

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members  
of the House and Senate, My Fellow  
Americans:

I will be brief -- for our time  
is necessarily short and our agenda is  
already long.

Last year's Congressional session  
was the longest in peacetime history.  
With that foundation, let us work  
together to make this year's session  
the best in history.

Let this session of Congress be  
known as the session which did more for  
civil rights than the last hundred  
sessions combined;

— as the session which enacted the most far-reaching tax cut of our time;

— as the session which declared all-out war on human poverty and unemployment in these United States;

— as the session which finally recognized the health needs of all our older citizens;

— as the session which reformed our tangled transportation and transit policies;

— as the session which achieved the most effective, efficient foreign aid program ever;

and as the session which helped to build more homes, more schools, more libraries and more hospitals than any single session of Congress in our nation's history.

All this and more can and must be done.

It can be done by this summer.

And it can be done without any increase in spending. In fact, under the Budget I shall shortly submit, it can be done with an actual reduction in Federal expenditures and employment.

We have in 1964 a unique opportunity and obligation -- to prove the success of our system --



~~to~~ to ~~disprove~~ those cynics and critics  
at home and abroad who question our  
purpose and our competence.

if we fail -- if we fritter and  
fumble away our opportunity in needless,  
senseless quarrels between Democrats  
and Republicans,

or between the House and the  
Senate,

or between the South and the North,  
or between Congress and the  
Administration --

then history will rightfully judge  
us harshly.

But if we succeed --

if we can achieve these goals by  
forging in this country a greater sense  
of union --



then, and only then, can we take full satisfaction in the state of the Union.

## II.

Here in the Congress, you can demonstrate effective legislative leadership by discharging the public business with clarity and dispatch -- voting each important proposal up or voting it down but at least bringing it to a fair and final vote.

Let us carry forward the plans and programs of John Fitzgerald Kennedy-- not because of our sorrow or sympathy -- but because they are right.

In his memory, I especially ask all members of my own political faith --

in this election year -- to put country ahead of party, and to debate principles, not personalities.

For my part, I pledge a progressive Administration which is efficient, honest and frugal.

The Budget to be submitted shortly is in full accord with this pledge.

It will cut our deficit in half, from \$10 billion to \$4.9 billion.

It will be, in proportion to our national output, the smallest budget since 1951.

It will call for a substantial reduction in Federal employment, a feat accomplished only once before in the last ten years.

While maintaining the full strength of our defenses, it will call for the lowest number of civilian personnel in the Department of Defense since 1950.

It will call for total expenditures of \$97.9 billion -- compared to \$98.4 for the current year, a reduction of more than \$500 million.

It will call for new obligational authority of \$103.8 billion -- a reduction of more than \$4 billion below last year's request of \$107.9 billion.

But it is not a stand-still budget -- for America cannot afford to stand still. Our population is growing. Our economy is more complex. Our people's needs are expanding.



By closing down obsolete installations --

-- by curtailing less urgent programs--

-- by cutting back where cutting back is wise --

-- by insisting on a dollar's worth for a dollar spent --

-- I am able to recommend in this reduced Budget the most Federal support in history for education, for health, for retraining the unemployed, and for helping the economically and physically handicapped.

This Budget -- and this year's legislative program -- are designed to help each and every American citizen fulfill his basic hopes:

~~his~~ his hopes for a fair chance to make good;

~~his~~ his hopes for fair play from the law;

~~his~~ his hopes for a full-time job on full-time pay;

~~his~~ his hopes for a decent home for his family in a decent community;

his hopes for a good school for his children with good teachers;

and his hopes for security when faced with sickness, unemployment, or old age.

III.

Unfortunately many Americans live on the outskirts of hope --

some because of their poverty, some because of their color, and all too many because of both.

Our task is to help replace their despair with opportunity.

This Administration here and now declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I ask this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort.

It will not be a short or easy struggle -- no single weapon or strategy will suffice -- but we shall not rest until that war is won.

The richest nation on earth can afford to win it.



We cannot afford to lose it.

\$1,000 invested in salvaging an unemployable youth today can return \$40,000 or more in his lifetime.

Poverty is a national problem, requiring improved national organization and support. But this attack, to be effective, must also be organized at the state and local level and supported by state and local efforts.

For the war against poverty will not be won in Washington. It must be won in the field -- in every private home and every public office, from the courthouse to the White House.

The program I shall propose will emphasize this cooperative approach — to help that one-fifth of all American families with incomes too small to meet their basic needs.

Our chief weapons in a more pin-pointed attack will be better schools, better health, better homes, better training and better job opportunities to help more Americans -- especially young Americans -- escape from squalor and misery.

Very often a lack of jobs and money is not the cause of poverty, but the symptom.

The cause may lie deeper -- in our failure to give our fellow citizens a fair chance to develop their own capacities -- in a lack of education and training, a lack of medical care and housing, a lack of decent communities in which to live and bring up children.

Whatever the cause, our joint Federal-local effort must pursue poverty wherever it exists --

in city slums and small towns,  
in sharecropper shacks,  
in migrant worker camps,  
and on Indian reservations, --  
among whites as well as Negroes,



among the young as well as  
the aged,

in boom towns and depressed areas.

Our aim is not only to relieve  
the symptom of poverty but to cure  
it -- and, above all, to prevent it.

No single piece of legislation,  
however, will suffice:

We must launch a special effort  
in the chronically distressed areas  
of Appalachia.

We must expand our small but  
successful Area Redevelopment Program.

We must enact Youth Employment  
legislation to put jobless, aimless,  
hopeless youngsters to work on useful  
projects.

We must distribute more food to the needy through a broader Food Stamp Program.

We must create a National Service Corps to help the economically handicapped of our own country as the Peace Corps helps those abroad.

We must modernize our Unemployment Insurance and establish a high level Commission on Automation. If we have the brainpower to invent these machines, we have the brainpower to make certain they are a boon and not a bane to humanity.

We must extend the coverage of our Minimum Wage laws to more than 2 million workers now lacking this basic protection of purchasing power.

We must, by including special school aid funds as part of our Education program, improve the quality of teaching, training and counseling in our hardest-hit areas.

We must build more Libraries in every area -- and more hospitals and nursing homes under the Hill-Burton Act -- and train more nurses to staff them.

We must provide hospital insurance for our older citizens, financed by every worker and his employer, under Social Security, contributing no more than \$1 a month during the employee's working career to protect him in his old age in a dignified manner,



without cost to the Treasury, against the devastating ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ <sup>HARDSHIP</sup> of prolonged or repeated illness.

We must, as part of a revised ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ Housing and Urban Renewal program, give more help to those displaced by ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ slum clearance, provide more housing for our ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ poor and our elderly, and seek as our ultimate goal, in our ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ free enterprise system, a decent home for every American family.

We must ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ help obtain more modern mass transit within our communities as well as low-cost transportation between them.

Above all, we must release ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ \$11 billion of tax reduction into the private ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ spending stream to create new jobs and new markets in every area.

These programs are obviously not for the poor or under-privileged alone.

Every American family will benefit by the extension of Social Security to cover the hospital costs of their aged parents.

Every American community will benefit from the construction or modernization of schools, libraries, hospitals and nursing homes -- from the training of more nurses -- and from the improvement of urban renewal and public transit.

And every American taxpayer, corporate or individual,



will benefit from the earliest possible passage of the pending tax bill -- from both the new investment it will bring, and the new jobs it will create.

That tax bill has been thoroughly discussed for a year. Now we need action.

The new Budget clearly allows it.

Our taxpayers surely deserve it.

Our economy strongly demands it.

Every month of delay dilutes its benefits in 1964 for consumption, investment, and employment.

For until the bill is signed, its investment incentives cannot be deemed certain, and the withholding rate cannot be reduced -- and it should now be reduced to 14% instead of 15%. I therefore urge the Congress to take final action on this bill by the first of February.



For however proud we may be of the unprecedented progress of our free enterprise economy over the last three years, we cannot permit it to pause.

In 1963, for the first time in history, we crossed the 70 million job mark -- but we will soon need more than 75 million.

In 1963, our gross national product reached the \$600 billion level -- \$100 billion higher than when we took office. But it easily could and should be still \$30 billion higher today.

Wages, profits and family income are also at their highest levels in history --

but four million workers and 13% of our industrial capacity are still idle.

We need a tax cut now to keep this country moving.

V.

For our goal is not merely to spread the work. Our goal is to create more jobs.

I believe the enactment of a 35-hour week would sharply increase costs, invite inflation, impair our ability to compete and merely share instead of creating employment.

But I am equally opposed to the 45 or 50 hour week in those industries where consistently excessive use of overtime causes increased unemployment.

I recommend, therefore, legislation authorizing the creation of tri-partite industry committees to determine, on an industry-by-industry basis, as to where a higher penalty rate for overtime would increase job openings without unduly increasing costs -- and authorizing the establishment of such higher rates.

## VI.

Let me make one principle of this Administration abundantly clear: All of these increased opportunities -- in employment, education, housing and every field -- must be open to Americans of every color.



As far as the writ of Federal law will run, we must abolish not some but all racial discrimination.

For this is not merely an economic issue -- or a social, political or international issue. It is a moral issue -- and it must be met by the passage this session of the bill now pending in the House.

All members of the public should have equal access to facilities open to the public.

All members of the public should be equally eligible for Federal benefits financed by the public.

All members of the public should have an equal chance to vote for public officials -- and to send their children to good public schools -- and to contribute their talents to the public good.

Today Americans of all races stand side by side in Berlin and Viet Nam.

They died side by side in Korea.

Surely they can work and eat and travel side by side in America.

~~They~~.

We must also lift by legislation the bars of discrimination against those who seek entry into our country,

particularly those with much-needed  
skills and those joining their families.

In establishing preferences, a nation built by the immigrants of all lands can ask those who now seek admission: "What can you do for our country?"

But we should not be asking: "In what country were you born?"

VIII.

For our ultimate goal is a world without war, a world made safe for diversity, in which all men, goods and ideas can freely move across every border and boundary.



We must advance toward this goal in 1964 in at least ten different ways:

~~OUT~~ First, we must maintain -- and our reduced defense budget will maintain -- that margin of military safety and superiority obtained through three years of steadily increasing the quality and quantity of our strategic, conventional and anti-guerilla forces. In 1964 we will be better prepared than ever before to defend the cause of freedom -- whether it is threatened by outright aggression or by the infiltration practiced by those in Hanoi and Havana who ship arms and men across international borders to **FOMENT** ~~insurrection.~~ insurrection.

And we must continue to use that  
strength, as John Kennedy used it in  
the Cuba crisis and for the Test Ban  
Treaty, to demonstrate both the futility  
of nuclear war and the possibilities of  
lasting peace.

Second, we must take new  
steps -- and we shall make new proposals  
at Geneva -- toward the control and  
eventual abolition of arms. Even in  
the absence of agreement we must not  
stockpile arms beyond our needs or  
seek an excess of military power that  
could be provocative as well as wasteful.

It is in this spirit that in this fiscal year we are cutting back our production of enriched uranium by 25%, shutting down 4 plutonium piles and closing many non-essential military installations. And it is in this spirit that we call on our adversaries to do the same.

(C) Third, we must make increased use of our food as an instrument of peace, making it available -- by sale, trade, loan or donation -- to hungry people in all nations which tell us of their needs and accept proper conditions of distribution.



~~THE~~ Fourth, we must assure our pre-eminence in the peaceful exploration of outer space, focusing on an expedition to the moon in this decade -- in cooperation with other powers if possible, alone if necessary.

~~THE~~ Fifth, we must expand world trade. Having recognized in the Act of 1962 that we must buy as well as sell, we now expect our trading partners to recognize that we must sell as well as buy. We are willing to give them competitive access to our market -- asking only that they do the same for us.

Sixth, we must continue -- through such measures as the Interest Equalization Tax as well as the cooperation of other nations -- our recent progress toward balancing our international accounts.

This Administration must and will preserve the present gold value of the dollar.

Seventh, we must become better neighbors with the free states of the Americas -- working with the councils of the OAS, with a stronger Alliance For Progress, and with all the men and women of this hemisphere who believe in liberty and justice for all.

Eighth, we must strengthen the ability of free nations everywhere to develop their independence and raise their standard of living -- and thereby frustrate those who prey on poverty and chaos. To do this, the rich must help the poor -- and we must do our part. We must achieve a more rigorous administration of our development assistance, with larger roles for private investors, for other industrialized nations, for international agencies and for the recipient nations themselves.

Ninth, we must strengthen our Atlantic and Pacific partnerships,



maintain our alliances and make the United Nations a more effective instrument for national independence and international order.

~~END~~ Tenth, and finally, we must develop with our Allies new means of bridging the gap between East and West -- facing danger boldly wherever danger exists -- but being equally bold in our search for new agreements which can enlarge the hopes of all while violating the interests of none.

In short, we must be constantly prepared for the worst and constantly acting for the best --

~~was~~ strong enough to win a war and  
wise enough to prevent one.

We shall neither act as aggressors  
nor tolerate acts of aggression.

We intend to bury no one -- and  
we do not intend to be buried.

We can fight, if we must, as we  
have fought before -- but we pray we  
will never have to fight again.

# IX.

My fellow Americans: In these  
last seven sorrowful weeks, we have  
learned anew that nothing is so enduring  
as faith and nothing is so degrading  
as hate.

John Kennedy was a victim of hate --  
but he was also a builder of faith --  
faith in our fellow Americans,  
whatever their creed or color or station  
in life;

and faith in the future of man,  
whatever his divisions and differences.

This faith was echoed in all parts  
of the world. On every continent and  
in every land to which I traveled, I  
found faith and hope and love toward  
this land and all its people.

I ask you now, in the Congress and  
in the country, to join with me in  
expressing and fulfilling that faith --



in working for a nation that  
is free from want and a world that  
is free from hate --

a world of peace and justice,  
freedom and abundance, for our time  
and for all time to come.

# # # # #