

STATE-OF-THE-UNION**MESSAGE**

WASHINGTON (AP).

Text of President Johnson's State-of-the-Union message:

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

Two-hundred years ago, in 1785, nine assembled colonies first joined together to demand freedom from arbitrary power.

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

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

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

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

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

This is the search we begin tonight.

STATE OF THE WORLD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a world-wide desert of disappointed dreams. Our nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they reared

We are moving toward that destiny, never more rapidly than in the last four years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

AMERICA AND THE COMMUNIST NATIONS

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

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

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

I will carry forward their command.

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

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

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

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

In Asia, communism wears a more aggressive face.

We see that in Viet Nam.

Why are we there?

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

Second, our own security is tied to the peace of Asia. Twice in one generation we have had to fight against aggression in the Far East. To ignore aggression would

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

What is at stake is the cause of freedom. In that cause we shall never be found wanting.

THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We welcome them to the society of nations.

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

We seek not fidelity to an iron faith, but a diversity of belief as varied as man himself. We seek not to extend

the power of America but the progress of humanity. We seek not to dominate others but to strengthen the freedom of all.

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

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

These are some of the goals of the American nation in the world.

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

We seek peace.

We seek freedom.

We seek to enrich the life of man.

For that is the world in which we will flourish.

That is the world we mean for all men to have.

TOWARD THE GREAT SOCIETY

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

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

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

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

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

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

Isolated from neighbors and nature, confined by blighted cities and bleak suburbs, stunted by a poverty of learning and an emptiness of leisure.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tonight we accept that challenge.

A NATIONAL AGENDA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TASK

Our basic task is three fold:

—To keep our economy growing.

—To open for all Americans the opportunities now enjoyed by most Americans.

—To improve the quality of life for all.

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

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

I. A GROWING ECONOMY

Basic Policies

First, we must keep our nation prosperous. We seek full employment opportunity for every American. I will present a budget designed to move the economy forward. More money will be left in the hands of the consumer by a substantial cut in excise taxes. We will continue along the path toward a balanced budget and a balanced economy.

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

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

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

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

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

Continued

On the Farms

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

Increased Prosperity

We can help insure continued prosperity through:

- A regional recovery program to assist development of stricken areas left behind by our national progress.
- Further effort to provide our workers with the skills demanded by modern technology, for the laboring man is an indispensable force in the American system.
- Extension of the minimum wage to more than two million unprotected workers.
- Improvement and modernization of the unemployment compensation system.

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

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

Transportation for Growth

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

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

II. OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

Second, we must open opportunity to all our people.

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

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

—To the elderly, by providing hospital care under

Social Security and by raising benefit payments to those struggling to maintain the dignity of their later years.

—To the poor, through doubling the war against poverty this year.

—To Negro Americans, through enforcement of the civil rights law and elimination of barriers to the right to vote.

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

III. TO ENRICH THE LIFE OF ALL

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

Through Education

We begin with learning.

Every child must have the best education our nation can provide.

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

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

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

For the pre-school years we will help needy children become aware of the excitement of learning.

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

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

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

Through Better Health

an educated people but a healthy people.

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

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

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

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

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

Through Improving the World We Live In

THE CITY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To help control crime, we will recommend programs:

—To train local law enforcement officers.

—To put the best techniques of modern science at their disposal.

—To discover the causes of crime and better ways to prevent it.

I will soon assemble a panel of outstanding experts to search out answers to the national problem of crime and delinquency.

THE BEAUTY OF AMERICA

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

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

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

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

We hope to make the Potomac a model of beauty and recreation for the entire country—and preserve unspoiled stretches of some of our waterways with a wild rivers bill.

More ideas for a beautiful America will emerge from a White House conference on natural beauty which I will soon call.

ART AND SCIENCE

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

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

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

IV. THE GOVERNMENT

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

I am currently reviewing the structure of the executive branch. I hope to reshape and reorganize it to meet more effectively the tasks of today.

Wherever waste is found, I will eliminate it.

Last year we saved almost 3½ billion dollars by eliminating waste.

I intend to do better this year.

And I will soon report to you on our progress and on new economies we plan to make.

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

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

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

Last year I spoke to you after thirty-three years of public service—most of them on this hill.

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

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

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

HARDEST TASK

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

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

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

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

But men came and worked and endured and built.

Today that country is abundant with fruit, cattle, goats and sheep. There are pleasant homes, and lakes, and the floods are gone.

Why did men come to that once forbidding land?

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

Remembering this, I knew the answer.

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

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

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

It has guided us every step of the way.

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

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

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

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

So it was in the beginning.

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

JAN 5 1965

JAN 5 1965

CPYRGHT

CAPITOL STUFF



CPYRGHT

By TED LEWIS

Washington, Jan. 4—Considerable of the potential drama of President Johnson's State of the Union message was drained out of it in advance because of leaks over the last few weeks as to what he planned to say.

There was, for example, his intention to envision the Great Society. Then the word came out of Texas that he would emphasize prudent hopes of accomplishments through use of the so-called Johnson "consensus" technique.

None of these tips as to what his address tonight would contain helped build up the size of his television and radio audience. They only emphasized the long-obvious approach of the President to legislative, domestic and world problems.

So the only suspense concerned the way he said what it was already known he planned to say. His locution, therefore, took on last-minute importance.

As a result, all the 11th-hour refurbishing today of the President's address was aimed at making it "ring" with exactly the right tonal qualities, otherwise, Johnson might lose his audience before he had finished his address before a joint session of the new Congress.

The fact is, of course, that the President should never have allowed the leaks on his State of the Union speech. Once he had decided to break with tradition and make it at prime television time instead of at noon, as is customary, it would have been smart to keep the people guessing as to why he demanded the biggest audience possible.

He Passed Up Chances for Suspense

Such an address before both the nation and Congress had suspenseful dramatic possibilities. Johnson could have kept his plans for the four-year term uncertain. Would he, for example, construe his November election landslide as a mandate to throw his weight around as FDR did after his significant sweep in 1936? Or did he intend to adhere to his own "let-us-reason-together" style, believing that the times call for caution?

The chance for such a dramatic State of the Union message vanished long ago. LBJ made it clear, time after time, that his political credo had been set years ago and that he would carry on in his own style of patient prudence.

This was advance notice enough that his State of the Union speech would not display a new Johnson image, just the same old one that the country has been living with and approved, in his opinion, last November.

Both tonight's speech and the President's inaugural address on Jan. 20 are aimed at emphasizing Johnson's determination to persist in sticking to his own style.

This style, the political historians agree, is most suited for a period of comparative normalcy, such as now exists, with the nation living generally high off the hog and with no world problem yet too hot to handle.

The President, it can be said, is most aware of this. And in this month of January he is most probably more popular than he is ever likely to be again while in the White House.

For this reason he is inclined to go easy and intends to do nothing to shake the country's confidence in him. Neither does he want to risk, at this stage, wearing out the good will of Congress.

He Is a Sipper—Not a Gulper

As one friend of the President put it colloquially: "He is determined to be temperate in his use of his vast powers. He doesn't want to drink the whole bottle and pass out, but take a drink at a time and make it last."

This was to be apparent in the entire tone of his State of the Union speech. What is basically worrying the Administration is the problem of whether the economy can be kept in high gear beyond the first six months of this year.

In typical Johnson fashion, studies are already being made to meet a possible economic downturn. These studies involve some priming, through public works, etc. In addition, of course, the present Johnson drive to cut excise taxes has the fundamental aim of keeping the economy rolling as at present.

The problems abroad, as referred to by the President tonight, are considered the kind that will be faced by the Administration for years hence. The U.S. has troubles in Viet Nam and the Congo and Cuba, for example, but Soviet Russia has similar troubles—in Eastern Europe, China and at home.

But in the long run all the foreign affairs issues are bound to drag down Johnson's popularity rating at home. This is considered by the White House as a fact of political life that any incumbent President must accept.

He Knows the Honeymoon Is Doomed

And while the President is now enjoying a political honeymoon, there is no expectation that it will last beyond the present Congress. The analyses of last November's Congressional election results indicate that in the 1966 off-year Senate and House elections, the present one-sided Democratic majorities will be sharply cut. This sort of swing is traditional in the election after a big Presidential sweep.

In an historical sense, Johnson's first State of the Union speech a year ago was clearly more significant than his follow-up address tonight.

It was then that he made known his basic aims. He declared war on poverty in that address, less than two months after he had succeeded John F. Kennedy in the White House. And at the same time he accented his determination to hold down federal spending, as he did again tonight.

CPYRGHT **The State of the Union**

It did not require the unusual evening session of Congress to enhance the drama of President Johnson's second message on the state of the union. For, just as his first statement to the Legislature on the needs of the country, as he saw them, was delivered in the shadow of a great national tragedy, this one was issued in the bright afterglow of a great personal triumph.

The nation naturally watched to see how Mr. Johnson would bear himself after winning the highest percentage of the popular vote ever accorded a Presidential candidate, in a year of political upheaval. It watched, too, to see how the generalities of the campaign would be fleshed out; how, in this first full-dress presentation of his ideas, the President would differ from his predecessor.

The differences were marked. In foreign affairs they reflected the divergence between Mr. Kennedy's campaign for the Presidency and Mr. Johnson's, the one based on the dangers confronting America, the other on the extent to which the voters were asked to believe that these threats had been surmounted. But there was also a difference in kind. In the opening months of the Kennedy administration, the danger to the United States was seen as monolithic, nuclear. Last night, President Johnson portrayed it as diverse, involving less than a threat of nuclear holocaust, but still stubborn.

It was notable, for example, that he spoke cordially of the Soviet Union—but tartly of “acts designed to injure our interests, our citizens, or our

establishments abroad.” And it fits both the trend of the times and the mood of the American people that he should pledge to resist such acts. But on the critical matter of South Viet Nam Mr. Johnson was, however resolute, uninformative.

When the President turned to the domestic scene, he became far more detailed in his exposition—even though he perforce left much to be explained. His sketch of the Great Society was sharper than he had made it before; the areas in which it was to operate, at the governmental level, blocked out: the fight against poverty; urban problems; health; education; the stimulation of cultural activity. But the costs, whether in terms of the effect upon individual initiative, local responsibility and existing institutions or in cold cash, were not specified. The Great Society remains a goal, not a project.

In sum, Mr. Johnson's message was confident, energetic and fundamentally vague. His proposals cannot be discussed profitably until they take more concrete form—except to say that they have less the air of a response to demanding needs than of a program created to justify a slogan.

This does not mean that they are necessarily to be rejected on that account. It does mean that they must be studied with particular care, as they are presented to the Congress in later messages. To combine military strength, an active foreign policy, large expenditures in new fields at home, with economy and tax cuts, will require the very best efforts of President and Congress. And the exercise invites the public's critical eye.

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The State of the Union

President Johnson's State of the Union message is a broad-gauged and progressive statement of the national interest. Notwithstanding the bland and mildly conservative aura emanating from his Texas ranch in the past two weeks, the speech makes plain that Mr. Johnson has interpreted his election mandate in generally liberal terms.

Although Mr. Johnson surveyed the world situation briefly, he ventured nothing new in foreign policy. There will be little dissent to his highly generalized remarks about the need for American military strength, for continued efforts at peaceful understanding with the Soviet Union, and for cooperation with Western Europe on the basis of equality. But on the hard questions such as future policy in Vietnam and nuclear sharing with NATO allies, the speech casts no light.

Mr. Johnson becomes more specific as he gets closer to home. He has organized his legislative program around three major national tasks: (1) to keep the economy growing, (2) to "open for all Americans the opportunities now enjoyed by most Americans," and (3) to improve the quality of life for all.

The chief weakness in the President's domestic program is his inadequate recommendation for educational improvement. For easily understandable political reasons, he has tried to circumvent the religious and ideological controversy surrounding general aid for elementary and secondary education by tying his school proposals to the poverty program. He intends to aid those public schools serving low-income families, presumably by greatly expanding the present grants to defense-impacted areas where there are large numbers of servicemen. Scholarships and loans are promised to bright but needy college students. All of this is unobjectionable. But will it meet the needs of school systems suffering from low teacher salaries and overcrowded classrooms? We think it self-evident

that it will not.

President Johnson has made his anticipated proposal for a reduction in excise taxes, but regrettably not coupling with it badly needed, long-overdue tax reforms. But he has urged Congress to overhaul its own procedures to permit rapid action on temporary income tax cuts, to appropriate funds for standby public works, and to modernize the unemployment compensation system. If adopted, these three measures would considerably increase the nation's capacity to act if another recession should occur.

His economic program also calls for extension of the area redevelopment program, adding minimum wage coverage for 2,000,000 workers, and revitalizing passenger transportation starting with a high-speed project between Boston and Washington.

Mr. Johnson calls for doubling expenditures in the war against poverty, a welcome recognition of the magnitude of this undertaking and of its inadequate start. He has renewed his Administration's support for medicare, for regional medical centers to treat some major illnesses, and for community centers to help the mentally ill and the mentally retarded.

A moving portion of the message was devoted to Mr. Johnson's plans to conserve the natural beauty of this country "as a green legacy for tomorrow" by creating more large and small parks, more seashores and more open spaces.

The Great Society, Mr. Johnson said, "will not be the gift of Government or the creation of Presidents." We think he is too modest here. Although it is true that Government acting alone cannot create national greatness, Presidential leadership and action by Congress are indispensable. If President Johnson continues to exercise his demonstrated ability to lead, Congress and the nation are likely to respond.

The State of the Union message gives on the whole a good start to the President's domestic program; but the crucial tests will come in his ability to defend it and his willingness to fight for it in the battles ahead.

JAN 5 1965

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CPYRGHT

State of the Union

President Johnson gave Congress a big assignment last night. If it follows his recommendations—and as an experienced hand at the legislative process he has a keen sense of what Congress can and will do—it will enact several major programs which have been stalled for years. These include a program of medical care for the elderly under Social Security, a truly ambitious \$1.5 billion program of Federal aid to education at the elementary and high school level, creation of a Cabinet-ranked Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, and a substantial cut in the excise taxes.

Mr. Johnson has been prudent thus far in his relationship with Congress, as in other aspects of his Administration. He obviously feels confident that the new Congress, with its enlarged Democratic majorities, can approve his recommendations. And when these proposals are coupled with his request that the anti-poverty program be doubled in scope, and his hint of further civil rights measures dealing with voting, it is evident that the President intends to push without delay toward the Great Society he visualizes.

Some of his proposals, notably Federal aid for private as well as public schools, and medical care, are sure to arouse opposition in Congress. Their approval by Congress and the public will depend very much on the precise form of the legislation.

In terms of headlines, the news in the President's message on the State of the Union was his expression of hope that the new leaders of the Soviet Union will visit the United States to see us at first hand. To live together in peace, as Mr. Johnson said, the people of the world must know each other better. He is to be commended for his own intention to pursue this point.

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Far From the Pedernales

The President wound up his wide-ranging report to the Congress on a note of pride, mixed perhaps with a touch of wistfulness.

He was speaking of his boyhood in Texas along the Pedernales River, which "flooded the valley every spring." Why, he asked, did men come to that barren, forbidding land—a harsh land of scrub cedar, angular hills and a few live oaks? They came, said the President proudly, to work, to endure, to build—to wrest from the rough environment a better life for themselves and their children.

Had they been able to listen in, one wonders what those early Texans would have had to say about the unveiling of the design for the Great Society. They might well have thought that the move from the Pedernales to the Big City had somehow unhinged that Johnson boy.

At any rate, no one can complain that the President did not propose enough or that he promised too little. He promised so much, in fact, that the details will have to be treated as the individual messages go to Congress. But one thing is clear. No man is going to be called upon to labor from dawn until dark to scratch a living from the "harsh

caliche soil." On the contrary, let the presidential vision of the Great Society come true and all of us will have entered the land of milk and honey.

We would like to suggest one appendix. Mr. Johnson roamed around the world, stressing mainly peace, harmony and a getting-to-know-you theme. But he came down hard on the point of aggression in Viet Nam.

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

Influential voices in this country are suggesting that we should get out of Viet Nam, and we take the President's statement to mean that he, at least, rejects this advice. Certainly we hope so.

For if we will not honor our pledge in Viet Nam, we will not honor a pledge anywhere. The hostile elements will be quick to note this weakness of will, and we will find ourselves being pushed back and back and back.

Under such conditions no society could thrive—least of all a Great Society.

JAN 5 1965

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A Call for a Greater America

President Tells Nation of His 'Dream'

By Chalmers M. Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

"There was a dream . . . Remembering this, I knew the answer."

So said Lyndon Baines Johnson to the Congress and the Nation last night and it was a dream of an ultimate America he pictured for his vast audience . . .

An America at peace with the world, and at home more concerned with the "quality of its people" than the products of its toil.

Chartering the Course

The purpose of a State of the Union Message is to characterize the Nation and to chart its most fruitful course in the year or years ahead. That was what the President was doing last night.

The Nation, to Mr. Johnson, is today "free and restless, growing and full of hope." No phrase could better describe the man who has just won a massive mandate to lead for the next four years.

He spoke of the "harsh caliche soil," the calcium carbonate of that stony region in his own beloved Pedernales River valley in Texas. A man is shaped by his environment and that surely is true of Lyndon Johnson. The "dreams" of those who came to his valley provided him with inspiration, with "the answer," to the whole Nation's future.

It may not be, as he said, "a personal vision" of a President alone. Certainly Mr. Johnson encompassed

News Analysis

far more than rural Texas in what he said last night.

Thoughts of Peace

After the fashion of his predecessors, the President spoke first of his hopes for peace. Here he proposed that the new Soviet leaders come take a look at the United States.

Other officials explained that the President feels that Nikita Khrushchev's visit here in 1959 helped give him a better perspective on this Nation's economic vitality and its desire for peace. He wants Khrushchev's successors to see the same things for themselves.

The proposed exchange of TV talks would serve a related purpose: informing each nation about the other. Such a proposal was discussed in the Kennedy years but never came off beyond a Presidential interview printed in the Soviet press.

Mr. Johnson's speech yesterday, however, concentrated more on domestic matters, than any State of the Union Message in recent memory.

Central to all he wants to do is the President's great hope and evident belief that the major part of the civil rights struggle now lies behind us. Men's minds, he obviously feels, can now turn to Nationwide constructive purposes of what he has called the Great Society.

Here his list of improvements was almost endless, an agenda for the rest of

the century including every conceivable problem of a modern, urbanized and expanding society.

Central to that was his emphasis on education, so designed, he hopes, to avoid yet another stalemate over the church-state controversy.

Taken as a whole, what the President was proposing is, perhaps "a dream." But it is indeed a very proper, indeed an inspiring dream, for a nation "free and restless, growing and full of hope."

Only Major Surprises in Hill Speech Are Travel Plans

Hill Response to LBJ:

Restraint

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By JACK STEELE

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Congress responded with restraint today to President Johnson's appeal for new Federal health, education and conservation programs to initiate his "Great Society" and to his firm pledge that the U. S. will not pull out of Viet Nam.

The President's State of the Union message delivered to a joint Congressional session last night, evoked neither wild enthusiasm nor harsh criticism from most of his former colleagues.

His first message as a President elected in his own right, held only two major surprises — the olive branch he held out to the Soviet's new leaders by inviting them to visit the U. S. and state their case to the American people on TV and the disclosure of his own plans to tour Europe and South America this year.

RETURN VISIT

By inference at least, the President indicated he would be receptive to a return invitation to visit Russia. Moves have already been made thru diplomatic channels to open the way for such an exchange of visits. White House aides revealed.

Democrats generally praised as "attainable" this year the rather modest start Mr. Johnson proposed for his long-range Great Society program, which ultimately might prove very costly. He hinted that all of its goals to improve the "quality" of American life might not be achieved for a decade or even a generation.

He called for immediate enactment of medicare and social security increases, for \$1.5 billion a year in new Federal aid for schools — including benefits for both public and parochial school students — and for a network of 2 Federal diagnostic and treatment centers for crippling diseases, which aides said would cost \$1.2 billion over the next five years.

PROGRAMS

He also proposed, without spelling out details or costs, new Federal programs to prevent water and air pollution, curb crime, speed transportation, landscape highways and create a new department of housing and urban development.

Most Republicans hailed the "goals" of his Great Society program, but said they would wait until the specifics and costs of his far-flung proposals are spelled out in a series of special messages.

Mr. Johnson will send five such messages — on health, education, immigration, foreign aid and space — to Congress before his inauguration on Jan. 20.

His first message, on health, will go to the Capitol on Thursday in an effort to get the medicare program off to an early start. His indorsement of medicare drew the loudest applause among nearly 60 such interruptions of his speech.

LATER MESSAGE

The President did not specify the amount of the fiscal 1966 budget he will propose in a later

message.

He said only that he would recommend a "substantial" cut in excise taxes, but White House sources estimated the cut would range between \$1 billion and \$2 billion.

The President's unequivocal promise that U. S. forces will stay in Viet Nam, made in the relatively brief section of his message devoted to foreign affairs, brought little reaction from Congressional leaders.

It obviously was intended to soften recent criticism of the Administration's Viet Nam policies by many Democrats, including some party leaders who have suggested that the U. S. should pave the way for a pullout by seeking an agreement for a "neutral" South Viet Nam.

BLUNTLY

Mr. Johnson said bluntly he would not break the pledge made by his three White House predecessors to aid the Viet Nameese against communist aggression.

Obviously aiming his words also at Moscow and Peking, Mr. Johnson emphasized that the U. S. has no intention of withdrawing from southeast asia until "aggressors leave their neighbors in peace."

"To ignore aggression would only increase the danger of a larger war," he warned.

Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) has urged changes in U. S. Viet Nam policies and Armed Services Committee Chairman Richard B. Russell (Ga.), one of Mr. Johnson's oldest Senate friends, has called for a Congressional review of the Administration's Viet Nam program.

NEW POLICIES

Sens. Frank Church (Idaho) and Wayne Morse (Ore.) are other Administration supporters who have demanded new policies in Viet Nam.

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INTERPRETIVE REPORT

Bid to Russia Finally Jells

By CROSBY S. NOYES
Foreign Affairs Editor of The Star

President Johnson's invitation to the new leaders of Russia to visit the United States marks the climax of a somewhat hesitant diplomatic courtship.

For some months there has been a good deal of vague private talk about such a visit without anyone actually popping the question. The latest go-round came during Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko's talks with Secretary of State Dean Rusk last month.

Johnson apparently decided to take the plunge down at the ranch last week. It was one of the later and least haggled-over proposals of the State-of-the-Union message he delivered to a joint session of Congress and a television audience last night.

It is still something less than a formal invitation. The Soviet government was merely advised of the passage in Johnson's speech a few hours before its delivery here.

May Invite Johnson

The Russian reaction, however, is expected to be favorable. It is believed quite possible that they may turn the invitation around and invite Johnson to visit Moscow first. In this case, it is thought quite probable the President would accept.

The one proviso on any trip to Russia would certainly be a preliminary visit to Western Europe, which was also envisaged in the President's message. It would be a major breach of alliance protocol for Johnson to visit Moscow without first consulting with his major allies.

The specific suggestion of televised speeches by Russian

and American leaders in each other's countries picks up an idea of the late President Kennedy. Former Presidential Press Secretary Pierre Salinger was in the midst of negotiating the idea with representatives of Premier Nikita Khrushchev in 1962 when the advent of the Cuban crisis put a temporary crimp in all efforts in the direction of improved East-West comprehension.

Stress Informal Visits

It is still felt, however, that such exchanges between the leaders of Russia and the United States would be helpful. The emphasis of the Johnson invitation is on a relatively informal meeting with no great problems to be resolved. This, in contrast to the full-dress summit meeting, involving issues of earth-shaking importance, for which the present administration shows no great enthusiasm.

Johnson is said to feel that Nikita Khrushchev's visit to the United States in 1959 was on the whole a good thing. It gave him a picture of American life and attitudes which no number of diplomatic tables could possibly convey.

The climax of that trip, in the opinion of American officials, was the meeting in New York with members of the ultra-tycoonish Economic Club.

Khrushchev was visibly impressed by what he saw and heard. By odd coincidence, so was Dean Rusk, attending the meeting as head of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Who Is Top Man?

The suggested visit of the Russian leaders has another, slightly more subtle motive behind it. The use of the word "leaders" is quite deliberate.

Where it is used in connection with American "leaders," read "Johnson." The point is that it is still far from clear in Washington who is the top man in Moscow or to whom such an invitation should properly be addressed.

On his recent visit, Gromyko brought greetings from Alexei N. Kosygin, Leonid I. Brezhnev and Anastas Mikoyan—starting with Mikoyan, who holds the normally titular job of president. A visit by one of this group would give the State Department an interesting pointer on who is running the show in Russia.

Kosygin, the Soviet premier, up to now has handled relations with non-Communist countries. He has accepted an invitation to visit Great Britain sometime this year. Yesterday it was announced that he also would visit India.

Brezhnev, the top Communist party leader, has played a leading role in relations among Communist countries, but so far has remained in the background in general international affairs.

Tass Report Received

The official Russian news agency Tass, in its first report of the speech, mentioned only Johnson's remark that if the two countries are to live in peace they must know each other better.

Tass also said "the President" stressed at the same time that the United States' interests extend to all corners of the shrinking planet and thereby actually preached the American policy of interference in the affairs of other countries. . . .

Taken as a whole, the state-of-the-Union message amounts to a sort of coming-out declaration by the President. The restrictions imposed on him by the constitutional situation following the death of President Kennedy no longer apply now that his administration is installed in its own right and

with a functioning Vice President.

The normal international activities of modern American presidents are now to be resumed.

This is the reason for the emphasis on foreign travel. It is the availability of the President that is emphasized, rather than any particular plan or schedule. Both South America and Europe were marked down for presidential visits this year, though the order and timing and the countries involved have not yet been decided.

There is some significance, however, in the fact that Johnson said he would be "returning" visits to allied leaders in Western Europe. The protocol flurry with French President Charles de Gaulle over who should make the call has been resolved. A visit to Paris will quite certainly be included in any European junket.

Much Not Specified

Apart from travel projects the message is remarkable more for what was left out of it than what was included. It is pointed out that a message of this sort, where foreign affairs is limited to some 1,300 words, allows no space for cataloguing of serious problems which confront the country.

Hence, there was no mention of such enormously preoccupying matters as the Congo or disarmament or the Kennedy round of tariff negotiations. Such things as foreign aid and foreign trade are implicit in much that the President had to say without being discussed as specific programs.

These notable omissions gave added importance to items singled out for discussion: The war in Viet Nam and the restatement of the American pledge there—the sharp slap at those who "injure our interests, our citizens, or our establishments abroad" by burning down American libraries, for example.

See Parallel Policy

There was the conviction that the realities of mutual interest would force a parallelism of policy as long as European countries continue to

JAN 5 1965

President Suggests Visit To U.S. by Soviet Leaders

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—President Johnson said he hopes Russia's new leaders can visit America, because "if we are to live together in peace, we must come to know each other better." And he suggested that Soviet and American leaders exchange television appearances.

The message, no formal invitation but included in his State of the Union speech, was communicated to the Kremlin before the President went to the Capitol, officials said.

The suggestion recalled the 1959 U.S. visit of Premier Khrushchev, following a Russian tour by Vice President Nixon. President Eisenhower's plans to return the Khrushchev visit in 1960 were wrecked when a U.S. spy plane was downed in Russia.

Similarly, arrangements by President Kennedy's press secretary, Pierre Salinger, for an exchange of television appearances in 1962 were dashed by the October discovery of Russian missiles based in Cuba.

WASHINGTON POST
AND TIMES HERALD

JAN 5 1965

Tass Report Omits Johnson's Invitation

LONDON, Jan. 5 (Tuesday)

(AP)—Tass, the Soviet news agency, reported President Johnson's State of the Union Message briefly today but without direct mention of his hope that Soviet leaders can visit the United States.

The report said Mr. Johnson remarked that the Soviet and American peoples must know each other better if they mean to live in peace.

Tass noted that the President outlined his plans to build "the so-called Great Society" and added:

"This pretentious slogan means the application of a series of measures to improve the education system, combat poverty, reduce unemployment, improve medical services, liquidate racial discrimination, decrease crime and help distressed areas."

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