestions that you would like to make for inclusion in the President's State of the Union Address.

President Reagan never mentioned agriculture very much, which was closely noted in the farm land, and I hope that we can get President Bush to comment on agriculture a little bit more in his remarks. There are many positive things about agriculture that should be noted. As the Ranking Republican on the Nutrition Subcommittee, I will have some particular remarks vis-a-vis food stamps and commodity distribution programs and other feeding programs -- all of which generally come under the heading of welfare items.

As you are well aware, I have worked a great deal, particularly on the Agriculture Committee and the Select Committee on Hunger, to de-politicize these sticky-wicket issues and to attain some general bi-partisan cooperation. In this, I think we have been very successful.

The Honorable Robert H. Michel
November 21, 1989
Page 2

I am off to Missouri for Thanksgiving but will be returning early next week at which time I would like to get some thoughts together for you. This, then, is just to say I do have some stuff for you and will be getting it to you in a timely way.

With all good wishes for a happy Thanksgiving, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill".

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESSES: TIME LENGTHS

Wilson

December 2, 1913	40 min.
December 8, 1914	40 min.
December 7, 1915	60 min.
December 5, 1916	18 min.
December 4, 1917	30 min.
December 2, 1918	45 min.
December 2, 1919	written
December 7, 1920	written

Harding

December 4, 1921	50 min.
December 8, 1922	55 min.

Coolidge

December 6, 1923	65 min.
December 3, 1924	written
December 8, 1925	written
December 7, 1926	written
December 6, 1927	written
December 4, 1928	written

Hoover

December 3, 1929	written
December 2, 1930	written
December 8, 1931	written
December 6, 1932	written

F.D. Roosevelt

January 3, 1934	25 min.
January 4, 1935	45 min.
January 3, 1936	50 min.
January 6, 1937	35 min
January 3, 1938	50 min.
January 4, 1939	45 min.
January 3, 1940	35 min
January 6, 1941	40 min.
January 6, 1942	40 min.
January 7, 1943	40 min.
January 11, 1944	written
January 6, 1945	written

Truman

January 22, 1946	written	
January 6, 1947	50 min.	
January 7, 1948	50 min.	
January 5, 1949	30 min.	
January 4, 1950	40 min.	
January 8, 1951	written	
January 9, 1952	40 min.	
January 7, 1953	written	[[Farewell Address to the Nation from Oval Office on 1/15/53]]

Eisenhower

February 2, 1953	60 min.	
January 7, 1954	55 min.	
January 6, 1955	60 min.	
January 5, 1956	written	
January 10, 1957	35 min.	
January 9, 1958	45 min.	
January 9, 1959	45 min.	
January 7, 1960	40 min.	
January 12, 1961	written	[[Farewell Address to the Nation from Oval Office on 1/17/61]]

Kennedy

January 30, 1961	45 min.
January 11, 1962	60 min.
January 14, 1963	45 min.

L.B. Johnson

January 8, 1964	45 min.	
January 4, 1965	50 min.	
January 12, 1966	60 min.	
January 10, 1967	75 min.	
January 17, 1968	55 min.	
January 14, 1969	45 min.	[[No Farewell Address]]

Nixon

[[On 4/14/69 he announced he would not send a State of the Union message]]

January 22, 1970	40 min.
January 22, 1971	40 min.

January 20, 1972 30 min.*
February 2, 1973 series of written reports
January 30, 1974 45 min.**

* accompanied by 15,000 word message to Congress
** accompanied by 22,000 word message to Congress

Ford

January 15, 1975 45 min.
January 19, 1976 50 min.
January 12, 1977 50 min. [[No Farewell Address]]

Carter

January 19, 1978 45 min.
January 23, 1979 40 min.
January 23, 1980 40 min.
January 16, 1981 written [[Farewell Address to the Nation
from Oval Office on 1/14/81]]

Reagan

January 26, 1982 45 min
January 25, 1983 40 min.
January 25, 1984 45 min.
February 6, 1985 35 min.
February 4, 1986 30 min.
January 27, 1987 35 min.*
January 25, 1988 45 min.*

[[Farewell Address to the Nation from Oval Office on 1/11/89]]

* according to the Clerk's Office, the 1987 and 1988
addresses were accompanied by a "legislative message,"
providing details of the programs outlined in the speech

INITIATIVES TALLY -- STATE OF THE UNION

FDR:

January 3, 1934
January 6, 1937
January 6, 1941
January 6, 1945 (radio address summary)

TRUMAN:

January 5, 1949

EISENHOWER:

January 7, 1954
January 10, 1957

KENNEDY:

January 11, 1962

JOHNSON:

January 4, 1965

NIXON:

January 22, 1970
January 28, 1973 (radio address budget summary)

FORD:

January 15, 1975

CARTER:

January 19, 1978

*Peggy -
I count 32 in
Truman's 1949 - will
finish the others tomorrow
a.m.
Jaime*

1 White House Statement Announcing Recognition of the Government of Korea. *January 1, 1949*

ON DECEMBER 12, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution approving the conclusions of the report of the United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea and declaring in part "that there has been established a lawful government (the Government of the Republic of Korea), having effective control and jurisdiction over that part of Korea where the Temporary Commission was able to observe and consult and in which the great majority of the people of all Korea reside; that this government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea and which were observed by the Temporary Commission; and that this is the only such government in Korea." The Resolution of December 12 concluded with the recommendation that member states and other nations take the foregoing facts into consideration in establishing their relations with the Government of Korea.

In the light of this action by the General Assembly, and taking into account the facts

set forth in the statement issued by this Government on August 12, 1948, concerning the new Korean Government, the United States Government has decided to extend full recognition to the Government of the Republic of Korea. Incidental to this step it is anticipated that, by agreement with that government, the Mission of the United States Special Representative in Korea will in the near future be raised to embassy rank.

In conformity with the General Assembly Resolution of December 12, the United States Government will endeavor to afford every assistance and facility to the new United Nations Commission on Korea established thereunder in its efforts to help the Korean people and their lawful government to achieve the goal of a free and united Korea.

NOTE: The statement issued by the United States on August 12, 1948, was released by the Department of State. The text is published in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 19, p. 242).

2 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. *January 5, 1949*

[As delivered in person before a joint session]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Congress:

I am happy to report to this 81st Congress that the state of the Union is good. Our Nation is better able than ever before to meet the needs of the American people, and to give them their fair chance in the pursuit of happiness. This great Republic is foremost among the nations of the world in the search for peace.

During the last 16 years, our people have been creating a society which offers new opportunities for every man to enjoy his share of the good things of life.

In this society, we are conservative about the values and principles which we cherish; but we are forward-looking in protecting those values and principles and in extending their benefits. We have rejected the discredited theory that the fortunes of the

Nation should be in the hands of a privileged few. We have abandoned the "trickle-down" concept of national prosperity. Instead, we believe that our economic system should rest on a democratic foundation and that wealth should be created for the benefit of all.

The recent election shows that the people of the United States are in favor of this kind of society and want to go on improving it.

The American people have decided that poverty is just as wasteful and just as unnecessary as preventable disease. We have pledged our common resources to help one another in the hazards and struggles of individual life. We believe that no unfair prejudice or artificial distinction should bar any citizen of the United States of America from an education, or from good health, or from a job that he is capable of performing.

The attainment of this kind of society demands the best efforts of every citizen in every walk of life, and it imposes increasing responsibilities on the Government.

The Government must work with industry, labor, and the farmers in keeping our economy running at full speed. The Government must see that every American has a chance to obtain his fair share of our increasing abundance. These responsibilities go hand in hand.

We cannot maintain prosperity unless we have a fair distribution of opportunity and a widespread consumption of the products of our factories and farms.

Our Government has undertaken to meet these responsibilities.

We have made tremendous public investments in highways, hydroelectric power projects, soil conservation, and reclamation. We have established a system of social security. We have enacted laws protecting the rights and the welfare of our working

people and the income of our farmers. These Federal policies have paid for themselves many times over. They have strengthened the material foundations of our democratic ideals. Without them, our present prosperity would be impossible.

Reinforced by these policies, our private enterprise system has reached new heights of production. Since the boom year of 1929, while our population has increased by only 20 percent, our agricultural production has increased by 45 percent, and our industrial production has increased by 75 percent. We are turning out far more goods and more wealth per worker than we have ever done before.

This progress has confounded the gloomy prophets—at home and abroad—who predicted the downfall of American capitalism. The people of the United States, going their own way, confident in their own powers, have achieved the greatest prosperity the world has even seen.

But, great as our progress has been, we still have a long way to go.

As we look around the country, many of our shortcomings stand out in bold relief.

We are suffering from excessively high prices.

Our production is still not large enough to satisfy our demands.

Our minimum wages are far too low.

Small business is losing ground to growing monopoly.

Our farmers still face an uncertain future. And too many of them lack the benefits of our modern civilization.

Some of our natural resources are still being wasted.

We are acutely short of electric power, although the means for developing such power are abundant.

Five million families are still living in slums and firetraps. Three million families

share their homes with others.

Our health is far behind the progress of medical science. Proper medical care is so expensive that it is out of the reach of the great majority of our citizens.

Our schools, in many localities, are utterly inadequate.

Our democratic ideals are often thwarted by prejudice and intolerance.

Each of these shortcomings is also an opportunity—an opportunity for the Congress and the President to work for the good of the people.

Our first great opportunity is to protect our economy against the evils of "boom and bust."

This objective cannot be attained by government alone. Indeed, the greater part of the task must be performed by individual efforts under our system of free enterprise. We can keep our present prosperity, and increase it, only if free enterprise and free government work together to that end.

We cannot afford to float along ceaselessly on a postwar boom until it collapses. It is not enough merely to prepare to weather a recession if it comes. Instead, government and business must work together constantly to achieve more and more jobs and more and more production—which mean more and more prosperity for all the people.

The business cycle is man-made; and men of good will, working together, can smooth it out.

So far as business is concerned, it should plan for steady, vigorous expansion—seeking always to increase its output, lower its prices, and avoid the vices of monopoly and restriction. So long as business does this, it will be contributing to continued prosperity, and it will have the help and encouragement of the Government.

The Employment Act of 1946 pledges the Government to use all its resources to

promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power. This means that the Government is firmly committed to protect business and the people against the dangers of recession and against the evils of inflation. This means that the Government must adapt its plans and policies to meet changing circumstances.

At the present time, our prosperity is threatened by inflationary pressures at a number of critical points in our economy. And the Government must be in a position to take effective action at these danger spots. To that end, I recommend that the Congress enact legislation for the following purposes:

First, to continue the power to control consumer credit and enlarge the power to control bank credit.

Second, to grant authority to regulate speculation on the commodity exchanges.

Third, to continue export control authority and to provide adequate machinery for its enforcement.

Fourth, to continue the priorities and allocation authority in the field of transportation.

Fifth, to authorize priorities and allocations for key materials in short supply.

Sixth, to extend and strengthen rent control.

Seventh, to provide standby authority to impose price ceilings for scarce commodities which basically affect essential industrial production or the cost of living, and to limit unjustified wage adjustments which would force a break in an established price ceiling.

Eighth, to authorize an immediate study of the adequacy of production facilities for materials in critically short supply, such as steel; and, if found necessary, to authorize Government loans for the expansion of production facilities to relieve such shortages, and to authorize the construction of such facilities directly, if action by private in-

dustury fails to meet our needs.

The Economic Report, which I shall submit to the Congress shortly, will discuss in detail the economic background for these recommendations.

One of the most important factors in maintaining prosperity is the Government's fiscal policy. At this time, it is essential not only that the Federal budget be balanced, but also that there be a substantial surplus to reduce inflationary pressures, and to permit a sizable reduction in the national debt, which now stands at \$252 billion. I recommend, therefore, that the Congress enact new tax legislation to bring in an additional \$4 billion of Government revenue. This should come principally from additional corporate taxes. A portion should come from revised estate and gift taxes. Consideration should be given to raising personal income rates in the middle and upper brackets.

If we want to keep our economy running in high gear, we must be sure that every group has the incentive to make its full contribution to the national welfare. At present, the working men and women of the Nation are unfairly discriminated against by a statute that abridges their rights, curtails their constructive efforts, and hampers our system of free collective bargaining. That statute is the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, sometimes called the Taft-Hartley Act.

That act should be repealed!

The Wagner Act should be reenacted. However, certain improvements, which I recommended to the Congress 2 years ago, are needed. Jurisdictional strikes and unjustified secondary boycotts should be prohibited. The use of economic force to decide issues arising out of the interpretation of existing contracts should be prevented. Without endangering our demo-

cratic freedoms, means should be provided for setting up machinery for preventing strikes in vital industries which affect the public interest.

The Department of Labor should be rebuilt and strengthened and those units properly belonging within that department should be placed in it.

The health of our economy and its maintenance at high levels further require that the minimum wage fixed by law should be raised to at least 75 cents an hour.

If our free enterprise economy is to be strong and healthy, we must reinvigorate the forces of competition. We must assure small business the freedom and opportunity to grow and prosper. To this purpose, we should strengthen our antitrust laws by closing those loopholes that permit monopolistic mergers and consolidations.

Our national farm program should be improved—not only in the interest of the farmers, but for the lasting prosperity of the whole Nation. Our goals should be abundant farm production and parity income for agriculture. Standards of living on the farm should be just as good as anywhere else in the country.

Farm price supports are an essential part of our program to achieve these ends. Price supports should be used to prevent farm price declines which are out of line with general price levels, to facilitate adjustments in production to consumer demands, and to promote good land use. Our price support legislation must be adapted to these objectives. The authority of the Commodity Credit Corporation to provide adequate storage space for crops should be restored.

Our program for farm prosperity should also seek to expand the domestic market for agricultural products, particularly among low-income groups, and to increase and stabilize foreign markets.

We should give special attention to extending modern conveniences and services to our farms. Rural electrification should be pushed forward. And in considering legislation relating to housing, education, health, and social security, special attention should be given to rural problems.

Our growing population and the expansion of our economy depend upon the wise management of our land, water, forest, and mineral wealth. In our present dynamic economy, the task of conservation is not to lockup our resources but to develop and improve them. Failure, today, to make the investments which are necessary to support our progress in the future would be false economy.

We must push forward the development of our rivers for power, irrigation, navigation, and flood control. We should apply the lessons of our Tennessee Valley experience to our other great river basins.

I again recommend action be taken by the Congress to approve the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power project. This is about the fifth time I have recommended it.

We must adopt a program for the planned use of the petroleum reserves under the sea, which are—and must remain—vested in the Federal Government. We must extend our programs of soil conservation. We must place our forests on a sustained yield basis, and encourage the development of new sources of vital minerals.

In all this we must make sure that the benefits of these public undertakings are directly available to the people. Public power should be carried to consuming areas by public transmission lines where necessary to provide electricity at the lowest possible rates. Irrigation waters should serve family farms and not land speculators.

The Government has still other opportunities—to help raise the standard of living

of our citizens. These opportunities lie in the fields of social security, health, education, housing, and civil rights.

The present coverage of the social security laws is altogether inadequate; the benefit payments are too low. One-third of our workers are not covered. Those who receive old-age and survivors insurance benefits receive an average payment of only \$25 a month. Many others who cannot work because they are physically disabled are left to the mercy of charity. We should expand our social security program, both as to the size of the benefits and the extent of coverage, against the economic hazards due to unemployment, old age, sickness, and disability.

We must spare no effort to raise the general level of health in this country. In a nation as rich as ours, it is a shocking fact that tens of millions lack adequate medical care. We are short of doctors, hospitals, nurses. We must remedy these shortages. Moreover, we need—and we must have without further delay—a system of prepaid medical insurance which will enable every American to afford good medical care.

It is equally shocking that millions of our children are not receiving a good education. Millions of them are in overcrowded, obsolete buildings. We are short of teachers, because teachers' salaries are too low to attract new teachers, or to hold the ones we have. All these school problems will become much more acute as a result of the tremendous increase in the enrollment in our elementary schools in the next few years. I cannot repeat too strongly my desire for prompt Federal financial aid to the States to help them operate and maintain their school systems.

The governmental agency which now administers the programs of health, education, and social security should be given full

[2] Jan. 5

Public Papers of the Presidents

departmental status.

24 The housing shortage continues to be acute. As an immediate step, the Congress should enact the provisions for low-rent public housing, slum clearance, farm housing, and housing research which I have repeatedly recommended. The number of low-rent public housing units provided for in the legislation should be increased to 1 million units in the next 7 years. Even this number of units will not begin to meet our need for new housing.

27 Most of the houses we need will have to be built by private enterprise, without public subsidy. By producing too few rental units and too large a proportion of high-priced houses, the building industry is rapidly pricing itself out of the market. Building costs must be lowered.

28 The Government is now engaged in a campaign to induce all segments of the building industry to concentrate on the production of lower priced housing. Additional legislation to encourage such housing will be submitted.

The authority which I have requested, to allocate materials in short supply and to impose price ceilings on such materials, could be used, if found necessary, to channel more materials into homes large enough for family life at prices which wage earners can afford.

The driving force behind our progress is our faith in our democratic institutions. That faith is embodied in the promise of equal rights and equal opportunities which the founders of our Republic proclaimed to their countrymen and to the whole world.

29 The fulfillment of this promise is among the highest purposes of government. The civil rights proposals I made to the 80th Congress, I now repeat to the 81st Congress. They should be enacted in order that the Federal Government may assume the leader-

ship and discharge the obligations clearly placed upon it by the Constitution.

I stand squarely behind those proposals.

Our domestic programs are the foundation of our foreign policy. The world today looks to us for leadership because we have so largely realized, within our borders, those benefits of democratic government for which most of the peoples of the world are yearning.

We are following a foreign policy which is the outward expression of the democratic faith we profess. We are doing what we can to encourage free states and free peoples throughout the world, to aid the suffering and afflicted in foreign lands, and to strengthen democratic nations against aggression.

The heart of our foreign policy is peace. We are supporting a world organization to keep peace and a world economic policy to create prosperity for mankind. Our guiding star is the principle of international cooperation. To this concept we have made a national commitment as profound as anything in history.

To it we have pledged our resources and our honor.

Until a system of world security is established upon which we can safely rely, we cannot escape the burden of creating and maintaining armed forces sufficient to deter aggression. We have made great progress in the last year in the effective organization of our Armed Forces, but further improvements in our national security legislation are necessary. Universal training is essential to the security of the United States. 30

During the course of this session I shall have occasion to ask the Congress to consider several measures in the field of foreign policy. At this time, I recommend that we restore the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act to full effectiveness, and extend it for 31

32 3 years. We should also open our doors to displaced persons without unfair discrimination.

It should be clear by now to all citizens that we are not seeking to freeze the status quo. We have no intention of preserving the injustices of the past. We welcome the constructive efforts being made by many nations to achieve a better life for their citizens. In the European recovery program, in our good-neighbor policy and in the United Nations, we have begun to batter down those national walls which block the economic growth and the social advancement of the peoples of the world.

We believe that if we hold resolutely to this course, the principle of international cooperation will eventually command the approval even of those nations which are now seeking to weaken or subvert it.

We stand at the opening of an era which can mean either great achievement or terrible catastrophe for ourselves and for all mankind.

The strength of our Nation must continue to be used in the interest of all our people rather than a privileged few. It must continue to be used unselfishly in the struggle for world peace and the betterment of mankind the world over.

This is the task before us.

It is not an easy one. It has many complications, and there will be strong opposition from selfish interests.

I hope for cooperation from farmers, from labor, and from business. Every segment of our population and every individual has a

right to expect from our Government a fair deal.

In 1945, when I came down before the Congress for the first time on April 16, I quoted to you King Solomon's prayer that he wanted wisdom and the ability to govern his people as they should be governed. I explained to you at that time that the task before me was one of the greatest in the history of the world, and that it was necessary to have the complete cooperation of the Congress and the people of the United States.

Well now, we are taking a new start with the same situation. It is absolutely essential that your President have the complete cooperation of the Congress to carry out the great work that must be done to keep the peace in this world, and to keep this country prosperous.

The people of this great country have a right to expect that the Congress and the President will work in closest cooperation with one objective—the welfare of the people of this Nation as a whole.

In the months ahead I know that I shall be able to cooperate with this Congress.

Now, I am confident that the Divine Power which has guided us to this time of fateful responsibility and glorious opportunity will not desert us now.

With that help from Almighty God which we have humbly acknowledged at every turning point in our national life, we shall be able to perform the great tasks which He now sets before us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 1 p.m. His address was broadcast nationally.

Now, as all of you know, when you set out to build a house, you first must plan and solidly construct a foundation on which to put it—if you hope to live in that house in comfort and security. Since January 20th of last year we have planned and built the foundation for our forthcoming legislative program, constructed under the aims and purposes I have been discussing with you tonight.

It is my legal duty to present this program, in the State of the Union Message, to your elected representatives, the members of the House of Representatives and of the Senate.

It is their duty, in turn, to give it careful study, before taking action on its various recommendations.

It is your right to give it the same thoughtful consideration.

It is a program that does not deal in pie-in-the-sky promises to all, nor in bribes to a few, nor in threats to any. It is a program inspired by zeal for the common good, dedicated to the welfare of every American family—whatever its means of livelihood may be, or its social position, or its ancestral strain, or its religious affiliation.

I am confident that it will meet with your approval.

When the State of the Union Message is delivered to the Congress on Thursday, I hope you will agree with me that it presents an opportunity which will enable us, as a people—united and strong—to push ever forward and to demonstrate to the world the great and good power of free men and women.

We will build a stronger and better America—of greater security and increasing prosperity for all.

3 ¶ Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. *January 7, 1954*

[Delivered in person before a joint session]

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Members of the Eighty-third Congress:

It is a high honor again to present to the Congress my views on the state of the Union and to recommend measures to advance the security, prosperity, and well-being of the American people.

All branches of this Government—and I venture to say both of our great parties—can support the general objective of the recommendations

I make today, for that objective is the building of a stronger America. A nation whose every citizen has good reason for bold hope; where effort is rewarded and prosperity is shared; where freedom expands and peace is secure—that is what I mean by a stronger America.

Toward this objective a real momentum has been developed during this Administration's first year in office. We mean to continue that momentum and to increase it. We mean to build a better future for this nation.

Much for which we may be thankful has happened during the past year.

First of all we are deeply grateful that our sons no longer die on the distant mountains of Korea. Although they are still called from our homes to military service, they are no longer called to the field of battle.

The nation has just completed the most prosperous year in its history. The damaging effect of inflation on the wages, pensions, salaries and savings of us all has been brought under control. Taxes have begun to go down. The cost of our government has been reduced and its work proceeds with some 183,000 fewer employees; thus the discouraging trend of modern governments toward their own limitless expansion has in our case been reversed. The cost of armaments becomes less oppressive as we near our defense goals; yet we are militarily stronger every day. During the year, creation of the new Cabinet Department of Health, Education, and Welfare symbolized the government's permanent concern with the human problems of our citizens.

Segregation in the armed forces and other Federal activities is on the way out. We have also made progress toward its elimination in the District of Columbia. These are steps in the continuing effort to eliminate inter-racial difficulty.

Some developments beyond our shores have been equally encouraging. Communist aggression, halted in Korea, continues to meet in Indo-China the vigorous resistance of France and the Associated States, assisted by timely aid from our country. In West Germany, in Iran, and in other areas of the world, heartening political victories have been won by the forces of stability and freedom. Slowly but surely, the free world gathers strength. Meanwhile, from behind the iron curtain, there are signs that tyranny is in trouble and reminders that its structure is as brittle as its surface is hard.

There has been in fact a great strategic change in the world during

the past year. That precious intangible, the initiative, is becoming ours. Our policy, not limited to mere reaction against crises provoked by others, is free to develop along lines of our choice not only abroad, but also at home. As a major theme for American policy during the coming year, let our joint determination be to hold this new initiative and to use it.

We shall use this initiative to promote three broad purposes: First, to protect the freedom of our people; second, to maintain a strong, growing economy; third, to concern ourselves with the human problems of the individual citizen.

Only by active concern for each of these purposes can we be sure that we are on the forward road to a better and a stronger America. All my recommendations today are in furtherance of these three purposes.

I. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

American freedom is threatened so long as the world Communist conspiracy exists in its present scope, power and hostility. More closely than ever before, American freedom is interlocked with the freedom of other people. In the unity of the free world lies our best chance to reduce the Communist threat without war. In the task of maintaining this unity and strengthening all its parts, the greatest responsibility falls naturally on those who, like ourselves, retain the most freedom and strength.

We shall, therefore, continue to advance the cause of freedom on foreign fronts.

In the Far East, we retain our vital interest in Korea. We have negotiated with the Republic of Korea a mutual security pact, which develops our security system for the Pacific and which I shall promptly submit to the Senate for its consent to ratification. We are prepared to meet any renewal of armed aggression in Korea. We shall maintain indefinitely our bases in Okinawa. I shall ask the Congress to authorize continued material assistance to hasten the successful conclusion of the struggle in Indo-China. This assistance will also bring closer the day when the Associated States may enjoy the independence already assured by France. We shall also continue military and economic aid to the Nationalist Government of China.

In South Asia, profound changes are taking place in free nations which are demonstrating their ability to progress through democratic

methods. They provide an inspiring contrast to the dictatorial methods and backward course of events in Communist China. In these continuing efforts, the free peoples of South Asia can be assured of the support of the United States.

In the Middle East, where tensions and serious problems exist, we will show sympathetic and impartial friendship.

In Western Europe our policy rests firmly on the North Atlantic Treaty. It will remain so based as far ahead as we can see. Within its organization, the building of a united European community, including France and Germany, is vital to a free and self-reliant Europe. This will be promoted by the European Defense Community which offers assurance of European security. With the coming of unity to Western Europe, the assistance this Nation can render for the security of Europe and the free world will be multiplied in effectiveness.

In the Western Hemisphere we shall continue to develop harmonious and mutually beneficial cooperation with our neighbors. Indeed, solid friendship with all our American neighbors is a cornerstone of our entire policy.

In the world as a whole, the United Nations, admittedly still in a state of evolution, means much to the United States. It has given uniquely valuable services in many places where violence threatened. It is the only real world forum where we have the opportunity for international presentation and rebuttal. It is a place where the nations of the world can, if they have the will, take collective action for peace and justice. It is a place where the guilt can be squarely assigned to those who fail to take all necessary steps to keep the peace. The United Nations deserves our continued firm support.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AND TRADE

In the practical application of our foreign policy, we enter the field of foreign assistance and trade.

Military assistance must be continued. Technical assistance must be maintained. Economic assistance can be reduced. However, our economic programs in Korea and in a few other critical places of the world are especially important, and I shall ask Congress to continue them in the next fiscal year.

The forthcoming Budget Message will propose maintenance of the Presidential power of transferability of all assistance funds and will ask

authority to merge these funds with the regular defense funds. It will also propose that the Secretary of Defense have primary responsibility for the administration of foreign military assistance in accordance with the policy guidance of the Secretary of State.

The fact that we can now reduce our foreign economic assistance in many areas is gratifying evidence that its objectives are being achieved. By continuing to surpass her prewar levels of economic activity, Western Europe gains self-reliance. Thus our relationship enters a new phase which can bring results beneficial to our taxpayers and our allies alike, if still another step is taken.

This step is the creation of a healthier and freer system of trade and payments within the free world—a system in which our allies can earn their own way and our own economy can continue to flourish. The free world can no longer afford the kinds of arbitrary restraints on trade that have continued ever since the war. On this problem I shall submit to the Congress detailed recommendations, after our Joint Commission on Foreign Economic Policy has made its report.

ATOMIC ENERGY PROPOSAL

As we maintain our military strength during the coming year and draw closer the bonds with our allies, we shall be in an improved position to discuss outstanding issues with the Soviet Union. Indeed we shall be glad to do so whenever there is a reasonable prospect of constructive results. In this spirit the atomic energy proposals of the United States were recently presented to the United Nations General Assembly. A truly constructive Soviet reaction will make possible a new start toward an era of peace, and away from the fatal road toward atomic war.

DEFENSE

Since our hope is peace, we owe ourselves and the world a candid explanation of the military measures we are taking to make that peace secure.

As we enter this new year, our military power continues to grow. This power is for our own defense and to deter aggression. We shall not be aggressors, but we and our allies have and will maintain a massive capability to strike back.

Here are some of the considerations in our defense planning:

First, while determined to use atomic power to serve the usages of

dents

ar defense funds. It will
ave primary responsibility
tance in accordance with

gn economic assistance in
ctives are being achieved.
conomic activity, Western
ship enters a new phase
ayers and our allies alike,

freer system of trade and
which our allies can earn
ntinue to flourish. The
bitrary restraints on trade
is problem I shall submit
er our Joint Commission
ort.

AL

ng the coming year and
be in an improved posi-
viet Union. Indeed we
isonable prospect of con-
y proposals of the United
ations General Assembly.
possible a new start to-
road toward atomic war.

and the world a candid
king to make that peace

ower continues to grow.
er aggression. We shall
d will maintain a massive

defense planning:
r to serve the usages of

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1954

9 3

peace, we take into full account our great and growing number of nuclear weapons and the most effective means of using them against an aggressor if they are needed to preserve our freedom. Our defense will be stronger if, under appropriate security safeguards, we share with our allies certain knowledge of the tactical use of our nuclear weapons. I urge the Congress to provide the needed authority.

Second, the usefulness of these new weapons creates new relationships between men and materials. These new relationships permit economies in the use of men as we build forces suited to our situation in the world today. As will be seen from the Budget Message on January 21, the airpower of our Navy and Air Force is receiving heavy emphasis.

Third, our armed forces must regain maximum mobility of action. Our strategic reserves must be centrally placed and readily deployable to meet sudden aggression against ourselves and our allies.

Fourth, our defense must rest on trained manpower and its most economical and mobile use. A professional corps is the heart of any security organization. It is necessarily the teacher and leader of those who serve temporarily in the discharge of the obligation to help defend the Republic. Pay alone will not retain in the career service of our armed forces the necessary numbers of long-term personnel. I strongly urge, therefore, a more generous use of other benefits important to service morale. Among these are more adequate living quarters and family housing units and medical care for dependents.

Studies of military manpower have just been completed by the National Security Training Commission and a Committee appointed by the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization. Evident weaknesses exist in the state of readiness and organization of our reserve forces. Measures to correct these weaknesses will be later submitted to the Congress.

Fifth, the ability to convert swiftly from partial to all-out mobilization is imperative to our security. For the first time, mobilization officials know what the requirements are for 1,000 major items needed for military uses. These data, now being related to civilian requirements and our supply potential, will show us the gaps in our mobilization base. Thus we shall have more realistic plant-expansion and stockpiling goals. We shall speed their attainment. This Nation is at last to have an up-to-date mobilization base—the foundation of a sound defense program.

Another part of this foundation is, of course, our continental transport system. Some of our vital heavy materials come increasingly from

Canada. Indeed our relations with Canada, happily always close, involve more and more the unbreakable ties of strategic interdependence. Both nations now need the St. Lawrence Seaway for security as well as for economic reasons. I urge the Congress promptly to approve our participation in its construction. 9

Sixth, military and non-military measures for continental defense must be and are being strengthened. In the current fiscal year we are allocating to these purposes an increasing portion of our effort, and in the next fiscal year we shall spend nearly a billion dollars more for them than in 1953. 10

An indispensable part of our continental security is our civil defense effort. This will succeed only as we have the complete cooperation of State Governors, Mayors, and voluntary citizen groups. With their help we can advance a cooperative program which, if an attack should come, would save many lives and lessen destruction.

The defense program recommended in the 1955 Budget is consistent with all of the considerations which I have just discussed. It is based on a new military program unanimously recommended by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and approved by me following consideration by the National Security Council. This new program will make and keep America strong in an age of peril. Nothing should bar its attainment.

The international and defense policies which I have outlined will enable us to negotiate from a position of strength as we hold our resolute course toward a peaceful world. We now turn to matters which are normally characterized as domestic, well realizing that what we do abroad affects every problem at home—from the amount of taxes to our very state of mind.

INTERNAL SECURITY

Under the standards established for the new employee security program, more than 2,200 employees have been separated from the Federal government. Our national security demands that the investigation of new employees and the evaluation of derogatory information respecting present employees be expedited and concluded at the earliest possible date. I shall recommend that the Congress provide additional funds where necessary to speed these important procedures. 11

From the special employment standards of the Federal government I turn now to a matter relating to American citizenship. The subver-

sive character of the Communist Party in the United States has been clearly demonstrated in many ways, including court proceedings. We should recognize by law a fact that is plain to all thoughtful citizens—that we are dealing here with actions akin to treason—that when a citizen knowingly participates in the Communist conspiracy he no longer holds allegiance to the United States. 12

I recommend that Congress enact legislation to provide that a citizen of the United States who is convicted in the courts of hereafter conspiring to advocate the overthrow of this government by force or violence be treated as having, by such act, renounced his allegiance to the United States and forfeited his United States citizenship.

In addition, the Attorney General will soon appear before your Committees to present his recommendations for needed additional legal weapons with which to combat subversion in our country and to deal with the question of claimed immunity. 13

II. STRONG ECONOMY

I turn now to the second great purpose of our government: Along with the protection of freedom, the maintenance of a strong and growing economy.

The American economy is one of the wonders of the world. It undergirds our international position, our military security, and the standard of living of every citizen. This Administration is determined to keep our economy strong and to keep it growing.

At this moment we are in transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy. I am confident that we can complete this transition without serious interruption in our economic growth. But we shall not leave this vital matter to chance. Economic preparedness is fully as important to the nation as military preparedness.

Subsequent special messages and the economic report on January 28 will set forth plans of the Administration and its recommendations for Congressional action. These will include flexible credit and debt management policies; tax measures to stimulate consumer and business spending; suitable lending, guaranteeing, insuring, and grant-in-aid activities; strengthened old-age and unemployment insurance measures; improved agricultural programs; public-works plans laid well in advance; enlarged opportunities for international trade and investment. This mere enu- 14

meration of these subjects implies the vast amount of study, coordination, and planning, to say nothing of authorizing legislation, that altogether make our economic preparedness complete.

If new conditions arise that require additional administrative or legislative action, the Administration will still be ready. A government always ready, as this is, to take well-timed and vigorous action, and a business community willing, as ours is, to plan boldly and with confidence, can between them develop a climate assuring steady economic growth.

THE BUDGET

I shall submit to the Congress on January 21 the first budget prepared by this Administration, for the period July 1, 1954, through June 1955.

This budget is adequate to the current needs of the government. It recognizes that a Federal budget should be a stabilizing factor in the economy. Its tax and expenditure programs will foster individual initiative and economic growth.

Pending the transmittal of my Budget Message, I shall mention here only a few points about our budgetary situation.

First, one of our initial acts was to revise, with the cooperation of the Congress, the Budget prepared before this Administration took office. Requests for new appropriations were greatly reduced. In addition, the spending level provided in that Budget for the current fiscal year has been reduced by about \$7,000,000,000. In the next fiscal year we estimate a further reduction in expenditures of more than \$5,000,000,000. This will reduce the spending level over the two fiscal years by more than \$12,000,000,000. We are also reducing further our requests for new appropriations.

Second, despite the substantial loss of revenue in the coming fiscal year, resulting from tax reductions now in effect and tax adjustments which I shall propose, our reduced spending will move the new budget closer to a balance.

Third, by keeping new appropriation requests below estimated revenues, we continue to reduce the tremendous accumulation of unfinanced obligations incurred by the Government under past appropriations.

Fourth, until those claims on our Government's revenues are further reduced, the growth in the public debt cannot be entirely stopped. Because of this—because the government's bills have to be paid every

month, while the tax money to pay them comes in with great unevenness within the fiscal year—and because of the need for flexibility to manage this enormous debt, I find it necessary to renew my request for an increase in the statutory debt limit.

TAXES

The new budget provides for a lower level of taxation than has prevailed in preceding years. Six days ago individual income taxes were reduced and the excess profits tax expired. These tax reductions are justified only because of the substantial reductions we already have made and are making in governmental expenditures. As additional reductions in expenditures are brought gradually but surely into sight, further reductions in taxes can and will be made. When budget savings and sound governmental financing are assured, tax burdens should be reduced so that taxpayers may spend their own money in their own way.

While we are moving toward lower levels of taxation we must thoroughly revise our whole tax system. The groundwork for this revision has already been laid by the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, in close consultation with the Department of the Treasury. We should now remove the more glaring tax inequities, particularly on small taxpayers; reduce restraints on the growth of small business; and make other changes that will encourage initiative, enterprise and production. Twenty-five recommendations toward these ends will be contained in my budget message.

Without attempting to summarize these manifold reforms, I can here illustrate their tendency. For example, we propose more liberal tax treatment for dependent children who work, for widows or widowers with dependent children, and for medical expenses. For the business that wants to expand or modernize its plant, we propose liberalized tax treatment of depreciation, research and development expenses, and retained earnings.

Because of the present need for revenue the corporation income tax should be kept at the current rate of 52% for another year, and the excise taxes scheduled to be reduced on April first, including those on liquor, tobacco, gasoline and automobiles, should be continued at present rates.

Immediate extension of the Renegotiation Act of 1951 is also needed to eliminate excessive profits and to prevent waste of public funds in the purchase of defense materials.

AGRICULTURE

The well being of our 160 million people demands a stable and prosperous agriculture. Conversely, every farmer knows he cannot prosper unless all America prospers. As we seek to promote increases in our standard of living, we must be sure that the farmer fairly shares in that increase. Therefore, a farm program promoting stability and prosperity in all elements of our agriculture is urgently needed.

Agricultural laws now in effect successfully accomplished their war-time purpose of encouraging maximum production of many crops. Today, production of these crops at such levels far exceeds present demand. Yet the laws encouraging such production are still in effect. The storage facilities of the Commodity Credit Corporation bulge with surplus stocks of dairy products, wheat, cotton, corn, and certain vegetable oils; and the Corporation's presently authorized borrowing authority—\$6,750,000,000—is nearly exhausted. Some products, priced out of domestic markets, and others, priced out of world markets, have piled up in government hands. In a world in which millions of people are hungry, destruction of food would, of course, be unconscionable. Yet surplus stocks continue to threaten the market and in spite of the acreage controls authorized by present law, surpluses will continue to accumulate.

We confront two alternatives. The first is to impose still greater acreage reductions for some crops and apply rigid Federal controls over the use of the diverted acres. This will regiment the production of every basic agricultural crop. It will place every producer of those crops under the domination and control of the Federal government in Washington. This alternative is contrary to the fundamental interests, not only of the farmer, but of the Nation as a whole. Nor is it a real solution to the problem facing us.

The second alternative is to permit the market price for these agricultural products gradually to have a greater influence on the planning of production by farmers, while continuing the assistance of the government. This is the sound approach. To make it effective, surpluses existing when the new program begins must be insulated from the normal channels of trade for special uses. These uses would include school lunch programs, disaster relief, emergency assistance to foreign friends, and of particular importance the stockpiling of reserves for a national emergency.

Building on the agricultural laws of 1948 and 1949, we should estab-

lish a price support program with enough flexibility to attract the production of needed supplies of essential commodities and to stimulate the consumption of those commodities that are flooding American markets. Transition to modernized parity must be accomplished gradually. In no case should there be an abrupt downward change in the dollar level or in the percentage level of price supports.

Next Monday I shall transmit to the Congress my detailed recommendations embodying this approach. They have been developed through the cooperation of innumerable individuals vitally interested in agriculture. My special message on Monday will briefly describe the consultative and advisory processes to which this whole program has been subjected during the past ten months.

I have chosen this farm program because it will build markets, protect the consumers' food supply, and move food into consumption instead of into storage. It is a program that will remove the threat to the farmer of these overhanging surpluses, a program, also, that will stimulate production when a commodity is scarce and encourage consumption when nature is bountiful. Moreover, it will promote the individual freedom, responsibility, and initiative which distinguish American agriculture. And, by helping our agriculture achieve full parity in the market, it promises our farmers a higher and steadier financial return over the years than any alternative plan.

CONSERVATION

Part of our Nation's precious heritage is its natural resources. It is the common responsibility of Federal, state, and local governments to improve and develop them, always working in the closest harmony and partnership.

All Federal conservation and resource development projects are being reappraised. Sound projects now under way will be continued. New projects in which the Federal Government has a part must be economically sound, with local sharing of cost wherever appropriate and feasible. In the next fiscal year work will be started on twenty-three projects that meet these standards. The Federal Government will continue to construct and operate economically sound flood control, power, irrigation and water supply projects wherever these projects are beyond the capacity of local initiative, public or private, and consistent with the needs of the whole Nation.

Our conservation program will also take into account the important

role played by farmers in protecting our soil resources. I recommend enactment of legislation to strengthen agricultural conservation and upstream flood prevention work, and to achieve a better balance with major flood control structures in the down-stream areas.

Recommendations will be made from time to time for the adoption of:

- A uniform and consistent water resources policy;
- A revised public lands policy; and
- A sound program for safeguarding the domestic production of critical and strategic metals and minerals.

In addition we shall continue to protect and improve our national forests, parks, monuments and other natural and historic sites, as well as our fishery and wildlife resources. I hope that pending legislation to improve the conservation and management of publicly-owned grazing lands in national forests will soon be approved by the Congress.

NATIONAL HIGHWAYS

To protect the vital interest of every citizen in a safe and adequate highway system, the Federal Government is continuing its central role in the Federal Aid Highway Program. So that maximum progress can be made to overcome present inadequacies in the Interstate Highway System, we must continue the Federal gasoline tax at two cents per gallon. This will require cancellation of the $\frac{1}{2}$ ¢ decrease which otherwise will become effective April 1st, and will maintain revenues so that an expanded highway program can be undertaken.

When the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations completes its study of the present system of financing highway construction, I shall promptly submit it for consideration by the Congress and the governors of the states.

POST OFFICE

It is apparent that the substantial savings already made, and to be made, by the Post Office Department cannot eliminate the postal deficit. I recommend, therefore, that the Congress approve the bill now pending in the House of Representatives providing for the adjustment of certain postal rates. To handle the long term aspects of this, I also recommend that the Congress create a permanent commission to establish fair and reasonable postal rates from time to time in the future.

III. HUMAN PROBLEMS

Along with the protection of freedom and maintenance of a strong and growing economy, this Administration recognizes a third great purpose of government: concern for the human problems of our citizens. In a modern industrial society, banishment of destitution and cushioning the shock of personal disaster on the individual are proper concerns of all levels of government, including the federal government. This is especially true where remedy and prevention alike are beyond the individual's capacity.

LABOR AND WELFARE

Of the many problems in this area, those I shall first discuss are of particular concern to the members of our great labor force, who with their heads, hearts and hands produce so much of the wealth of our country.

Protection against the hazards of temporary unemployment should be extended to some 6½ millions of workers, including civilian Federal workers, who now lack this safeguard. Moreover, the Secretary of Labor is making available to the states studies and recommendations in the fields of weekly benefits, periods of protection and extension of coverage. The Economic Report will consider the related matter of minimum wages and their coverage.

The Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 is basically a sound law. However, six years of experience have revealed that in some respects it can be improved. On January 11, I shall forward to the Congress suggestions for changes designed to reinforce the basic objectives of the Act.

Our basic social security program, the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance system, to which individuals contribute during their productive years and receive benefits based on previous earnings, is designed to shield them from destitution. Last year I recommended extension of the social insurance system to include more than 10,000,000 additional persons. I ask that this extension soon be accomplished. This and other major improvements in the insurance system will bring substantial benefit increases and broaden the membership of the insurance system, thus diminishing the need for Federal grants-in-aid for such purposes. A new formula will therefore be proposed, permitting progressive reduction in such grants as the need for them declines.

Federal grant-in-aid welfare programs, now based on widely varying formulas, should be simplified. Concrete proposals on fourteen of them will be suggested to the appropriate Committees.

The program for rehabilitation of the disabled especially needs strengthening. Through special vocational training, this program presently returns each year some 60,000 handicapped individuals to productive work. Far more disabled people can be saved each year from idleness and dependence if this program is gradually increased. My more detailed recommendations on this and the other social insurance problems I have mentioned will be sent to the Congress on January 14th.

HEALTH

I am flatly opposed to the socialization of medicine. The great need for hospital and medical services can best be met by the initiative of private plans. But it is unfortunately a fact that medical costs are rising and already impose severe hardships on many families. The Federal Government can do many helpful things and still carefully avoid the socialization of medicine.

The Federal Government should encourage medical research in its battle with such mortal diseases as cancer and heart ailments, and should continue to help the states in their health and rehabilitation programs. The present Hospital Survey and Construction Act should be broadened in order to assist in the development of adequate facilities for the chronically ill, and to encourage the construction of diagnostic centers, rehabilitation facilities, and nursing homes. The war on disease also needs a better working relationship between Government and private initiative. Private and non-profit hospital and medical insurance plans are already in the field, soundly based on the experience and initiative of the people in their various communities.

A limited Government reinsurance service would permit the private and non-profit insurance companies to offer broader protection to more of the many families which want and should have it. On January 18 I shall forward to the Congress a special message presenting this Administration's health program in its detail.

EDUCATION

Youth—our greatest resource—is being seriously neglected in a vital respect. The nation as a whole is not preparing teachers or building

schools fast enough to keep up with the increase in our population.

The preparation of teachers as, indeed, the control and direction of public education policy, is a state and local responsibility. However, the Federal Government should stand ready to assist states which demonstrably cannot provide sufficient school buildings. In order to appraise the needs, I hope that this year a conference on education will be held in each state, culminating in a national conference. From these conferences on education, every level of government—from the Federal Government to each local school board—should gain the information with which to attack this serious problem.

HOUSING

The details of a program to enlarge and improve the opportunities for our people to acquire good homes will be presented to the Congress by special message on January 25.

This program will include:

Modernization of the home mortgage insurance program of the Federal Government;

Redirection of the present system of loans and grants-in-aid to cities for slum clearance and redevelopment;

Extension of the advantages of insured lending to private credit engaged in this task of rehabilitating obsolete neighborhoods;

Insurance of long-term, mortgage loans, with small down payment for low-income families; and, until alternative programs prove more effective,

Continuation of the public housing program adopted in the Housing Act of 1949.

If the individual, the community, the State and federal governments will alike apply themselves, every American family can have a decent home.

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

The internal reorganization of the Veterans Administration is proceeding with my full approval. When completed, it will afford a single agency whose services, including medical facilities, will be better adapted to the needs of those 20,000,000 veterans to whom this Nation owes so much.

SUFFRAGE

My few remaining recommendations all relate to a basic right of our citizens—that of being represented in the decisions of the government.

I hope that the States will cooperate with the Congress in adopting uniform standards in their voting laws that will make it possible for our citizens in the armed forces overseas to vote.

In the District of Columbia the time is long overdue for granting national suffrage to its citizens and also applying the principle of local self-government to the Nation's Capital. I urge the Congress to move promptly in this direction and also to revise District revenue measures to provide needed public works improvements.

The people of Hawaii are ready for statehood. I renew my request for this legislation in order that Hawaii may elect its State officials and its representatives in Washington along with the rest of the country this fall.

For years our citizens between the ages of 18 and 21 have, in time of peril, been summoned to fight for America. They should participate in the political process that produces this fateful summons. I urge Congress to propose to the States a constitutional amendment permitting citizens to vote when they reach the age of 18.

CONCLUSION

I want to add one final word about the general purport of these many recommendations.

Our government's powers are wisely limited by the Constitution; but quite apart from those limitations, there are things which no government can do or should try to do.

A government can strive, as ours is striving, to maintain an economic system whose doors are open to enterprise and ambition—those personal qualities on which economic growth largely depends. But enterprise and ambition are qualities which no government can supply. Fortunately no American government need concern itself on this score; our people have these qualities in good measure.

A government can sincerely strive for peace, as ours is striving, and ask its people to make sacrifices for the sake of peace. But no government can place peace in the hearts of foreign rulers. It is our duty then to ourselves and to freedom itself to remain strong in all those ways—spiritual, economic, military—that will give us maximum safety against the possibility of aggressive action by others.

No government can inoculate its people against the fatal materialism that plagues our age. Happily, our people, though blessed with more

material goods than any people in history, have always reserved their first allegiance to the kingdom of the spirit, which is the true source of that freedom we value above all material things.

But a government can try, as ours tries, to sense the deepest aspirations of the people, and to express them in political action at home and abroad. So long as action and aspiration humbly and earnestly seek favor in the sight of the Almighty, there is no end to America's forward road; there is no obstacle on it she will not surmount in her march toward a lasting peace in a free and prosperous world.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: This is the text of the document (2d sess.).

which the President signed and transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives (H. Doc. 251, 83d Cong.,

The Address as reported from the floor appears in the Congressional Record (vol. 100, p. 62).

4 ¶ Special Message to the Congress on Agriculture. January 11, 1954

To the Congress of the United States:

I submit herewith for the consideration of the Congress a number of recommendations affecting the Nation's agriculture.

PART I

The agricultural problem today is as serious and complex as any with which the Congress will deal in this session. Immediate action is needed to arrest the growing threat to our present agricultural program and to prevent the subsequent economic distress that could follow in our farming areas.

I have given assurances to the American farmer that support of existing agricultural laws, including continuance through 1954 of price supports on basic commodities at 90 percent of parity, was a moral and legal commitment that must be upheld. Along with the fulfillment of this commitment, an unending effort has proceeded in the past twelve months to provide the American farmer his full share of the income produced by a stable, prosperous country. This effort requires for success a new farm program adjusted to existing conditions in the Nation's agriculture.

7 ¶ Statement by the President on the
Resignation of Sir Anthony Eden.

January 9, 1957

I HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED of the official announcement of the resignation of Sir Anthony Eden as head of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Sir Anthony is an old and good friend. During the days of World War II and since, there have been few periods when he and I were not engaged in the study of some problem common to our two countries. Through the years I have developed for him a great respect and admiration.

As Foreign Minister and then as Prime Minister, Sir Anthony has been a dedicated leader in the cause of freedom. He is a staunch believer in the need for unity among the community of free nations, especially between his country and ours.

Mrs. Eisenhower and I extend to him and to Lady Eden our hopes that Sir Anthony will soon fully recover his health so that he may have many useful years of happiness ahead.

8 ¶ Annual Message to the Congress on the State
of the Union. January 10, 1957

[Delivered in person before a joint session]

To the Congress of the United States:

I appear before the Congress today to report on the State of the Union and the relationships of the Union to the other nations of the world. I come here, firmly convinced that at no time in the history of the Republic have circumstances more emphatically underscored the need, in all echelons of government, for vision and wisdom and resolution.

You meet in a season of stress that is testing the fitness of polit-

ical systems and the validity of political philosophies. Each stress stems in part from causes peculiar to itself. But every stress is a reflection of a universal phenomenon.

In the world today, the surging and understandable tide of nationalism is marked by widespread revulsion and revolt against tyranny, injustice, inequality and poverty. As individuals, joined in a common hunger for freedom, men and women and even children pit their spirit against guns and tanks. On a larger scale, in an ever more persistent search for the self-respect of authentic sovereignty and the economic base on which national independence must rest, peoples sever old ties; seek new alliances; experiment—sometimes dangerously—in their struggle to satisfy these human aspirations.

Particularly, in the past year, this tide has changed the pattern of attitudes and thinking among millions. The changes already accomplished foreshadow a world transformed by the spirit of freedom. This is no faint and pious hope. The forces now at work in the minds and hearts of men will not be spent through many years. In the main, today's expressions of nationalism are, in spirit, echoes of our forefathers' struggle for independence.

This Republic cannot be aloof to these events heralding a new epoch in the affairs of mankind.

Our pledged word, our enlightened self-interest, our character as a Nation commit us to a high role in world affairs: a role of vigorous leadership, ready strength, sympathetic understanding.

The State of the Union, at the opening of the 85th Congress continues to vindicate the wisdom of the principles on which this Republic is founded. Proclaimed in the Constitution of the Nation and in many of our historic documents, and founded in devout religious convictions, these principles enunciate:

A vigilant regard for human liberty.

A wise concern for human welfare.

A ceaseless effort for human progress.

Fidelity to these principles, in our relations with other peoples, has won us new friendships and has increased our opportunity for

service within the family of nations. The appeal of these principles is universal, lighting fires in the souls of men everywhere. We shall continue to uphold them, against those who deny them and in counselling with our friends.

At home, the application of these principles to the complex problems of our national life has brought us to an unprecedented peak in our economic prosperity and has exemplified in our way of life the enduring human values of mind and spirit.

Through the past four years these principles have guided the legislative programs submitted by the Administration to the Congress. As we attempt to apply them to current events, domestic and foreign, we must take into account the complex entity that is the United States of America; what endangers it; what can improve it.

The visible structure is our American economy itself. After more than a century and a half of constant expansion, it is still rich in a wide variety of natural resources. It is first among nations in its people's mastery of industrial skills. It is productive beyond our own needs of many foodstuffs and industrial products. It is rewarding to all our citizens in opportunity to earn and to advance in self-realization and in self-expression. It is fortunate in its wealth of educational and cultural and religious centers. It is vigorously dynamic in the limitless initiative and willingness to venture that characterize free enterprise. It is productive of a widely shared prosperity.

Our economy is strong, expanding, and fundamentally sound. But in any realistic appraisal, even the optimistic analyst will realize that in a prosperous period the principal threat to efficient functioning of a free enterprise system is inflation. We look back on four years of prosperous activities during which prices, the cost of living, have been relatively stable—that is, inflation has been held in check. But it is clear that the danger is always present, particularly if the government might become profligate in its expenditures or private groups might ignore all the possible results on our economy of unwise struggles for immediate gain.

This danger requires a firm resolution that the Federal Government shall utilize only a prudent share of the Nation's resources, that it shall live within its means, carefully measuring against need alternative proposals for expenditures.

Through the next four years, I shall continue to insist that the executive departments and agencies of Government search out additional ways to save money and manpower. I urge that the Congress be equally watchful in this matter.

We pledge the Government's share in guarding the integrity of the dollar. But the Government's efforts cannot be the entire campaign against inflation, the thief that can rob the individual of the value of the pension and social security he has earned during his productive life. For success, Government's efforts must be paralleled by the attitudes and actions of individual citizens.

I have often spoken of the purpose of this Administration to serve the national interest of 170 million people. The national interest must take precedence over temporary advantages which may be secured by particular groups at the expense of all the people.

In this regard I call on leaders in business and in labor to think well on their responsibility to the American people. With all elements of our society, they owe the Nation a vigilant guard against the inflationary tendencies that are always at work in a dynamic economy operating at today's high levels. They can powerfully help counteract or accentuate such tendencies by their wage and price policies.

Business in its pricing policies should avoid unnecessary price increases especially at a time like the present when demand in so many areas presses hard on short supplies. A reasonable profit is essential to the new investments that provide more jobs in an expanding economy. But business leaders must, in the national interest, studiously avoid those price rises that are possible only because of vital or unusual needs of the whole nation.

If our economy is to remain healthy, increases in wages and other labor benefits, negotiated by labor and management, must

be reasonably related to improvements in productivity. Such increases are beneficial, for they provide wage earners with greater purchasing power. Except where necessary to correct obvious injustices, wage increases that outrun productivity, however, are an inflationary factor. They make for higher prices for the public generally and impose a particular hardship on those whose welfare depends on the purchasing power of retirement income and savings. Wage negotiations should also take cognizance of the right of the public generally to share in the benefits of improvements in technology.

Freedom has been defined as the opportunity for self-discipline. This definition has a special application to the areas of wage and price policy in a free economy. Should we persistently fail to discipline ourselves, eventually there will be increasing pressure on government to redress the failure. By that process freedom will step by step disappear. No subject on the domestic scene should more attract the concern of the friends of American working men and women and of free business enterprise than the forces that threaten a steady depreciation of the value of our money.

Concerning developments in another vital sector of our economy—agriculture—I am gratified that the long slide in farm income has been halted and that further improvement is in prospect. This is heartening progress. Three tools that we have developed—improved surplus disposal, improved price support laws, and the soil bank—are working to reduce price-depressing government stocks of farm products. Our concern for the well-being of farm families demands that we constantly search for new ways by which they can share more fully in our unprecedented prosperity. Legislative recommendations in the field of agriculture are contained in the Budget Message.

Our soil, water, mineral, forest, fish, and wildlife resources are being conserved and improved more effectively. Their conservation and development are vital to the present and future strength

of the Nation. But they must not be the concern of the Federal Government alone. State and local entities, and private enterprise should be encouraged to participate in such projects.

I would like to make special mention of programs for making the best uses of water, rapidly becoming our most precious natural resource, just as it can be, when neglected, a destroyer of both life and wealth. There has been prepared and published a comprehensive water report developed by a Cabinet Committee and relating to all phases of this particular problem.

In the light of this report, there are two things I believe we should keep constantly in mind. The first is that each of our great river valleys should be considered as a whole. Piecemeal operations within each lesser drainage area can be self-defeating or, at the very least, needlessly expensive. The second is that the domestic and industrial demands for water grow far more rapidly than does our population.

The whole matter of making the best use of each drop of water from the moment it touches our soil until it reaches the oceans, for such purposes as irrigation, flood control, power production, and domestic and industrial uses clearly demands the closest kind of cooperation and partnership between municipalities, States and the Federal Government. Through partnership of Federal, state and local authorities in these vast projects we can obtain the economy and efficiency of development and operation that springs from a lively sense of local responsibility.

Until such partnership is established on a proper and logical basis of sharing authority, responsibility and costs, our country will never have both the fully productive use of water that it so obviously needs and protection against disastrous flood.

If we fail in this, all the many tasks that need to be done in America could be accomplished only at an excessive cost, by the growth of a stifling bureaucracy, and eventually with a dangerous degree of centralized control over our national life.

In all domestic matters, I believe that the people of the United

States will expect of us effective action to remedy past failure in meeting critical needs.

High priority should be given the school construction bill. This will benefit children of all races throughout the country—and children of all races need schools now. A program designed to meet emergency needs for more classrooms should be enacted without delay. I am hopeful that this program can be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problems of integration. I urge the people in all sections of the country to approach these problems with calm and reason, with mutual understanding and good will, and in the American tradition of deep respect for the orderly processes of law and justice.

I should say here that we have much reason to be proud of the progress our people are making in mutual understanding—the chief buttress of human and civil rights. Steadily we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color. But unhappily much remains to be done.

Last year the Administration recommended to the Congress a four-point program to reinforce civil rights. That program included:

- (1) creation of a bipartisan commission to investigate asserted violations of civil rights and to make recommendations;
- (2) creation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice in charge of an Assistant Attorney General;
- (3) enactment by the Congress of new laws to aid in the enforcement of voting rights; and
- (4) amendment of the laws so as to permit the Federal Government to seek from the civil courts preventive relief in civil rights cases.

I urge that the Congress enact this legislation.

Essential to the stable economic growth we seek is a system of well-adapted and efficient financial institutions. I believe the

time has come to conduct a broad national inquiry into the nature, performance and adequacy of our financial system, both in terms of its direct service to the whole economy and in terms of its function as the mechanism through which monetary and credit policy takes effect. I believe the Congress should authorize the creation of a commission of able and qualified citizens to undertake this vital inquiry. Out of their findings and recommendations the Administration would develop and present to the Congress any legislative proposals that might be indicated for the purpose of improving our financial machinery.

In this message it seems unnecessary that I should repeat recommendations involving our domestic affairs that have been urged upon the Congress during the past four years, but which, in some instances, did not reach the stage of completely satisfactory legislation.

The Administration will, through future messages either directly from me or from heads of the departments and agencies, transmit to the Congress specific recommendations. These will involve our financial and fiscal affairs, our military and civil defenses; the administration of justice; our agricultural economy; our domestic and foreign commerce; the urgently needed increase in our postal rates; the development of our natural resources; our labor laws, including our labor-management relations legislation, and vital aspects of the health, education and welfare of our people. There will be special recommendations dealing with such subjects as atomic energy, the furthering of public works, the continued efforts to eliminate government competition with the businesses of tax-paying citizens.

A number of legislative recommendations will be mentioned specifically in my forthcoming Budget Message, which will reach you within the week. That message will also recommend such sums as are needed to implement the proposed action.

Turning to the international scene:

The existence of a strongly armed imperialistic dictatorship poses a continuing threat to the free world's and thus to our own Nation's security and peace. There are certain truths to be remembered here.

First, America alone and isolated cannot assure even its own security. We must be joined by the capability and resolution of nations that have proved themselves dependable defenders of freedom. Isolation from them invites war. Our security is also enhanced by the immeasurable interest that joins us with all peoples who believe that peace with justice must be preserved, that wars of aggression are crimes against humanity.

Another truth is that our survival in today's world requires modern, adequate, dependable military strength. Our Nation has made great strides in assuring a modern defense, so armed in new weapons, so deployed, so equipped, that today our security force is the most powerful in our peacetime history. It can punish heavily any enemy who undertakes to attack us. It is a major deterrent to war.

By our research and development more efficient weapons—some of amazing capabilities—are being constantly created. These vital efforts we shall continue. Yet we must not delude ourselves that safety necessarily increases as expenditures for military research or forces in being go up. Indeed, beyond a wise and reasonable level, which is always changing and is under constant study, money spent on arms may be money wasted on sterile metal or inflated costs, thereby weakening the very security and strength we seek.

National security requires far more than military power. Economic and moral factors play indispensable roles. Any program that endangers our economy could defeat us. Any weakening of our national will and resolution, any diminution of the vigor and initiative of our individual citizens, would strike a blow at the heart of our defenses.

The finest military establishment we can produce must work

closely in cooperation with the forces of our friends. Our system of regional pacts, developed within the Charter of the United Nations, serves to increase both our own security and the security of other nations.

This system is still a recent introduction on the world scene. Its problems are many and difficult, because it insists on equality among its members and brings into association some nations traditionally divided. Repeatedly in recent months, the collapse of these regional alliances has been predicted. The strains upon them have been at times indeed severe. Despite these strains our regional alliances have proved durable and strong, and dire predictions of their disintegration have proved completely false.

With other free nations, we should vigorously prosecute measures that will promote mutual strength, prosperity and welfare within the free world. Strength is essentially a product of economic health and social well-being. Consequently, even as we continue our programs of military assistance, we must emphasize aid to our friends in building more productive economies and in better satisfying the natural demands of their people for progress. Thereby we shall move a long way toward a peaceful world.

A sound and safeguarded agreement for open skies, unarmed aerial sentinels, and reduced armament would provide a valuable contribution toward a durable peace in the years ahead. And we have been persistent in our effort to reach such an agreement. We are willing to enter any reliable agreement which would reverse the trend toward ever more devastating nuclear weapons; reciprocally provide against the possibility of surprise attack; mutually control the outer space missile and satellite development; and make feasible a lower level of armaments and armed forces and an easier burden of military expenditures. Our continuing negotiations in this field are a major part of our quest for a confident peace in this atomic age.

This quest requires as well a constructive attitude among all the nations of the free world toward expansion of trade and in-

vestment, that can give all of us opportunity to work out economic betterment.

An essential step in this field is the provision of an administrative agency to insure the orderly and proper operation of existing arrangements under which multilateral trade is now carried on. To that end I urge Congressional authorization for United States membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation, an action which will speed removal of discrimination against our export trade.

We welcome the efforts of a number of our European friends to achieve an integrated community to develop a common market. We likewise welcome their cooperative effort in the field of atomic energy.

To demonstrate once again our unalterable purpose to make of the atom a peaceful servant of humanity, I shortly shall ask the Congress to authorize full United States participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency.

World events have magnified both the responsibilities and the opportunities of the United States Information Agency. Just as, in recent months, the voice of communism has become more shaken and confused, the voice of truth must be more clearly heard. To enable our Information Agency to cope with these new responsibilities and opportunities, I am asking the Congress to increase appreciably the appropriations for this program and for legislation establishing a career service for the Agency's overseas foreign service officers.

The recent historic events in Hungary demand that all free nations share to the extent of their capabilities in the responsibility of granting asylum to victims of Communist persecution. I request the Congress promptly to enact legislation to regularize the status in the United States of Hungarian refugees brought here as parolees. I shall shortly recommend to the Congress by special message the changes in our immigration laws that I deem necessary in the light of our world responsibilities.

The cost of peace is something we must face boldly, fearlessly. Beyond money, it involves changes in attitudes, the renunciation of old prejudices, even the sacrifice of some seeming self-interest.

Only five days ago I expressed to you the grave concern of your Government over the threat of Soviet aggression in the Middle East. I asked for Congressional authorization to help counter this threat. I say again that this matter is of vital and immediate importance to the Nation's and the free world's security and peace. By our proposed programs in the Middle East, we hope to assist in establishing a climate in which constructive and long-term solutions to basic problems of the area may be sought.

From time to time, there will be presented to the Congress requests for other legislation in the broad field of international affairs. All requests will reflect the steadfast purpose of this Administration to pursue peace, based on justice. Although in some cases details will be new, the underlying purpose and objectives will remain the same.

All proposals made by the Administration in this field are based on the free world's unity. This unity may not be immediately obvious unless we examine link by link the chain of relationships that binds us to every area and to every nation. In spirit the free world is one because its people uphold the right of independent existence for all nations. I have already alluded to their economic interdependence. But their interdependence extends also into the field of security.

First of all, no reasonable man will question the absolute need for our American neighbors to be prosperous and secure. Their security and prosperity are inextricably bound to our own. And we are, of course, already joined with these neighbors by historic pledges.

Again, no reasonable man will deny that the freedom and prosperity and security of Western Europe are vital to our own prosperity and security. If the institutions, the skills, the manpower of its peoples were to fall under the domination of an

When our forefathers prepared the immortal document that proclaimed our independence, they asserted that every individual is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights. As we gaze back through history to that date, it is clear that our nation has striven to live up to this declaration, applying it to nations as well as to individuals.

Today we proudly assert that the government of the United States is still committed to this concept, both in its activities at home and abroad.

The purpose is Divine; the implementation is human.

Our country and its government have made mistakes—human mistakes. They have been of the head—not of the heart. And it is still true that the great concept of the dignity of all men, alike created in the image of the Almighty, has been the compass by which we have tried and are trying to steer our course.

So long as we continue by its guidance, there will be true progress in human affairs, both among ourselves and among those with whom we deal.

To achieve a more perfect fidelity to it, I submit, is a worthy ambition as we meet together in these first days of this, the first session of the 85th Congress.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

NOTE: This is the text of the document which the President signed and transmitted to the Senate and the House of Representatives (H. Doc.

1, 85th Cong., 1st sess.).

The Address as reported from the floor appears in the Congressional Record (vol. 103, p. 387).

ISSUES TALLY -- STATE OF THE UNION

FDR:

January 3, 1934 7-8
January 6, 1937 7-8
January 6, 1941 ✓
January 6, 1945 (radio address summary) 5

TRUMAN:

January 5, 1949

EISENHOWER:

January 7, 1954
January 10, 1957

KENNEDY:

January 11, 1962

JOHNSON:

January 4, 1965

NIXON:

January 22, 1970
January 28, 1973 (radio address budget summary)

FORD:

January 15, 1975

CARTER:

January 19, 1978

eisenhower Jan 5, 1956 (7)
Nixon Jan 20, 1972 (6)
Nixon Dec 5, 1964 (6)
Lincoln Dec 3, 1861 (9-10)
Lincoln Dec 6, 1864 (11)

probably be necessary to give it the clerical and administrative machinery with which to do serviceable work.

What is more important is, that the industries and resources of the country should be available and ready for mobilization. It is the more imperatively necessary, therefore, that we should promptly devise means for doing what we have not yet done: that we should give intelligent federal aid and stimulation to industrial and vocational education, as we have long done in the large field of our agricultural industry; that, at the same time that we safeguard and conserve the natural resources of the country we should put them at the disposal of those who will use them promptly and intelligently, as was sought to be done in the admirable bills submitted to the last Congress from its committees on the public lands, bills which I earnestly recommend in principle to your consideration; that we should put into early operation some provision for rural credits which will add to the extensive borrowing facilities already afforded the farmer by the Reserve Bank Act, adequate instrumentalities by which long credits may be obtained on land mortgages; and that we should study more carefully than they have hitherto been studied the right adaptation of our economic arrangements to changing conditions.

Many conditions about which we have repeatedly legislated are being altered from decade to decade, it is evident, under our very eyes, and are likely to change even more rapidly and more radically in the days immediately ahead of us, when peace has returned to the world and the nations of Europe once more take up their tasks of commerce and industry with the energy of those who must bestir themselves to build anew. Just what these changes will be no one can certainly foresee or confidently predict. There are no calculable, because no stable, elements in the problem. The most we can do is to make certain that we have the necessary instrumentalities of information constantly at our service so that we may be sure that we know exactly what we are dealing with when we come to act, if it should be necessary to act at all. We must first certainly know what it is that we are seeking to adapt ourselves to. I may ask the privilege of addressing you more at length on this important matter a little later in your session.

In the meantime may I make this suggestion? The transportation problem is an exceedingly serious and pressing one in this country. There has from time to time of late been reason to fear that our railroads would not much longer be able to cope with it successfully, as at present equipped and coördinated. I suggest that it would be wise to provide for a commission of inquiry to ascertain by a thorough canvass of the whole question whether our laws as at

present framed and administered are as serviceable as they might be in the solution of the problem. It is obviously a problem that lies at the very foundation of our efficiency as a people. Such an inquiry ought to draw out every circumstance and opinion worth considering and we need to know all sides of the matter if we mean to do anything in the field of federal legislation.

No one, I am sure, would wish to take any backward step. The regulation of the railways of the country by federal commission has had admirable results and has fully justified the hopes and expectations of those by whom the policy of regulation was originally proposed. The question is not what should we undo? It is, whether there is anything else we can do that would supply us with effective means, in the very process of regulation, for bettering the conditions under which the railroads are operated and for making them more useful servants of the country as a whole. It seems to me that it might be the part of wisdom, therefore, before further legislation in this field is attempted, to look at the whole problem of coördination and efficiency in the full light of a fresh assessment of circumstance and opinion, as a guide to dealing with the several parts of it.

For what we are seeking now, what in my mind is the single thought of this message, is national efficiency and security. We serve a great nation. We should serve it in the spirit of its peculiar genius. It is the genius of common men for self-government, industry, justice, liberty and peace. We should see to it that it lacks no instrument, no facility or vigor of law, to make it sufficient to play its part with energy, safety, and assured success. In this we are no partisans but heralds and prophets of a new age.

FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE.

[Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, December 5, 1916.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS—In fulfilling at this time the duty laid upon me by the Constitution of communicating to you from time to time information of the state of the Union and recommending to your consideration such legislative measures as may be judged necessary and expedient; I shall continue the practice, which I hope has been acceptable to you, of leaving to the reports of the several heads of the executive departments the elaboration of the detailed needs of the public service and confine myself to those matters of more general public policy with which it seems necessary and feasible to deal at the present session of the Congress.

I realize the limitations of time under which you will necessarily act at this session and shall make my suggestions as few as possible; but

there were some things left undone at the last session which there will now be time to complete and which it seems necessary in the interest of the public to do at once.

In the first place, it seems to me imperatively necessary that the earliest possible consideration and action should be accorded the remaining measures of the program of settlement and regulation which I had occasion to recommend to you at the close of your last session in view of the public dangers disclosed by the unaccommodated difficulties which then existed, and which still unhappily continue to exist, between the railroads of the country and their locomotive engineers, conductors and trainmen.

I then recommended:

First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are, with its present constitution and means of action, practically impossible.

Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and wages in the employment of all railway employes who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads.

Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

Fifth, an amendment of the existing Federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that, in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

And, sixth, the lodgment in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances

require for their safe and efficient use.

The second and third of these recommendations the Congress immediately acted on: it established the eight-hour day as the legal basis of work and wages in train service and it authorized the appointment of a commission to observe and report upon the practical results, deeming these the measures most immediately needed; but it postponed action upon the other suggestions until an opportunity should be offered for a more deliberate consideration of them.

The fourth recommendation I do not deem it necessary to renew. The power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant an increase of rates on the ground referred to is indisputably clear and a recommendation by the Congress with regard to such a matter might seem to draw in question the scope of the commission's authority or its inclination to do justice when there is no reason to doubt either.

The other suggestions—the increase in the Interstate Commerce Commission's membership and in its facilities for performing its manifold duties; the provision for full public investigation and assessment of industrial disputes, and the grant to the Executive of the power to control and operate the railways when necessary in time of war or other like public necessity—I now very earnestly renew.

The necessity for such legislation is manifest and pressing. Those who have entrusted us with the responsibility and duty of serving and safeguarding them in such matters would find it hard, I believe, to excuse a failure to act upon these grave matters or any unnecessary postponement of action upon them.

Not only does the Interstate Commerce Commission now find it practically impossible, with its present membership and organization, to perform its great functions promptly and thoroughly, but it is not unlikely that it may presently be found advisable to add to its duties still others equally heavy and exacting. It must first be perfected as an administrative instrument.

The country cannot and should not consent to remain any longer exposed to profound industrial disturbances for lack of additional means of arbitration and conciliation which the Congress can easily and promptly supply.

And all will agree that there must be no doubt as to the power of the Executive to make immediate and uninterrupted use of the railroads for the concentration of the military forces of the nation wherever they are needed and whenever they are needed.

This is a program of regulation, prevention and administrative efficiency which argues its own case in the mere statement of it. With regard to one of its items, the increase in the efficiency of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the House of Representatives has already acted; its action needs only the concurrence of the Senate.

I would hesitate to recommend, and I dare say the Congress would hesitate to act upon the suggestion should I make it, that any man in any occupation should be obliged by law to continue in an employment which he desired to leave.

To pass a law which forbade or prevented the individual workman to leave his work before receiving the approval of society in doing so would be to adopt a new principle into our jurisprudence, which I take it for granted we are not prepared to introduce.

But the proposal that the operation of the railways of the country shall not be stopped or interrupted by the concerted action of organized bodies of men until a public investigation shall have been instituted, which shall make the whole question at issue plain for the judgment of the opinion of the nation, is not to propose any such principle.

It is based upon the very different principle that the concerted action of powerful bodies of men shall not be permitted to stop the industrial processes of the nation, at any rate before the nation shall have had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the merits of the case as between employe and employer, time to form its opinion upon an impartial statement of the merits, and opportunity to consider all practicable means of conciliation or arbitration.

I can see nothing in that proposition but the justifiable safeguarding by society of the necessary processes of its very life. There is nothing arbitrary or unjust in it unless it be arbitrarily and unjustly done. It can and should be done with a full and scrupulous regard for the interests and liberties of all concerned as well as for the permanent interests of society itself.

Three matters of capital importance await the action of the Senate which have already been acted upon by the House of Representatives; the bill which seeks to extend greater freedom of combination to those engaged in promoting the foreign commerce of the country than is now thought by some to be legal under the terms of the laws against monopoly; the bill amending the present organic law of Porto Rico; and the bill proposing a more thorough and systematic regulation of the expenditure of money in elections, commonly called the Corrupt Practices Act.

I need not labor my advice that these measures be enacted into law. Their urgency lies in the manifest circumstances which render their adoption at this time not only opportune but necessary. Even delay would seriously jeopard the interests of the country and of the Government.

Immediate passage of the bill to regulate the expenditure of money in elections may seem to be less necessary than the immediate enactment of the other measures to which I refer, because at least two years will elapse before another election in which Federal offices are to be filled; but it would greatly relieve the public mind if this impor-

tant matter were dealt with while the circumstances and the dangers to the public morals of the present method of obtaining and spending campaign funds stand clear under recent observation, and the methods of expenditure can be frankly studied in the light of present experience; and a delay would have the further very serious disadvantage of postponing action until another election was at hand and some special object connected with it might be thought to be in the mind of those who urged it. Action can be taken now with facts for guidance and without suspicion of partisan purpose.

I shall not argue at length the desirability of giving a freer hand in the matter of combined and concerted effort to those who shall undertake the essential enterprise of building up our export trade. That enterprise will presently, will immediately assume, has indeed already assumed a magnitude unprecedented in our experience. We have not the necessary instrumentalities for its prosecution; it is deemed to be doubtful whether they could be created upon an adequate scale under our present laws.

We should clear away all legal obstacles and create a basis of undoubted law for it which will give freedom without permitting unregulated license. The thing must be done now, because the opportunity is here and may escape us if we hesitate or delay.

The argument for the proposed amendments of the organic law of Porto Rico is brief and conclusive. The present laws governing the island and regulating the rights and privileges of its people are not just. We have created expectations of extended privilege which we have not satisfied. There is uneasiness among the people of the island and even a suspicious doubt with regard to our intentions concerning them which the adoption of the pending measure would happily remove. We do not doubt what we wish to do in any essential particular. We ought to do it at once.

At the last session of the Congress a bill was passed by the Senate which provides for the promotion of vocational and industrial education, which is of vital importance to the whole country because it concerns a matter, too long neglected, upon which the thorough industrial preparation of the country for the critical years of economic development immediately ahead of us in very large measure depends.

May I not urge its early and favorable consideration by the House of Representatives and its early enactment into law? It contains plans which affect all interests and all parts of the country, and I am sure that there is no legislation now pending before the Congress whose passage the country awaits with more thoughtful approval or greater impatience to see a great and admirable thing set in the way of being done.

There are other matters already advanced to the stage of conference between the two houses of which it is not necessary that I should speak.

Some practicable basis of agreement concerning them will no doubt be found and action taken upon them.

Inasmuch as this is, gentlemen, probably the last occasion I shall have to address the Sixty-fourth Congress, I hope that you will permit me to say with what genuine pleasure and satisfaction I have co-operated with you in the many measures of constructive policy with which you have enriched the legislative annals of the country. It has been a privilege to labor in such company. I take the liberty of congratulating you upon the completion of a record of rare serviceableness and distinction.

FIFTH ANNUAL ADDRESS.

[Delivered to Joint Session of Congress, December 4, 1917.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to detail or even to summarize those events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties, and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with a very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action, and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war; and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, When shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purpose in it.

As a nation we are united in spirit and intention. I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and there fling themselves in impotent

disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the Nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the Nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people, and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the over-coming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face, this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as the German power, a thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed and, if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and second, that when this thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the bases of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace, and pay it ungrudgingly.

We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula, "No annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities."

Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment

ing International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes within the World Bank Group, as well as the establishment in the very near future of the International Investment Insurance Agency, now under discussion in the World Bank Group. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation will make every effort to incorporate independent dispute settlement procedures in its new insurance and guarantee agreements.

I announce these decisions because I believe there should be no uncertainty regarding U.S. policy. The adoption by the U.S. Government of this policy is consistent with international law. The policy will be implemented within the framework of existing domestic law until the Congress modifies present statutes, along

the lines already proposed by this Administration. The United States fully respects the sovereign rights of others, but it will not ignore actions prejudicial to the rule of law and legitimate U.S. interest.

Finally, as we look beyond our proper national interests to the larger considerations of the world interest, let us not forget that only within a framework of international law will the developed nations be able to provide increasing support for the aspirations of our less developed neighbors around the world.

NOTE: On the same day, the White House released the transcript of a news briefing on the President's policy statement by Peter G. Peterson, Executive Director, Council on International Economic Policy.

14 Address on the State of the Union Delivered Before a Joint Session of the Congress. January 20, 1972

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

Twenty-five years ago I sat here as a freshman Congressman—along with Speaker Albert—and listened for the first time to the President address the State of the Union.

I shall never forget that moment. The Senate, the diplomatic corps, the Supreme Court, the Cabinet entered the Chamber, and then the President of the United States. As all of you are aware, I had some differences with President Truman. He had some with me. But I remember that on that day—the day he addressed that joint session of the newly elected Republican 80th Congress, he spoke not as a partisan, but as President of all the people—calling upon the Congress to put

aside partisan considerations in the national interest.

The Greek-Turkish aid program, the Marshall Plan, the great foreign policy initiatives which have been responsible for avoiding a world war for over 25 years were approved by the 80th Congress, by a bipartisan majority of which I was proud to be a part.

Nineteen hundred seventy-two is now before us. It holds precious time in which to accomplish good for the Nation. We must not waste it. I know the political pressures in this session of the Congress will be great. There are more candidates for the Presidency in this Chamber today than there probably have been at any one time in the whole history of the Republic. And there is an honest difference of opinion, not only between the parties, but

within each party, on some foreign policy issues and on some domestic policy issues.

However, there are great national problems that are so vital that they transcend partisanship. So let us have our debates. Let us have our honest differences. But let us join in keeping the national interest first. Let us join in making sure that legislation the Nation needs does not become hostage to the political interests of any party or any person.

There is ample precedent, in this election year, for me to present you with a huge list of new proposals, knowing full well that there would not be any possibility of your passing them if you worked night and day.

I shall not do that.

I have presented to the leaders of the Congress today a message of 15,000 words discussing in some detail where the Nation stands and setting forth specific legislative items on which I have asked the Congress to act. Much of this is legislation which I proposed in 1969, in 1970, and also in the first session of this 92d Congress and on which I feel it is essential that action be completed this year.

I am not presenting proposals which have attractive labels but no hope of passage. I am presenting only vital programs which are within the capacity of this Congress to enact, within the capacity of the budget to finance, and which I believe should be above partisanship—programs which deal with urgent priorities for the Nation, which should and must be the subject of bipartisan action by this Congress in the interests of the country in 1972.

When I took the oath of office on the steps of this building just 3 years ago today, the Nation was ending one of the most tortured decades in its history.

The 1960's were a time of great progress in many areas. But as we all know, they were also times of great agony—the agonies of war, of inflation, of rapidly rising crime, of deteriorating cities, of hopes raised and disappointed, and of anger and frustration that led finally to violence and to the worst civil disorder in a century.

I recall these troubles not to point any fingers of blame. The Nation was so torn in those final years of the sixties that many in both parties questioned whether America could be governed at all.

The Nation has made significant progress in these first years of the seventies:

Our cities are no longer engulfed by civil disorders.

Our colleges and universities have again become places of learning instead of battlegrounds.

A beginning has been made in preserving and protecting our environment.

✓ The rate of increase in crime has been slowed—and here in the District of Columbia, the one city where the Federal Government has direct jurisdiction, serious crime in 1971 was actually reduced by 13 percent from the year before.

Most important, because of the beginnings that have been made, we can say today that this year 1972 can be the year in which America may make the greatest progress in 25 years toward achieving our goal of being at peace with all the nations of the world.

As our involvement in the war in Vietnam comes to an end, we must now go on to build a generation of peace.

To achieve that goal, we must first face realistically the need to maintain our defense.

In the past 3 years, we have reduced the burden of arms. For the first time in

20 years, spending on defense has been brought below spending on human resources.

As we look to the future, we find encouraging progress in our negotiations with the Soviet Union on limitation of strategic arms. And looking further into the future, we hope there can eventually be agreement on the mutual reduction of arms. But until there is such a mutual agreement, we must maintain the strength necessary to deter war.

And that is why, because of rising research and development costs, because of increases in military and civilian pay, because of the need to proceed with new weapons systems, my budget for the coming fiscal year will provide for an increase in defense spending.

Strong military defenses are not the enemy of peace; they are the guardians of peace.

There could be no more misguided set of priorities than one which would tempt others by weakening America, and thereby endanger the peace of the world.

In our foreign policy, we have entered a new era. The world has changed greatly in the 11 years since President John Kennedy said in his Inaugural Address, "... we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Our policy has been carefully and deliberately adjusted to meet the new realities of the new world we live in. We make today only those commitments we are able and prepared to meet.

Our commitment to freedom remains strong and unshakable. But others must bear their share of the burden of defending freedom around the world.

And so this, then, is our policy:

- We will maintain a nuclear deterrent adequate to meet any threat to the security of the United States or of our allies.
- We will help other nations develop the capability of defending themselves.
- We will faithfully honor all of our treaty commitments.
- We will act to defend our interests, whenever and wherever they are threatened anywhere in the world.
- But where our interests or our treaty commitments are not involved, our role will be limited.
- We will not intervene militarily.
- But we will use our influence to prevent war.
- If war comes, we will use our influence to stop it.
- Once it is over, we will do our share in helping to bind up the wounds of those who have participated in it.

As you know, I will soon be visiting the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union. I go there with no illusions. We have great differences with both powers. We shall continue to have great differences. But peace depends on the ability of great powers to live together on the same planet despite their differences.

We would not be true to our obligation to generations yet unborn if we failed to seize this moment to do everything in our power to insure that we will be able to talk about those differences, rather than to fight about them, in the future.

As we look back over this century, let us, in the highest spirit of bipartisanship, recognize that we can be proud of our Nation's record in foreign affairs.

America has given more generously of itself toward maintaining freedom, pre-

serving peace, alleviating human suffering around the globe, than any nation has ever done in the history of man.

We have fought four wars in this century, but our power has never been used to break the peace, only to keep it; never been used to destroy freedom, only to defend it. We now have within our reach the goal of insuring that the next generation can be the first generation in this century to be spared the scourges of war.

Turning to our problems at home, we are making progress toward our goal of a new prosperity without war.

Industrial production, consumer spending, retail sales, personal income all have been rising. Total employment, real income are the highest in history. New homebuilding starts this past year reached the highest level ever. Business and consumer confidence have both been rising. Interest rates are down. The rate of inflation is down. We can look with confidence to 1972 as the year when the back of inflation will be broken.

Now, this a good record, but it is not good enough—not when we still have an unemployment rate of 6 percent.

It is not enough to point out that this was the rate of the early peacetime years of the sixties, or that if the more than 2 million men released from the Armed Forces and defense-related industries were still in their wartime jobs, unemployment would be far lower.

Our goal in this country is full employment in peacetime. We intend to meet that goal, and we can.

The Congress has helped to meet that goal by passing our job-creating tax program last month.

The historic monetary agreements, agreements that we have reached with the major European nations, Canada, and

Japan, will help meet it by providing new markets for American products, new jobs for American workers.

Our budget will help meet it by being expansionary without being inflationary—a job-producing budget that will help take up the gap as the economy expands to full employment.

Our program to raise farm income will help meet it by helping to revitalize rural America, by giving to America's farmers their fair share of America's increasing productivity.

We also will help meet our goal of full employment in peacetime with a set of major initiatives to stimulate more imaginative use of America's great capacity for technological advance, and to direct it toward improving the quality of life for every American.

In reaching the moon, we demonstrated what miracles American technology is capable of achieving. Now the time has come to move more deliberately toward making full use of that technology here on earth, of harnessing the wonders of science to the service of man.

I shall soon send to the Congress a special message proposing a new program of Federal partnership in technological research and development—with Federal incentives to increase private research, federally supported research on projects designed to improve our everyday lives in ways that will range from improving mass transit to developing new systems of emergency health care that could save thousands of lives annually.

Historically, our superior technology and high productivity have made it possible for American workers to be the highest paid in the world by far, and yet for our goods still to compete in world markets.

Now we face a new situation. As other nations move rapidly forward in technology, the answer to the new competition is not to build a wall around America, but rather to remain competitive by improving our own technology still further and by increasing productivity in American industry.

Our new monetary and trade agreements will make it possible for American goods to compete fairly in the world's markets—but they still must compete. The new technology program will put to use the skills of many highly trained Americans, skills that might otherwise be wasted. It will also meet the growing technological challenge from abroad, and it will thus help to create new industries, as well as creating more jobs for America's workers in producing for the world's markets.

This second session of the 92d Congress already has before it more than 90 major Administration proposals which still await action.

I have discussed these in the extensive written message that I have presented to the Congress today.

They include, among others, our programs to improve life for the aging; to combat crime and drug abuse; to improve health services and to ensure that no one will be denied needed health care because of inability to pay; to protect workers' pension rights; to promote equal opportunity for members of minorities, and others who have been left behind; to expand consumer protection; to improve the environment; to revitalize rural America; to help the cities; to launch new initiatives in education; to improve transportation, and to put an end to costly labor tie-ups in transportation.

The west coast dock strike is a case in

point. This Nation cannot and will not tolerate that kind of irresponsible labor tie-up in the future.

The messages also include basic reforms which are essential if our structure of government is to be adequate in the decades ahead.

They include reform of our wasteful and outmoded welfare system—substitution of a new system that provides work requirements and work incentives for those who can help themselves, income support for those who cannot help themselves, and fairness to the working poor.

They include a \$17 billion program of Federal revenue sharing with the States and localities as an investment in their renewal, an investment also of faith in the American people.

They also include a sweeping reorganization of the executive branch of the Federal Government so that it will be more efficient, more responsive, and able to meet the challenges of the decades ahead.

One year ago, standing in this place, I laid before the opening session of this Congress six great goals. One of these was welfare reform. That proposal has been before the Congress now for nearly 2½ years.

My proposals on revenue sharing, government reorganization, health care, and the environment have now been before the Congress for nearly a year. Many of the other major proposals that I have referred to have been here that long or longer.

Now, 1971, we can say, was a year of consideration of these measures. Now let us join in making 1972 a year of action on them, action by the Congress, for the Nation and for the people of America.

Now, in addition, there is one pressing

need which I have not previously covered, but which must be placed on the national agenda.

We long have looked in this Nation to the local property tax as the main source of financing for public primary and secondary education.

As a result, soaring school costs, soaring property tax rates now threaten both our communities and our schools. They threaten communities because property taxes, which more than doubled in the 10 years from 1960 to '70, have become one of the most oppressive and discriminatory of all taxes, hitting most cruelly at the elderly and the retired; and they threaten schools, as hard-pressed voters understandably reject new bond issues at the polls.

The problem has been given even greater urgency by four recent court decisions, which have held that the conventional method of financing schools through local property taxes is discriminatory and unconstitutional.

Nearly 2 years ago, I named a special Presidential commission to study the problems of school finance, and I also directed the Federal departments to look into the same problems. We are developing comprehensive proposals to meet these problems.

This issue involves two complex and interrelated sets of problems: support of the schools and the basic relationships of Federal, State, and local governments in any tax reforms.

Under the leadership of the Secretary of the Treasury, we are carefully reviewing all of the tax aspects, and I have this week enlisted the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in addressing the intergovernmental relations aspects.

I have asked this bipartisan Commission to review our proposals for Federal action to cope with the gathering crisis of school finance and property taxes. Later in the year, when both Commissions have completed their studies, I shall make my final recommendations for relieving the burden of property taxes and providing both fair and adequate financing for our children's education.

These recommendations will be revolutionary. But all these recommendations, however, will be rooted in one fundamental principle with which there can be no compromise: Local school boards must have control over local schools.

As we look ahead over the coming decades, vast new growth and change are not only certainties, they will be the dominant reality of this world, and particularly of our life in America.

Surveying the certainty of rapid change, we can be like a fallen rider caught in the stirrups—or we can sit high in the saddle, the masters of change, directing it on a course we choose.

The secret of mastering change in today's world is to reach back to old and proven principles, and to adapt them with imagination and intelligence to the new realities of a new age.

That is what we have done in the proposals that I have laid before the Congress. They are rooted in basic principles that are as enduring as human nature, as robust as the American experience; and they are responsive to new conditions. Thus they represent a spirit of change that is truly renewal.

As we look back at those old principles, we find them as timely as they are timeless.

We believe in independence, and self-reliance, and the creative value of the competitive spirit.

We believe in full and equal opportunity for all Americans and in the protection of individual rights and liberties.

We believe in the family as the keystone of the community, and in the community as the keystone of the Nation.

We believe in compassion toward those in need.

We believe in a system of law, justice, and order as the basis of a genuinely free society.

We believe that a person should get what he works for—and that those who can, should work for what they get.

We believe in the capacity of people to make their own decisions in their own lives, in their own communities—and we believe in their right to make those decisions.

In applying these principles, we have done so with the full understanding that what we seek in the seventies, what our quest is, is not merely for more, but for better—for a better quality of life for all Americans.

Thus, for example, we are giving a new measure of attention to cleaning up our air and water, making our surroundings more attractive. We are providing broader support for the arts, helping stimulate a deeper appreciation of what they can contribute to the Nation's activities and to our individual lives.

But nothing really matters more to the quality of our lives than the way we treat one another, than our capacity to live respectfully together as a unified society, with a full, generous regard for the rights of others and also for the feelings of others.

As we recover from the turmoil and violence of recent years, as we learn once again to speak with one another instead of shouting at one another, we are regaining that capacity.

As is customary here, on this occasion, I have been talking about programs. Programs are important. But even more important than programs is what we *are* as a Nation—what we mean as a Nation, to ourselves and to the world.

In New York Harbor stands one of the most famous statues in the world—the Statue of Liberty, the gift in 1886 of the people of France to the people of the United States. This statue is more than a landmark; it is a symbol—a symbol of what America has meant to the world.

It reminds us that what America has meant is not its wealth, and not its power, but its spirit and purpose—a land that enshrines liberty and opportunity, and that has held out a hand of welcome to millions in search of a better and a fuller and, above all, a freer life.

The world's hopes poured into America, along with its people. And those hopes, those dreams, that have been brought here from every corner of the world, have become a part of the hope that we now hold out to the world.

Four years from now, America will celebrate the 200th anniversary of its founding as a Nation. There are those who say that the old Spirit of '76 is dead—that we no longer have the strength of character, the idealism, the faith in our founding purposes that that spirit represents.

Those who say this do not know America.

We have been undergoing self-doubts and self-criticism. But these are only the other side of our growing sensitivity to the persistence of want in the midst of plenty, of our impatience with the slowness with which age-old ills are being overcome.

If we were indifferent to the shortcomings of our society, or complacent about our institutions, or blind to the lingering

inequities—then we would have lost our way.

But the fact that we have those concerns is evidence that our ideals, deep down, are still strong. Indeed, they remind us that what is really best about America is its compassion. They remind us that in the final analysis, America is great not because it is strong, not because it is rich, but because this is a good country.

Let us reject the narrow visions of those who would tell us that we are evil because we are not yet perfect, that we are corrupt because we are not yet pure, that all the sweat and toil and sacrifice that have gone into the building of America were for naught because the building is not yet done.

Let us see that the path we are traveling is wide, with room in it for all of us, and that its direction is toward a better Nation and a more peaceful world.

Never has it mattered more that we go forward together.

Look at this Chamber. The leadership of America is here today—the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, the Senate, the House of Representatives.

Together, we hold the future of the Nation, and the conscience of the Nation in our hands.

Because this year is an election year, it will be a time of great pressure.

If we yield to that pressure and fail to deal seriously with the historic challenges that we face, we will have failed the trust of millions of Americans and shaken the confidence they have a right to place in us, in their Government.

Never has a Congress had a greater opportunity to leave a legacy of a profound and constructive reform for the Nation than this Congress.

If we succeed in these tasks, there will be credit enough for all—not only for doing what is right, but doing it in the right way, by rising above partisan interest to serve the national interest.

And if we fail, more than any one of us, America will be the loser.

That is why my call upon the Congress today is for a high statesmanship, so that in the years to come Americans will look back and say because it withstood the intense pressures of a political year, and achieved such great good for the American people and for the future of this Nation, this was truly a great Congress.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:34 p.m. in the House Chamber at the Capitol, after being introduced by Carl Albert, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The address was broadcast live on radio and television.

The President spoke from a prepared text. An advance text of his address was released on the same day.

15 Annual Message to the Congress on the State of the Union. January 20, 1972

To the Congress of the United States:

It was just 3 years ago today that I took the oath of office as President. I opened my address that day by suggesting that some moments in history stand out "as moments of beginning," when "courses

are set that shape decades or centuries." I went on to say that "this can be such a moment."

Looking back 3 years later, I would suggest that it was such a moment—a time in which new courses were set on which

3 ¶ Remarks on the State of the Union Message, Key West, Florida. *January 5, 1956*

[Recorded on film and tape and broadcast the same day]

My Fellow Citizens:

This morning I sent to the Congress my third annual message on the State of the Union. It is a long document and contains a review of the accomplishments of the past three years, as well as many recommendations for the further advancement of our country in the years to come.

Now those things that have been accomplished are important, and one of the chief ingredients in the achievements we have made is the cooperation that has existed between the Congress and the Executive Department in the Federal Government. Some of those results I will enumerate only briefly.

The first is the fact that we are at peace. The peace is not always the kind that we should like, one in which we have complete confidence, but still there is no shooting war. We have the best security posture we have ever had during years of peace.

Government spending has been cut more than ten billion dollars annually.

Taxes have been reduced. Taxes were reduced at a time when we were passing from a war to a peace economy, and the great tax reduction of that year was made so as to stimulate peacetime activity to take the place of the former wartime production.

The national economy, in the general picture, is in very splendid shape. The national income is at an all-time high, with the highest standards of living we have ever enjoyed.

The products of our great industrial plant are more widely distributed—and the profits from it. More people are working.

The only two things in this economic picture that seem to need immediate and drastic attention are, first, the depressed areas

where peacetime activity has not caught up with past wartime activity, and the other is in the farm community where there is, of course, a serious problem existing.

Now, to mention only a very few of the recommendations that the message makes to the Congress, I want to point out that, first, we are governed by five major objectives.

The first of these is the discharge of our world responsibility. In discharging that responsibility we seek, first, a peace for all nations, well knowing that no nation can have peace by itself.

We of course must be very careful in watching the tactics of the communists. At times they smile, and at times they seem to threaten. Our own purpose is to remain steadfast in the pursuit of a world peace based on justice and not to be hysterical under their threats or to be beguiled too much by their smiles.

We intend to continue strengthening our allies, and we intend to continue the honest search for disarmament. We will not be satisfied with anything in the disarmament line, though, that is not mutual and a system in which we can have confidence.

We of course seek the constant improvement of our national security through the improvement and development of the most modern of weapons, through the saving of men; and as I said before, we have the highest level of national security we have ever had in this line.

Defense arrangements include not only our allies but our own continental defenses, and the power to strike where need be.

The next objective is to maintain the fiscal integrity of the government. This means that we must balance our budget. I have every expectation that June 30, 1956, will show a balanced budget for this fiscal year. Moreover, the Budget that I am sending to Congress will contemplate a balancing of the Budget also in 1957. All of this has been done without reduction of the security arrangements, or in the sums devoted to mutual aid throughout the world.

In this connection, I should mention our enormous national debt. We must begin to make some payments on it if we are to

avoid passing on to our children an impossible burden of debt. And we will not talk about any reductions of any other kind until we have begun to make some modest payments on that.

The fourth objective of the program that we are submitting to the Congress is to foster an ever-expanding economy. I have already mentioned those directions in which we are achieving new standards in our productivity. But I also mentioned that we are behind in one or two phases of the economy, and the most important of these is agriculture.

I am sending a Special Message on this subject to the Congress on Monday next. It will contain many new proposals for expanding the program under which we have been operating in the agricultural field.

Particularly, new points will be the establishment of a soil bank which will help remove acreage from production and on a basis that will be of assistance to the farmers immediately.

We are going to help remove more controls from the farmer. We are going to go into a program of expanded research into the rural development program, to help low-income farmers, and there will be a new Great Plains program.

In this same field there will be new highway legislation proposed, and new plans for resources conservation, and protection against disasters in flooded and other areas. There will be an area development plan to assist those regions which are backward in their economy because of failure to make necessary changes in recent years.

Now there is one other field—and that is another principal objective—and that is a program that is designed to respond to human needs throughout the nation. These include school construction, Old Age and Survivors Insurance, medical research, health re-insurance; Labor laws for expanding the minimum wage laws and for correcting certain deficiencies in the wage-hour law; for Housing, including a two-year program for public housing; and for immigration revision.

Now these are just a few of the items that are in the Message. You will see in your daily newspapers, if you care to look, a great detailed explanation of the things to which I am so hurriedly referring. But I do pledge the Administration to this:

We are going to foster the march of science in helping expand our economy and increasing productivity.

We are going to be certain about the security of the United States in this world of today.

We are going to continue to seek a just peace. And we are going to devote single-minded attention to the common good of America—all its citizens.

Goodnight.

4 ¶ Letter to George A. Garrett Concerning the Redevelopment of Southwest Washington.

January 6, 1956

[Released January 6, 1956. Dated January 1, 1956]

Dear Mr. Garrett:

I am very glad to have your final report concerning the Redevelopment of Southwest Washington. It is indeed heartening to know that the efforts of the agencies cooperating in the project will result in early initiation of construction and in a complete rebuilding of the designated area. Certainly the Capital of this great nation deserves to be a symbol of our best efforts to provide decent housing and attractive urban living.

I should want the cooperating agencies to know, therefore, that in the furtherance of these plans and achievement of the redevelopment benefits that you point out so graphically, they will have earned the lasting gratitude of the people of Washington and, indeed, of the entire nation.

It is hoped that the already deeply afflicted people in those States may be somewhat more ready to give up the cause of their affliction if to this extent this vital matter be left to themselves, while no power of the National Executive to prevent an abuse is abridged by the proposition.

The suggestion in the proclamation as to maintaining the political framework of the States on what is called reconstruction is made in the hope that it may do good without danger of harm. It will save labor and avoid great confusion.

But why any proclamation now upon this subject? This question is beset with the conflicting views that the step might be delayed too long or be taken too soon. In some States the elements for resumption seem ready for action, but remain inactive apparently for want of a rallying point—a plan of action. Why shall A adopt the plan of B rather than B that of A? And if A and B should agree, how can they know but that the General Government here will reject their plan? By the proclamation a plan is presented which may be accepted by them as a rallying point, and which they are assured in advance will not be rejected here. This may bring them to act sooner than they otherwise would.

The objections to a premature presentation of a plan by the National Executive consist in the danger of committals on points which could be more safely left to further developments. Care has been taken to so shape the document as to avoid embarrassments from this source. Saying that on certain terms certain classes will be pardoned with rights restored, it is not said that other classes or other terms will never be included. Saying that reconstruction will be accepted if presented in a specified way, it is not said it will never be accepted in any other way.

The movements by State action for emancipation in several of the States not included in the emancipation proclamation are matters of profound gratulation. And while I do not repeat in detail what I have heretofore so earnestly urged upon this subject, my general views and feelings remain unchanged; and I trust that Congress will omit no fair opportunity of aiding these important steps to a great consummation.

In the midst of other cares, however important, we must not lose sight of the fact that the war power is still our main reliance. To that power alone can we look yet for a time to give confidence to the people in the contested regions that the insurgent power will not again overrun them. Until that confidence shall be established little can be done anywhere for what is called reconstruction. Hence our chiefest care must still be directed to the Army and Navy, who have thus far borne their harder part so nobly and well; and it may be esteemed fortunate that in giving the greatest efficiency to these indispensable arms we do also honorably recognize the gallant men, from commander to sentinel, who compose them, and to whom more than to others the world must stand indebted for the home of freedom disenthralled, regenerated, enlarged, and perpetuated.

FOURTH ANNUAL MESSAGE.

DECEMBER 6, 1864

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Again the blessings of health and abundant harvests claim our profoundest gratitude to Almighty God.

The condition of our foreign affairs is reasonably satisfactory.

Mexico continues to be a theater of civil war. While our political relations with that country have undergone no change, we have at the same time strictly maintained neutrality between the belligerents.

At the request of the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, a competent engineer has been authorized to make a survey of the river San Juan and the port of San Juan. It is a source of much satisfaction that the difficulties which for a moment excited some political apprehensions and caused a closing of the interoceanic transit route have been amicably adjusted, and that there is a good prospect that the route will soon be reopened with an increase of capacity and adaptation. We could not exaggerate either the commercial or the political importance of that great improvement.

It would be doing injustice to an important South American State not to acknowledge the directness, frankness, and cordiality with which the United States of Colombia have entered into intimate relations with this Government. A claims convention has been constituted to complete the unfinished work of the one which closed its session in 1861.

The new liberal constitution of Venezuela having gone into effect with the universal acquiescence of the people, the Government under it has been recognized and diplomatic intercourse with it has opened in a cordial and friendly spirit. The long-deferred Aves Island claim has been satisfactorily paid and discharged.

Mutual payments have been made of the claims awarded by the late joint commission for the settlement of claims between the United States and Peru. An earnest and cordial friendship continues to exist between the two countries, and such efforts as were in my power have been used to remove misunderstanding and avert a threatened war between Peru and Spain.

Our relations are of the most friendly nature with Chile, the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Paraguay, San Salvador, and Hayti.

During the past year no differences of any kind have arisen with any of those Republics, and, on the other hand, their sympathies with the United States are constantly expressed with cordiality and earnestness.

The claim arising from the seizure of the cargo of the brig *Macedonian* in 1821 has been paid in full by the Government of Chile.

Civil war continues in the Spanish part of San Domingo, apparently

without prospect of an early close.

Official correspondence has been freely opened with Liberia, and it gives us a pleasing view of social and political progress in that Republic. It may be expected to derive new vigor from American influence, improved by the rapid disappearance of slavery in the United States.

I solicit your authority to furnish to the Republic a gunboat at moderate cost, to be reimbursed to the United States by installments. Such a vessel is needed for the safety of that State against the native African races, and in Liberian hands it would be more effective in arresting the African slave trade than a squadron in our own hands. The possession of the least organized naval force would stimulate a generous ambition in the Republic, and the confidence which we should manifest by furnishing it would win forbearance and favor toward the colony from all civilized nations.

The proposed overland telegraph between America and Europe, by the way of Behrings Straits and Asiatic Russia, which was sanctioned by Congress at the last session, has been undertaken, under very favorable circumstances, by an association of American citizens, with the cordial good will and support as well of this Government as of those of Great Britain and Russia. Assurances have been received from most of the South American States of their high appreciation of the enterprise and their readiness to cooperate in constructing lines tributary to that world-encircling communication. I learn with much satisfaction that the noble design of a telegraphic communication between the eastern coast of America and Great Britain has been renewed, with full expectation of its early accomplishment.

Thus it is hoped that with the return of domestic peace the country will be able to resume with energy and advantage its former high career of commerce and civilization.

Our very popular and estimable representative in Egypt died in April last. An unpleasant altercation which arose between the temporary incumbent of the office and the Government of the Pasha resulted in a suspension of intercourse. The evil was promptly corrected on the arrival of the successor in the consulate, and our relations with Egypt, as well as our relations with the Barbary Powers, are entirely satisfactory.

The rebellion which has so long been flagrant in China has at last been suppressed, with the cooperating good offices of this Government and of the other Western commercial States. The judicial consular establishment there has become very difficult and onerous, and it will need legislative revision to adapt it to the extension of our commerce and to the more intimate intercourse which has been instituted with the Government and people of that vast Empire. China seems to be accepting with hearty good will the conventional laws which regulate commercial and social intercourse among the Western nations.

Owing to the peculiar situation of Japan and the anomalous form of

its Government, the action of that Empire in performing treaty stipulations is inconstant and capricious. Nevertheless, good progress has been effected by the Western powers, moving with enlightened concert. Our own pecuniary claims have been allowed or put in course of settlement, and the inland sea has been reopened to commerce. There is reason also to believe that these proceedings have increased rather than diminished the friendship of Japan toward the United States.

The ports of Norfolk, Fernandina, and Pensacola have been opened by proclamation. It is hoped that foreign merchants will now consider whether it is not safer and more profitable to themselves, as well as just to the United States, to resort to these and other open ports than it is to pursue, through many hazards and at vast cost, a contraband trade with other ports which are closed, if not by actual military occupation, at least by a lawful and effective blockade.

For myself, I have no doubt of the power and duty of the Executive, under the law of nations, to exclude enemies of the human race from an asylum in the United States. If Congress should think that proceedings in such cases lack the authority of law, or ought to be further regulated by it, I recommend that provision be made for effectually preventing foreign slave traders from acquiring domicile and facilities for their criminal occupation in our country.

It is possible that if it were a new and open question the maritime powers, with the lights they now enjoy, would not concede the privileges of a naval belligerent to the insurgents of the United States, destitute, as they are, and always have been, equally of ships of war and of ports and harbors. Disloyal emissaries have been neither less assiduous nor more successful during the last year than they were before that time in their efforts, under favor of that privilege, to embroil our country in foreign wars. The desire and determination of the governments of the maritime states to defeat that design are believed to be as sincere as and can not be more earnest than our own. Nevertheless, unforeseen political difficulties have arisen, especially in Brazilian and British ports and on the northern boundary of the United States, which have required, and are likely to continue to require, the practice of constant vigilance and a just and conciliatory spirit on the part of the United States, as well as of the nations concerned and their governments.

Commissioners have been appointed under the treaty with Great Britain on the adjustment of the claims of the Hudsons Bay and Pugets Sound Agricultural Companies, in Oregon, and are now proceeding to the execution of the trust assigned to them.

In view of the insecurity of life and property in the region adjacent to the Canadian border, by reason of recent assaults and depredations committed by inimical and desperate persons who are harbored there, it has been thought proper to give notice that after the expiration of six months, the period conditionally stipulated in the existing arrangement

with Great Britain, the United States must hold themselves at liberty to increase their naval armament upon the Lakes if they shall find that proceeding necessary. The condition of the border will necessarily come into consideration in connection with the question of continuing or modifying the rights of transit from Canada through the United States, as well as the regulation of imposts, which were temporarily established by the reciprocity treaty of the 5th June, 1854.

I desire, however, to be understood while making this statement that the colonial authorities of Canada are not deemed to be intentionally unjust or unfriendly toward the United States, but, on the contrary, there is every reason to expect that, with the approval of the Imperial Government, they will take the necessary measures to prevent new incursions across the border.

The act passed at the last session for the encouragement of immigration has so far as was possible been put into operation. It seems to need amendment which will enable the officers of the Government to prevent the practice of frauds against the immigrants while on their way and on their arrival in the ports, so as to secure them here a free choice of avocations and places of settlement. A liberal disposition toward this great national policy is manifested by most of the European States, and ought to be reciprocated on our part by giving the immigrants effective national protection. I regard our immigrants as one of the principal replenishing streams which are appointed by Providence to repair the ravages of internal war and its wastes of national strength and health. All that is necessary is to secure the flow of that stream in its present fullness, and to that end the Government must in every way make it manifest that it neither needs nor designs to impose involuntary military service upon those who come from other lands to cast their lot in our country.

The financial affairs of the Government have been successfully administered during the last year. The legislation of the last session of Congress has beneficially affected the revenues, although sufficient time has not yet elapsed to experience the full effect of several of the provisions of the acts of Congress imposing increased taxation.

The receipts during the year from all sources, upon the basis of warrants signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, including loans and the balance in the Treasury on the 1st day of July, 1863, were \$1,394,796,007.62, and the aggregate disbursements, upon the same basis, were \$1,298,056,101.89, leaving a balance in the Treasury, as shown by warrants, of \$96,739,905.73.

Deduct from these amounts the amount of the principal of the public debt redeemed and the amount of issues in substitution therefor, and the actual cash operations of the Treasury were: Receipts, \$884,076,646.57; disbursements, \$865,234,087.86; which leaves a cash balance in the Treasury of \$18,842,558.71.

Of the receipts there were derived from customs \$102,316,152.99, from

lands \$588,333.29, from direct taxes \$475,648.96, from internal revenue \$109,741,134.10, from miscellaneous sources \$47,511,448.10, and from loans applied to actual expenditures, including former balance, \$623,443,929.13.

There were disbursed for the civil service \$27,505,599.46, for pensions and Indians \$7,517,930.97, for the War Department \$690,791,842.97, for the Navy Department \$85,733,292.77, for interest on the public debt \$53,685,421.69, making an aggregate of \$865,234,087.86 and leaving a balance in the Treasury of \$18,842,558.71, as before stated.

For the actual receipts and disbursements for the first quarter and the estimated receipts and disbursements for the three remaining quarters of the current fiscal year, and the general operations of the Treasury in detail, I refer you to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury. I concur with him in the opinion that the proportion of moneys required to meet the expenses consequent upon the war derived from taxation should be still further increased; and I earnestly invite your attention to this subject, to the end that there may be such additional legislation as shall be required to meet the just expectations of the Secretary.

The public debt on the 1st day of July last, as appears by the books of the Treasury, amounted to \$1,740,690,489.49. Probably, should the war continue for another year, that amount may be increased by not far from five hundred millions. Held, as it is, for the most part by our own people, it has become a substantial branch of national, though private, property. For obvious reasons the more nearly this property can be distributed among all the people the better. To favor such general distribution, greater inducements to become owners might, perhaps, with good effect and without injury be presented to persons of limited means. With this view I suggest whether it might not be both competent and expedient for Congress to provide that a limited amount of some future issue of public securities might be held by any *bona fide* purchaser exempt from taxation and from seizure for debt, under such restrictions and limitations as might be necessary to guard against abuse of so important a privilege. This would enable every prudent person to set aside a small annuity against a possible day of want.

Privileges like these would render the possession of such securities to the amount limited most desirable to every person of small means who might be able to save enough for the purpose. The great advantage of citizens being creditors as well as debtors with relation to the public debt is obvious. Men readily perceive that they can not be much oppressed by a debt which they owe to themselves.

The public debt on the 1st day of July last, although somewhat exceeding the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury made to Congress at the commencement of the last session, falls short of the estimate of that officer made in the preceding December as to its probable amount at the beginning of this year by the sum of \$3,995,097.31. This

fact exhibits a satisfactory condition and conduct of the operations of the Treasury.

The national banking system is proving to be acceptable to capitalists and to the people. On the 25th day of November 584 national banks had been organized, a considerable number of which were conversions from State banks. Changes from State systems to the national system are rapidly taking place, and it is hoped that very soon there will be in the United States no banks of issue not authorized by Congress and no bank-note circulation not secured by the Government. That the Government and the people will derive great benefit from this change in the banking systems of the country can hardly be questioned. The national system will create a reliable and permanent influence in support of the national credit and protect the people against losses in the use of paper money. Whether or not any further legislation is advisable for the suppression of State-bank issues it will be for Congress to determine. It seems quite clear that the Treasury can not be satisfactorily conducted unless the Government can exercise a restraining power over the bank-note circulation of the country.

The report of the Secretary of War and the accompanying documents will detail the campaigns of the armies in the field since the date of the last annual message, and also the operations of the several administrative bureaus of the War Department during the last year. It will also specify the measures deemed essential for the national defense and to keep up and supply the requisite military force.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a comprehensive and satisfactory exhibit of the affairs of that Department and of the naval service. It is a subject of congratulation and laudable pride to our countrymen that a Navy of such vast proportions has been organized in so brief a period and conducted with so much efficiency and success.

The general exhibit of the Navy, including vessels under construction on the 1st of December, 1864, shows a total of 671 vessels, carrying 4,610 guns, and of 510,396 tons, being an actual increase during the year, over and above all losses by shipwreck or in battle, of 83 vessels, 167 guns, and 42,427 tons.

The total number of men at this time in the naval service, including officers, is about 51,000.

There have been captured by the Navy during the year 324 vessels, and the whole number of naval captures since hostilities commenced is 1,379, of which 267 are steamers.

The gross proceeds arising from the sale of condemned prize property thus far reported amount to \$14,396,250.51. A large amount of such proceeds is still under adjudication and yet to be reported.

The total expenditure of the Navy Department of every description, including the cost of the immense squadrons that have been called into existence from the 4th of March, 1861, to the 1st of November, 1864,

is \$238,647,262.35.

Your favorable consideration is invited to the various recommendations of the Secretary of the Navy, especially in regard to a navy-yard and suitable establishment for the construction and repair of iron vessels and the machinery and armature for our ships, to which reference was made in my last annual message.

Your attention is also invited to the views expressed in the report in relation to the legislation of Congress at its last session in respect to prize on our inland waters.

I cordially concur in the recommendation of the Secretary as to the propriety of creating the new rank of vice-admiral in our naval service.

Your attention is invited to the report of the Postmaster-General for a detailed account of the operations and financial condition of the Post-Office Department.

The postal revenues for the year ending June 30, 1864, amounted to \$12,438,253.78 and the expenditures to \$12,644,786.20, the excess of expenditures over receipts being \$206,652.42.

The views presented by the Postmaster-General on the subject of special grants by the Government in aid of the establishment of new lines of ocean mail steamships and the policy he recommends for the development of increased commercial intercourse with adjacent and neighboring countries should receive the careful consideration of Congress.

It is of noteworthy interest that the steady expansion of population, improvement, and governmental institutions over the new and unoccupied portions of our country have scarcely been checked, much less impeded or destroyed, by our great civil war, which at first glance would seem to have absorbed almost the entire energies of the nation.

The organization and admission of the State of Nevada has been completed in conformity with law, and thus our excellent system is firmly established in the mountains, which once seemed a barren and uninhabitable waste between the Atlantic States and those which have grown up on the coast of the Pacific Ocean.

The Territories of the Union are generally in a condition of prosperity and rapid growth. Idaho and Montana, by reason of their great distance and the interruption of communication with them by Indian hostilities, have been only partially organized; but it is understood that these difficulties are about to disappear, which will permit their governments, like those of the others, to go into speedy and full operation.

As intimately connected with and promotive of this material growth of the nation, I ask the attention of Congress to the valuable information and important recommendations relating to the public lands, Indian affairs, the Pacific Railroad, and mineral discoveries contained in the report of the Secretary of the Interior which is herewith transmitted, and which report also embraces the subjects of patents, pensions, and other topics of public interest pertaining to his Department.

The quantity of public land disposed of during the five quarters ending on the 30th of September last was 4,221,342 acres, of which 1,538,614 acres were entered under the homestead law. The remainder was located with military land warrants, agricultural scrip certified to States for railroads, and sold for cash. The cash received from sales and location fees was \$1,019,446.

The income from sales during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1864, was \$678,007.21, against \$136,077.95 received during the preceding year. The aggregate number of acres surveyed during the year has been equal to the quantity disposed of, and there is open to settlement about 133,000,000 acres of surveyed land.

The great enterprise of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific States by railways and telegraph lines has been entered upon with a vigor that gives assurance of success, notwithstanding the embarrassments arising from the prevailing high prices of materials and labor. The route of the main line of the road has been definitely located for 100 miles westward from the initial point at Omaha City, Nebr., and a preliminary location of the Pacific Railroad of California has been made from Sacramento eastward to the great bend of the Truckee River in Nevada.

Numerous discoveries of gold, silver, and cinnabar mines have been added to the many heretofore known, and the country occupied by the Sierra Nevada and Rocky mountains and the subordinate ranges now teems with enterprising labor, which is richly remunerative. It is believed that the product of the mines of precious metals in that region has during the year reached, if not exceeded, one hundred millions in value.

It was recommended in my last annual message that our Indian system be remodeled. Congress at its last session, acting upon the recommendation, did provide for reorganizing the system in California, and it is believed that under the present organization the management of the Indians there will be attended with reasonable success. Much yet remains to be done to provide for the proper government of the Indians in other parts of the country, to render it secure for the advancing settler, and to provide for the welfare of the Indian. The Secretary reiterates his recommendations, and to them the attention of Congress is invited.

The liberal provisions made by Congress for paying pensions to invalid soldiers and sailors of the Republic and to the widows, orphans, and dependent mothers of those who have fallen in battle or died of disease contracted or of wounds received in the service of their country have been diligently administered. There have been added to the pension rolls during the year ending the 30th day of June last the names of 16,770 invalid soldiers and of 271 disabled seamen, making the present number of army invalid pensioners 22,767 and of navy invalid pensioners 712.

Of widows, orphans, and mothers 22,198 have been placed on the army pension rolls and 248 on the navy rolls. The present number

of army pensioners of this class is 25,433 and of navy pensioners 793. At the beginning of the year the number of Revolutionary pensioners was 1,430. Only 12 of them were soldiers, of whom 7 have since died. The remainder are those who under the law receive pensions because of relationship to Revolutionary soldiers. During the year ending the 30th of June, 1864, \$4,504,616.92 have been paid to pensioners of all classes.

I cheerfully commend to your continued patronage the benevolent institutions of the District of Columbia which have hitherto been established or fostered by Congress, and respectfully refer for information concerning them and in relation to the Washington Aqueduct, the Capitol, and other matters of local interest to the report of the Secretary.

The Agricultural Department, under the supervision of its present energetic and faithful head, is rapidly commending itself to the great and vital interest it was created to advance. It is peculiarly the people's Department, in which they feel more directly concerned than in any other. I commend it to the continued attention and fostering care of Congress.

The war continues. Since the last annual message all the important lines and positions then occupied by our forces have been maintained and our arms have steadily advanced, thus liberating the regions left in rear, so that Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and parts of other States have again produced reasonably fair crops.

The most remarkable feature in the military operations of the year is General Sherman's attempted march of 300 miles directly through the insurgent region. It tends to show a great increase of our relative strength that our General in Chief should feel able to confront and hold in check every active force of the enemy, and yet to detach a well-appointed large army to move on such an expedition. The result not yet being known, conjecture in regard to it is not here indulged.

Important movements have also occurred during the year to the effect of molding society for durability in the Union. Although short of complete success, it is much in the right direction that 12,000 citizens in each of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana have organized loyal State governments, with free constitutions, and are earnestly struggling to maintain and administer them. The movements in the same direction, more extensive though less definite, in Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee should not be overlooked. But Maryland presents the example of complete success. Maryland is secure to liberty and union for all the future. The genius of rebellion will no more claim Maryland. Like another foul spirit being driven out, it may seek to tear her, but it will woo her no more.

At the last session of Congress a proposed amendment of the Constitution abolishing slavery throughout the United States passed the Senate, but failed for lack of the requisite two-thirds vote in the House of Representatives. Although the present is the same Congress and nearly the same members, and without questioning the wisdom or patriotism of those

who stood in opposition, I venture to recommend the reconsideration and passage of the measure at the present session. Of course the abstract question is not changed; but an intervening election shows almost certainly that the next Congress will pass the measure if this does not. Hence there is only a question of *time* as to when the proposed amendment will go to the States for their action. And as it is to so go at all events, may we not agree that the sooner the better? It is not claimed that the election has imposed a duty on members to change their views or their votes any further than, as an additional element to be considered, their judgment may be affected by it. It is the voice of the people now for the first time heard upon the question. In a great national crisis like ours unanimity of action among those seeking a common end is very desirable—almost indispensable. And yet no approach to such unanimity is attainable unless some deference shall be paid to the will of the majority simply because it is the will of the majority. In this case the common end is the maintenance of the Union, and among the means to secure that end such will, through the election, is most clearly declared in favor of such constitutional amendment.

The most reliable indication of public purpose in this country is derived through our popular elections. Judging by the recent canvass and its result, the purpose of the people within the loyal States to maintain the integrity of the Union was never more firm nor more nearly unanimous than now. The extraordinary calmness and good order with which the millions of voters met and mingled at the polls give strong assurance of this. Not only all those who supported the Union ticket, so called, but a great majority of the opposing party also may be fairly claimed to entertain and to be actuated by the same purpose. It is an unanswerable argument to this effect that no candidate for any office whatever, high or low, has ventured to seek votes on the avowal that he was for giving up the Union. There have been much impugning of motives and much heated controversy as to the proper means and best mode of advancing the Union cause, but on the distinct issue of Union or no Union the politicians have shown their instinctive knowledge that there is no diversity among the people. In affording the people the fair opportunity of showing one to another and to the world this firmness and unanimity of purpose, the election has been of vast value to the national cause.

The election has exhibited another fact not less valuable to be known—the fact that we do not approach exhaustion in the most important branch of national resources, that of living men. While it is melancholy to reflect that the war has filled so many graves and carried mourning to so many hearts, it is some relief to know that, compared with the surviving, the fallen have been so few. While corps and divisions and brigades and regiments have formed and fought and dwindled and gone out of existence, a great majority of the men who composed them are still

living. The same is true of the naval service. The election returns prove this. So many voters could not else be found. The States regularly holding elections, both now and four years ago, to wit, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, cast 3,982,011 votes now, against 3,870,222 cast then, showing an aggregate now of 3,982,011. To this is to be added 33,762 cast now in the new States of Kansas and Nevada, which States did not vote in 1860, thus swelling the aggregate to 4,015,773 and the net increase during the three years and a half of war to 145,551. A table is appended showing particulars. To this again should be added the number of all soldiers in the field from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, and California, who by the laws of those States could not vote away from their homes, and which number can not be less than 90,000. Nor yet is this all. The number in organized Territories is triple now what it was four years ago, while thousands, white and black, join us as the national arms press back the insurgent lines. So much is shown, affirmatively and negatively, by the election. It is not material to inquire *how* the increase has been produced or to show that it would have been *greater* but for the war, which is probably true. The important fact remains demonstrated that we have *more* men *now* than we had when the war *began*; that we are not exhausted nor in process of exhaustion; that we are *gaining* strength and may if need be maintain the contest indefinitely. This as to men. Material resources are now more complete and abundant than ever.

The national resources, then, are unexhausted, and, as we believe, inexhaustible. The public purpose to reestablish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose. On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union, precisely what we will not and can not give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He can not voluntarily reaccept the Union; we can not voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory. If we yield, we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way it would be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he can not reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase. They can at any moment have peace simply by laying down their arms and submitting

to the national authority under the Constitution. After so much the Government could not, if it would, maintain war against them. The loyal people would not sustain or allow it. If questions should remain, we would adjust them by the peaceful means of legislation, conference, courts, and votes, operating only in constitutional and lawful channels. Some certain, and other possible, questions are and would be beyond the Executive power to adjust; as, for instance, the admission of members into Congress and whatever might require the appropriation of money. The Executive power itself would be greatly diminished by the cessation of actual war. Pardons and remissions of forfeitures, however, would still be within Executive control. In what spirit and temper this control would be exercised can be fairly judged of by the past.

A year ago general pardon and amnesty, upon specified terms, were offered to all except certain designated classes, and it was at the same time made known that the excepted classes were still within contemplation of special clemency. During the year many availed themselves of the general provision, and many more would, only that the signs of bad faith in some led to such precautionary measures as rendered the practical process less easy and certain. During the same time also special pardons have been granted to individuals of the excepted classes, and no voluntary application has been denied. Thus practically the door has been for a full year open to all except such as were not in condition to make free choice; that is, such as were in custody or under constraint. It is still so open to all. But the time may come, probably will come, when public duty shall demand that it be closed and that in lieu more rigorous measures than heretofore shall be adopted.

In presenting the abandonment of armed resistance to the national authority on the part of the insurgents as the only indispensable condition to ending the war on the part of the Government, I retract nothing heretofore said as to slavery. I repeat the declaration made a year ago, that "while I remain in my present position I shall not attempt to retract or modify the emancipation proclamation, nor shall I return to slavery any person who is free by the terms of that proclamation or by any of the acts of Congress." If the people should, by whatever mode or means, make it an Executive duty to reenslave such persons, another, and not I, must be their instrument to perform it.

In stating a single condition of peace I mean simply to say that the war will cease on the part of the Government whenever it shall have ceased on the part of those who began it.

Table showing the aggregate votes in the States named at the Presidential elections respectively, in 1860 and 1864.

State.	1860.	1864.
California	118,840	* 110,000
Connecticut	77,246	86,616
Delaware	16,039	16,924
Illinois	339,693	348,235
Indiana	272,143	280,645
Iowa	128,331	143,331
Kentucky	146,216	* 91,300
Maine	97,918	115,141
Maryland	92,502	72,703
Massachusetts	169,533	175,487
Michigan	154,747	162,413
Minnesota	34,799	42,534
Missouri	165,538	* 90,000
New Hampshire	65,953	69,111
New Jersey	121,125	128,680
New York	675,156	730,664
Ohio	442,441	470,745
Oregon	14,410	† 14,410
Pennsylvania	476,442	572,697
Rhode Island	19,931	22,187
Vermont	42,844	55,811
West Virginia	46,195	33,874
Wisconsin	152,180	148,513
	3,870,222	3,982,011
Kansas		17,234
Nevada		16,528
		33,762
		3,982,011
Total		4,015,773
		3,870,222
Net increase		145,551

* Nearly.

† Estimated.

FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE.

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the midst of unprecedented political troubles we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests.

You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs.

A disloyal portion of the American people have during the whole year been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures factious domestic division is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party, if not both, is sure sooner or later to invoke foreign intervention.

Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations in this case, discarding all moral, social, and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion than by giving encouragement to it.

The principal lever relied on by the insurgents for exciting foreign nations to hostility against us, as already intimated, is the embarrassment of commerce. Those nations, however, not improbably saw from the first that it was the Union which made as well our foreign as our domestic commerce. They can scarcely have failed to perceive that the effort for disunion produces the existing difficulty, and that one strong nation promises more durable peace and a more extensive, valuable, and reliable commerce than can the same nation broken into hostile fragments.

It is not my purpose to review our discussions with foreign states, because, whatever might be their wishes or dispositions, the integrity of

our country and the stability of our Government mainly depend not upon them, but on the loyalty, virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of the American people. The correspondence itself, with the usual reservations, is herewith submitted.

I venture to hope it will appear that we have practiced prudence and liberality toward foreign powers; averting causes of irritation and with firmness maintaining our own rights and honor.

Since, however, it is apparent that here, as in every other state, foreign dangers necessarily attend domestic difficulties, I recommend that adequate and ample measures be adopted for maintaining the public defenses on every side. While under this general recommendation provision for defending our seacoast line readily occurs to the mind, I also in the same connection ask the attention of Congress to our great lakes and rivers. It is believed that some fortifications and depots of arms and munitions, with harbor and navigation improvements, all at well-selected points upon these, would be of great importance to the national defense and preservation. I ask attention to the views of the Secretary of War, expressed in his report, upon the same general subject.

I deem it of importance that the loyal regions of east Tennessee and western North Carolina should be connected with Kentucky and other faithful parts of the Union by railroad. I therefore recommend, as a military measure, that Congress provide for the construction of such road as speedily as possible. Kentucky no doubt will cooperate, and through her legislature make the most judicious selection of a line. The northern terminus must connect with some existing railroad, and whether the route shall be from Lexington or Nicholasville to the Cumberland Gap, or from Lebanon to the Tennessee line, in the direction of Knoxville, or on some still different line, can easily be determined. Kentucky and the General Government cooperating, the work can be completed in a very short time, and when done it will be not only of vast present usefulness, but also a valuable permanent improvement, worth its cost in all the future.

Some treaties, designed chiefly for the interests of commerce, and having no grave political importance, have been negotiated, and will be submitted to the Senate for their consideration.

Although we have failed to induce some of the commercial powers to adopt a desirable melioration of the rigor of maritime war, we have removed all obstructions from the way of this humane reform except such as are merely of temporary and accidental occurrence.

I invite your attention to the correspondence between Her Britannic Majesty's minister accredited to this Government and the Secretary of State relative to the detention of the British ship *Perthshire* in June last by the United States steamer *Massachusetts* for a supposed breach of the blockade. As this detention was occasioned by an obvious misapprehension of the facts, and as justice requires that we should commit no

belligerent act not founded in strict right as sanctioned by public law. I recommend that an appropriation be made to satisfy the reasonable demand of the owners of the vessel for her detention.

I repeat the recommendation of my predecessor in his annual message to Congress in December last in regard to the disposition of the surplus which will probably remain after satisfying the claims of American citizens against China, pursuant to the awards of the commissioners under the act of the 3d of March, 1859. If, however, it should not be deemed advisable to carry that recommendation into effect, I would suggest that authority be given for investing the principal, over the proceeds of the surplus referred to, in good securities, with a view to the satisfaction of such other just claims of our citizens against China as are not unlikely to arise hereafter in the course of our extensive trade with that Empire.

By the act of the 5th of August last Congress authorized the President to instruct the commanders of suitable vessels to defend themselves against and to capture pirates. This authority has been exercised in a single instance only. For the more effectual protection of our extensive and valuable commerce in the Eastern seas especially, it seems to me that it would also be advisable to authorize the commanders of sailing vessels to recapture any prizes which pirates may make of United States vessels and their cargoes, and the consular courts now established by law in Eastern countries to adjudicate the cases in the event that this should not be objected to by the local authorities.

If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it. Unwilling, however, to inaugurate a novel policy in regard to them without the approbation of Congress, I submit for your consideration the expediency of an appropriation for maintaining a chargé d'affaires near each of those new States. It does not admit of doubt that important commercial advantages might be secured by favorable treaties with them.

The operations of the Treasury during the period which has elapsed since your adjournment have been conducted with signal success. The patriotism of the people has placed at the disposal of the Government the large means demanded by the public exigencies. Much of the national loan has been taken by citizens of the industrial classes, whose confidence in their country's faith and zeal for their country's deliverance from present peril have induced them to contribute to the support of the Government the whole of their limited acquisitions. This fact imposes peculiar obligations to economy in disbursement and energy in action.

The revenue from all sources, including loans, for the financial year ending on the 30th of June, 1861, was \$86,835,900.27, and the expenditures for the same period, including payments on account of the public debt, were \$84,578,834.47, leaving a balance in the Treasury on the 1st

of July of \$2,257,065.80. For the first quarter of the financial year ending on the 30th of September, 1861, the receipts from all sources, including the balance of the 1st of July, were \$102,532,509.27, and the expenses \$98,239,733.09, leaving a balance on the 1st of October, 1861, of \$4,292,776.18.

Estimates for the remaining three quarters of the year and for the financial year 1863, together with his views of ways and means for meeting the demands contemplated by them, will be submitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury. It is gratifying to know that the expenditures made necessary by the rebellion are not beyond the resources of the loyal people, and to believe that the same patriotism which has thus far sustained the Government will continue to sustain it till peace and union shall again bless the land.

I respectfully refer to the report of the Secretary of War for information respecting the numerical strength of the Army and for recommendations having in view an increase of its efficiency and the well-being of the various branches of the service intrusted to his care. It is gratifying to know that the patriotism of the people has proved equal to the occasion, and that the number of troops tendered greatly exceeds the force which Congress authorized me to call into the field.

I refer with pleasure to those portions of his report which make allusion to the creditable degree of discipline already attained by our troops and to the excellent sanitary condition of the entire Army.

The recommendation of the Secretary for an organization of the militia upon a uniform basis is a subject of vital importance to the future safety of the country, and is commended to the serious attention of Congress.

The large addition to the Regular Army, in connection with the defection that has so considerably diminished the number of its officers, gives peculiar importance to his recommendation for increasing the corps of cadets to the greatest capacity of the Military Academy.

By mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers. This subject was brought to my notice, and I was induced to draw up the form of a letter, one copy of which, properly addressed, has been delivered to each of the persons, and at the dates respectively named and stated in a schedule, containing also the form of the letter marked A, and herewith transmitted.

These gentlemen, I understand, entered upon the duties designated at the times respectively stated in the schedule, and have labored faithfully therein ever since. I therefore recommend that they be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the Army. I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals, as well as with regiments.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy presents in detail the operations of that branch of the service, the activity and energy which have characterized its administration, and the results of measures to increase

its efficiency and power. Such have been the additions, by construction and purchase, that it may almost be said a navy has been created and brought into service since our difficulties commenced.

Besides blockading our extensive coast, squadrons larger than ever before assembled under our flag have been put afloat and performed deeds which have increased our naval renown.

I would invite special attention to the recommendation of the Secretary for a more perfect organization of the Navy by introducing additional grades in the service.

The present organization is defective and unsatisfactory, and the suggestions submitted by the Department will, it is believed, if adopted, obviate the difficulties alluded to, promote harmony, and increase the efficiency of the Navy.

There are three vacancies on the bench of the Supreme Court—two by the decease of Justices Daniel and McLean and one by the resignation of Justice Campbell. I have so far forbore making nominations to fill these vacancies for reasons which I will now state. Two of the outgoing judges resided within the States now overrun by revolt, so that if successors were appointed in the same localities they could not now serve upon their circuits; and many of the most competent men there probably would not take the personal hazard of accepting to serve, even here, upon the Supreme bench. I have been unwilling to throw all the appointments northward, thus disabling myself from doing justice to the South on the return of peace; although I may remark that to transfer to the North one which has heretofore been in the South would not, with reference to territory and population, be unjust.

During the long and brilliant judicial career of Judge McLean his circuit grew into an empire—altogether too large for any one judge to give the courts therein more than a nominal attendance—rising in population from 1,470,018 in 1830 to 6,151,405 in 1860.

Besides this, the country generally has outgrown our present judicial system. If uniformity was at all intended, the system requires that all the States shall be accommodated with circuit courts, attended by Supreme judges, while, in fact, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Florida, Texas, California, and Oregon have never had any such courts. Nor can this well be remedied without a change in the system, because the adding of judges to the Supreme Court, enough for the accommodation of all parts of the country with circuit courts, would create a court altogether too numerous for a judicial body of any sort. And the evil, if it be one, will increase as new States come into the Union. Circuit courts are useful or they are not useful. If useful, no State should be denied them; if not useful, no State should have them. Let them be provided for all or abolished as to all.

Three modifications occur to me, either of which, I think, would be an improvement upon our present system. Let the Supreme Court be of

convenient number in every event; then, first, let the whole country be divided into circuits of convenient size, the Supreme judges to serve in a number of them corresponding to their own number, and independent circuit judges be provided for all the rest; or, secondly, let the Supreme judges be relieved from circuit duties and circuit judges provided for all the circuits; or, thirdly, dispense with circuit courts altogether, leaving the judicial functions wholly to the district courts and an independent Supreme Court.

I respectfully recommend to the consideration of Congress the present condition of the statute laws, with the hope that Congress will be able to find an easy remedy for many of the inconveniences and evils which constantly embarrass those engaged in the practical administration of them. Since the organization of the Government Congress has enacted some 5,000 acts and joint resolutions, which fill more than 6,000 closely printed pages and are scattered through many volumes. Many of these acts have been drawn in haste and without sufficient caution, so that their provisions are often obscure in themselves or in conflict with each other, or at least so doubtful as to render it very difficult for even the best-informed persons to ascertain precisely what the statute law really is.

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small a compass as may consist with the fullness and precision of the will of the Legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This well done would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people, by placing before them in a more accessible and intelligible form the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties.

I am informed by some whose opinions I respect that all the acts of Congress now in force and of a permanent and general nature might be revised and rewritten so as to be embraced in one volume (or at most two volumes) of ordinary and convenient size; and I respectfully recommend to Congress to consider of the subject, and if my suggestion be approved to devise such plan as to their wisdom shall seem most proper for the attainment of the end proposed.

One of the unavoidable consequences of the present insurrection is the entire suppression in many places of all the ordinary means of administering civil justice by the officers and in the forms of existing law. This is the case, in whole or in part, in all the insurgent States; and as our armies advance upon and take possession of parts of those States the practical evil becomes more apparent. There are no courts nor officers to whom the citizens of other States may apply for the enforcement of their lawful claims against citizens of the insurgent States, and there is a vast amount of debt constituting such claims. Some have estimated it as high as \$200,000,000, due in large part from insurgents in open rebellion to loyal citizens who are even now making great sacrifices in the discharge

of their patriotic duty to support the Government.

Under these circumstances I have been urgently solicited to establish by military power courts to administer summary justice in such cases. I have thus far declined to do it, not because I had any doubt that the end proposed—the collection of the debts—was just and right in itself, but because I have been unwilling to go beyond the pressure of necessity in the unusual exercise of power. But the powers of Congress, I suppose, are equal to the anomalous occasion, and therefore I refer the whole matter to Congress, with the hope that a plan may be devised for the administration of justice in all such parts of the insurgent States and Territories as may be under the control of this Government, whether by a voluntary return to allegiance and order or by the power of our arms; this, however, not to be a permanent institution, but a temporary substitute, and to cease as soon as the ordinary courts can be reestablished in peace.

It is important that some more convenient means should be provided, if possible, for the adjustment of claims against the Government, especially in view of their increased number by reason of the war. It is as much the duty of Government to render prompt justice against itself in favor of citizens as it is to administer the same between private individuals. The investigation and adjudication of claims in their nature belong to the judicial department. Besides, it is apparent that the attention of Congress will be more than usually engaged for some time to come with great national questions. It was intended by the organization of the Court of Claims mainly to remove this branch of business from the halls of Congress; but while the court has proved to be an effective and valuable means of investigation, it in great degree fails to effect the object of its creation for want of power to make its judgments final.

Fully aware of the delicacy, not to say the danger, of the subject, I commend to your careful consideration whether this power of making judgments final may not properly be given to the court, reserving the right of appeal on questions of law to the Supreme Court, with such other provisions as experience may have shown to be necessary.

I ask attention to the report of the Postmaster-General, the following being a summary statement of the condition of the Department:

The revenue from all sources during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1861, including the annual permanent appropriation of \$700,000 for the transportation of "free mail matter," was \$9,049,296.40, being about 2 per cent less than the revenue for 1860.

The expenditures were \$13,606,759.11, showing a decrease of more than 8 per cent as compared with those of the previous year and leaving an excess of expenditure over the revenue for the last fiscal year of \$4,557,462.71.

The gross revenue for the year ending June 30, 1863, is estimated at

an increase of 4 per cent on that of 1861, making \$8,683,000, to which should be added the earnings of the Department in carrying free matter, viz, \$700,000, making \$9,383,000.

The total expenditures for 1863 are estimated at \$12,528,000, leaving an estimated deficiency of \$3,145,000 to be supplied from the Treasury in addition to the permanent appropriation.

The present insurrection shows, I think, that the extension of this District across the Potomac River at the time of establishing the capital here was eminently wise, and consequently that the relinquishment of that portion of it which lies within the State of Virginia was unwise and dangerous. I submit for your consideration the expediency of regaining that part of the District and the restoration of the original boundaries thereof through negotiations with the State of Virginia.

The report of the Secretary of the Interior, with the accompanying documents, exhibits the condition of the several branches of the public business pertaining to that Department. The depressing influences of the insurrection have been specially felt in the operations of the Patent and General Land Offices. The cash receipts from the sales of public lands during the past year have exceeded the expenses of our land system only about \$200,000. The sales have been entirely suspended in the Southern States, while the interruptions to the business of the country and the diversion of large numbers of men from labor to military service have obstructed settlements in the new States and Territories of the Northwest.

The receipts of the Patent Office have declined in nine months about \$100,000, rendering a large reduction of the force employed necessary to make it self-sustaining.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls and in receipt of the bounty of the Government are in the ranks of the insurgent army or giving them aid and comfort. The Secretary of the Interior has directed a suspension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension rolls.

The relations of the Government with the Indian tribes have been greatly disturbed by the insurrection, especially in the southern superintendency and in that of New Mexico. The Indian country south of Kansas is in the possession of insurgents from Texas and Arkansas. The agents of the United States appointed since the 4th of March for this superintendency have been unable to reach their posts, while the most of those who were in office before that time have espoused the insurrectionary cause, and assume to exercise the powers of agents by virtue of

commissions from the insurrectionists. It has been stated in the public press that a portion of those Indians have been organized as a military force and are attached to the army of the insurgents. Although the Government has no official information upon this subject, letters have been written to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs by several prominent chiefs giving assurance of their loyalty to the United States and expressing a wish for the presence of Federal troops to protect them. It is believed that upon the repossession of the country by the Federal forces the Indians will readily cease all hostile demonstrations and resume their former relations to the Government.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department nor a bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it in the Government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as to not have demanded and extorted more from the Government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more can not be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an agricultural and statistical bureau might profitably be organized.

The execution of the laws for the suppression of the African slave trade has been confided to the Department of the Interior. It is a subject of gratulation that the efforts which have been made for the suppression of this inhuman traffic have been recently attended with unusual success. Five vessels being fitted out for the slave trade have been seized and condemned. Two mates of vessels engaged in the trade and one person in equipping a vessel as a slaver have been convicted and subjected to the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and one captain, taken with a cargo of Africans on board his vessel, has been convicted of the highest grade of offense under our laws, the punishment of which is death.

The Territories of Colorado, Dakota, and Nevada, created by the last Congress, have been organized, and civil administration has been inaugurated therein under auspices especially gratifying when it is considered that the leaven of treason was found existing in some of these new countries when the Federal officers arrived there.

The abundant natural resources of these Territories, with the security and protection afforded by organized government, will doubtless invite to them a large immigration when peace shall restore the business of the country to its accustomed channels. I submit the resolutions of the legislature of Colorado, which evidence the patriotic spirit of the people of the Territory. So far the authority of the United States has been upheld in all the Territories, as it is hoped it will be in the future. I commend their interests and defense to the enlightened and generous care of Congress.

I recommend to the favorable consideration of Congress the interests

of the District of Columbia. The insurrection has been the cause of much suffering and sacrifice to its inhabitants, and as they have no representative in Congress that body should not overlook their just claims upon the Government.

At your late session a joint resolution was adopted authorizing the President to take measures for facilitating a proper representation of the industrial interests of the United States at the exhibition of the industry of all nations to be holden at London in the year 1862. I regret to say I have been unable to give personal attention to this subject—a subject at once so interesting in itself and so extensively and intimately connected with the material prosperity of the world. Through the Secretaries of State and of the Interior a plan or system has been devised and partly matured, and which will be laid before you.

Under and by virtue of the act of Congress entitled “An act to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes,” approved August 6, 1861, the legal claims of certain persons to the labor and service of certain other persons have become forfeited, and numbers of the latter thus liberated are already dependent on the United States and must be provided for in some way. Besides this, it is not impossible that some of the States will pass similar enactments for their own benefit respectively, and by operation of which persons of the same class will be thrown upon them for disposal. In such case I recommend that Congress provide for accepting such persons from such States, according to some mode of valuation, in lieu, *pro tanto*, of direct taxes, or upon some other plan to be agreed on with such States respectively; that such persons, on such acceptance by the General Government, be at once deemed free, and that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes (or the one first mentioned if the other shall not be brought into existence) at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not, so far as individuals may desire, be included in such colonization.

To carry out the plan of colonization may involve the acquiring of territory, and also the appropriation of money beyond that to be expended in the territorial acquisition. Having practiced the acquisition of territory for nearly sixty years, the question of constitutional power to do so is no longer an open one with us. The power was questioned at first by Mr. Jefferson, who, however, in the purchase of Louisiana, yielded his scruples on the plea of great expediency. If it be said that the only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men, this measure effects that object, for the emigration of colored men leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here. Mr. Jefferson, however, placed the importance of procuring Louisiana more on political and commercial grounds than on providing room for population.

On this whole proposition, including the appropriation of money with the acquisition of territory, does not the expediency amount to abso-

lute necessity—that without which the Government itself can not be perpetuated?

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have therefore in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.

In the exercise of my best discretion I have adhered to the blockade of the ports held by the insurgents, instead of putting in force by proclamation the law of Congress enacted at the late session for closing those ports.

So also, obeying the dictates of prudence, as well as the obligations of law, instead of transcending I have adhered to the act of Congress to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes. If a new law upon the same subject shall be proposed, its propriety will be duly considered. The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed. We should not be in haste to determine that radical and extreme measures, which may reach the loyal as well as the disloyal, are indispensable.

The inaugural address at the beginning of the Administration and the message to Congress at the late special session were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract to or from the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents.

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the Union were not free from apprehension on the point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side. South of the line noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to *seem* against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and we were many days at one time without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the Government; she already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy; and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any question. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly and, I think, un-

changeably ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and, I believe, can not again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than 40,000 in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against us. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about 1,500, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionist north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the southern coast of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island (near Savannah), and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.

Since your last adjournment Lieutenant-General Scott has retired from the head of the Army. During his long life the nation has not been unmindful of his merit; yet on calling to mind how faithfully, ably, and brilliantly he has served the country, from a time far back in our history, when few of the now living had been born, and thenceforward continually, I can not but think we are still his debtors. I submit, therefore, for your consideration what further mark of recognition is due to him, and to ourselves as a grateful people.

With the retirement of General Scott came the Executive duty of appointing in his stead a General in Chief of the Army. It is a fortunate circumstance that neither in council nor country was there, so far as I know, any difference of opinion as to the proper person to be selected. The retiring chief repeatedly expressed his judgment in favor of General McClellan for the position, and in this the nation seemed to give a unanimous concurrence. The designation of General McClellan is therefore in considerable degree the selection of the country as well as of the Executive, and hence there is better reason to hope there will be given him the confidence and cordial support thus by fair implication promised, and without which he can not with so full efficiency serve the country.

It has been said that one bad general is better than two good ones, and the saying is true if taken to mean no more than that an army is better directed by a single mind, though inferior, than by two superior ones at variance and cross-purposes with each other.

And the same is true in all joint operations wherein those engaged *can* have none but a common end in view and *can* differ only as to the choice of means. In a storm at sea no one on board *can* wish the ship to sink, and yet not unfrequently all go down together because too many will direct and no single mind can be allowed to control.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor* in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole

people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men, with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital; that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have at one view what the popular principle, applied to Government through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time, and also what if firmly maintained it promises for the future. There are already among us those who if the Union be preserved will live to see it contain 250,000,000. The struggle of to-day is not altogether *for* to-day; it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

FIRST ANNUAL ADDRESS.

UNITED STATES, January 8, 1790.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself of congratulating you on the present favorable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important State of North Carolina to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received), the rising credit and respectability of our country, the general and increasing good will toward the Government of the Union, and the concord, peace, and plenty with which we are blessed are circumstances auspicious in an eminent degree to our national prosperity.

In resuming your consultations for the general good you can not but derive encouragement from the reflection that the measures of the last session have been as satisfactory to your constituents as the novelty and difficulty of the work allowed you to hope. Still further to realize their expectations and to secure the blessings which a gracious Providence has placed within our reach will in the course of the present important session call for the cool and deliberate exertion of your patriotism, firmness, and wisdom.

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

A free people ought not only to be armed, but disciplined; to which end a uniform and well-digested plan is requisite; and their safety and interest require that they should promote such manufactories as tend to render them independent of others for essential, particularly military, supplies.

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers with a due regard to economy.

There was reason to hope that the pacific measures adopted with regard to certain hostile tribes of Indians would have relieved the inhabitants of our Southern and Western frontiers from their depredations, but you will perceive from the information contained in the papers which I shall direct to be laid before you (comprehending a communication from the Commonwealth of Virginia) that we ought to be prepared to afford protection to those parts of the Union, and, if necessary, to punish aggressors.

The interests of the United States require that our intercourse with

ADDRESS.

to STATES, January 8, 1790.
Representatives:

opportunity which now presents
ent favorable prospects of our
the important State of North
States (of which official infor-
credit and respectability of our
d will toward the Government
nd plenty with which we are
eminent degree to our national

general good you can not but
that the measures of the last
constituents as the novelty and
e. Still further to realize their
which a gracious Providence has
urse of the present important
exertion of your patriotism,

which will engage your attention
se will merit particular regard.
t effectual means of preserving

med, but disciplined; to which
requisite; and their safety and
te such manufactories as tend
essential, particularly military,

as which may be deemed indis-
leration. In the arrangements
be of importance to conciliate
and soldiers with a due regard

c measures adopted with regard
have relieved the inhabitants of
their depredations, but you will
d in the papers which I shall
ling a communication from the
ught to be prepared to afford
, and, if necessary, to punish

quire that our intercourse with

other nations should be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfill my duty in that respect in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good, and to this end that the compensations to be made to the persons who may be employed should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law, and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of our foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures of the United States is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures by all proper means will not, I trust, need recommendation; but I can not forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad as to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home, and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads.

Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways—by convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered, by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and to value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority; between burthens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness—cherishing the first, avoiding the last—and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments, with an inviolable respect to the laws.

Whether this desirable object will be best promoted by affording aids to seminaries of learning already established, by the institution of a national university, or by any other expedients will be well worthy of a place in the deliberations of the Legislature.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I saw with peculiar pleasure at the close of the last session the resolution entered into by you expressive of your opinion that an ade-

quate provision for the support of the public credit is a matter of high importance to the national honor and prosperity. In this sentiment I entirely concur; and to a perfect confidence in your best endeavors to devise such a provision as will be truly consistent with the end I add an equal reliance on the cheerful cooperation of the other branch of the Legislature. It would be superfluous to specify inducements to a measure in which the character and permanent interests of the United States are so obviously and so deeply concerned, and which has received so explicit a sanction from your declaration.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I have directed the proper officers to lay before you, respectively, such papers and estimates as regard the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed, and I shall derive great satisfaction from a cooperation with you in the pleasing though arduous task of insuring to our fellow-citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government.

SECOND ANNUAL ADDRESS.

UNITED STATES, *December 8, 1790.*

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In meeting you again I feel much satisfaction in being able to repeat my congratulations on the favorable prospects which continue to distinguish our public affairs. The abundant fruits of another year have blessed our country with plenty and with the means of a flourishing commerce. The progress of public credit is witnessed by a considerable rise of American stock abroad as well as at home, and the revenues allotted for this and other national purposes have been productive beyond the calculations by which they were regulated. This latter circumstance is the more pleasing, as it is not only a proof of the fertility of our resources, but as it assures us of a further increase of the national respectability and credit, and, let me add, as it bears an honorable testimony to the patriotism and integrity of the mercantile and marine part of our citizens. The punctuality of the former in discharging their engagements has been exemplary.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

UPDATE 2

November 21, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO INTERESTED PARTIES

FROM: DAVID DEMAREST

SUBJECT: COMMUNICATIONS PLAN FOR ONE YEAR BUSH ACCOMPLISHMENTS

OBJECTIVE:

To communicate the accomplishments of the Bush Administration's first year through outreach efforts to the public, constituency groups, the media, the Congress and grass-root Republicans.

BACKGROUND:

Public Affairs is preparing a document outlining first year accomplishments to be released in early December. The document will be distributed by mass mailings and in briefings. The targeted audience is the media and constituency groups, both from the White House and Agencies.

Input by the Agencies will be included in the White House version of the accomplishments, through the normal staffing process (ie. Cabinet Affairs). But we will also request the Public Affairs Directors develop a more detailed Departmental accomplishments list to distribute to their own targeted media and constituency group lists.

OUTREACH:

The following describes potential avenues for outreach across the United States -- providing individuals with current and accurate information regarding President Bush's first year in office:

The Media

The White House:

- targeted mailings of White House document to national media
- December and January White House briefings with editors and publishers

Agencies:

- targeted mailings of Department's document to specialty trade press and "beat" reporters
- letters to the editors and op-eds generated by Cabinet Members and other top Administration officials
- Cabinet Members conduct satellite interviews

Constituency Groups and other Audiences

The White House:

-- mass mailing of WH document by various WH offices. Specific guidelines discussed below in "Miscellaneous." **

-- all White House offices to incorporate document in Dec/Jan briefings.

Agencies:

-- mass mailing of Department documents to their constituency group lists

-- Department documents incorporated in Dec/Jan briefings

TIMELINE: (for White House accomplishments document)

Monday, November 20

Accomplishments document to be staffed.

Tuesday, November 21

Department Public Affairs briefing -- 11:00 a.m., OEOB 180

Wednesday, November 22

Staffing comments due on accomplishments document.

Wednesday, December 6

Accomplishments document to printer.

People Magazine conducts interview with the President on his first year in office.

OPL briefing for Foreign Policy leaders. (tentative)

Monday, December 11 -- official release date

Distribution of document to White House press corps and mass mailing of document to begin.

Media Relations editors luncheon and briefing. (tentative)

Legislative Affairs briefing for Hill Press Secretaries. (tentative)

Agency Public Affairs briefing. (tentative)

Week of December 11

Cabinet and Hill Leadership meetings scheduled to occur (separately). (tentative)

Begin selling satellite interviews with Cabinet Members.

Op-eds by Cabinet Members begin running.

Tuesday, December 12

OPL briefing for Business leaders.

Thursday, December 14

OPL briefing for Conservative leaders.

Week of December 18 - 20

Time, Newsweek, and US News and World Report Magazines conduct interviews of the President on his first year in office.

January

Media Relations briefing and dinner for publishers.

Political Affairs will be meeting with their constituency groups throughout the month of January for various reasons. They are interested in conducting briefings on the accomplishments while their constituents are in town. (RNC annual meeting, B/Q chairmen reunion, inaugural reunion, Finance meetings, and possible RNC field staff)

Wednesday, January 10

Business Week Magazine conducts interview of the President on his first year in office.

MISCELLANEOUS: **

Mailings

White House document to be distributed by: Public Affairs, Public Liaison, Media Relations, Intergovernmental, Political Affairs/RNC, Legislative Affairs and the Vice President's office. Each office is responsible for their own distribution, but will be provided the document. Please check with Public Affairs on distribution lists and numbers.

The Department Public Affairs offices will distribute their own set of accomplishments to media and constituency lists (please confirm lists with White House Public Affairs).

Briefings

Intergovernmental Affairs would like to offer their constituents the opportunity to attend an already scheduled White House briefing on the accomplishments.

Media

The White House Public Affairs and Media Relations Office will coordinate with the Department Public Affairs Offices in arranging satellite interviews for Cabinet Members.

Department Public Affairs Directors will arrange their own Cabinet Member's op-eds and letters to the editors via their normal process. (please send a copy of everything published to the White House public affairs office)

###

Sec. Baker placing call to Foreign Minister
Genscher morning after opening of Wall.
Genscher's secretary on line, says: "just
a moment for the minister, sir, and
thank you for what America has done
for Germany & God bless America."

NYT, 11/22/89

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
LIBRARY
OLD EXECUTIVE OFFICE BUILDING

Room 308

x7000

TO: Peggy Dooley
ROOM: 111 1/2 DATE 2-14-91

☒ To Keep

☐ To Borrow Due Date _____

☐ Per Your Request

☒ FYI

Message: I've been updating
the SOTU list and thought
you might like it
for your files.

From: Jacqui Cragg

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

A record of the Annual Message to Congress each year, with special attention to the transition years. See notes at end for explanation of codes, etc.

<u>Year</u>	<u>President</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Del/Mes</u>	<u>Note</u>	<u>Lgth</u>
1991	Bush, George	1/29/91	D		47
1990	Bush, George	1/31/90	D		36
<u>1989</u>	Reagan(O) Bush(I)			6,7.	
1988	Reagan, Ronald	1/25/88	D		41
1987	Reagan, Ronald	1/27/87	D		40
1986	Reagan, Ronald	2/4/86	D		
<u>1985</u>	Reagan, Ronald	2/6/85	D		
1984	Reagan, Ronald	1/25/84	D		43
1983	Reagan, Ronald	1/25/83	D		45
1982	Reagan, Ronald	1/26/82	D		45
<u>1981</u>	Carter, Jimmy(O)	1/16/81	M	5.	
1980	Carter, Jimmy	1/23/80	D		31
1979	Carter, Jimmy	1/23/79	D		32
1978	Carter, Jimmy	1/19/78	D		50
<u>1977</u>	Ford, Gerald(O)	1/12/77	D	4.	
1976	Ford, Gerald	1/19/76	D		50
1975	Ford, Gerald	1/15/75	D		40
1974	Nixon, Richard	1/30/74	D		45
<u>1973</u>	Nixon, Richard	2/2/-3/14/73	M	3.	
1972	Nixon, Richard	1/20/72	D		30
1971	Nixon, Richard	1/22/71	D		
1970	Nixon, Richard	1/22/70	D		36
<u>1969</u>	Johnson, Lyndon(O)	1/14/69	D		
1968	Johnson, Lyndon	1/17/68	D		
1967	Johnson, Lyndon	1/10/67	D		
1966	Johnson, Lyndon	1/12/66	D		
<u>1965</u>	Johnson, Lyndon	1/4/65	D		
1964	Johnson, Lyndon	1/8/64	D		
1963	Kennedy, John	1/14/63	D		
1962	Kennedy, John	1/11/62	D		
<u>1961</u>	Eisenhower(O)	1/12/61	M		
	Kennedy(I)	1/30/61	D		
1960	Eisenhower, D.	1/7/60	D		
1950	Eisenhower, D.	1/9/59	D		
1958	Eisenhower, D.	1/9/58	D		
<u>1957</u>	Eisenhower, D.	1/10/57	D		
1956	Eisenhower, D.	1/5/56	M	2.	
1955	Eisenhower, D.	1/6/55	D		
1954	Eisenhower, D.	1/7/54	D		
<u>1953</u>	Truman (O)	1/7/53	M	1.	
	Eisenhower (I)	2/2/53	D		

Lgth (Length) is given in minutes, based on reports in the Washington Post or New York Times.

Codes

D = Delivered (read) before a Joint Session of Congress by the president.
M = Message sent to Congress, not read by the president (see notes).
I = Incoming president
O = Outgoing president

Notes

1. Truman's message was read aloud by clerks in both houses of Congress.
2. Eisenhower's message was read aloud before a Joint Session by a Clerk of the House of Representatives.
3. Nixon sent a series of six Messages to Congress on the State of the Union on 2/2, 2/15, 2/22, 3/1, 3/8, and 3/14.
4. Carter (I) made a "Report to the American People" from the White House Library on 2/2/77.
5. Reagan (I) addressed a Joint Session on his "Program for Economic Recovery" on 2/18/81.
6. Reagan (O) made a "Farewell Address to the Nation" from the Oval Office on 1/11/89.
7. Bush (I) addressed a Joint Session on "Administration Goals" on 2/9/89.

Researched by J. Cragg, Reference Librarian
EOP Library, Room 308 OE0B

From : Kane, Joseph Nathan.
Facts About the Presidents.
 5th ed., 1989. p378-9.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

Presidential messages are not required in any specific form or at any specified time. The annual State of the Union messages are either read to Congress or delivered by the President in person. Presumably, they fulfill the requirement of Article 2, section 3 of the Constitution, which provides that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union." The term "State of the Union Message" came into use on January 6, 1941; before then, the messages were generally called "annual messages."

William Henry Harrison and James Abram Garfield did not prepare annual messages. Harrison served only 32 days and Garfield only 199 days.

George Washington did not prepare a message during the calendar year 1789, but delivered two messages in 1790, one on January 8 and one on December 8.

Until the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1933, there were 144 messages. Of these 128 were delivered in December, 1 in January, 1 in September, 3 in October, and 11 in November.

Since the inauguration date was changed to January, 51 messages have been made in January and 4 in February.

The longest State of the Union message was sent to Congress in 1946 by President Harry S. Truman and consisted of more than 25,000 words.

It is generally conceded that most presidential speeches are prepared by writers, presumably carrying out the wishes and thoughts of the executives. It is estimated that President Lyndon Baines Johnson's speech of January 8, 1964, consisting of 3,059 words, required the services of about twenty-four writers, who took about six weeks to draft the speech, with ten to sixteen major revisions.

State of the Union messages were given on these dates:

Washington	J.Q. Adams	Buchanan	Dec. 9, 1891	Dec. 3, 1924	Jan. 9, 1959
Jan. 8, 1790	Dec. 6, 1825	Dec. 8, 1857	Dec. 6, 1892	Dec. 8, 1925	Jan. 7, 1960
Dec. 8, 1790	Dec. 5, 1826	Dec. 6, 1858	Cleveland—	Dec. 7, 1926	Jan. 12, 1961
Oct. 25, 1791	Dec. 4, 1827	Dec. 19, 1859	2nd Administration	Dec. 6, 1927	
Nov. 6, 1792	Dec. 2, 1828	Dec. 3, 1860	Dec. 4, 1893	Dec. 4, 1928	Kennedy
Dec. 3, 1793	Jackson	Lincoln	Dec. 3, 1894		Jan. 30, 1961
Nov. 19, 1794	Dec. 8, 1829	Dec. 3, 1861	Dec. 2, 1895	Hoover	Jan. 11, 1962
Dec. 8, 1795	Dec. 6, 1830	Dec. 1, 1862	Dec. 7, 1896	Dec. 3, 1929	Jan. 14, 1963
Dec. 7, 1796	Dec. 6, 1831	Dec. 8, 1863	McKinley	Dec. 2, 1930	
J. Adams	Dec. 4, 1832	Dec. 6, 1864	Dec. 6, 1897	Dec. 8, 1931	L.B. Johnson
Nov. 22, 1797	Dec. 3, 1833	A. Johnson	Dec. 5, 1898	Dec. 6, 1932	Jan. 8, 1964
Dec. 8, 1798	Dec. 1, 1834	Dec. 4, 1865	Dec. 5, 1899		Jan. 4, 1965
Dec. 3, 1799	Dec. 7, 1835	Dec. 3, 1866	Dec. 3, 1900	F.D. Roosevelt	Jan. 12, 1966
Nov. 22, 1800	Dec. 5, 1836	Dec. 3, 1867		Jan. 3, 1934	Jan. 10, 1967
Jefferson	Van Buren	Dec. 9, 1868	T. Roosevelt	Jan. 4, 1935	Jan. 17, 1968
Dec. 8, 1801	Dec. 5, 1837	Grant	Dec. 3, 1901	Jan. 3, 1936	Jan. 14, 1969
Dec. 15, 1802	Dec. 3, 1838	Dec. 6, 1869	Dec. 2, 1902	Jan. 6, 1937	
Oct. 17, 1803	Dec. 2, 1839	Dec. 5, 1870	Dec. 7, 1903	Jan. 3, 1938	Nixon
Nov. 8, 1804	Dec. 5, 1840	Dec. 4, 1871	Dec. 6, 1904	Jan. 4, 1939	Jan. 22, 1970
Dec. 3, 1805	Tyler	Dec. 2, 1872	Dec. 5, 1905	Jan. 3, 1940	Jan. 22, 1971
Dec. 2, 1806	Dec. 7, 1841	Dec. 1, 1873	Dec. 3, 1906	Jan. 6, 1941	Jan. 20, 1972
Oct. 27, 1807	Dec. 6, 1842	Dec. 7, 1874	Dec. 3, 1907	Jan. 6, 1942	Feb. 2, 1973
Nov. 8, 1808	Dec. 5, 1843	Dec. 7, 1875	Dec. 8, 1908	Jan. 7, 1943	Jan. 30, 1974
Madison	Dec. 3, 1844	Dec. 5, 1876	Taft	Jan. 11, 1944	
Nov. 29, 1809	Polk	Hayes	Dec. 7, 1909	Jan. 6, 1945	Ford
Dec. 5, 1810	Dec. 2, 1845	Dec. 3, 1877	Dec. 6, 1910		Jan. 15, 1975
Nov. 5, 1811	Dec. 8, 1846	Dec. 2, 1878	Dec. 5, 1911	Truman	Jan. 19, 1976
Nov. 4, 1812	Dec. 7, 1847	Dec. 1, 1879	Dec. 3, 1912	Jan. 22, 1946	Jan. 12, 1977
Dec. 7, 1813	Dec. 5, 1848	Dec. 6, 1880	Wilson	Jan. 6, 1947	
Sept. 20, 1814	Taylor	Arthur	Dec. 2, 1913	Jan. 7, 1948	Carter
Dec. 5, 1815	Dec. 4, 1849	Dec. 6, 1881	Dec. 8, 1914	Jan. 5, 1949	Jan. 19, 1978
Dec. 3, 1816	Fillmore	Dec. 4, 1882	Dec. 7, 1915	Jan. 4, 1950	Jan. 23, 1979
Monroe	Dec. 2, 1850	Dec. 4, 1883	Dec. 5, 1916	Jan. 8, 1951	Jan. 23, 1980
Dec. 2, 1817	Dec. 2, 1851	Dec. 1, 1884	Dec. 4, 1917	Jan. 9, 1952	Jan. 16, 1981
Nov. 16, 1818	Dec. 6, 1852	Cleveland—	Dec. 2, 1918	Jan. 7, 1953	Reagan
Dec. 7, 1819	Pierce	1st Administration	Dec. 2, 1919		Jan. 26, 1982
Nov. 14, 1820	Dec. 5, 1853	Dec. 8, 1885	Dec. 7, 1920	Eisenhower	Jan. 25, 1983
Dec. 3, 1821	Dec. 4, 1854	Dec. 6, 1886		Feb. 2, 1953	Jan. 25, 1984
Dec. 3, 1822	Dec. 31, 1855	Dec. 6, 1887	Harding	Jan. 7, 1954	Feb. 4, 1985
Dec. 2, 1823	Dec. 2, 1856	Dec. 3, 1888	Dec. 4, 1921	Jan. 6, 1955	Feb. 4, 1986
Dec. 7, 1824		B. Harrison	Dec. 8, 1922	Jan. 5, 1956	Jan. 27, 1987
		Dec. 3, 1889	Coolidge	Jan. 10, 1957	Jan. 25, 1988
		Dec. 1, 1890	Dec. 6, 1923	Jan. 9, 1958	Jan. 11, 1989