

THE PRESIDENT'S READING COPY

STATE OF THE UNION

January 22, 1971

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

This 92nd Congress has a chance to be recorded as the greatest
Congress in America's history.

1. In these troubled years just past, America has been
going through a long nightmare of war and division,
of crime and inflation.

- (1) Even more deeply, we have gone through a long,
dark night of the American spirit.

1. But now that night is ending.

2. Now we must let our spirits soar again.

3. Now we are ready for the lift of a driving dream.

2. The people of this nation are eager to get on with the quest for new greatness.

(1) They see challenges, and they are prepared to meet those challenges.

(2) It is for us here to open the doors that will set free again the real greatness of this nation -- the genius of the American people.

1. How shall we meet this challenge?

2. How can we truly open the doors, and set free the full genius of our people?

(1) The way in which the 92nd Congress answers these questions will determine its place in history.

1. More importantly, it can determine this nation's place in history/ as we enter the third century of our independence.

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Tonight, I shall present to the Congress six great goals.

1. I shall ask not simply for more new programs in the old framework, but to change the framework itself -- to reform the entire structure of American government so we can make it again fully responsive to the needs and the wishes of the American people.
2. If we act boldly -- if we seize this moment and achieve these goals -- we can close the gap between promise and performance in American government, and bring together the resources of the nation and the spirit of the people.
3. In discussing these great goals, I am dealing tonight only with matters on the domestic side of the nation's agenda.
 - (1) I shall make a separate report to the Congress and the nation next month on developments in our foreign policy.

The first of these six great goals is already before the Congress.

1. I urge that the unfinished business of the 91st Congress be made the first priority of the 92nd.
2. Over the next two weeks, I will call upon Congress to take action on more than 35 pieces of proposed legislation on which action was not completed last year.

(1) The most important is welfare reform.

1. The present welfare system has become a monstrous, consuming outrage -- an outrage against the community, against the taxpayer, and particularly against the children it is supposed to help.
2. We may honestly disagree on what to do about it.
 - (1) But we can all agree that we must meet the challenge not by pouring more money into the old system, but by abolishing it and adopting a new one.

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3. Let us place a floor under the income of every family with children in America -- and without those demeaning, soul-stifling affronts to human dignity that so blight the lives of welfare children today.

4. But let us also establish an effective work incentive and an effective work requirement.

(1) Let us provide the means by which more can help themselves.

(2) Let us generously help those who are not able to help themselves.

(3) But let us stop helping those who are able to help themselves but refuse to do so.

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The second great goal is to achieve what Americans have not enjoyed since 1957 -- full prosperity in peacetime.

1. The tide of inflation has turned.
2. The rise in the cost of living, which had been gathering dangerous momentum in the late Sixties, was reduced last year.
3. Inflation will be further reduced this year.
4. But as we have moved from runaway inflation toward reasonable price stability and at the same time have been moving from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy, we have paid a price in increased unemployment.
5. We should take no comfort from the fact that the level of unemployment in this transition from a wartime to a peacetime economy is lower than in any peacetime year of the 1960's.

(1) This is not good enough for the man who is unemployed in the Seventies.

(2) We must do better for workers in peacetime -- and we will do better.

1. To achieve this, I will submit an expansionary budget this year -- one that will help stimulate the economy and thereby open up new job opportunities for millions of Americans.

2. It will be a full employment budget, a budget designed to be in balance if the economy were operating at its peak potential.

(1) By spending as if we were at full employment, we will help to bring about full employment.

3. I ask the Congress to accept these expansionary policies -- to accept the concept of the full employment budget.

4. At the same time, I ask the Congress to cooperate in resisting expenditures that go beyond the limits of the full employment budget.

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- (1) For as we wage a campaign to bring about a widely shared prosperity, we must not re-ignite the fires of inflation and so undermine that prosperity.

6. With the stimulus and the discipline of a full employment budget; with the commitment of the independent Federal Reserve System to provide fully for the monetary needs of a growing economy; and with a much greater effort by labor and management to make their wage and price decisions in the light of the national interest and their own long-run best interests -- then for the worker, the farmer, the consumer, and for Americans everywhere we shall gain the goal of a new prosperity:

- (1) More jobs, more income and more profits, without inflation and without war.

1. This is a great goal, and one that we can achieve together.

The third great goal is to continue the effort so dramatically begun this past year:

1. To restore and enhance our natural environment.

- (1) Building on the foundation laid in the 37-point program I submitted to Congress last year, I will propose a strong new set of initiatives to clean up our air and water, to combat noise, and to preserve and restore our surroundings.
- (2) I will propose programs to make better use of our land, and to encourage a balanced national growth -- growth that will revitalize our rural heartland and enhance the quality of life throughout America

1. And not only to meet today's needs but to anticipate those of tomorrow, I will put forward the most extensive program ever proposed by a President to expand the nation's parks, recreation areas and open spaces in a way that truly brings parks to the people.

- (1) For only if we leave a legacy of parks will the next generation have parks to enjoy.

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As a fourth great goal, I will offer a far-reaching set of proposals for improving America's health care and making it available more fairly to more people.

I will propose:

1. A program to insure that no American family will be prevented from obtaining basic medical care by inability to pay.
2. A major increase in and redirection of aid to medical schools, to greatly increase the number of doctors and other health personnel.
3. Incentives to improve the delivery of health services, to get more medical care resources into those areas that have not been adequately served, to make greater use of medical assistants and to slow the alarming rise in the costs of medical care.
4. New programs to encourage better preventive medicine, by attacking the causes of disease and injury, and by providing incentives to doctors to keep people well rather than just to treat them when they are sick.

I will also ask appropriation of an extra \$100 million to launch an intensive campaign to find a cure for cancer, and I will ask later for whatever additional funds can effectively be used.

1. The time has come when the same kind of concentrated effort that split the atom and took man to the moon should be turned toward conquering this dread disease.

- (1) Surely these can be cured, and they must be cured.

1. Let us make a total national commitment to achieve this goal.

2. America has long been the wealthiest nation in the world.

- (1) Now it is time we became the healthiest nation in the world.

The fifth great goal is to strengthen and renew our State and local governments.

1. As we approach our 200th anniversary in 1976, we remember that this nation launched itself as a loose confederation of separate States, without a workable central government.

2. At that time, the mark of its leaders' vision was that they quickly saw the need to balance the separate powers of the States with a government of central powers.

(1) And so they gave us a Constitution of balanced powers, of unity with diversity -- and so clear was their vision that it survives as the oldest written Constitution still in force in the world today.

3. For almost two centuries since -- and dramatically in the 1930's -- at those great turning-points when the question has been between the States and the Federal Government, it has been resolved in favor of a stronger central government.

(1) During this time the nation grew and prospered.

(2) But one thing history tells us is that no great movement goes in the same direction forever.

1. Nations change, they adapt, or they slowly die.

4. The time has come to reverse the flow of power and resources from the States and communities to Washington, and start power and resources flowing back from Washington to the States and communities and more important, to the people, all across America.
5. The time has come for a new partnership between the Federal Government and the States and localities -- a partnership in which we entrust the States and localities with a larger share of the nation's responsibilities, and in which we share our Federal revenues with them so they can meet those responsibilities.
 - (1) To achieve this goal, I propose to the Congress tonight that we enact a plan of revenue sharing historic in scope and bold in concept.
 1. All across America today, States and cities are confronted with financial crisis.
 - (1) Some already have been cutting back on essential services -- for example, just recently San Diego and Cleveland cut back on trash collections;

(2) Most are caught between the prospects of bankruptcy on the one hand and adding to an already crushing tax burden on the other.

2. As one indication of the rising costs of local government, I discovered the other day that my home town of Whittier, California -- with a population of only 67,000 -- has a budget for 1971 bigger than the entire Federal budget in 1791.

6. Now the time has come to take a new direction, and once again to introduce a new and more creative balance in our approach to government.

(1) So let us put the money where the needs are.

(2) And let us put the power to spend it where the people are.

1. I propose that the Congress make a \$16 billion investment in renewing State and local government --

(1) with \$5 billion of this in new and unrestricted funds, to be used as the States and localities see fit;

(2) And with the other \$11 billion provided by allocating \$1 billion of new funds and converting one-third of the money going to the present narrow-purpose aid programs into Federal revenue sharing funds for six broad purposes --

1. Urban development,
2. Rural development,
3. Education,
4. Transportation,
5. Job Training, and
6. Law enforcement.

(3) But with the States and localities making their own decisions on how it should be spent.

(4) For the next fiscal year, this would increase total Federal aid to the States and localities more than 25 percent over the present level.

7. The revenue sharing proposals I send to the Congress will include the safeguards against discrimination that accompany all other Federal funds allocated to the States.

(1) Neither the President nor the Congress nor the conscience of the nation can permit money which comes from all the people to be used in a way which discriminates against some of the people.

8. The Federal Government will still have a large and vital role to play in achieving our national purposes.

(1) Established functions that are clearly and essentially Federal in nature will still be performed by the Federal Government.

(2) New functions that need to be sponsored or performed by the Federal Government -- such as those I have urged tonight in welfare and health -- will be added to the Federal agenda.

(3) Whenever it makes the best sense for us to act as a whole nation, the Federal Government will lead the way.

1. But where State or local governments can better do what needs to be done, let us see that they have the resources to do it.

- (4) Under this plan, the Federal Government will provide the States and localities with more money and less interference -- and by cutting down the interference the same amount of money will go a lot further.

9. Let us share our resources:

- (1) To rescue the States and localities from the brink of financial crisis.
- (2) And to give homeowners and wage earners a chance to escape from ever-higher property taxes and sales taxes.

10. Let us share our resources for two other reasons as well.

- (1) The first of these reasons has to do with government itself, and the second with the individual.
 1. Let's face it. Most Americans today are simply fed up with government at all levels.
 2. They will not -- and should not -- continue to tolerate the gap between promise and performance.

2. The fact is that we have made the Federal Government so strong it grows muscle-bound and the States and localities so weak they approach impotence.

(1) If we put more power in more places, we can make government more creative in more places.

1. For that way we multiply the number of people with the ability to make things happen and we can open the way to a new burst of creative energy throughout America.

11. The final reason I urge this historic shift is much more personal, for each and every one of us.

(1) As everything seems to have grown bigger, and more complex; as the forces that shape our lives seem to have grown more distant and more impersonal, a great feeling of frustration has crept across the land.

1. Whether it is the working man who feels neglected, the black man who feels oppressed or the mother concerned about her children, there has been a growing feeling that "things are in the saddle, and ride mankind."

(2) Millions of frustrated young Americans today are crying out -- asking not what will government do for me, but what can I do, how can I contribute, how can I matter?

(3) Let us answer them.

1. Let us say to them and to all Americans:

(1) "We hear you and we will give you a chance.

(2) "We are going to give you a new chance to have more to say about the decisions that affect your future -- to participate in government because we are going to provide more centers of power where what you do can make a difference that you can see and feel in your own life and the life of your whole community."

12. The further away government is from people, the stronger government becomes and the weaker people become.

(1) And a nation with a strong government and a weak people is an empty shell.

(2) I reject the patronizing idea that government in Washington, D. C., is inevitably more wise, more honest and more efficient than government at the local or State level.

1. The honesty and efficiency of government depends on people.
2. Government at all levels has good people and bad people.
3. And the way to get more good people into government is to give them more opportunity to do good things.

(3) The idea that a bureaucratic elite in Washington knows best what is best for people everywhere and that you cannot trust local government is really a contention that you cannot trust people to govern themselves. 65

1. This notion is completely foreign to the American experience.

(1) Local government is the government closest to the people and most responsive to the individual person;

(2) It is people's government in a far more intimate way than the government in Washington can ever be. 11

13. People came to America because they wanted to determine their own future rather than to live in a country where others determined their future for them.

(1) What this change means is that once again we are placing our trust in people.

1. I have faith in people.

2. I trust the judgment of people.

3. Let us give the people a chance,
a bigger voice in deciding for
themselves those questions that
so greatly affect their lives.

The sixth great goal is a complete reform of the Federal Government itself.

1. Based on a long and intensive study with the aid of the best advice obtainable, I have concluded that a sweeping reorganization of the Executive Branch is needed if the government is to keep up with the times and with the needs of the people.

- (1) I propose that we reduce the present twelve Cabinet Departments to eight.

- (2) I propose that the Departments of State, Treasury, Defense and Justice remain, but that all the other departments be consolidated into four:

1. Human Resources,
 2. Community Development,
 3. Natural Resources, and
 4. Economic Development.

2. Let us look at what these would be:

- (1) First, a department dealing with the concerns of people -- as individuals, as members of a family -- a department focused on human needs.
- (2) Second, a department concerned with the community -- rural communities and urban -- and with all that it takes to make a community function as a community.
- (3) Third, a department concerned with our physical environment, and with the preservation and balanced use of those great natural resources on which our nation depends.
- (4) And fourth, a department concerned with our prosperity -- with our jobs, our businesses, and those many activities that keep our economy running smoothly and well.

3. Under this plan, rather than dividing up our departments by narrow subjects, we would organize them around the great purposes of government.

- (1) Rather than scattering responsibility by adding new levels of bureaucracy, we would focus and concentrate the responsibility for getting problems solved.
 - (2) With these four departments, when we have a problem we will know where to go -- and the department will have the authority and the resources to do something about it.
 4. Over the years we have added departments and created agencies, each to serve a new constituency or to handle a particular task -- and these have grown and multiplied in what has become a hopeless confusion of form and function.
 5. The time has come to match our structure to our purposes -- to look with a fresh eye, and to organize the government by conscious, comprehensive design to meet the new needs of a new era.
 - (1) One hundred years ago, Abraham Lincoln stood on a battlefield and spoke of a government of the people, by the people and for the people.
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1. Too often since then, we have become a nation of the Government, by the Government, and for the Government.
- (2) By enacting these reforms, we can renew that principle that Lincoln stated so simply and so well.
- (3) By giving everyone's voice a chance to be heard, we will have government that truly is of the people.
- (4) By creating more centers of meaningful power, more places where decisions that really count can be made, by giving more people a chance to do something, we can have government that truly is by the people.
- (5) And by setting up a completely modern, functional system of government at the national level, we in Washington will at last be able to provide government that truly is for the people.

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I realize that what I am asking is that not only the Executive Branch in Washington but even this Congress will have to change by giving up some of its power.

1. Change is hard.

(1) But without change there can be no progress.

(2) And for each of us the question must be, not
"Will change cause me inconvenience?" but
"Will change bring the country progress?"

2. Giving up power is hard.

(1) But I would urge all of you, as leaders of this country, to remember that the truly revered leaders in world history are those who gave power to people, not those who took it away.

3. As we consider these reforms we will be acting, not for the next two years or the next ten years, but for the next hundred years.

(1) So let us approach these six great goals with a sense, not only of this moment in history, but also of history itself.

1. Let us act with the willingness to work together and the vision and the boldness and the courage of those great Americans who met in Philadelphia almost 190 years ago to create a Constitution.
2. Let us leave a heritage as they did -- not just for our children but for millions yet unborn -- of a nation where every American will have a chance not only to live in peace and to enjoy prosperity and opportunity, but to participate in a system of government where he knows not only his votes but his ideas count -- a system of government which will provide the means for America to reach heights of achievement undreamed of before.

Those men who met in Philadelphia left a great heritage because they had a vision -- not only of what the nation was, but of what it could become.

1. As I think of that vision, I recall that America was founded as the land of the open door -- as a haven for the oppressed, a land of opportunity, a place of refuge and of hope.

- (1) When the first settlers opened the door of America three and a half centuries ago, they came to escape persecution and to find opportunity -- and they left *wide* the door of welcome for others to follow.
- (2) When the thirteen colonies declared their independence almost two centuries ago, they opened the door to a new vision of liberty and of human fulfillment -- not just for an elite, but for all.
- (3) To the generations that followed, America's was the open door that beckoned millions from the old world to the new in search of a better life, a freer life, a fuller life, in which by their own decisions they could shape their own destinies.
 1. For the black American, the Indian, the Mexican-American, and for those others in our land who have not had an equal chance, the nation at last has begun to confront the need to press open the door of full and equal opportunity, and of human dignity.

2. For all Americans, with these changes I have proposed tonight we can open the door to a new era of opportunity.

(1) We can open the door to full and effective participation in the decisions that affect their lives.

(2) We can open the door to a new partnership among governments at all levels, and between those governments and the people themselves.

3. And by so doing, we can open wide the doors of human fulfillment for millions of people here in America.

In the next few weeks, I will spell out in greater detail the way I propose that we achieve these six great goals.

1. I ask this Congress to be responsive.

(1) If it is, then the 92nd Congress, at the end of its term, will be able to look back on a record more splendid than any in our history.

1. This can be the Congress that helped us end the longest war in the nation's history, and end it in a way that will give us at last a genuine chance for a full generation of peace.
2. This can be the Congress that helped achieve an expanding economy, with full employment and without inflation -- and without the deadly stimulus of war.
3. This can be the Congress that reformed a welfare system that has robbed recipients of their dignity while it robbed States and cities of their resources. 87
4. This can be the Congress that pressed forward the rescue of our environment, and established for the next generation an enduring legacy of parks for the people.
5. This can be the Congress that launched a new era in American medicine, in which the quality of medical care was enhanced while the costs were made less burdensome.

6. But above all, what this Congress can be remembered for is opening the way to a new American Revolution --

(1) a peaceful revolution in which power was turned back to the people --

(2) in which government at all levels was refreshed and renewed, and made truly responsive.

7. This can be a revolution as profound, as far-reaching, as exciting, as that first revolution almost 200 years ago -- and it can mean that just five years from now America will enter its third century as a young nation, new in spirit, with all the vigor and freshness with which it began its first century.

My colleagues in the Congress -- these are great goals, and they can make the sessions of this Congress a great moment for America.

1. So let us pledge together to go forward together -- by achieving these goals to give America the foundation today for a new greatness tomorrow and in all the years to come -- and in so doing to make this the greatest Congress in the history of this great and good nation.

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