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Strategic Evaluation Memorandum #3

State of the Union Messages in the Modern Era

Office of Planning and Evaluation
The White House

September 14, 1981


MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

(UNCLASSIFIED/SENSITIVE)

STRATEGIC EVALUATION MEMORANDUM #3

TO: Edwin Meese
James Baker
Michael Deaver 

FROM: Richard S. Bear

SUBJECT: State of the Union Messages in the Modern Era

DATE: September 10, 1981

This Strategic Evaluation Memorandum transmits an historical analysis of the use, functions, and effectiveness of Presidential State of the Union Messages. It is based largely on an in-depth study of the 70 messages prepared during the period 1913 - 1981.

After you have had a chance to review this study, we will be forwarding a Strategic Planning Memorandum which will provide detailed recommendations on the preparation, content, and delivery of President Reagan's State of the Union Message to Congress in January 1982. This speech will initiate Phases IV and V of the President's Strategic Plan.

STRATEGIC EVALUATION MEMORANDUM #3

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES IN THE MODERN ERA

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SECTION A

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES IN THE MODERN ERA - AN ANALYSIS

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STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES IN THE MODERN ERA

"[The President] shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient".

- Article II, section 3 of the Constitution

I. INTRODUCTION

The State of the Union Message is one of the most important tools of the modern Presidency. An evaluation of the use, functions, and effectiveness of Presidential State of the Union Messages is set forth in this paper. It is based on a review of the general history of these documents and on an in-depth analysis of the messages prepared by Presidents Wilson (1913) through Carter (1981).

Preparation and delivery of the State of the Union Message (SUM) is a constitutional task built on a tradition of continuity and change. Its importance is best understood in terms of its evolving role and functions in American history. These characteristics of the SUM are outlined in Part II of this paper. Part III presents the key findings and analysis derived from the detailed analysis of the last 70 messages. The political context of these messages is described in Part IV. Part V contains an explanation of the study approach, data base, and tabular materials that were developed and used to prepare this analysis.

II. MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

TRADITION AND INNOVATION

In fashioning the Constitution, the Founding Fathers provided little explicit or detailed guidance to the Chief Executive on fulfilling the requirement set forth in Article II, section 3. In the absence of such guidance, Presidents have demonstrated a strong respect for tradition combined - in a small but occasionally precedent-setting number of cases - with a flair for new ideas and ground-breaking departures.

As an instrument which has evolved to meet changing needs and circumstances, the SUM has few characteristics which are perfectly uniform throughout its full 192-year history. One that should not be overlooked is the remarkable consistency with which each President has carried out this constitutional responsibility. Another is the timing of the SUM. By custom dating back to Washington, the President delivers his message on an annual basis, almost always within the first few days or weeks of a Congressional session.

Some features of the SUM have proven cyclical, if not short-lived. Examples of this point are the method of delivery and the Congressional response, respectively. Presidents Washington and Adams delivered all of their SUMs in personal addresses to Congress. Congress felt obliged to prepare formal replies to these speeches. Jefferson could not square the Presidential address and Congressional reply with his belief in the supremacy of the legislative over the executive branch. He therefore made a dramatic break in precedent by delivering his first message to Congress in written form. Thereafter, the written message became the exclusive method adopted by 24 Presidents for the next 112 years. In an equally dramatic move, Wilson renewed the personal address in his first SUM to Congress in 1913. It has since become the dominant, but not exclusive, method of delivery used in this century. At Wilson's urging, Congress did not resurrect the practice of making a formal reply.

Many other elements and characteristics of the SUM have varied widely from President to President and message to message. Major differences can be found in purpose, style, tone, length, and scope. Some of these differences are analyzed later in this paper. What is noteworthy here is that the combined elements of tradition and flexibility help explain the lasting importance of the SUM as a political institution. Indeed, the SUM is not unlike the Constitution, in that it has been successfully adapted to the changing needs and circumstances which have accompanied two centuries of evolution in American society, government, and the Presidency.

FUNCTIONS

Even before the advent of nationwide radio and television broadcasts and world-wide press coverage, the President's annual SUM to Congress was described by Charles Beard as the most widely read and discussed public document in America. The importance of the President's annual message to Congress can be attributed to the historic aura which surrounds it; to the Presidential functions which it supports; and to the perspectives it offers on the Presidency and on its incumbent, as well as on national affairs.

The SUM can be used in as many ways as the President has responsibilities. Functions of the Chief Executive include recommending and approving or vetoing legislation; commanding the armed forces; conducting foreign relations; managing the executive branch; leading a major political party; and acting as the spokesman for all Americans. All SUMs support one or more of these Presidential functions.

1. Reporting on National Conditions and Administration Accomplishments

The SUM is by definition a report on national conditions. Every SUM includes information on major events, issues, problems, and controversies facing the nation. This information is reported in diverse forms, including data and facts; comments and observations; historical reviews and analyses; and political argumentation. Corresponding to the emergence of the United States as a world power, 20th century SUMs have given greater attention to worldwide events and international affairs.

Each message is colored by the President's own interpretation of events, biases, and political ends. For this reason, the SUMs cannot be relied upon as a full and completely accurate account of American history. Thus, Herbert Hoover was able to "find fundamental national gains even amid depression" in his annual message at the end of 1931.

A pattern can be found in the messages of many Presidents. A long list of national problems inherited from preceding Administrations is usually identified in the first message, followed by increasing reports of success in meeting those problems, or blame on Congress for failing to act on Presidential initiatives, in subsequent messages.

2. Establishing the Legislative Agenda

This is the second most common element in modern-day SUMs. Every President since Truman has consistently used the SUM to present his agenda of major legislative recommendations to Congress.

This of course has not always been the case. Historically, the President and Congress have had an evolutionary and cyclical relationship in terms of leadership over the law-making process. In times of Congressional dominance of the Federal Government, especially during most of the 19th century, Presidents were careful not to appear to be encroaching on Congressional domain over legislative or policy matters.

3. Announcing National Security Policy

The development of world-wide communications technology and American involvement in world affairs have been accompanied by growing use of the annual SUM as a major instrument for announcing or reaffirming American national security policy. Presidents have used the SUM to communicate U.S. positions on foreign policy, national defense, world trade, and foreign aid matters to allies and adversaries alike. A number of Presidents since Truman, for example, have addressed remarks directly to the Soviet Union.

4. Achieving Political Goals

While seldom used explicitly for this purpose, SUMs occasionally contain a direct appeal to the public for political support or action. More often, it is difficult to disentangle the political from the leadership and policy-setting elements of the SUM. Usually the political content of SUMs is focused on Congressional politics, and is introduced as an appeal for bi- or non-partisanship by a President faced with one or both Houses in the control of the opposition party. The most consistently political of the modern-day SUMs were those of Franklin Roosevelt and, to a lesser extent, Wilson.

5. Exercising National Leadership

This function is generally absent from the SUMs of Presidents who believed that the powers of the Chief Executive were and should be limited; difficult to discern in most remaining SUMs; and explicit in only a few. In any case, determining the effectiveness of the SUM as an exercise in Presidential leadership usually requires an understanding of the contemporary context in which the SUM was delivered and of the political and public reaction to it.

Often the element of national leadership can be observed more in the rhetorical style, tone, and method of presentation of the SUM than in its particular substantive content. Successful performance of this function depends on the President's awareness of and sensitivity to the public mood and to national trends, and his ability to mold and shape them in ways beneficial to the nation. Measured against these criteria, the element of national leadership is most evident in the messages of Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Kennedy, and Johnson.

ROLE AND IMPORTANCE

Taken as a whole, the body of SUMs delivered since 1790 provides a unique historical documentation of the developing American nation. Allowing for major variances in balance, accuracy, level of detail, and literary style, SUMs generally represent each President's most complete recorded assessment of contemporary American problems, issues, and conditions, and increasingly, world affairs.

The SUM is one of the President's principal means of communicating with the public on a broad range of issues. It is also his best opportunity during the year of giving Congress a detailed agenda of legislative recommendations and identifying his stand on current issues of public policy. Richard Neustadt points out that this provides Congress with an invaluable service, because it represents "a handy and official guide to the wants of its biggest customer." Part IV sets forth analytic findings on the manner in which modern Presidents have made use of these opportunities.

The cycle of activity in a typical Presidential term identified by Stephen Hess and other political scientists is reflected in the SUMs of many Administrations. That is, legislative proposals to Congress dominate early SUMs while reports on accomplishments and reiteration of earlier proposals tend to crowd out new initiatives in later SUMs.

Finally, the tone and style as well as the content of the SUMs provide insights into the personality of each President. Their relationship with Congress, successes and failures, resilience in the face of opposition and adversity, and other characteristics can be gleaned from a careful reading of their annual messages to Congress. In short, the annual message can be used as one indicator of Presidential effectiveness.

III. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

The findings and analysis presented below are based on the State of the Union Messages Summaries (SUMS) data base and related analytic tables described in Part V of this paper and contained in Sections B and C.

STUDY PURPOSE AND SCOPE

The study which forms the basis of this paper consisted of a review, analysis, and evaluation of Presidential State of the Union Messages, with special emphasis on modern-day SUMs. The study objectives were to identify the dominant characteristics and functions of SUMs; analyze patterns and differences in Presidential style and use of SUMs; identify trends in their substantive content; and attempt to gauge the effectiveness of SUMs and determine the factors accounting for it.

Several considerations influenced the choice of Wilson's first term as the starting point for the in-depth analysis of "modern era" SUMs. First, his Administration marked the beginning of a significantly expanded role for the United States in world affairs. Second, Wilson himself was an activist President who helped usher in the modern concept of the role of the Presidency. Third, and consistent with his vision of Presidential leadership, Wilson marked a significant turning point in the use and delivery of SUMs. After over a century of written, comprehensive SUMs, Wilson delivered his annual messages in person, limited their scope to a handful of the most significant issues of public policy, and refined the use of the SUM as a political instrument.

The scope of this study is limited by the nature of the SUMs themselves. It bears repeating that SUMs are simply one Presidential view of national affairs presented at a single time during the course of a year. SUMs do not offer a complete history of all significant national events. Moreover, Presidents have not been consistent in the detail with which they have chronicled the achievements, activities, and priorities of their own Administrations. Finally, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. notes, Presidents frequently ignore, sidestep, or camouflage intense political controversies with soothing language, rather than directly confront them in a formal message to Congress.

REVIEW OF PRESIDENTS AND THEIR MESSAGES

The following data, findings, and analysis are based on the information contained in Table 2: "Summary of Presidents and Their State of the Union Messages (1913 - 1981)" found in Section C, pages C-5 to C-9.

Method of Delivery

When Wilson delivered his first annual SUM in an address to a joint session of Congress, he established a precedent largely followed by every subsequent President except Coolidge and Hoover. 51 SUMs were delivered as oral addresses, all before joint sessions of Congress. 24 SUMs were delivered to Congress in writing. Of these 24 written messages:

- 5 were delivered simultaneously with an oral address (2 by Nixon and 3 by Carter);
- 4 coincided with a Presidential illness (Wilson - stroke; Roosevelt had the "flu" twice; Eisenhower - heart attack); and
- 6 were delivered by "lame duck" Presidents as farewell messages shortly before the inauguration of a new President.

Thus, only 9 of 70 messages since 1913 have been delivered in written form under normal circumstances, by the following Presidents: Coolidge (4); Hoover (3); Truman (1); and Nixon (1).

Length

The average length of the oral and written messages were 4,900 and 13,200 words, respectively. Following is the ranking of the 11 Presidents who delivered oral addresses, in terms of the average number of words per address:

<u>President</u>	<u># of Speeches</u>	<u>Average Length in Words</u>
Carter	3	3,600
Roosevelt	10	3,610
Nixon	4	4,200
Wilson	6	4,350
Ford	3	4,600
Truman	6	5,100
Johnson	6	5,450
Harding	2	6,050
Kennedy	3	6,100
Eisenhower	7	6,400
Coolidge	1	7,600

Wilson's 4th annual message is the single shortest message in the SUMS data base, while Eisenhower's 1st, at 8,000 words, is the longest.

Message Scope, Structure, and Content

Based on a calculation of averages for the SUMS data base, a profile of the typical State of the Union Message would be as follows:

Total Number of Subjects Covered	14.9
- as major proposals to Congress	3.7
- as other proposals to Congress	6.7
- as a review or report	4.5
Total Number of Themes in the SUM	4.2

In analyzing the averages for each Administration, the most striking findings relate to Presidents Wilson and Roosevelt. First, they covered far fewer subjects on the average than the other 10 Presidents. Second, Wilson ranked 10th and Roosevelt 12th of 12 Presidents in the average number of legislative proposals ("major" and "other" combined) included in their SUMS. Finally, Roosevelt made an average of 0.4 major proposals to Congress in his SUMS - also dead last among the 12 Presidents.

Based on a reading of their messages, these findings are not surprising. Wilson and Roosevelt, perhaps more than any other modern-day Presidents, used the SUM much more as an instrument for

political and national leadership than as a reporting or policy-setting tool. In fact, Wilson's first message was a radical departure from the long, fact-laden, comprehensive Presidential messages which were characteristic of most 19th and early 20th century Presidents.

A more general finding is emergence in the latter half of this century of a trend toward comprehensiveness and detail in the SUM. Indicators of this trend include the following items:

- The 7 Presidents since Truman rank among the top 7 in terms of average number of major proposals and among the top 6 in terms of average number of proposals overall.
- Nixon and especially Carter used both written and oral messages in the same year, with Nixon's written messages averaging 19,000 words and Carter's averaging 26,900 words in length.
- Carter seemed to try to outdo all previous Presidents in the length and comprehensiveness of his SUMs. Each of his messages covered practically every one of the 36 subjects used in this analysis, and his averages in every category of measurement in Table 2 stand far ahead of those of other Presidents.

An interesting deviation from this trend occurred in the Ford Administration. More than any other President since Roosevelt, Ford used the SUM to focus attention on a handful of the most important policy issues. Consequently, his messages rank 10th in terms of total subjects covered (11.0) and 11th in terms of total proposals (4.9).

Another way of judging the typical "importance" of the SUMs of different Presidents is to assign weights to the different categories of subject treatment. Using weights of 3 for major proposals, 2 for other proposals, and 1 for review/report, and averaging the results, following are the scores for each President:

<u>Score</u>	<u>President</u>
2.2	Wilson*
2.1	Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter
2.0	Truman
1.9	Harding, Hoover, Eisenhower
1.8	Coolidge, Ford
1.6	Roosevelt

*Note: While Wilson ranked 10th in terms of average number of proposals, practically every subject he covered was treated as a proposal rather than a review/report.

SUBJECT CONTENT ANALYSIS

The following data, findings, and analysis are based on the information contained in Table 3: "Treatment of Subjects in 70 State of the Union Messages (1913 - 1981)" found in Section C, page C-10.

Most Frequently Covered Subjects (Overall)

The analysis of the State of the Union Message Summaries (SUMS) data base (Section B) was structured around 36 broad subjects of governmental concern. The 36 subjects can be ranked in a variety of ways. In some cases those rankings produce significantly different results, depending on the criteria that are used.

For example, the top 5 subjects (there may be more than 5 if there are ties) can be determined based on the following measures:

- Total number of times the subject was covered in the 70 messages ("Total" column below);
- Number of times the subject was treated as a "major proposal" ("Major Prop." column below); and
- Number of times the subjects was treated as any proposal (i.e., "major" or "other"); this criteria eliminates from consideration any subjects covered in the form of a review, report, commentary, etc. ("Major + Other Prop." column below).

Most Frequently Covered Subjects	Total		Major Prop.		Major & Other Prop.	
	R*	f**	R	f	R	f
Foreign Policy	1	(62)	8	(10)	12	(23)
Spending/Taxes	2	(59)	2	(19)	1	(41)
National Defense	3	(58)	4	(14)	4	(32)
Labor	4	(53)	1	(20)	1	(41)
The Economy	5	(49)	8	(10)	12	(23)

As Major Proposals Not Included Above

Soc. Sec./Welfare	9	(35)	5	(13)	5	(30)
Health	9	(35)	3	(16)	3	(33)
Transportation	9	(35)	5	(13)	6	(29)

As Major + Other Proposals Not Included Above

Agriculture	6	(45)	9	(9)	2	(34)
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* R = Ranking

** f = frequency; i.e., the number of times the subject was covered

Common Review/Report Subjects

These differences suggest that some subjects are reviewed or discussed by the President but do not necessarily involve a proposal for Congressional action. Foreign Policy is an example, for good reasons. First, foreign policy matters and activities are typically more reactive and less controllable by a President than those in the domestic arena. Second, foreign policy is fundamentally an executive responsibility which most Presidents jealously protect from Congressional intrusion.

In order to validate these findings, the following ranking pinpoints the 10 subjects most typically treated in a review or report context. This ranking is based on a percentage analysis of each subject, comparing the number of times the subject was treated as a review or report to the total number of times the subject was covered.

Top 10: % Review/Report to Total Times Covered

<u>Subject</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>% Review/Report to Times Covered</u>	<u>Times Covered f</u>
Foreign Policy	1	62.9	62
Science and Technology	2	53.8	13
The Economy	3	53.1	49
Veterans	4	51.6	31
Federalism/States	5	50.0	14
The Arts	6	50.0	8
Indians	7	45.5	11
National Defense	8	44.8	58
Trade/World Economy	9	38.6	44
Rural Areas	10	35.7	14

Most Frequently Covered Subjects (Recent)

The same analysis limited to the 21 SUMs since Kennedy yields the following results:

<u>Most Frequently Covered Subjects (in Total)</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>f</u>
The Economy	1	(21)
Spending/Taxes	1	(21)
National Defense	2	(20)
Foreign Policy	3	(19)
Labor	4	(18)
Health	4	(18)
Social Security/Welfare	5	(17)
Law/Judiciary	5	(17)

<u>Most Frequently Covered Subjects (as Major Proposals)</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>f</u>
Spending/Taxes	1	(12)
Health	1	(12)
Labor	2	(10)
Environment	2	(10)
Social Security/Welfare	3	(9)
Education	4	(8)
Law/Judiciary	4	(8)
Energy	5	(7)
Transportation	5	(7)
Cities	5	(7)

<u>Most Frequently Covered Subjects (as Major & Other Proposals)</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>f</u>
Health	1	(18)
Labor	2	(16)
Social Security/Welfare	2	(16)
Civil Rights	3	(15)
Law/Judiciary	3	(15)
Spending/Taxes	4	(14)
Environment	4	(14)
Cities	5	(15)

IV. THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

Political and media reactions to State of the Union Messages have varied widely over the years from President to President. Different Presidents have attempted to achieve different goals. As noted earlier, Wilson and Roosevelt made the message a major political tool. Others, such as Coolidge and Hoover, performed the task in a perfunctory manner. Still others such as Nixon, Johnson, and Carter tried to present an all-encompassing Presidential agenda designed to attract additional support, but not within the context of a Rooseveltian "stump" speech.

It is impossible to analyze the State of the Union Messages outside their historical political context. Some were given in good times such as Coolidge's. Some were given in bad times such as Hoover's and Truman's. Others were given in the time of a serious party split. Still others were shaped by major events such as the World Wars. Following is a political sketch of the time period covered by the SUMS data base.

POLITICAL SKETCH OF THE LAST 70 YEARS

Wilson came to power totally as a result of the split in the Republican Party. He enjoyed power as long as that split continued. When it ended completely by 1918 he was more or less a lame duck thereafter. The Wilson Administration was in sharp contrast to the previous GOP administrations and as such it appeared to be a breath of fresh air for several years.

As Republicans power started to return, a political holiday was forced on the country by U.S. entry into World War I. While there was significant opposition to the war, particularly among Midwestern Germans, no political debate was allowed whatsoever. It was the first time since the Civil War that democracy was significantly curbed in the United States.

With the end of the war, public opinion turned overwhelmingly against the Democrats and Wilsonism. As a result, the GOP scored its greatest political victory of all times, the Harding landslide of 1920. The Republicans elected over 300 Congressmen and almost 60 Senators.

Much has been said by historians about how unfit Harding was for the Presidency, but that was not exactly the case. Throughout his brief Presidency (2 1/2 years) he remained one of America's most popular chief executives. Aside from the Teapot Dome scandal, Harding's and later Coolidge's greatest political problem was the agricultural discontent which spawned a major split in the Republican Party. Great Plains Republicans became radicalized and went into significant opposition to the majority eastern wing of the Party. They frequently voted with the Democrats and even ran a separate candidate for President against Coolidge in 1924 (LaFollette).

While the farm problem confronted Coolidge most of his term, the country saw a gradual increase in prosperity to an unprecedented level. The Twenties were the zenith of the Republican Party.

All of this came to an end with the Great Depression. Almost all of Hoover's four years were spent fighting the Depression. In his second two years the Democrats captured control of the House. With the Midwestern Progressives the Democrats had defacto control over the Senate. Thus Hoover became more and more a lame duck.

Roosevelt's election in 1932 marked the end of the 70-year dominance of the nation by the Republican Party (although the process began in 1930 and continued into 1936). In the period between 1932 and 1938 the GOP nearly ceased to exist. Hardly any Republicans of the Twenties survived these years. The GOP survived only in Northern New England, Upstate New York, rural Northern Illinois and the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Roosevelt enjoyed a political advantage matched only by Lincoln's during the Civil War. Democratic margins in Congress were 3 to 1 or better throughout most of the period. This is the major reason why he was able to accomplish so much. This is why people speak of the "hundred days".

All of this came to an end with the great Republican comeback of 1938, which was based on the Roosevelt Recession of 1937-1938 and a growing dislike of Roosevelt. From that point on the New Deal was dead. Roosevelt then turned the country's attention toward the war in Europe which was to dominate the last six years of his term. During the war there was little political debate but the GOP was able to come back even further with the low voter turnouts which were a result of the troops being overseas. Indeed, the GOP won the popular vote for the House in 1942 (although not control of that body), a feat they were able to equal again only in 1946 and not since.

After the War, the country was beset with the massive problems of recovery with its shortages, unemployment, and inflation. Truman spent his entire Presidency trying to cope with these problems (And later Korea). Truman's greatest problem was that he faced a serious and continuing revolt of southern members of his party.

These Dixiecrats first became visible in 1937 when Roosevelt attempted to pack the Supreme Court, but the ideological debate within the Democratic Party was put on ice for the most part during World War II. After the war, the Dixiecrats voted with the Republicans on most major issues. Truman was thus able to accomplish very little. Out of Truman's eight years as President he enjoyed the people's confidence in only one year, the year he stood for reelection in 1948. Truman was one of our most unpopular Presidents during his term of office.

The election of General Eisenhower in 1952 marked the Republican Party's first return to executive power in twenty years. Eisenhower enjoyed widespread popular support throughout most of his term. He did face a Midwestern farm revolt which he had a great deal of difficulty dealing with. His biggest problem came with the Recession of 1957-1958.

The election of 1958 was the worst disaster for the Republican Party since 1936. Losses incurred at that time have only recently been rectified. While the Democrats controlled Congress after the 1954 election, both bodies were fairly evenly divided until 1958, when the Democrats gained a nearly 2 to 1 advantage. Democratic power in the Senate was not broken until the election of 1980, 22 years later.

With the narrow Kennedy victory in 1960, the GOP was able to stage a minor comeback in the House. Thus, while Kennedy enjoyed substantial margins in both houses of Congress he was totally unable to break the grip of the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition. Little was accomplished under Kennedy's brief Presidency, yet he was able to raise expectations for various components of the old Roosevelt coalition to a new level.

It remained for Johnson, who was the beneficiary of the Goldwater split in the GOP in 1964, to accomplish all of Kennedy's social goals. Johnson had no problem with this since he enjoyed 2 to 1 margins in both houses. It was the first time since the New Deal that the pendulum had swung so far to one side.

Johnson, however, soon became bogged down in Vietnam. His views were incompatible with the majority of his own party. Thus Johnson, who was never really popular among Republicans, became very unpopular nationally. As a result the Republicans scored a major victory in 1966 and blocked any more substantive social programs.

Given the bitter split in the Democratic Party, the Republicans were able to recapture the Presidency with Nixon in 1968. At first Nixon appeared to offer fresh new conservative ideas, but he became bogged down in a protracted struggle with the Democratic-controlled Congress. Nixon then attempted a Me-tooism approach to governing the country, which ended up pleasing neither Republicans or Democrats.

The Watergate scandal resulted in a GOP defeat in 1974 of the proportions of 1958 and 1964. Many seats in Congress are still held by members elected in 1974. The new President, Gerald Ford, faced an impossible political situation in which he performed as well as was possible under such circumstances. He was essentially powerless to accomplish his goals even though he was surprisingly almost reelected in 1976.

In 1976 the Democrats turned to an unknown quantity, a southerner, Jimmy Carter. Carter's problem from the start was that he was a southerner in the liberal party. He was constantly trying to prove his liberal credentials while at the same time not alienating his fellow southerners. Such a policy was doomed to failure as he pleased neither liberals nor conservatives. Carter spent most of his Presidency proposing programs which had little real appeal in Congress despite its Democratic hue.

POLITICAL AND MEDIA REACTION

Reaction to the State of the Union Message has varied widely over the last 70 years, and is directly tied to the political circumstances of the time. The SUMS data base (Section B) includes a brief description of the media and political reaction to each message. Most of this reaction can be grouped into certain types or categories.

First, there is the bi-partisan approval which is usually the order of the day during great national crises, such as a war. Wilson enjoyed this in 1917, as did Roosevelt throughout the Second World War. Roosevelt also enjoyed this bi-partisan approval when faced with the domestic economic crisis during his first few years in office.

Another type of reaction occurs during the honeymoon period - the degree of space given a new President by the opposition in his first year in office. This is especially noticeable when there has been a great political turnaround such as Harding had in 1921 and Eisenhower in 1953. This honeymoon seldom spills over into the second year as the opposition has had time to focus its efforts by that time.

A third type of reaction, which is by far the most common form and may constitute a majority of all reactions, is the "usual partisan reaction". Such reaction consists of mindless praise from one's own party and ceaseless nitpicking and excuses from the opposition. This reaction usually receives the immediate attention of the media but is not long-lasting. Sometimes the opposition zeroes in on a single issue which is a perceived weakness of the President or part of the opposition party's program.

A fourth type of reaction, and one which is particularly devastating, is criticism from one's own party. The political implications of this type are obvious. Coolidge received some of this from Progressive Republicans in the Twenties. Truman received a great deal of it from southerners during his tenure in office. Particularly nettlesome to liberal Democrats in the early days of the coalition, this Dixiecrat or Boll Weevil criticism is now taken for granted. Jimmy Carter had problems from both liberal and conservative members of his party, which perhaps accounts for why he was unable to get much of his program through Congress.

Finally, there is the one devastating criticism which could be leveled by friend or foe, one which represents some thought on the matter. It is the pointing out of a serious political defect in the message, such as ignoring an issue or situation of national importance. Hoover received some of this to the effect that he failed to treat the Depression from a serious enough point of view from the beginning. Today, such criticism is likely to come from the network news commentators as opposed to a political figure. It could also be the result of a contradictory statement in the speech.

THE WRITTEN MESSAGE

While written messages were the norm throughout most of the 19th century, a written message alone is now out of the question. The impact of a written message since Wilson's reintroduction of the speech has been minimal. Since then, the most dramatic effect has always been achieved by addresses to joint sessions of Congress.

Often, the final or lame duck message has been written and of course has received scant attention. Hoover sent written messages but he may have done so because of his hopeless situation. Roosevelt during World War II sent a couple of written messages, but at that time there was no political advantage to gain. Carter's lame duck message was also written.

The final, or lame duck, message always has the least impact because it is no longer part of the current political reality. Even if there is no party change, there is an administration change and all eyes are on the new.

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE MEDIA

In the early 20th century there was only the newspapers and a few magazines which took measure of the State of the Union Message. All America got its news from print. Then in 1923, Coolidge's speech was carried by six east coast radio stations. However, Coolidge chose to deliver all subsequent messages in writing and Hoover followed suit.

With Roosevelt we have the dawn of a new era. He delivered his first 10 messages in person and each was broadcast to the nation and the world by radio. Roosevelt used the airwaves extensively to create his political coalition in the face of significant print media opposition. Indeed, in 1936 Roosevelt took the unprecedented step of a night session which the unsuspecting Republicans agreed to and later regretted.

In 1947 a new dimension was added, that of television. While Truman was carried on only six East Coast stations, the coast-to-coast hook-up was just around the corner. With the advent of television the importance of the print media was greatly diminished.

Today nearly everyone receives the bulk of their news from the nightly network news broadcasts. Thus, the State of the Union Message has become a captive of television, much like the sporting event. It remains to be seen if and when cable TV will alter the current dominance of the TV networks.

Therefore, no President should miss the opportunity for political gain offered by a nationwide broadcast of the State of the Union Message.

V. STUDY APPROACH

INFORMATION SOURCES

Information sources used in this evaluation included the State of the Union Messages themselves; an academic study prepared in 1961 (The View From the White House: A Study of The Presidential State of the Union Messages by Seymour Fersh); and contemporary newspaper reports on each message (primarily, the New York Times).

THE SUMS DATA BASE

The first step in conducting this study was to prepare summaries of 70 modern-day State of the Union Messages. This set of State of the Union Message Summaries (SUMS) was compiled into a 100-page data base which is contained in Section B of this document.

The SUMS data base is organized chronologically by President. The data base contains general introductory remarks on the style and approach of the President, followed by summaries of each annual message. The summaries are presented in a structured format, and contain the types of information listed below:

- Method of delivery or presentation;
- Estimated length (in number of words);
- Organization and format of text and use of data or tables;
- Content, including themes, topics, and proposals;
- Selected quotations from the message; and
- Media coverage and political setting and reaction.

TABLE 1: SUBJECT CONTENT ANALYSIS

A tabular summary of the "Themes & Proposals" portion of the SUMS data base was developed as the second step in the study. This Subject Content Analysis is found in Section C as Table 1 and is in two pages (pages C-1 and C-2). The first page covers the 36 annual messages from the beginning of the Wilson Presidency (1913) to the end of Harry Truman's partial first term (1949). The second page covers the 34 annual messages from the beginning of Truman's first full term (1950) to the end of the Carter Presidency (1981). The names of the Presidents and the number of their annual message is displayed across the top row of the tables.

The Subject Content Analysis table summarizes SUM contents in terms of the 36 broad subjects or topics listed in the left-hand column. These subjects correspond to major government roles,

functions, and public policy concerns. To the extent possible, similar or related topics were grouped together in 9 "cluster" areas. Of the 36 total topics, the first 4 fall under the category of national security and international relations, while the remainder deal with domestic matters.

Coverage of a specific subject in an individual SUM is indicated by the use of code letters, representing differences in how the subject was treated or presented by the President. Short definitions of these codes follow. A more complete explanation of Table 1 is provided at page C-1.

Code in Table 1	Definition
a	Major legislative proposals to Congress.
b	Other legislative proposals to Congress.
e	Reviews or reports not involving a proposal to Congress.

These codes are hierarchical in value; that is, a implies some elements of b and e, and b implies some elements of e.

Use of the codes in capital letters signify that the subject not only fulfilled one of the definitions listed above, but also was a major theme of the SUM. In a number of SUMs, major themes were explicitly identified in the text; in a handful of cases, a SUM was devoted to a single topic. In other cases a major theme was identified based on the level and length at which the subject was treated in the SUM.

Table 1 is the basis for the information in Tables 2 and 3.

TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF PRESIDENTS AND THEIR MESSAGES

The columns in Table 1 contain information on the general structure and nature of the annual Presidential messages prepared during the period 1913 - 1981. Table 2 (pages C-5 to C-9) summarizes that information, as shown below, by President and message number. (The first two items are taken directly from the SUMS data base.)

- Method of delivery - oral address or written message;
- Approximate number of words;
- Number of subjects that were presented as a major proposal (a), other proposal (b), or reviews/report (e), and as a major theme of the SUM (A, B, or E);
- Total number of subjects covered (A, a, B, b, E, and e); and
- Total number of major themes in the SUM (A, B, and E).

Totals, percentages, and averages for these categories are given for each Administration and - at the end - for all 12 Presidents and 70 messages in the SUMS data base. In order to simplify the analysis, Table 2 includes a cover sheet containing a "Table of Averages for Each Administration."

TABLE 3: TREATMENT OF SUBJECTS IN 70 MESSAGES

The rows of information in Table 1 deal with the coverage and treatment of subjects in the data base. Table 3 (page C-10) summarizes this information. To simplify the analysis, the differentiation of themes was dropped by combining A with a values, B with b values, and E with e values. For each resulting category of subject treatment - i.e., Major Proposal (A, a), Other Proposal (B,b), and Review/Report (E,e) - the following items were calculated and arrayed on Table 3:

- Total number of times the subject was covered in that category of treatment;
- The relative percentage, or the ratio of the first item to the maximum possible number of times the subject could have been covered (i.e., 70);
- The adjusted percentage, or the ratio of the first item to the total number of times the subject actually was addressed.

It should be noted that the data in Tables 2 and 3 are consistent, because they are drawn from the same source - Table 1. Thus, both tables show the same total (1041) for the number of times the 36 subjects were covered in the SUMS data base. (The maximum possible was 2520, or 70 SUMS times 36 subjects). The difference in Tables 2 and 3 is simply a matter of reading the information arrayed in Table 1 vertically or horizontally.

TABLE 4: INDEX TO SELECTED QUOTATIONS

Table 4 (page C-11) contains an index to quotations provided in the SUMS data base. In general, these quotations were selected because they were particularly indicative of the President or the message, or seemed to be relevant to the current political, policy, or public affairs setting.

SUBJECT CONTENT ANALYSIS GRAPHS

The information in the rows of Table 1 is also represented in a series of Subject Content Analysis Graphs contained in Section D of this document. A detailed explanation is provided with the graphs.

SECTION B

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE SUMMARIES

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STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

28. WOODROW WILSON (D)2 Terms: March 4, 1913 to March 4, 1921

Changing the practice of Presidents since Jefferson, Wilson reversed the trend toward fact-laden and lengthy State of the Union messages and reintroduced the oral address to Congress as the means of delivering his message. Wilson used the annual message to highlight a handful of key policy issues, rather than present a comprehensive report on all of the accomplishments and proposals of his Administration.

Wilson

Message # > 1 Date > December 2, 1913
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 3500 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Thankful country is at peace. Concern over Gen. Huerta's usurption of power in Mexico.
 - Renew several treaties of arbitration.

Domestic Affairs: Importance of banking and currency reform; farming; and anti-trust legislation and enforcement.

- Banking/Agriculture: Leg. to reform banking and currency system, with special attention to farmers' credit needs.
- Business: Leave Sherman Act alone, but enact more specific anti-trust leg.
- Labor: Auth. Bureau of Mines to improve mine labor and productivity; leg. re employers' liability for railroad employees.
- Shipping: Improve working conditions of sailors (pending results of international congress re safety at sea).
- Natural Resources: Develop Alaskan resources, through railway construction, consistent with conservation.

Territories:

- Auth. responsible stewardship changes for Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, and Alaska.

Politics:

- Change Presidential nomination process to direct primaries; party conventions, comprised of nominated/elected officials, to ratify results and develop platforms.

Pol/Media

Reaction >

Congress was called to a special session; big agenda of pressing activities; one of the most important sessions held in recent years. Wilson triumphs with message; spontaneous approval for administration so far; incorporates Progressive platform; world calls it a new American doctrine. GOP press refers to lack of concern for the state of US business. Star notes great support for primary system; everyone jumping on the bandwagon or claiming credit.

Wilson

Message # > 2 Date > December 8, 1914
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 4300 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > National Security: Notes that US is not threatened. Re-views traditions and policies governing US state of military readiness. Encourages only training citizenry in use of arms and strengthening State National Guards.

- Trade: Need leg. (see Domestic Affairs) for US trade expansion with Latin America (opened up by WWI).
- Ratify proposed convention on sea safety.

Spending/Taxes: General view: People want greater FG role; this entails greater expense; while economy measures based on careful study ought to be implemented, legitimate FG expenditures need not be feared (see quote below).

Domestic Affairs: Praise for completing leg. agenda re business reg. Regrets failure to deal with rural credits.

- Natural Resources: "Unlock" western State resources, with conservation safeguards.
- Water Resources: Encourage use of navigable streams for power generation.
- Shipping: Bill to develop merchant marine.
- Fund survey and charting of US coasts, especially Alaska.

Territories:

- Need leg. re more self-government for Philippines (#1).

Quotes > Fending off critics of national defense policy:

"We have not been negligent of national defense." (2559)

Broad view of role of government:

"[T]he people of the United States are not jealous of the amount their Government costs if they are sure that they get what they need and desire for the outlay, that the money is being spent for objects of which they approve, and that it is being applied with good business sense and management." (2556)

Pol/Media

Reaction > Military preparedness is an issue: GOP (Rep. Gardner of Mass.) urging commission on inquiry into war readiness, while DEMs applaud statement on defense preparedness. Both sides applaud call for trained citizenry. Wilson more defensive, not as much applause as #1. No mention of Mexico. Disappointment on defense issue. Star notes that business is reassured - program is completed.

Wilson
 Message # > 3 Date > December 7, 1915
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 7500 words; continuous text with no headings; data re army
 forces and weapons levels, and revenue/expenditure figures.
 Themes &
 Proposals > All of the topics and proposals presented in this speech
 were linked to the theme of national defense.

National Security: WWI and reasons for US neutrality.
Pan-Americanism: New community of interest in Western
 Hemisphere; US concern for independence and prosperity of
 Latin American states; US relationship with Mexico.

- Approve DOW plans for improving national defense (details re force levels, construction, etc.).
- Shipping: Rebuild merchant marine as another element of national security and commercial independence on the high seas (was weakened by policy of economic protection).

Spending/Taxes:

- Continue present taxes (emergency revenue act; sugar duty) and raise income taxes to defray \$257 M deficit caused by national defense plans.

Domestic Affairs: All of the following recs were presented in the context of making US industries and resources ready for mobilization.

- Business: Funding for business advisory body.
- Labor: Auth. FG aid to industrial/vocational education.
- Natural Resources: Leg. re use and conservation.
- Agriculture: Rural credit (#1 etc.).
- Transportation: Auth. commission of inquiry on transportation problems and inadequacy of railroads.
- Law/Judiciary: Leg. to deal with anarchists, conspirators, etc.

Territories: Leg. to reform government of Philippines and render fuller political justice to Puerto Rico (#1 etc.).

Quotes > Role of democracies in peace and war:

"Great democracies are not belligerent. They do not seek or desire war. Their thought is of individual liberty and of the free labor that supports life and the uncensored thought that quickens it. . . . But just because we demand unmoles-
 ted development and the undisturbed government of our own lives upon our own principles of right and liberty, we resent, from whatever quarter it may come, the aggression we ourselves will not practice. . . . We do not confine our enthusiasm for individual liberty and free national develop-
 ment to the incidents and movements of affairs which affect only ourselves. We feel it wherever there is a people that tries to walk in these difficult paths of independence and right. . . . (2563)

Pol/Media
Reaction > War preparedness is the chief Congressional issue; President denounces disloyal citizens and assails foreign-born amid wild applause; possible backhanded slap at Teddy Roosevelt; most notable speech yet. Both sides approve preparedness statements but most were expecting more details; also wanted more details on problems/solutions re railroads. Many favor government ownership of munitions industries. Tribune notes the good literary content, but faults Wilson for dismissing preparedness a year ago. Baltimore-Herald criticizes the failure to deal with domestic issues. Roosevelt assails Wilson. Parties haggling over Shipping Bill.

Wilson

Message #> 4 Date > December 4, 1916
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 2000 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> Domestic Affairs: Bulk of speech deals with renewal of a number of recs for railroad leg.

- Transportation (railroads): Reorganization of ICC, 8-hour day, public investigation where arbitration fails.

Also:

- Business: Antitrust exemption for US foreign exporters.
- Labor: Vocational/industrial education (#3).

Territories:

- Puerto Rico (#1, #3).

Politics:

- Corrupt Practices Act (money and elections).

Pol/Media
Reaction > Even GOP approves the message. Fails to mention food situation. No reference to foreign affairs: e.g., Mexico, submarines. Proposes 8-hour day on railroads.

Wilson

Message #> 5 Date > December 4, 1917
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; message sent overseas by telephone, telegraph, wireless, cable, and by hand.
 Form > 3600 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> National Security: Congress must focus whole attention on winning the war. Why US entered WWI and role it intends to play in its settlement (preview of "Peace Without Victory").

- Declare war on Germany's allies.
- Immigration: Controls over entrance/departure of alien enemies.

The Economy:

- Go further in auth. price controls.

Domestic Affairs:

- Water/Natural Resources: Need leg. re development.
- Business: Antitrust exemption for exporters (#4).

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Receives standing ovation except from LaFollette. Support for declaring war on Austria; leaders in both parties regret that Wilson chose not to include Turkey and Bulgaria. Press notes that "Whole World Gets Wilson Message."

Wilson

Message # > 6 Date > December 2, 1918
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 5200 words; continuous text with no headings; data on armed forces overseas.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Thankful for end of WWI; US role.

- Ratify treaty with Colombia.
- Support for future attempts to give priority in export and supply to Belgium and northern France.
- Continue with naval construction program.

Spending/Taxes: Remove uncertainties of business taxation over next few years:

- Provide now for tax reductions.
- Obtain needed revenue through taxes on war profits.

Domestic Affairs: Return to peace is a matter of economic and industrial adjustment. Reviews steps to release FG control over raw materials, factories, and industry.

- Veterans/Natural Resources: Resume public works to absorb returning veterans - e.g., Secretary of Interior plans for land reclamation projects.
- Transportation (railroads): This is most serious problem in US; seeks Congressional counsel.

Politics:

- Support for women's suffrage.

Quotes > Re intention to attend peace treaty sessions in Paris:

"The gallant men of our armed forces on land and sea have consciously fought for the ideals which they knew to be the ideals of their country; I have sought to express those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and purpose . . . ; I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible

effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what they offered their life's blood to obtain. . . . (2597)

"May I not hope, Gentlemen of the Congress, . . . I may have the encouragement and the added strength of your united support?" (2598)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Great expectations for speech, but it fails to stir the nation. Only House DEMs approve. President criticized for silence, for leaving Congress in the dark over the peace settlement, for failing to disclose more details on reforms at home, and for lack of railroad policy. Wilson says it is his duty to go to Europe, but many disagree - idea gets cool reception. Resolutions to remove Wilson and install Vice President Marshall.

Press notes that no advance copies of text were available.

Wilson

Message # > 7 Date > December 2, 1919
Delivery > Written Message to Congress (Wilson suffered a stroke).
Form > 4800 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes &
Proposals >

National Security:

- Trade (tariffs): Turn away from economic protectionism and isolation; must import if want to export.

Spending/Taxes:

- Simplify taxes.
- Establish a budget system.

The Economy: Concerned about political unrest.

- Leg. to reduce the cost of living.
- Business: Leg. regulating food and interstate commerce.

Domestic Affairs:

- Veterans: Support DOL job placement and DOI land programs for returning veterans.
- Agriculture/Rural Areas: Approve USDA plans to promote farm production and FG actions re road building; forestry; country schools; sanitation and medical facilities.
- Labor: Long and general treatise on need to improve labor conditions and promote industrial harmony.
- Business: Help establish US chemical/dyestuffs industry.
- Law/Judiciary: Leg. rec by Attorney General re anarchists and revolutionists (#3).

Quotes > Tariffs and America's new position in world affairs:

"Whatever . . . may have been our views during the period of growth of American business concerning tariff legislation, we must now adjust our own economic life to . . . the fact

that American business is full grown and that America is the greatest capitalist in the world. No policy of isolation will satisfy the growing needs and opportunities of America." (2601)

Hour of test and trial for America:

"The road to economic and social reform in America is the straight road of justice to all classes and conditions of men." (2608)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Wilson is so ill that Congress does not know how to notify him (i.e. that it is ready to receive his message). President's health improves despite rumors. Main proposals in speech are to democratize industry, cut taxes, and curb the Reds. Parties split on the message; some doubt Wilson wrote it. GOP says it is too soft on labor, does not address the nation's issues. Peace treaty expected to be big issue, but message is silent on the subject.

Wilson

Message # > 8 Date > December 7, 1920
Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
Form > 2600 words; continuous text with no headings; data on national finances.

Themes &
Proposals >

US role as an example for the world; example of democracy, standing for right and justice domestically and in relations with individual nations.

National Security:

- Loan to Armenia.

The Economy: A principal focus of the message.

- Business: Many of same items in #7.

Spending/Taxes:

- Workable budget system.
- Simplify tax system.

Domestic Affairs:

- Veterans: Medical care and rehabilitation.

Territories: Grant independence to the Philippines.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Harding dominates the day before the message is sent to Congress: says he will call a special session of Congress; bids adieu to the Senate. Many ills facing the country; still on war footing. Wilson silent on the peace treaty. Most leaders oppose loan to Armenia and Philippine independence. Clerk reads the speech; most silent, although DEMs cheer at the end. Tone idealistic; Wilson clearly a lame duck.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

29. WARREN G. HARDING (R)2 1/2 Years: March 4, 1921 to August 2, 1923

Harding delivered only 2 State of the Union messages. They were somewhat longer and more comprehensive than those of Wilson. Harding did not hesitate to rebut Wilson's stands on issues, in some cases playing on specific language that Wilson used in his own annual messages. Specific points of difference noted in his messages are a preoccupation with domestic problems rather than the US role in international affairs, a more limited view of Presidential power, and support for tariff laws.

Harding

Message # > 1 Date > December 6, 1921
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 5800 words; continuous text with no headings; data on size and value of land in public domain.
 Themes &
 Proposals > Harding used his first annual message to steer the nation on a different course than the one set by Wilson.

National Security:

- Funding for American Relief Administration to buy foodstuffs for Russia (Volga).
- Notes current International Conference on Limitation of Armaments at work in Washington.
- Trade (tariffs): Replace existing emergency act with permanent tariff law; auth. greater powers and flexibility for the Tariff Commission.
- Funds and authority to settle foreign loans growing out of war credit grants.

Spending/Taxes:

- Constitutional amendment to end issue of nontaxable bonds.

Domestic Affairs:

- Shipping: Delay in implementing part of 1920 merchant marine law re termination of commercial treaties.
- Agriculture: Encourages cooperative marketing programs.
- Demographics: Seeks policies of transportation, distributed industry, and highway construction to encourage population spread and restore proper balance between city and country.
- Labor: Long evenhanded discussion of rights and obligations of labor and capital; need for effective means to settle differences and for charter of elemental rights dealing with relations of employer and employee.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

30. CALVIN COOLIDGE (R)1 1/2 Years + 1 Term: August 3, 1923 to March 4, 1929

In a couple of respects, Coolidge renewed approaches to the State of the Union message that Wilson had abandoned. First, after delivering his first message in an address to Congress, he submitted the 5 subsequent messages in writing. Second, he used a highly segmented, topic-oriented approach to organizing his text, with general rhetoric regarding the role of the US, national conditions, etc. confined to the introductory and closing paragraphs.

Coolidge

Message # > 1 Date > December 6, 1923
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; first radio broadcast, over 6 stations.
 Form > 7600 words; text divided under 28 headings; some data, primarily related to US finances and the budget.
 Themes & Proposals > Theme re taking up and developing principles of government set forth by Harding.

National Security: No policy change re League of Nations.

- Ratify Permanent Court of Int'l Justice.
- Adjusting, not cancelling, foreign war debt.
- Reorganize and reform the Foreign Service (no details).
- Stop reducing Army and Navy personnel; more weapons.
- Trade (tariff): Cites beneficial effects; no change.

Spending/Taxes: "Drastic retrenchment" in spending was achieved using new budget system. Paramount goal is:

- Reduction of national and local taxes.
- Const. amendment to end issue of tax-exempt securities.

Domestic Affairs: Main problems are domestic.

- Shipping: When conditions permit, transfer FG's large WWI merchant fleet to private ownership.
- Water Resources: Moderate resumption of opening of intracoastal waterways; flood control for Mississippi and Colorado Rivers; St. Lawrence waterway; superpower development of Northeast proceeding under DOC; authority to relax water user charges at reclamation sites.
- Muscle Shoals: Water-power project; sell it.
- Transportation:
 - Railroads: Changes re rate setting; labor wage adjustments; and auth. to consolidate.
 - Highways: Liberal funding for construction.

- Law/Judiciary: Changes in trial procedures; prison reform; Supreme Court docket; enforcement of Prohibition.
- Civil Rights (the Negro): Prevent lynching; vocational training.
- Civil Service: Extend to cover more employees.
- Labor: Abolish child labor; minimum wage for women.
- Public Buildings: Erect 3 or 4 new ones.
- Regulatory Legislation: Protect coastal waters from pollution; aviation; radio interference; ship loading and navigation; FTC; Alaskan fisheries.
- Education: Worthy of separate Cabinet department status.
- Immigration: See Harding #2.
- Veterans: Rec re hospital care; other leg. recs only if needed; consider American Legion leg. program ("While some of it I do not favor, with much of it I am in hearty accord, . . ."); opposed to bonus.
- Energy (coal): Enact Coal Commission recs re supply, etc.
- Agriculture: Repeats some Harding proposals; auth. War Finance Corporation to assist in exports; notes beneficial effects of enacting proposals in other areas.
- Natural Resources: Looks forward to Senate report and policy on reforestation.
- Reorganization: Plan re Executive departments/bureaus.

Territories: Brief status report.

Quotes > On government's role in education and welfare:

"Our National Government is not doing as much as it legitimately can do to promote the welfare of the people. Our enormous material wealth, our institutions, our whole form of society, can not be considered fully successful until their benefits reach the merit of every individual. . . [On the other hand, there] is an inescapable personal responsibility for the development of character, of industry, of thrift, of self-control. These do not come from the Government, but from the people themselves. But the Government can and should always be expressive of steadfast determination, always vigilant, to maintain conditions under which these virtues are most likely to develop and secure recognition and reward." (2650)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

GOP has trouble organizing the House, finally succeeds. Congress lauds courage and candor of the speech, and good delivery. Tax reduction proposal gets prolonged outburst. Some DEMs critical in Senate, but not as many in the House. Coolidge clearly in conservative wing of GOP; tax cut very popular nationwide. Press notes widespread interest over radio broadcast.

Coolidge
 Message # > 2 Date > December 3, 1924
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
 Form > 7800 words; text divided under 25 headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > Tone is upbeat: "The Nation holds a position unsurpassed in all former human experience."

National Security: More detail, but basically same as #1:
 - Army and Navy personnel; Permanent Court of International Justice; foreign debt.

Spending/Taxes: Main domestic problems are economic. Focus is on paying enormous debt and reducing cost of FG and burden of taxes.

- Continue policy of economy to permit later tax reduction; this is the most important work facing Congress.

Domestic Affairs: Many subjects under this theme are repetitive in whole or part (in some cases Coolidge acknowledges Congressional action on earlier measures) with subjects covered in message #1. They include:

- Water Resources (waterways, reclamation/irrigation); Muscle Shoals; Transportation (railroads); Law/Judiciary items; Reorganization; and Civil Rights (the Negro).

New topics or measures include:

- Veterans: No further pension or benefits.
 - Agriculture: Fund and support Ag. Conference to study improvements by leg. in distribution systems.
 - Shipping: Reorganize Shipping Board.
 - Immigration: Liberalize re admission of family members.
 - Labor: Cites favorable effects of other policies and proposals.

Politics: Change election law re registration boards, etc.

Quotes > View on government spending:

"In my opinion the Government can do more to remedy the economic ills of the people by a system of rigid economy in public expenditure than can be accomplished through any other action." (2656)

Coolidge as supply-sider:

"I am convinced that the larger incomes of the country would actually yield more revenue to the Government if the basis of taxation were scientifically revised downward. . . . It is altogether likely that such reduction would so encourage and stimulate investment that it would firmly establish our country in the economic leadership of the world." (2657-58)

Pol/Media
 Reaction >

Good feeling in Congress. Farm bloc radicals go and sit with GOP again. Budget message transmitted the day before.

Territories:

- Investigation of administration of the territories.

Quotes > On local government:

"Local self-government is one of our most precious possessions. It is the greatest contributing factor to the stability, strength, liberty, and progress of the Nation."
(2669-70)

Pol/Media

Reaction >

The day before sending the message to Congress, Coolidge speaks at a farm convention in Chicago and challenges the radicals. Coal strike in progress. Message, which is very comprehensive, is called his strongest. Leaves no doubt as to his views. Opinion is divided. After 28 months, President has now found himself; speaks with authority. GOP praise, DEMS criticize but praise strong tone. DEMS like World Court idea. Some DEMS say "nothing new." Business likes the message.

Coolidge

Message # >

4

Date > December 7, 1926

Delivery >

Written Message to Congress.

Form >

11,200 words; text divided under 24 headings; limited financial data.

Themes &

Proposals >

State of the Union is one of general peace and prosperity.

National Security: Reviews foreign relations and national defense; no major new proposals.

- Trade (tariffs): #1 etc.; leave it alone.
- Alien property (#3).

The Economy: Price index going down and wage index going up due to increasing standards of efficiency.

Spending/Taxes:

- 2-year appropriations for more efficient Congress.
- Temporary tax relief bill in view of surplus (not counting war debt).

Domestic Affairs:

- Transportation (railroads): #1 etc.
- Water Resources (waterways, flood control, power generation, reclamation/irrigation): #1 etc.
- Shipping: #3.
- Energy (coal): #1 etc.
- Law/Judiciary: #1 etc; Prohibition - correct enforcement abuses.
- Civil Rights (the Negro): #1 etc.

- Agriculture: Reviews recent positive laws and actions taken; cites benefits of related proposals above; many additional specific proposals.
- Labor: Cites favorable effects of past and current actions and proposals.
- Communications: Leg. to regulate broadcasters and set up a governing part-time board.
- Banking: Leg. to clarify national bank act and increase powers of national banks.
- Veterans: #2 etc.
- Regulation: Local solutions always preferable.

Territories: No self-government for Philippines until politically fit and economically independent.

Quotes > On government spending:

"Nothing is easier than the expenditure of public money. It does not appear to belong to anybody. The temptation is overwhelming to bestow it on somebody. But . . . [n]othing is more destructive of the progress of the Nation than Government extravagance." (2691)

On reducing taxes:

"Whenever the state of the Treasury will permit, I believe in a reduction of taxation. I think the taxpayers are entitled to it. But I am not advocating tax reduction merely for the benefit of the taxpayer; I am advocating it for the benefit of the country." (2692)

On federalism and respect for government:

"It is too much assumed that because an abuse exists it is the business of the National Government to provide a remedy. The presumption should be that it is the business of local and State governments. Such national action results in encroaching upon the salutary independence of the States and by undertaking to supersede their natural authority fills the land with bureaus and departments which are undertaking to do what it is impossible for them to accomplish and brings our whole system of government into disrespect and disfavor." (2702)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

World Court omitted. Still against farm price-fixing. Basically a comprehensive, conservative, non-aggressive review of past events; aimed more at the American people. Conveys the sense that the country does not need new policies. Least interesting of his messages to date. DEMs say the emphasis on prosperity is just a hallucination; agriculture and textiles are hurting. Also attack his "dry" stand. DEMs appear a little bolder in criticism, although some say Coolidge states his case well. GOP praise.

Coolidge

Message # > 5 Date > December 6, 1927
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
 Form > 9900 words; text divided under 29 headings; same level and types of data.

Themes & Proposals > National Security: No major new proposals; reviews building programs for air force and Navy; paragraphs re Mexico, China, Nicaragua.

- Repeal of old law re Cuban tobacco imports.
- Alien property (#3 etc.).
- Trade (tariffs): #1, #4.
- Auth. to develop air mail service and assist in highway construction in Latin America.

Spending/Taxes: Reports on reduction of national debt from \$27 B to \$18 B.

- Tax measure to better balance tax system; no reduction.

Domestic Affairs:

- Shipping: #1 etc.
- Transportation: Railroads - #1 etc.; Praises development policy adopted by Congress re commercial aviation.
- Law/Judiciary (Prohibition): Status report.
- Civil Rights (the Negro): #1 etc.; specific re leg. to eliminate lynching.
- Energy: Coal - #1 etc.; petroleum conservation measures.
- Veterans: #1 etc.
- Education: Establish Cabinet-level Department of Education and Relief; see also #1.
- Agriculture: #1 etc.; reiterates opposition to government price-fixing and subsidy.
- Labor: Status report.
- Water Resources: Mississippi River flood control; Boulder Dam construction.
- Muscle Shoals: #1 etc.
- Indians: Greater funding for admn. and facilities; extend responsibilities to States.

Territories: No major changes re Philippines and P.R.

- Build dam in Panama.

Pol/Media
 Reaction >

On the same day, Coolidge reiterates at the WH that he will not run again. Senate GOP has organizational problems; Vare and Smith not seated. Opposes McNary-Haugen. Disappointment over flood control section by Mississippi Valley residents. Farm bloc very unhappy. Criticism of Coolidge is growing in the West and among "wets". McNary criticizes message. GOP sees it as another sound document, although not as much GOP agreement. World Court omitted.

Coolidge

Message # > 6 Date > December 4, 1928
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
 Form > 9400 words; text divided under 39 headings; same level and types of data.

Themes &

Proposals > "No Congress . . . has met with a more pleasing prospect than that which appears at the present time."

National Security: No major changes; discussion of Nicaraguan revolution and dispatch of Marines; Paris peace treaty to be submitted.

- Navy building program.
- Cuban tobacco imports (#5).
- Inter-American highway (#5).
- Inter-American air mail (#5); progress being made.

Spending/Taxes: No major changes; reviews achievements.

Domestic Affairs:

- Veterans: #2 etc.
- Agriculture: #1 etc.; reiterates support for FG role in promoting orderly marketing and handling surpluses.
- Transportation: Railroads - #1 etc.; progress in commercial aviation (#5).
- Shipping: #1 etc.; some progress being made toward transfer to private control.
- Water Resources: Recent river and harbor laws passed, so no more needed for a while; irrigation (see #1 etc.); avoid building another dam at public expense - e.g., Colorado Dam.
- Muscle Shoals: #1 etc.; suggests new approach.
- Natural Resources: Need to classify and conserve.
- Immigration: #1 etc.
- Civil Rights (the Negro): #1 etc.
- Law/Judiciary: Consolidate all legal activities of FG under the supervision of the AG; Prohibition - #1 etc.
- Business: Cites positive role of DOC.
- Education: Survey of secondary schools proposed.
- Indians: #5.
- Additional topics: Civil service; public buildings.

Territories: No major change for Philippines and PR.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Coolidge is a lame duck; speculation in progress re Hoover Cabinet. Coolidge asks for 15 cruisers, Federal Farm Board. Message seen as perfunctory and colorless; same old stuff; not much reaction. Fight on farm plan is expected.

- Natural Resources: Commission on Conservation of Public Domain to examine 3 crucial issues: (1) suspend issuance of oil permits to conserve oil and gas resources; (2) overgrazing; and (3) reconsider reclamation policy and role of Reclamation Service.
- Transportation:
 - Highways: Status report; continue FG aid.
 - Commercial Aviation: Status report.
 - Railroads: Consolidation authority (Coolidge #1 etc.).
- Post Office: Dealing with deficit.
- Shipping: Continue transfer of merchant marine to private enterprise; report on review of mail contracts and need for new vessel construction.
- Banking: Revise banking law after review of such problems as "chain" banking and strength of national banks.
- Regulation: Revise/reorganize Power, Radio Commissions.
- Muscle Shoals: Create Congressional commission with power to negotiate contracts to lease these plants.
- Social Services: FG role in research, information dissemination, and support for voluntary organizations.
- Health: Target FG support to local public health units.
- Law/Judiciary: Need new prisons and a Bureau of Prisons; appointed commission to do exhaustive study of crime, law enforcement, and judicial, parole, and probation systems; many recs to improve enforcement of Prohibition.
- Immigration: Opposes entry quota approach; look rather to fitness of the immigrant.
- Veterans: Consolidate program administration.
- Reorganization: Delegate authority to Executive, subject to oversight.

Additional topics include: Public buildings; civil service.

Politics: One of the few messages to date which alludes to "party": "The special session of Congress was called to expedite the fulfillment of party pledges of agricultural relief and the tariff." (2754)

Quotes > On voluntarism and Federal role in social services:

"[O]ne of the most precious possessions of the American people . . . [is] local and individual responsibility . . ." The Federal Government can make an important contribution to the provision of social services "by leadership in stimulation of the community and voluntary agencies, and by extending Federal assistance in organization of these forces and bringing about cooperation among them." (2764)

On law enforcement and observance: cf. 2770-71.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

After Great Crash; radicals hold balance in Senate. Hoover optimistic on the economy; declares business to be sound;

uphold prohibition; urges tariff. Comprehensive message, but some say not specific enough. Nothing new or startling. Recommendations will be foundation of much controversy. GOP regulars praise, while radicals and "wets" are critical. DEMs criticize Hoover's "government by commission." Major point of criticism is failure to clarify tariff.

Hoover

Message # > 2 Date > December 2, 1930
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
 Form > 5400 words; text divided under 16 headings; limited financial data; 1 table showing selected indicators of business and economic activity.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Brief treatment of national defense and foreign affairs, with no major new measures.

The Economy: Unlike message #1, notes deep-seated causes of the depression other than speculation - chiefly, world-wide overproduction of basic commodities. Still, finds grounds for confidence. Re role of government: "Economic depression can not be cured by legislative action or executive pronouncement." (2773) See also "Domestic Affairs" re construction activities.

Spending/Taxes: In view of projected deficit, must defer any increase in spending (other than those proposed).

Domestic Affairs: Notes that many measures recommended in #1 were enacted, including those related to agriculture; tariffs; regulation; Federal prisons; veterans; prohibition; water resources; Federal highways; and public buildings.

- Notes greatest program in US history of waterway, harbor, flood control, public building, highway, and airport improvement, together with loans to merchant ship-builders, and Navy and military aviation contracts; recommends temporary acceleration of construction work.
- Agriculture: Funding to USDA to loan money for seed and feed purchases.
- Complete action on Muscle Shoals, bus regulation, judiciary, reorganization of the border patrol, etc.

Subjects that should be considered in this short session:

- Energy: Reg. of interstate electrical power.
- Transportation (railroads): Consolidation.
- Business (antitrust): How to avoid destructive competition, e.g. in coal industry; study effects of capital gains tax on inflation.
- Immigration: Reconsider in view of unemployment; deportation of alien criminals.
- Post Office: Let FG build own facilities.

- Veterans: Effects of new Veterans Administration.
- Social Services: A couple of specific health items.
- Administrative subjects mentioned in passing.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Depression underway, with country clearly in trouble. Already looking to 1932. Most of message is on the depression: work bills, deficits, relief, with tax cut at end. DEMs and some GOP opposed to method of work plans; Congress should determine; DEMs want more direct relief. DEMs under Robinson, more aggressive; still, opinion is that partisanship should be avoided. Message is read by clerk and gets usual silent treatment.

Hoover

Message # > 3 Date > December 8, 1931
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress (separate, later message on foreign affairs).
 Form > 6800 words; text divided under 28 headings; limited financial data.

Themes &
Proposals >

Trying to find silver linings in economic clouds. "If we lift our vision beyond these immediate emergencies we find fundamental national gains even amid depression." (2783)

National Security: Maintaining national defense while reducing expenditures. Foreign affairs briefly described, with allusion to more detailed report in a later message.
 - Trade (tariffs): No general revision warranted.

The Economy: Administration has tried to mobilize private initiative and local and community responsibility; keep FG entry into the economic field to a minimum, and then only in temporary and emergency form. This message presents recs designed to strengthen "financial, industrial, and agricultural life through the medium of our existing institutions, and thus to avoid the entry of the Government into competition with private business." (2788)

Spending/Taxes: First requirement of confidence and economic recovery is financial stability of the FG. Heavy deficits require:

- Determined reduction in spending.
- Temporary increase in taxes to cover part of deficit.
- Finance remaining deficit by borrowing.

Domestic Affairs: Measures related to the economy:

- Banking: Support Federal land banks; make available to depositors some portion of their deposits in closed banks; establish system of home-loan discount banks; establish Reconstruction Finance Corporation; extension of Federal Reserve eligibility during emergencies; improve banking laws.

- Transportation (railroads): Adopt ICC recommendations re consolidation, reg. of competing services, and revised reg. methods.
- Business (antitrust): #2.

Additional leg. required:

- Veterans: No additional expenditures until recovery.
- Energy: Regulation of electrical power (#2).
- Water Resources: Status report.
- Muscle Shoals: Committee will be preparing recs re disposal of these properties.
- Reorganization: #1 etc.; also establish Public Works Administration and reorganize Shipping Board.
- Law/Judiciary: Recs forthcoming in a special message.
- Immigration: Tougher measures.
- Health: #1 etc.

Quotes > On unemployment:

"I am opposed to any direct or indirect Government dole."
(2791)

On local government and individualism:

"[J]ust as the largest measure of responsibility in the government of the Nation rests upon local self-government, so does the largest measure of social responsibility in our country rest upon the individual. If the individual surrenders his own initiative and responsibilities, he is surrendering his own freedom and his own liberty." (2794)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

DEMs control House, with Garner as Speaker. DEMs form House-Senate policy board, clearly on the offensive. Progressives block Senate organization. Hoover asks for tax increase; no tariff revision. Radicals are critical; DEMs silent on the message; regular GOP stick with President. Some say message not specific enough to deal with nation's ills.

Hoover

Message # > 4 Date > December 6, 1932
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
 Form > 5000 words; text divided under 6 headings; limited data and
 3 tables.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Hardly mentioned.

The Economy: Emergency measures and agencies should be continued until depression has passed, then promptly terminated. Economic recovery continues as the paramount duty of the FG. Three actions required:

- Continuing reduction of all FG expenditures.
- Banking: Complete reorganization of the banking system.
- Cooperation with other governments in economic matters.

Also:

- Sales tax: System of special manufacturers' excise taxes should be extended to cover practically all manufactures at a uniform rate, except food.

Quotes > On cutting entitlements back to original intention:

"I will recommend measures to eliminate certain payments in the veterans' services. I conceive these outlays were entirely beyond the original intentions of Congress in building up veterans' allowances." (2799)

Pol/Media

Reaction > National crisis is at its height. Both Hoover and Congress are lame duck. Message is general and no big deal; Congressional events are moving fast and sweep past Hoover.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

32. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (D)3 Terms + 1/2 Year: March 4, 1933 to April 12, 1945

Compared to his three Republican predecessors, FDR's State of the Union Messages are vastly different in approach, scope, style, and tone, as well as content. In many respects similar to the approach adopted by Wilson, FDR's annual messages: (1) were often orally delivered; (2) emphasize themes and oratory rather than detailed data and facts; (3) do not contain headings to organize the text; (4) do not attempt to cover all matters of concern, but instead focus on key public policy issues. Unlike Wilson, FDR was much more willing to both identify and attack his critics in forceful and explicit language.

In #1 he dismisses the need for reviewing in detail the phases of the economic crisis and the steps that Congress and he took to deal with it. Rather: "It is sufficient that I should speak in broad terms of the results of our common counsel." (2807) In #2 he says: "Let us, for a moment, strip from our simple purpose the confusion that results from a multiplicity of detail and from millions of written and spoken words." (2812)

Roosevelt

Message # > 1 Date > January 3, 1934
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio broadcast.
 Form > 2400 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > No return to the old ways; must go forward to make economic and social structure capable of dealing with modern life.

National Security: 3 paragraphs in middle of the text. "I cannot, unfortunately, present to you a picture of complete optimism regarding world affairs." (2809)

The Economy: Congratulates Congress on meeting the crisis at its Special Session. Cites Economy Act, intervention in exchange markets; see also items under "Domestic Affairs."

Domestic Affairs: Cites restoration of frozen deposits and Federal Insurance (FDIC); National Industrial Recovery Act; abolition of child labor; uniform standards of hours and wages; home and farm mortgage refinancing; Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA); flood control, power development, and land use policies (TVA and elsewhere).

- Business (antitrust): Seek active enforcement (no specific bill cited).
- Agriculture: Convinced of need to raise farm incomes.

- Law/Judiciary: Stringent measures needed to deal with tax cheats, corporate fraud, and reckless speculators as well as with common criminals.
- Labor: Use whatever means necessary to supplement State, local, and private agencies in relieving unemployment.

Politics: Most people seek prosperity and happiness without regard to party.

Quotes > First paragraph of message #1 (10 months after taking office):

"I come before you at the opening of the Regular Session of the 73rd Congress, not to make requests for special or detailed items of legislation; I come, rather, to counsel with you, who, like myself, have been selected to carry out a mandate of the whole people, in order that without partisanship you and I may cooperate to continue the restoration of our national well-being and, equally important, to build on the ruins of the past a new structure designed better to meet the present problems of modern civilization." (2806)

On the government's role in dealing with unemployment:

"I have recognized the dangers inherent in the direct giving of relief and have sought the means to provide no mere relief, but the opportunity for useful and remunerative work." (Move quickly from public to private employment) (2810)

On the tie between the legislative and executive branches of government (after personal words of appreciation for "the fine relationship we have shared"):

"The letter of the Constitution wisely declared a separation, but the impulse of common purpose declares a union." (2811)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Speech is on radio on both networks - 150 stations and on shortwave worldwide; also comments by Congressional leaders. Speech is a major new departure. Themes: New Deal is here to stay; we have undertaken new methods; no specific leg. proposals. GOP unable to respond and greatly disappointed, because FDR does not give any specifics. No real GOP opposition. President greatly strengthened by speech; improves hold on Congress (3:1 DEM). Most cheering since Wilson's war speech. DEMs say he has won the country. GOP afraid of money policy. Press calls him resourceful and bold; program has general approval. Seems to support sound money (?). NRA to stay. DEMs say prosperity is returning. Press exudes confidence; people behind FDR; a new era.

Roosevelt

Message # > 2 Date > January 4, 1935
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio broadcast.
 Form > 3700 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > Virtually entire speech devoted to theme of personal security and to proposed emergency public employment program.

National Security: 3 paragraphs. "I cannot with candor tell you that general international relationships outside the borders of the United States are improved." (2818)

The Economy: New order emerging, consistent with Constitutional framework and spirit. Forswear acquisition of great wealth through excessive profits which creates undue private power - yet recognize ability of some to earn more than others. 3 1/2 million people still unemployed. Wants FG to stop doling out relief.

Domestic Affairs: First and continuing objective is to provide personal security. Ready to submit broad program designed to establish, over many years, 3 factors of security:

- Security of livelihood through better use of national resources (Natural Resources/Water Resources/Labor): Sound use of land and water; program of putting people to work.
- Security against major hazards of life (Social Services): Separate recs in a few days covering unemployment insurance and old-age insurance; benefits for children, mothers, and the handicapped; maternity care; and other aspects of dependency and illness.
- Security of decent homes (Housing).

Specifically:

- Labor: New program of emergency public employment: Single new and larger public works plan that would permit USG to give employment to all able-bodied workers now on relief, pending their absorption in rising tide of private employment. Describes 7 governing principles.

Additional topics for future consideration: Consolidation of Federal regulation of all transportation modes; review NIRA; improved law enforcement; abolish holding companies in public-utilities field; taper off emergency credit activities of FG; and improved tax system and methods.

- Agriculture: Continue present adjustment methods.
- Civil Service: Praise for their spirit and role.

Quotes > Importance of focusing government activity on major public policy objectives:

"Whatever we plan and whatever we do should be in the light of these three clear objectives of security. We cannot afford to lose valuable time in haphazard public policies which cannot find a place in the broad outlines of these major purposes." (2814)

On impact of dependence on government relief:

"[C]ontinued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destructive to the national fiber. To dole out relief in this way is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit. It is inimical to the dictates of sound policy. It is in violation of the traditions of America." (2815)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Again speaks to the nation by radio, and to Europe and South America. FDR to make jobs for 3.5 M now on relief; pushes social program; says FG "must quit this business of relief." Outlines huge FG program to provide jobs. Renders an account of accomplishments to date; indicates he will ask for many more things. Omits word on utilities holding companies by mistake and causes a radio stir. DEMs call it historic. GOP skeptical, but make no specific criticism; note that it ignores bonus, currency, and taxation; says it sounds more like an appeal to the electorate. GOP radicals praise FDR. Some GOP want to wait for specific recs. Press feels message was temperate - more right-wing than left-wing. But business might not be satisfied. Speech receives mostly praise, but questions are raised as to the workability of FDR's schemes.

Roosevelt

Message #>

3

Date > January 3, 1936

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress in unusual Friday night session; worldwide radio broadcast; first time message not delivered in the afternoon.

Form >

3900 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.

Themes &
Proposals>

Two major themes. First half explicitly shifts focus to world affairs; notes that Inaugural Address dealt with this in only one sentence. Second half is a forceful political counter-attack against opponents of the New Deal.

National Security: Good Neighbor Policy in the Americas announced in Inaugural Address is a reality. Concern re aggression, ill-will, increasing armaments in Europe and Asia.

- Twofold neutrality: No sale of weapons to belligerents; and no increase in export of products to belligerents which could facilitate warfare.

Politics: Within US borders, popular opinion is at war with power-seeking minority comprised of financial and industrial groups. Issues strong challenge to those who would return to the old order to be specific in their attack, and to propose to Congress the repeal of New Deal measures. (Rhetorical highlight: 14 questions beginning with "Shall we . . ." or "Shall we say"; 2824-25.)

Quotes > On the terms of the relationship established between Congress and the Executive since 1933:

"They were an appeal from the clamor of many private and selfish interests, yes, an appeal from the clamor of partisan interest, to the ideal of the public interest. Government became the representative and the trustee of the public interest." (2823)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Makes a campaign speech. Unusual Friday-night session for address to nation. Some wonder if it will be a campaign keynote. But GOP (Snell) agrees to it. Fireside chat; worldwide radio broadcast. GOP asks for radio time. GOP now bitter; NBC offers time to GOP party chairman, but CBS refuses. Speech deals in part with international situation. Attacks critics as vested interests (money-changers); dares critics to repeal New Deal; "Shall we" tactic; speech like a DEM rally. GOP laughs FDR's reference to "this message on the state of the union"; says speech was an appeal for reelection; 100% political; an attack on the courts; not a discussion of the issues. Even DEMs admit partisanship.

Roosevelt

Message #> 4 Date > January 6, 1937
Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
Form > 3000 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes &
Proposals> National Security: Constituted about 1/3 of the message, most dealing with his attendance at the Inter-American Conference in Buenos Aires.

Domestic Affairs:

- Reorganization: Need for modernization and complete overhaul of Executive branch administrative machinery.
- Even with economic recovery, problems remain: inadequate housing in cities, towns, and on farms; tenant farming; further development of social security system in terms of services and operations; and unemployment, which is tied to wasteful fluctuations, due in part to speculation, in production and distribution mechanisms.

- National Recovery Act (NRA): Good objectives, but too broad; therefore outlawed by the Supreme Court.
- Defends liberal interpretation of the Constitution; alludes to conflict between legislative and judicial action; asks judicial branch not to deny the "essential powers of free government." (Prelude to "Court-Packing")

Second paragraph: Seeks immediate consideration of: (1) Extension of certain authorizations and powers about to expire; (2) addition to Neutrality Act based on Spanish Civil war; and (3) a deficiency appropriation bill.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

GM Strike. GOP shattered in November election - hardly a force anywhere. FDR in complete control of new Congress; fewest GOP ever. Very strong message. GOP criticism basically muted, again claiming it is not really a State of the Union Message. FDR asks courts to help adapt constitution to our needs or face curb of powers. Opens up court fight which FDR eventually loses; stirs formation of Dixiecrat-GOP Coalition.

Roosevelt
Message #>
Delivery >
Form >
Themes &
Proposals>

5 Date > January 3, 1938
Address to joint session of Congress.
4800 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
Focus on domestic objectives and programs, enemies of those objectives and programs, and analysis of their motivations.

National Security: Brief discussion in opening paragraphs.

Spending/Taxes: Challenges those calling for balanced budget to specify what spending to cut. Notes declining deficits. Agrees with need, but not at expense of providing work to any needy American who can and wants to work. Conditions for tax changes: (1) no overall decrease in revenue; (2) no return to tax abuse or avoidance; and (3) change certain provisions which work hardship, especially on small business.

Domestic Affairs: National life rests on 2 forces, agriculture and industry, each employing 1/3 of the citizens. The other 1/3 transport and distribute products of first 2/3 or perform special services for the whole.

- Agriculture: Reviews conditions, vigorously defends control of excessive supply and maintenance of reserves; describes measure he'd like to see emerge from current conference committee - an all-weather farm program.
- Labor: Raise purchasing power of industrial workers through minimum-wage and maximum-hour provisions.
- Reorganization: Auth. reorganization and improvement of administrative structure of FG.
- Business/Banking: End abuses and bad practices; deal with excessive concentration of economic control, especially in banking and finance.

Politics: Biting attacks on opponents of his policies. Enemies of agriculture policies include "those who for partisan purposes oppose each and every practical effort to help the situation . . ." (2835) Notes that many representatives of industrial areas have shown understanding of need to help the agricultural 1/3 of the Nation. Hopes that understanding will be reciprocated. Notes that his attacks on bad business practices are not attacks on capital or business generally, but are so misrepresented.

Quotes > On the public responsibilities of corporate America:

"The ownership of vast properties or the organization of thousands of workers creates a heavy obligation of public service. The power should not be sought or sanctioned unless the responsibility is accepted as well. The man who seeks freedom from such responsibility in the name of individual liberty is either fooling himself or trying to cheat his fellow men. He wants to eat the fruits of orderly society without paying for them." (2840)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

"Roosevelt Recession"; recent wages and hours battle. Interest rivals that of first message to Congress in 1933. Very partisan reaction; GOP mostly critical. Dixiecrats (Bollweevils) silent or critical. No specific recs. Message conciliatory toward business. Ickkes angered industry recently. President more on defensive; press questions his sincerity on business.

Roosevelt

Message #>

6

Date > January 4, 1939

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress.

Form >

3600 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes &

Proposals>

Girding the nation for potential war; freedom of religion, democracy, and international good faith are all threatened; to save one we must fight to save all.

National Security: Cites lessons learned from new wars and foreign relations. Defense depends on being armed before being attacked; cannot forever ignore acts of aggression against sister nations; do not act or fail to act in a way which helps an aggressor, even if unintentional - as can happen with neutrality laws.

- Separate recs in a few days re defense.

Spending/Taxes: Rejects call for balanced budget; must maintain expenditures.

- Establish a permanent agency for long-range planning and to assess various types of government investment.

The Economy/Domestic Affairs: Program of social and economic reform also a basic part of defense. Reviews accomplishments since 1933. General recs are:

- Social Services: Improve provisions for elderly and medically needy.
- Labor: Find ways to end strife; first duty is to bring capital and manpower together.
- Business: Put capital to work.
- Reorganization: #4.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Big GOP comeback in 1938 election; election considered a rebuke of FDR; WPA funds used for politics in 3 States. Speech deals mostly with dictatorships and foreign affairs; Neutrality Act is a target. Does not demand enactment of new leg.; New Deal has run its course and is now over. GOP hits spending (a theme to be carried out indefinitely). GOP isolationism surfaces (Taft). Dixiecrats praise foreign policy, but do not like domestic policy. Defense preparedness is a major issue.

Roosevelt
Message #>
Delivery >
Form >
Themes &
Proposals>

7 Date > January 3, 1940
Address to joint session of Congress.
3200 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Focus is on world affairs, with emphasis that this does not signify unawareness of the importance of domestic matters. Dictatorships often arise out of need for drastic solutions to internal conditions.

National Security: Discussion of world events from US perspective; dominant point is that the US cannot adhere to isolationist stance, even if it wanted to. Notes increases in defense spending.

- Trade: Extend Trade Agreements Act (permitting greater flexibility in tariffs and removal of trade restrictions).

Spending/Taxes: The only important increase in any part of the budget is for national defense; most other items show reduction.

- Levy sufficient additional taxes for meet emergency spending for national defense and to be able to continue reducing the deficit.

Domestic Affairs: Among many other items of importance not detailed here: Natural resources conservation; improvement of health and education; extension of social security to larger groups; increasing transportation; extension of merit system.

Quotes > On national unity:

"[N]ational unity is, in a very real and deep sense, the fundamental safeguard of all democracy. . . We cannot afford to face the future as a disunited people. We must as a united people keep ablaze on this continent the flames of human liberty, of reason, of democracy, and of fair play as living things to be preserved for the better world that is to come." (2854)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Deep split in DEM party; concern over deficits. Coalition working well; New Deal dead. Speech is translated into 5 languages. Asks for more taxes for defense; hopes to keep US at peace. Only 2 leg. requests: Reciprocal Trade Act extension, and increased defense spending. Restrained tone and reception, little applause. GOP applauds references to reductions and economy. Isolationists criticize the speech. Campaign will focus on issue of internationalism vs. America First. GOP generally critical; country a little tired of FDR.

Roosevelt

Message #>

8

Date > January 6, 1941

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress.

Form >

3400 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes &

Proposals>

"At no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today."

National Security: Historical review of previous wars or threats to US security. Review of current situation in WWII. Almost all US actions and policies must be devoted to this foreign peril. Need to gear up for wartime production.
- Lend Lease (not labelled as such in text).

Spending/Taxes:

- Tax increase to pay for defense program.

Domestic Affairs: Reiterates earlier recs. Identifies 4 essential human freedoms: of speech and expression; of religion; from want; from fear.

Politics: Cites three elements of national policy established "by an impressive expression of the public will and without regard to partisanship" since that policy was not contested in last year's national election.

Pol/Media

Reaction >

France beaten, Britain alone; Lend-Lease Program. FDR asks for all-out aid to democracies; send ships, tanks, guns; denies act of war. Speech deals mostly with international situation. Solemn occasion, similar to 1917. Not much comment or time for reflection. Isolationists still critical; GOP not enthusiastic.

Roosevelt

Message # > 9 Date > January 6, 1942
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 3500 words; continuous text with no headings; data on armaments production.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Start of US involvement in WWII; Pearl Harbor; armaments production over next 2 years; etc.

Spending/Taxes:

- "Taxes and bonds and bonds and taxes."

Pol/Media

Reaction > Right after Pearl Harbor. Reports abound of US and British retreats. FDR asks for 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks; vast war effort called for. Everyone behind him.

Roosevelt

Message # > 10 Date > January 7, 1943
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio broadcast to nation.
 Form > 4600 words; continuous text with no headings; data on armament production.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Review of war effort.

Pol/Media

Reaction > Right after turning point at Stalingrad. GOP scores big gains in 1942 election. Basically a war-time speech. FDR sees allies on road to victory; talks of war objectives, progress; industrial production. Non-partisan speech. Great national support. GOP feels industry and army deserve a good deal of the credit.

Roosevelt

Message # > 11 Date > January 11, 1944
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress (FDR has the flu); radio broadcast to the nation of basically the same message 9 hours after delivery to Congress.
 Form > 3900 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: The dominant topic.
 - National service act to prevent wartime strikes and make every able-bodied adult available for essential service.

Spending/Taxes:

- Realistic tax law.

The Economy:

- Ceiling on food costs.
 - Reenact currency stabilization law.
 - Continue law for renegotiation of war contracts.
 - Second economic Bill of Rights: Explore means for implementing these principles.

Politics:

- Enact soldiers voting leg.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

War going well; DEMs drop to 217 seats in House, GOP at 208. Broadcast to nation. FDR asks for civilian draft and bar to strikes; economic bill of rights. Assails special interest profiteers. Labor assails national service proposal. Congress balky on taxes and national service. Coalition calls message a 4th term announcement and bid for dictatorship. Much more criticism this time than in previous war-time messages; GOP nearly even with DEMs in strength.

Roosevelt

Message # >

12

Date > January 6, 1945

Delivery >

Written Message to Congress (shorter version broadcast on radio in the evening).

Form >

8600 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals >

National Security: Review of war effort. Handful of leg. proposals, including call for national service act (#11) and second Bill of Rights.

Pol/Media

Reaction >

Following Battle of the Bulge. Longest war-time message. FDR demands national service act; draft of nurses and 4Fs. Asks for postwar draft. Grim message. Labor still opposed and Congress dubious.

33. HARRY S. TRUMAN (D)
3 1/2 Years + 1 Term: April 12, 1945 to January 20, 1953

Truman followed the pattern of his Republican rather than his Democratic predecessors. His State of the Union messages were long, detailed, panoramic, and contained many specific legislative proposals. Little of the rhetorical flamboyance of Wilson and Roosevelt is to be found in his annual messages. Truman adopted a unique approach in his first annual message, in that he combined it with the Budget Message. His rationale for doing so, as well as his view of the function of the State of the Union message, was set forth early in the combined message:

"In formulating policies, as in preparing budgetary estimates, the Nation and the Congress have the right to expect the President to adjust and coordinate the views of the various departments and agencies to form a program. And that program requires consideration in connection with the Budget, which is the annual work program of the Government." (2900)

A consistent theme in the Truman messages is the triad in American society of agriculture, business, and labor, and the need for government to work effectively with them.

Truman

Message # > 1 Date > January 14, 1946
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress, combined with the Budget Message (released January 21); preceded by a radio address entitled "The state of the Union" on January 3. He noted that a report would be made after Congress reconvened. "Tonight I am speaking directly to you - the American people - on issues which will be the subject of debate when Congress returns."
 Form > 25,000 words; text divided under 25 headings; some data.
 Themes & Proposals > Outline and content of the combined messages:

Introduction

Necessary, in both executive and legislative branches, to set the FG program in light of national economic conditions.
 - Confident re passage of full employment bill.

I. FROM WAR TO PEACE - THE YEAR OF THE DECISION

Sets tone for rest of message; review of war effort and post-war situation, with emphasis on UN, and of domestic conditions (US strong and confident). Focus on business, agriculture, and labor. Importance of transition to peacetime: jobs; prevent inflation; etc. Reference to a "new economic bill of rights" (see FDR).

II. THE FEDERAL PROGRAM

International Program

1. Foreign Policy: Review of events in 1945: Yalta; Potsdam; Inter-American Conference; first UN General Assembly meeting; repeats 12-point foreign policy announced in October.
2. Foreign Economic Policy: Notes that US joined IMF, IBRD; expanded E-I Bank; Congress renewed Trade Agreements Act and gave support to UN Relief and Rehabilitation Admn. Pursuing lend-lease settlements which will not encumber world trade with huge war debts. Pursuit of policy of free trade: Eliminate artificial barriers, whether in form of tariffs, tariff preferences, commercial quotas, embargos, or cartel practices.
3. Occupied Countries
4. Demobilization of Our Armed Forces: Maintain sufficient strength to occupy and disarm enemies. Extend Selective Service Act if enlistments do not meet needs.

Domestic Affairs

1. The Economic Outlook: Chief worry is inflation. Need for effective full employment program.
2. General Policies - Immediate and Long-Range: Need to increase supplies at low unit prices; resource and enterprise development; help veterans and small businessmen to start own businesses; continue rent, price, consumer credit, and priorities, allocations, and inventory controls; most serious obstacle to reconversion is lack of fair wage structure; provide machinery to help labor and management settle differences; measures to deal with strikes in nationwide industries; look to economic impact of all FG programs and functions.
3. Legislation Heretofore Recommended and Still Pending: "A few - a very few - of these recommendations have been enacted into law by the Congress. Most of them have not." All are necessary:
 - Permit creation of fact-finding boards re strikes.
 - Full employment bill.
 - Supplement State unemployment insurance benefits.
 - Permanent Fair Employment Practices Act.
 - Raise the minimum wage.
 - Comprehensive program of scientific research.
 - Health and medical care program.
 - Universal training.
 - Government employees' salary scale.
 - Succession to the Presidency.

- Unification of the armed services.
- Domestic use and control of atomic energy.
- Retention of US Employment Service.
- Increase unemployment allowances for veterans.
- Social security coverage for veterans for military service.
- Extension of crop insurance.
- Sale of ships.
- Stock piling of materials which US lacks.
- Federal airport legislation.
- Repeal Johnson Act on foreign loans.
- Development of Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River.

4. Policies In Specific Fields

- a) Extend Rent/Price Control Act for 1 year from 6/30/46.
- b) Continue food subsidies to hold down prices, unless or until cost of living declines below current level.
- c) Extend War Powers Act.
- d) Promote small business and competition by enforcing anti-trust, strengthening DOC role in assisting industry; Reconstruction Finance Corporation to finance small enterprises.
- e) Amend Fair Labor Standards Act to increase the minimum wage and extend coverage.
- f) Agricultural programs: Outlook for farmers never better; maintain price-supports; replace expiring Sugar Act; seek high level of food production and consumption that will provide good nutrition for everyone - e.g., enact permanent school lunch program.
- g) Resource development: Inventory national lands, minerals, and forests; resume work suspended during WWII on flood control, power, and reclamation projects and development of national forests and parks.
- h) Public works: Continue support for FG project planning, and provide aid to S/LGs; expand Federal grants and loans in several other fields, including construction of airports, hospital/health centers, housing, water pollution control facilities, and educational plant facilities.
- i) National housing program to deal with severe housing shortage: Ceiling prices for old and new houses; establish permanent long-range housing program; help low income families.
- j) Social security and health: Extend coverage; liberalize unemployment compensation; comprehensive health program, based on prepaid medical care.
- k) Education: Further FG assistance to States.
- l) Federal Government personnel: Salary legislation.
- m) Territories, insular possessions, and the District of Columbia: Give P.R. full and V.I. and D.C. greater self-government; admit Hawaii to Union and Alaska after referendum; Philippines to be independent this year - need economic support.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Serious postwar problems; e.g., steel and other strikes; civil rights filibuster; GOP wins landslide later in the year. In radio broadcast on the 3rd, Truman calls on public to spur Congress to act in labor crisis. Assails "handful of men." Asks for yes or no votes. Congressional message is of unprecedented length; combined message, delayed a week. Congress can hardly absorb the document. Few surprises. Message asks for continued price controls. Assails "return to normalcy." Demands that a balky Congress enact his program for higher pay. Congress has greatest interest in and strongly approves idea of balancing the budget. Truman has opposition from Boll Weevils; GOP faults his budget figures. Hardly anyone is on the Senate floor when it is read; most had read it previously.

Truman

Message #> 2

Date > January 6, 1947

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress; TV broadcast on 5 east coast stations.

Form >

6700 words; text divided under 15 headings; some data.

Themes &

Proposals>

National Security: Upcoming peace treaties; international relief and displaced persons; atomic energy (AEC just established); still not sure re need for extending Selective Service Act.

- Establish DOD.

The Economy: Notes removal of emergency controls. Will be submitting recs on repeal of certain remaining temporary laws. Rec five major economic policies:

- Promote greater harmony between labor and management.
- Restrict monopoly and unfair business practices; assist small business; and promote competition.
- Continue aggressive program of home construction.
- Balance budget in next fiscal year, and achieve surplus to use for reducing public debt.
- Assure fair level of return to farmers.

Spending/Taxes: Should be able to balance budget and reduce debt; Budget Message makes rec to increase surplus:

- Continue war-excise-tax rates due to expire.

Domestic Affairs: Five major proposals:

- Labor: Notes labor-management strife; continue national policy of support for free collective bargaining. Proposes 4-point program:
 - (1) Prohibit certain unjustifiable practices, e.g. jurisdictional strikes and certain secondary boycotts.

- (2) Extend DOL facilities to assist collective bargaining.
- (3) Broaden social leg.: Social security, housing, national health program, and fair minimum wage.
- (4) Temporary joint commission to examine the LMR field.
- Business: Plans vigorous enforcement of antitrust laws; need positive measures - assistance, research, and credit - to aid new enterprises; look at decentralization and underdeveloped areas.
- Housing: #1; comprehensive leg. to create single FG agency; provide for improvement in rural areas and for construction of 1/2 M public housing units.
- Agriculture: Find ways to maintain and develop markets for farm surpluses, and ultimately reduce price supports.
- Health: #1; complete work on comprehensive health proposals.

Also:

- Social Services: Broaden SS; establish a D/HEW.
- Veterans: Tries to dampen down further leg.
- Civil Rights: Established President's Committee on Civil Rights to do study and prepare recs to Congress.
- Natural Resources: (Not much here.)

Politics: Seeks to work together with Congress; see quote.

Quotes > On facing GOP-controlled House and Senate, Truman noted room for honest differences of opinion between Congress and the President on some matters, but asserted that partisan differences were not material with respect to national security during or since the war.

"On some domestic issues we may, and probably shall, disagree. That in itself is not to be feared. It is inherent in our form of government. But there are ways of disagreeing; men who differ can still work together sincerely for the common good. We shall be risking the Nation's safety and destroying our opportunities for progress if we do not settle any disagreements in this spirit, without thought of partisan advantage." (2939)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

GOP controls both houses of Congress; Joe Martin is Speaker. First hostile Congress since Hoover - February 22, 1932. Not many Congressmen like Truman. GOP wants to cut taxes. Truman for some union curbs; opposes sharp cut in taxes; opposes excise tax cuts. GOP sees bid for cooperation; Truman pledges cooperation with GOP majority; alludes to new seating arrangements. Labor inclined to accept terms. Congress is sparing in applause; claps at defense plea. Tone is one of a quiet exposition.

Truman

B-40

Message # > 3 Date > January 7, 1948
Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
Form > 5500 words; continuous text with no headings; some data.
Themes &
Proposals > Theme: "How far have we come during the last 10 years and
how far can we go during the next 10?" Goals:

- Secure fully the essential human rights of our citizens.
- Protect and develop our human resources.
- Conserve and wisely use our natural resources.
- Lift the standard of living by strengthening our economic system and sharing more broadly among our people the goods we produce.
- Achieve world peace based on freedom, justice, and equality of all nations.

National Security: Notes passage of NSA; support for UN; aid to Greece and Turkey; steps to restore world trade; alludes to recent message to Congress on Marshall Plan.

- Act promptly on European recovery program.
- Need early provision for universal training.
- Immigration: Leg. for US to admit its share of war refugees.

The Economy: Business, labor, agriculture, and government must work together. Must surmount one major problem affecting all goals - inflation.

Spending/Taxes: Hold down spending; no tax cut.

- Extend cost of living tax credit of \$40 to each taxpayer (and \$40 for each dependent), made up by increasing tax on corporate profits.

Domestic Affairs: Following specific measures related to first 4 goals:

- Civil Rights: Cites recent Committee report; will send special message to Congress on this subject.
- Social Services: Extend unemployment compensation, old-age benefits, and survivors' benefits to millions not now protected, and raise benefit levels; create a D/HEW (#2).
- Health: Deal with greatest gap - lack of national health program (#1 etc.).
- Education: Provide financial aid to meet financial crisis in education (#1 etc.).
- Housing: Enact long-range housing program; until then, extend and strengthen rent control (#1 etc.).
- Veterans: Status report; no new programs.
- Natural Resources: Inventory resources; land reclamation; forestry; build dams; develop great river basins.

Spending/Taxes: Essential to have balanced budget and surplus to apply to national debt.

- Raise corporate, estate, and gift taxes; consider raising rates for middle and upper income brackets.

Domestic Affairs:

- Labor: Repeal Taft-Hartley Act; reenact Wagner Act, with improvements (#2); strengthen DOL; raise minimum wage.
- Business: Brief reiteration of #1 etc.
- Agriculture: #1 etc.
- Natural Resources: #1 etc. Also, adopt program for planned use of petroleum reserves under the sea.
- Social Services/Education: (Brief reiteration of social security and education proposals in #1 etc.). Make Social Security Agency into a D/HEW.
- Health: #1 etc.; also, remedy shortage of doctors, nurses, and hospitals.
- Housing: #1 etc.
- Civil Rights: #2 etc.; enact February 1948 proposals.

Politics: Claims 1948 election demonstrated public support for abandoning "the trickle-down concept of national prosperity." (2961) Claims Nation's progress "has confounded the gloomy prophets, at home and abroad, who predicted the downfall of American capitalism." (2962)

Quotes > First use of "Fair Deal" label:

"I hope for cooperation from farmers, from labor, and from business. Every segment of our population and every individual have a right to expect from our Government a fair deal." (2967)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

DEMs take control of both Houses. Much Congressional support anticipated for Truman programs. Labor (AFL and CIO) strongly support speech. Speech seen as very political and a result of campaign promises. Press reaction ranges from very negative to passive: "Alice in Wonderland" (Boston Herald); "Ruinous Socialism" (Chicago Tribune); "Adding to Inflation Danger" (Philadelphia Inquirer).

Truman

Message #> 5 Date > January 4, 1950
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 5100 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> Uses century mid-point as theme for early part of message.

National Security: Major new theme is threat of communism.

- Continue Selective Service.
- Continue European economic recovery program.
- Join International Trade Organization.
- Adopt pending leg. to increase technical assistance and capital investment in Third World.

The Economy: Not much new.

Spending/Taxes: Criticizes "ill-considered" tax cut; will send recs soon on tax changes to reduce inequities, stimulate business activity, and increase revenue moderately.

Domestic Affairs:

- Business: #1 etc.; close loopholes in Clayton Act which permit monopolistic mergers.
- Labor: #1 etc.; repeal Taft-Hartley Act (#4); establish a Labor Extension Service for educational activities; strengthen unemployment compensation leg.
- Agriculture: Auth. use of production payments system.
- Housing: Cites Housing Act of 1949; need new leg. to aid middle-income families through cooperatives; continue rent control.
- Natural Resources: #1 etc.
- Water Resources: Auth. St. Lawrence seaway and establish Columbia Valley (Bonneville) Admn.
- Science: Create a National Science Foundation.
- Social Services/Education/Health: #1 etc. (1 parag. ea.)
- Civil Rights: #2, #4.

Territories: #1 etc.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Message gets good support from DEMs, criticism from GOP, who call it a speech on the "State of Socialism". Some Southern DEMs worried about civil rights program. During speech, GOP heckled Truman while DEMs cheered in support. Message conveyed very mild and friendly tone. Extension of 1948 speech re taxes.

Truman

Message # > 6 Date > January 8, 1951
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast and Voice of America.
 Form > 4200 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > US must exercise leadership of free world and protect rights of independent nations. Korea and the Soviet threat - practically the sole topic.

National Security: Program for meeting Soviet challenge:

- Economic assistance: Continue in Europe, with focus on defense; economic development in other parts of the world.
- Military assistance: Heart is NATO.
- International organizations: UN.
- Mobilization and defense production.
- Extend and revise Selective Service Act.

Additional leg. needed:

- Auth. to expand production and stabilize prices, wages, and rents.
- Improve agricultural laws (#1 etc.); not specific.
- Improve labor laws (#1 etc.); not specific.
- Housing and training for defense workers.
- Increase supply of medical personnel.
- Education (#1 etc).
- Major increase in taxes.

Reiterates need for leg. on:

- Social Services: #1 etc.
- Health: #1 etc.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Strong Labor support. Primary concern is foreign policy. Very serious tone; quite strident. Move by GOP to prohibit Truman from deploying US troops in Europe. Answer Taft's questions. Split among party lines again.

Truman

Message #> 7 Date > January 9, 1952
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 5400 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> Roughly equal treatment of domestic and world affairs.

National Security: Reviews key events - Korea; Schuman Plan and European defense force; UN; disarmament proposal, Soviet reaction, and arms race; Soviet threat.

- Ratify Japanese peace treaty, security pacts with Pacific nations, and entry of Greece and Turkey into NATO.
- Military and economic aid to Europe, Indochina, and Third World generally.
- Continue and expand Voice of America.
- Move ahead on defense program.

The Economy: Hold down inflation.

- Repair damage done to stabilization law in last session, and enact a strong anti-inflation law.

Spending/Taxes:

- Improve administration of tax laws, approve reorganization of Bureau of Internal Revenue; continue high taxes.

Domestic Affairs: Must keep on working to "bring about a fair deal for all Americans." Reiterates many of his earlier proposals and argues that they are neither "frills or luxuries."

- Natural Resources: General - no proposal.

- Transportation: General - no proposal.
- Housing: For defense workers and soldiers families (#6).
- Education: Begin Federal aid - #1 etc.
- Social Services: SS leg. needs a number of improvements.
- Health: #1 etc.; national health insurance, aid to medical education; has set up a Commission to examine Nation's health needs.
- Veterans: Cost of living adjustments.
- Agriculture: Strengthen farm price support system.
- Labor: #1, #4 etc.
- Congress should protect rights of individuals in its investigations (reference to McCarthy era).

Territories: #1, #3 etc.

Politics: See quote below.

Quotes > Notes upcoming Presidential elections:

"This will be a Presidential election year - the kind of year in which politics plays a larger part in our lives than usual. That is perfectly proper. But we have a great responsibility to conduct our political fights in a manner that does not harm the national interest. . . . When everything is said and done, all of us - Republicans and Democrats alike - all of us are Americans; and we are all going to sink or swim together." (2984)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Speech arouses mild enthusiasm among DEMs; no progress expected on civil rights. No mention of taxes; will be made in later economic address or budget submission. Congress against large rise in SS benefits.

Truman

Message #>
Delivery >
Form >
Themes &
Proposals>

8
Date > January 7, 1953
Written Message to Congress.
10,000 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
Delivered 2 weeks before Eisenhower took office, this is Truman's farewell address. No leg. proposals. Presents summary of major achievements during his Administration, and examines key issues facing US. Covers most of the topics in earlier messages.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Message well-received by both sides.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

34. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (R)
2 Terms: January 20, 1953 to January 30, 1961

Eisenhower set forth a concise summary of his approach to the State of the Union Message in his fourth annual message:

"Because the vast spread of national and human interests is involved within [the Administration program], I shall not in this message attempt its detailed delineation. Instead, from time to time during this session, there will be submitted to the Congress specific recommendations within specific fields." (3053-54)

Eisenhower

Message # > 1 Date > February 2, 1953
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 8000 words; text divided under Roman numeral headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals > Notes lack of time to prepare a complete set of recs.

National Security: Defines 6 principles of "new, positive foreign policy." One deals with world trade: Holds out prospect of encouraging US investment abroad, increasing US imports, removing trade barriers, etc. if Europe and other allies stabilize their economies. Separate section devoted to Korea. Ends role of 7th fleet in shielding mainland China from Formosa. DOD to recommend changes to assure effective national defense. Stresses civil defense. Security/loyalty program for FG employees to be run by Executive branch; no new leg. needed.

- Trade: Revise customs regs. to remove procedural obstacles to profitable trade; extend Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

The Economy: Big concern is with encouraging economic freedom, competition, and individual initiative.

- Wage and price controls should not be renewed in April.
- Same with material and product controls, except for certain scarce defense-related items.
- Housing: Continue rent controls, chiefly in "defense areas."

Spending/Taxes: First order of business is to:

- Eliminate deficit and balance the budget.
- No tax cut until then; but review whole tax structure.

Domestic Affairs:

- Reorganization: Notes establishment of Committee on Government Organization (2nd Hoover Commission); wants extension of Government Reorganization Act.
- Natural Resources: General support etc.; no proposal.
- Agriculture: Notes upcoming expiration of price-support leg.; establishing advisory group on this.
- Labor: Taft-Hartley Act needs amending; endorses trade unionism, collective bargaining, and DOL role.
- Civil Rights: Will use Executive power to end segregation in D.C., FG, and armed forces.
- Immigration: Need new law to correct present injustices.
- Social Services: Extend old-age and survivors insurance to those left out of SS. Encourage private pension plans.
- Education: FG aid needed under some conditions; renew law aiding construction of schools in "defense areas."
- Consumers: Auth. FDA to continue factory inspections (invalidated by SC due to vague leg.)

Territories: Give immediate statehood to Hawaii (both parties called for this); local government for D.C.

Politics: Takes a number of swipes at previous Democratic Administrations, e.g.:

- Formosa policy.
- Not starting with clean economic slate: "Much already has been written on the record, beyond our power quickly to erase or amend. This record includes our inherited burden of indebtedness and obligations and deficits." (3016-17)
- Failure of wage and price controls.
- Attitude toward labor: "The determination of labor policy must be governed not by the vagaries of political expediency but by the firmest principles and convictions. Slanted partisan appeals to American workers, spoken as if they were a group apart, necessitating a special language and treatment, are an affront to the fullness of their dignity as American citizens." (3022)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Generally strong support from Congress, including DEMs. Sen. George (DEM - Ga.) says it was well thought out and well received. Wide support for civil rights plan - seen as taking the middle ground. Some afraid of de facto US involvement if Taiwan attacks China. Press coverage generally favorable; questioned on US/Taiwan relations and on postponed tax cut; AG to take over Loyalty Act investigations. At 57 minutes, longest annual address to Congress.

Applause: 57 times.

Eisenhower
 Message #> 2
 Delivery >
 Form >
 Themes &
 Proposals>

Date > January 7, 1954

Address to joint session of Congress, preceded by radio/TV broadcast on January 4.

7000 words; text divided under 20 headings; some data.

This is one of the better examples of the use of the annual message to synopsise the President's leg. program and to announce a number of other messages - each containing detailed recs on a single public policy area - that the President plans to send to Congress.

Expresses belief that "a real momentum has been developed during this administration's first year in office" toward building a stronger America. Notes that US is gaining "the initiative" in the world; wants to use it to promote 3 broad purposes (the 3 principal headings of the message):

- Protect freedom of our people;
- Maintain strong growing economy; and
- Deal with human problems of the citizen.

National Security: Outlines 6 points re US defense planning.

- Ratify upcoming mutual security pact with Korea.
- Auth. continued assistance for Indochina and Formosa.
- Continue support for UN, European Defense Community, etc.
- Continue military and technical assistance but reduce economic assistance programs.
- Remove trade restraints; detailed recs forthcoming from Joint Commission on Foreign Economic Policy.
- Auth. sharing of some knowledge with allies re tactical use of nuclear weapons.
- Increase benefits for military service; later recs re correcting weaknesses in reserve forces.
- Approve participation in St. Lawrence seaway (for security as well as economic reasons).
- Funds to speed up FG employee security investigations.
- Law/Judiciary: Leg. causing forfeiture of US citizenship for conspiring to advocate overthrow of FG.

The Economy: Outlines a number of subjects and recs covered here and in subsequent messages.

Spending/Taxes:

- Must renew request for increase in statutory debt limit.
- No tax cuts in view of recently implemented cuts; need to revise whole tax system (25 recs in budget message).
- Immediate extension of Renegotiation Act of 1951.

Domestic Affairs:

- Agriculture: Problem of surplus stocks; submitting recs to permit market price for farm products to have a greater influence on production planning by farmers, and to move food into consumption rather than storage.
- Natural Resources: All projects being reappraised; need leg. to strengthen agricultural conservation, flood prevention, etc.; also need polices re water resources and public lands, and program to safeguard domestic production of critical metals and minerals; approve pending leg. re public grazing lands.
- Transportation: Continue Federal gas tax for interstate highway construction.
- Post Office: Adjust postal rates; create commission to establish postal rates.
- Labor: Extend unemployment protections to many workers not covered; recs on Taft-Hartley in a few days (#1).
- Social Services: #1; simplify Federal grant-in-aid welfare programs; strengthen program for rehabilitation of the disabled (vocational training).
- Health: Flatly opposed to "the socialization of medicine" but FG can do many useful things, e.g., encourage medical research; broaden Hospital Survey and Construction Act; separate message with more recs forthcoming.
- Education: #1; encourages conferences in States.
- Housing: Summarizes forthcoming message with recs.
- Constitutional amendment to give vote to 18 year olds.

Territories: #1; also, national suffrage for D.C.

Quotes > On government's role:

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

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

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

No government can inoculate its people against the fatal materialism that plagues our age. Happily, our people, though blessed with more material goods than any people in history, have always reserved their first allegiance to the

kingdom of the spirit, which is the true source of that freedom we value above all material things.

But a government can try, as ours tries, to sense the deepest aspirations of the people, and to express them in political action at home and abroad. So long as action and aspiration humbly and earnestly seek favor in the sight of the Almighty, there is no end to America's forward road; there is no obstacle on it she will not surmount in her march toward a lasting peace in a free and prosperous world." (3037-38)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Senate - 48 DEMs, 47 GOP, 1 Ind. Strong bipartisan support for harder action against Communism, but problems with passing farm subsidy decreases and raising debt ceiling. Good overall support for the speech by the media, somewhat less support by Congress. "Eisenhower Takes Command" (Baltimore Sun); "A Fine, Decent Speech" (Atlanta Constitution). Also scheduled supplementary messages to Congress dealing with social security, defense, etc.

Applause: 45 times.

Eisenhower

Message # >

3

Date > January 6, 1955

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.

Form >

7800 words; continuous text with no headings; little data.

Themes &

Proposals >

Reiterates three purposes of the FG listed in #2.

National Security: Reviews situations around the world; US plan for peaceful use of atomic energy; Soviet/Communist threat. Reviews fundamental principles underlying defense program. Reports on internal security program. Importance of civil defense.

- Consider expanding information program (VOA).
- Carry forward our educational exchange program.
- Separate message with leg. recs on foreign economic policy: Reduce tariff barriers to trade, simplify customs procedures, facilitate flow of capital, and continue technical assistance both directly and thru UN.
- Extend Selective Service Act.
- Increase benefits for military service (#2).
- Rebuild military reserve forces (#2).
- Extend Defense Production Act and title II of First War Powers Act of 1941 to assure effective mobilization.

Cites many government actions over the past 2 years to deal with 2nd and 3rd purposes of FG, including: Removal of stabilization controls; first basic revision in tax laws in 75 years; spending cuts; partnership in resource development; leg. re broadening social security and unemployment insurance; balancing farm production with markets; shipbuilding and stockpiling programs; housing; providing more medical facilities; etc.

Domestic Affairs:

- Natural Resources: Cites 3 fundamental policies; repeats request for approval of Colorado River Basin project.
- Water Resources: Need leg. re nationwide comprehensive water resources policy (being developed).
- Transportation: Separate recs. on national highway needs; doing first, modern comprehensive review of adequacy of FG transportation policies.
- Funding for a Coordinator of Public Works in the EOP.
- Agriculture/Rural Areas: Separate recs. re needs of low-income farm families (rural development program).
- Emergencies: Will submit leg. to strengthen FG disaster assistance programs.
- Business: Extend Small Business Act of 1953.
- Health: Fundamental problems of high cost and gaps and shortages of services; separate message will propose a coordinated program to strengthen and improve existing health services (including better consumer protection under food and drug laws and stronger programs to combat water and air pollution).

- Education: Separate message with recs on FG role in remedying classroom shortage.
- Law/Judiciary: Leg. re aid to fight juvenile delinquency and narcotics addiction.
- Labor: #1 etc. re Taft-Hartley Act; increase minimum wage and extend its coverage; separate leg. re occupational safety; workmen's compensation for longshoremen; and 8-hours laws applicable to FG contractors.
- Federal Compensation: New pay and benefits provisions for FG civilian and military employees; raise Congressional and Judicial salaries.
- Post Office: Modern pay plan and pay increases for postal field employees; also #2.
- Indians: Mentioned.
- Immigration: #1 etc.
- Arts: Create advisory commission in HEW.
- Reorganization: Extend Reorganization Act and ACIR; looking forward to 2nd Hoover Commission report.

Territories: #1 etc.

Politics: Direct reference to separate control of Executive and legislative branches at end of section on national security; must not let this produce "indecision approaching futility" or a "paralysis of will" as it has in the past; pledges unreserved cooperation; let "the general good be our yardstick on every great issue of our time." (3043)

- Constitutional amendment - 18 year-old vote (#2).

Pol/Media
Reaction >

DEMs control both Houses. DEMs support social and foreign policy; skeptical of reduced military budget; tax; labor; and farming. Senior DEMs pleased; Eisenhower adopted many government programs. Center/Right GOP not too happy. Labor unhappy with domestic economy policy. Press coverage good.

Applause: 20 times.

Eisenhower

Message # >

4

Date > January 5, 1956

Delivery >

Written Message to Congress (Eisenhower recovering from heart attack); preceded by 7-minute personal summary recorded for radio/TV broadcast on January 5.

Form >

8800 words; text divided under 10 headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals >

5 objectives or themes; very similar to the 3 in #2 etc.

National Security: Soviet threat/Communism. Recites recent developments: W.G. enters NATO; Geneva Conferences; Baghdad Pact; UN role; Atomic Energy Conference; disarmament; praise for extension of Trade Agreements Act.

- Approve US membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation to help carry out GATT; reassures Congress that it will not lose control over tariff, import, and customs policies.
- Sustain and fortify our Mutual Security Program.
- Authority to make longer-term commitments of economic assistance to underdeveloped nations.
- Big increase in USIA funding.
- See also #1 etc.

Spending/Taxes: No change given prospective balanced budget.

Domestic Affairs: Carry-over leg. proposals: School construction; highway construction; health; immigration; water resources; complete the implementation of foreign economic policy (trade); labor (see below); and construction of atomic-powered vehicle.

- Agriculture/Rural Areas: Separate message with recs dealing with surplus problem, including: Auth. of soil-bank program with acreage and conservation reserves; strengthen surplus disposal activities; support research; and rural development program for low-income farm families (#3).
- Natural Resources/Water Resources: Separate comprehensive leg. program re water conservation (#2 etc.), and for better national park facilities to handle growth in visits.
- Emergencies: Will submit detailed recs on overhaul of disaster assistance leg.
- Transportation: Urgent need for leg. re interstate highway system; give prompt attention to advisory committee proposals (see #3).
- Business/Economic Development: Notes small business efforts; will submit recs re Federal loan and technical assistance to supplement local efforts to redevelop areas of chronic unemployment.
- Post Office: Separate recs on postal facilities and revenues.
- Education: WH Conference on Education; #1 etc.
- Social Services: #1 etc.; a variety of specific measures, some new, some repeats.

- Health: #1 etc.
- Labor: #1 etc.; #3.
- Housing: Still need auth. for public housing; also a number of specific items.
- Veterans: Commission on Veterans Pensions will propose improvements in entire field of veterans benefits.
- Civil Service: Increase executive pay.
- Civil Rights: Congress should create bipartisan commission to examine charges that Negro citizens are being deprived of right to vote and subjected to economic pressure in some localities.
- Indians: Mentioned.
- Immigration: #1 etc.

Territories: #1 etc.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Senate DEM leaders not pleased; message indicates need for new funding of programs without new revenue; Majority Leader Johnson registers deep disappointment. Hagerty mentioned frequently in news accounts. Farm proposal is unconvincing though concern is welcome. Kennedy begins making his move. Press reaction good but minimal.

Eisenhower

Message # > 5 Date > January 10, 1957
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 4400 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.

Themes & Proposals >

National Security: Cites persistent efforts to reach agreement with Soviets on arms reduction.

- Approve US membership in the OTC (#4).
- Approve full US participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency.
- Increase funding for USIA and pass leg. establishing career service for its overseas FS officers.
- Immigration: Leg. to regularize status in US of Hungarian refugees brought here as parolees.
- Auth. to counter Soviet threat in Middle East.

The Economy: Be ever vigilant against inflation; business and labor leaders should be reasonable in seeking wage and price increases.

Domestic Affairs:

- Agriculture: Improved surplus disposal, price-support laws, and the soil bank are succeeding in reducing surplus stocks. Leg. recs are in budget message.
- Water Resources: Mentions comprehensive water report developed by Cabinet committee; need establish partnership between all levels of government (allusion to comprehensive water policy proposal in #1 etc.?)
- Education: #1 etc.
- Civil Rights: Enact leg. recs of last year - (1) create bipartisan commission (see #4); (2) create civil rights division in DOJ; (3) enact new laws to aid enforcement of voting rights; and (4) amend laws to permit FG to seek preventive relief in civil courts.
- Banking: Auth. creation of commission to conduct broad inquiry into US financial system.

Indicates that "it seems unnecessary that I should repeat recommendations involving our domestic affairs that have been urged upon the Congress during the past 4 years, but which, in some instances, did not reach the stage of completely satisfactory legislation." Future messages from President or agency heads will transmit specific recs on a whole range of topics dealt with in previous messages.

Pol/Media

Reaction >

No enthusiasm from Congress. No major new proposals. Deliberately restrained speech to set tone of moderation and understanding; relatively short at 33 minutes. Controversy will be functional rather than political. Sen. Humphrey calls it a "statement of general principles without any precise program or details". Good GOP support.

Applause: 5 times.

Eisenhower

Message # >

6

Date > January 9, 1958

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.

Form >

5700 words; text divided under 4 Roman numeral and 9 word headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals >

Entire message devoted to national security; 2 tasks:

- Insure our safety through strength.
- Build a genuine peace.

"There are many items in the administration's program, of a kind frequently included in a state of the Union message, with which I am not dealing today. They are important to us and our prosperity. But I am reserving them for treatment in separate communications because of my purpose today of speaking only about matters bearing directly upon our security and peace." (3079)

National Security: Threat of Communist imperialism. 8 imperative items.

- Defense reorganization.
- Accelerated defense effort, especially in areas affected by scientific and technological advance.
- Mutual aid, military and economic (attacks critics who call economic aid a "giveaway" program).
- Trade: 5-year extension of Trade Agreements Act with broadened auth. to negotiate.
- Scientific cooperation with our allies: Auth. exchange of scientific and technical information with friendly countries.
- Education: Billion dollar program to improve teaching quality and student opportunities in the interests of national security and to increase NSF funds.
- Spending and saving: Need supplemental defense funding.
- Works of peace - message from US to Soviets.

Quotes >

On the Soviet threat and US response:

"The Soviets are, in short, waging total cold war.

The only answer to a regime that wages total cold war is to wage total peace.

This means bringing to bear every asset of our personal and national lives upon the task of building the conditions in which security and peace can grow." (3077)

Pol/Media

Reaction >

Much better Congressional response to speech. Warm support for national defense issue. Admits "loss of face" by allowing Soviets to launch first satellite. Strong DEM support for lowering tariff, foreign aid; minimal support from GOP. Speech generalities well-received, but the lack of details cause lack of real Congressional commitment. Majority Leaders Johnson leads fight for increased military missile production and research.

Eisenhower

Message # >

7

Date > January 9, 1959

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.

Form >

5700 words; text divided under 3 Roman numeral headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals >

National Security: Reviews progress in weapons development.

- Approve US share of increases for IMF and World Bank.
- Will present program to encourage greater participation by private enterprise in economic development abroad.

The Economy: Concern re inflation and price stability.

Establishing a Cabinet group on price stability.

- Amend Employment Act of 1946 to make clear that FG will protect buying power of the dollar.

Spending/Taxes: Submitting balanced budget; working on tax reform proposals.

- Give Chief Executive responsibility either to approve or to veto specific items of appropriations and authorization bills (line item veto).
- Leg. for greater flexibility in extending Federal credit, and in improving the procedures under which private credits are insured or guaranteed.

Domestic Affairs: Notes increased spending for a wide range of programs.

- Intend to appoint committee to define national goals for US progress.
- Agriculture: Separate message with recs for new leg. to increase fiscal control.
- Labor: Complains re failure of Congress to act on comprehensive recs for leg. in labor-management field; cites McClellan committee disclosures; reiterates need for leg.
- Civil Rights: Will be submitting leg.; importance.

Territories: Welcomes Alaska; hopes to see 50th star in flag (Hawaii).

Pol/Media

Reaction >

Castro wins in Cuba; DeGaulle new French President; Johnson wins filibuster fight. Congressional response is indifferent. Eisenhower seems to be losing leadership and the Senate appears to be gaining in power; President is fading - lack of direction and energy in his ideas. Sen. Eugene McCarthy: ". . . no substance, no style, no inspiration."

Eisenhower

Message # > 8 Date > January 7, 1960
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 6100 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > National Security: Nuclear test-ban treaty negotiations
 reopened.

- Multilateral treaty re peaceful use of Antarctica.
- Weapons development and deployment.

The Economy: Large deficit in balance of payments. Need to fight inflation.

Spending/Taxes: Will present balanced budget. Problem of huge public debt.

- Give Treasury freer hand in debt management.

Domestic Affairs:

- Labor: Cites settlement in steel industry; only vague reference to proposals in #1 etc.
- Agriculture: #1 etc.
- Civil Rights: #7.
- Education: #1 etc.; probably revised by now to give less emphasis on Federal aid and more to incentives.

Pol/Media

Reaction > Support breaks along party lines; GOP stages applause for President while DEMs slept. Failed to mention long-range national goals committee he proposed in 1959 address. DEMs agree with no tax cut. Striking unions are an issue, also divides by party. Much anticipation in press on future legislative battles.

Applause: 30 times.

Eisenhower

Message # > 9 Date > January 12, 1961
 Delivery > Written Message to Congress.
 Form > 7400 words; text divided under 13 headings; a lot of data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > Eisenhower's farewell address.
 Pol/Media
 Reaction > Sharp attacks by DEMs; too rosy a picture. GOP see it as a great valedictory message.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

35. JOHN F. KENNEDY (D)2 + 3/4 Years: January 20, 1961 - November 22, 1963Kennedy

Message # > 1 Date > January 30, 1961
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 5500 words; text divided under 4 Roman numeral headings;
 some data.

Themes &

Proposals > In office 1 week, so cannot offer detailed leg. to remedy every national ill. Instead, limited but candid remarks on state of the Nation. Reference to last Eisenhower message: "the occasion does not call for another recital of our blessings and assets".

National Security: Sounds a strongly alarmist tone. He was "staggered upon learning . . . the harsh enormity of the trials through which we must pass in the next 4 years." The "tide of events has been running out." Asia - Laos, Vietnam; Africa - Congo; Latin America - Cuba; Europe - weakening of NATO unity; Soviet Union and Communist China.

- Strengthen military tools: DOD Secy reappraising entire defense strategy; will rec such leg. as necessary. Immediate steps: Increase airlift capacity, and step up Polaris submarine and entire missile program.
- Improve economic tools: Auth. to establish more effective foreign aid program; approve convention establishing OECD; multiple steps to begin US role in Alliance for Progress with Latin America; expand food-for-peace program; form a National Peace Corps; greater discretion to use economic tools in Eastern Europe.
- Sharpen political and diplomatic tools: Central goal of arms control; temporary delay in nuclear test ban talks; increase support to UN; explore cooperation with Soviets.

The Economy: In a disturbing state; recession, lack of growth; high unemployment; balance of payments problems.

- Recs to rejuvenate economy: Encourage price stability; see also items under Domestic Affairs.
- Will not distort dollar. Thus, will not increase price of gold from \$35/ounce, impose exchange controls, reduce antirecession efforts, fall back on restrictive trade policies, or weaken worldwide commitments.
- Will take steps to ease payments deficit by attracting foreign investment and travel to US, promoting US exports, curbing tax and customs loopholes which encourage spending of private dollars abroad, and sharing expenses of defense and Third World aid with allies.

Spending/Taxes: FY 61 budget to show deficit; FY 62 budget will remain in balance only if Congress enacts all revenue measures requested and the economy recovers quickly. "However, we will do what must be done." Then cites a host of domestic problems and proposals.

Domestic Affairs: Recs in 2 weeks re economy:

- Labor/Social Services: Improve unemployment compensation through temporary increases in amount and duration; provide more food to unemployed families and aid to their needy children; redevelop areas of chronic unemployment; expand services of USES; raise and expand minimum wage.
- Housing: Stimulate housing and construction.
- Business: Tax incentives for sound plant investment.
- Natural Resources: Increase development.

Other recs, most in 2 weeks, on following:

- Housing: Need new program and a new Housing and Urban Affairs Department this year.
- Education: No longer delay FG grants for higher and public school education.
- Health: Provide health care for aged under SS and increase supply of facilities and personnel.
- Environment: Clean water supply.
- Law/Judiciary: New leg. safeguards to deal with organized and juvenile crime.
- Civil Rights: Assure constitutional rights of all Americans at ballot box and elsewhere.

Quote > On the public service:

"Let every public servant know, whether his post is high or low, that a man's rank and reputation in this administration will be determined by the size of the job he does, and not by the size of his staff, his office, or his budget. Let it be clear that this administration recognizes the value of daring and dissent - that we greet healthy controversy as the hallmark of healthy change. Let the public service be a proud and lively career." (3131)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Reaction and support breaks along party lines. GOP regulars are highly critical of economic proposals; fear higher inflation. Also feel Eisenhower administration was a good era and the country was in good shape. Eisenhower's farewell much brighter in spirit than Kennedy's address. According to Reston, Kennedy appears to "Talk softer, act tougher, spend more time in strengthening the nation to meet the Communist challenge."

Applause: 37 times.

Kennedy

Message # > 2

Date > January 11, 1962

Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.

Form > 7100 words; text divided under 15 headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals > National Security: Cites and discusses 5 sources of strength to reach goal of "peaceful world community of free and independent states" in face of Communist threat. Recs:

- Approval of FG incentives for construction of public fallout shelters.
- Approve US participation in new UN bond issue.
- Rec. re financing and operation of an international communication satellite system.
- Long-term fund for Alliance for Progress.

Balance of payments problem is improving; dollar is stronger; reiterates points in #1; notes challenge posed by EEC:

- Will be sending recs for whole new law and approach to replace Reciprocal Trade Act, including gradual elimination of tariffs between US and EEC, etc.

The Economy: Have gone from recession to recovery and growth without inflation; but more leg. needed to expand job and growth opportunities (see below). Urges business and labor to keep profit and wage increases in step with productivity.

Spending/Taxes: Submitting balanced budget for FY 63.

- 8% tax credit for investment in machinery and equipment.
- Presidential standby auth. to adjust personal income tax rates downward to slow economic decline, and to accelerate FG capital improvement to slow rising unemployment.
- Pass tax reform leg. and extend present excise and corporate tax rates.

Domestic Affairs: Leg. measures related to the economy:

- Labor: Enact Manpower Training and Development Act and Youth Employment Opportunities Act; strengthen unemployment compensation system (#1).
- Civil Service: Federal pay comparability leg.
- Post Office: Raise postal rates.

Other recs:

- Cities/Housing: Urgency of dealing with urban problems; cites many FG programs and activities; need for more anticrime, mass transit, and transportation leg. and new tools to fight air pollution; need D/UAH (#1).
- Agriculture: Will submit new comprehensive farm program.

- Natural Resources/Water Resources: Need new long-range conservation and recreation program, including expansion of parks and forests; preservation of wilderness areas; new water and power projects; and expanded REA loans.
- Civil Rights: Cites full use of Executive powers to secure constitutional rights and EEO; urges passage of multiple related bills pending - e.g. voting rights.
- Health/Consumers: Most important leg. is health insurance for aged; also, aid to support medical facilities and training; establish a new NIH; mass immunization program; better food and drug laws for consumers.
- Social Services: New public welfare program, stressing services instead of support, rehabilitation instead of relief, and training for work rather than dependency.
- Education: Will rec plans and leg. to attack illiteracy; improve education; and provide Federal loans for construction of facilities and for scholarships at college level; repeats need for bill to provide FG aid to public school construction and teachers' salaries (#1).
- Science: Notes space effort.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

McCormack is the new House Speaker. Speech is seen as for the record rather than for action in the 82nd session. Viewed as a "glittering prospectus of goals . . . unlikely to be achieved this year . . . if ever." Soviets support negotiations with US on foreign relations. Congress to concentrate on liberalized foreign trade program and on SS medical care for the aged. Liberal GOP proffers qualified support (Javits); conservative GOP denounces program. Goldwater launches heavy attack on fiscal policy - deficits will erode US economy and prestige.

Kennedy

Message #>
Delivery >
Form >

3
Date > January 14, 1963
Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
5700 words; text divided under 8 Roman numeral headings;
some data.

Themes &
Proposals>

Report on gains in upbeat tones; need to make the most of them - to translate renewal of US strength into "achievement of our national purpose."

National Security: Topics include: Atlantic alliance (growth of West Europe, Nassau agreement, trade expansion auth. by Congress last year); developing nations (shocked by Cuban crisis and Chinese invasion of India, importance of mutual defense and assistance program, Alliance for Progress, Peace Corps); Sino-Soviet difficulties; and search for world peace. No major recs or leg. proposals.

The Economy: 22 months of uninterrupted recovery; must keep moving toward more growth and full employment.

- Most urgent task facing Congress is substantial income tax reduction and revision. See quote below.

Spending/Taxes: Tax program will temporarily increase the deficit but can ultimately end it. Budget allows for needed rises in defense, space, and fixed interest charges, but holds all other spending below this year's level.

Domestic Affairs:

- Labor (youth): Cites problems of school dropouts and lack of jobs; suggests program similar to Peace Corps to serve our own community needs.
- Health: #1 etc.; also expresses concern re mentally ill.
- Civil Rights: Must assure voting rights.
- Law/Judiciary: Assure competent counsel to everyone accused of crime in Federal court regardless of means.
- Transportation: Importance of FG assistance to mass transit; need more competition and less regulation.
- Agriculture: FG should not accumulate any more surpluses.
- Auth. to dispose of excess stockpiled strategic materials.
- Natural Resources: Recs in a few days re planning for future growth of parks, forests, wildlife and wilderness preserves, and water projects of all kinds.

Quotes > On need for a substantial tax cut:

"[O]ur obsolete tax system exerts too heavy a drag on private purchasing power, profits, and employment. Designed to check inflation in earlier years, it now checks growth instead. It discourages extra effort and risk. It distorts the use of resources. It invites recurrent recessions, depresses our Federal revenues, and causes chronic budget deficits." (3145)

An effective rhetorical device with substantive content is used in defending his tax cut proposal:

"I do not say that a measure for tax reduction and reform is the only way to achieve these goals.

"No doubt a (alternative) - but (problem with alternative)". Repeated 5 times.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Happiest of all State of the Union speeches. Tax cut plans well-received by Congress. Budget cuts in general also well-received, but more detail is needed. Press and media are optimistic and confident. View Kennedy as striking a balance; giving a message of hope about the future, yet also a message of realism on the current situation. Several legislators express skepticism that Cuba was intended as a Soviet "nuclear striking base." Overall reception is uncertain, yet hopeful.

Applause: 15 times.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

36. LYNDON B. JOHNSON (D)
1 1/4 Years + 1 Term: November 22, 1963 to January 20, 1969

Johnson

Message # > 1 Date > January 8, 1964
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 3200 words; continuous text with no headings; some data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > At outset, challenges Congress to let this session be known
 as the one which did the most in a variety of domestic
 program areas.

National Security: 10 steps toward peace:

- Maintain military safety and superiority.
- New steps toward control of arms.
- Increased use of food for peace.
- Assure our preeminence in peaceful exploration of outer space, focusing on moon expedition this decade.
- Expand world trade.
- Continue progress toward balance of payments; preserve present gold value of the dollar.
- Become better neighbors with free American nations.
- Strengthen foreign aid.
- Strengthen Atlantic and Pacific partnerships and UN.
- New means to bridge gap between East and West.

The Economy:

- Auth. creation of tripartite industry committees to determine, on industry-by-industry basis, where a higher penalty rate for overtime would increase job openings, and auth. establishment of such higher rates.

Spending/Taxes: Budget cuts deficit in half, and reduces Federal employment. More spending than ever for social programs by closing obsolete installations and other cuts.
 - Tax reduction is most important item in War on Poverty.

Domestic Affairs: Entire domestic agenda tied to War on Poverty: "This administration here and now declares unconditional war on poverty in America. I urge this Congress and all Americans to join with me in that effort." (3157) Chief weapons will be better schools, health, homes, training, and jobs. No single piece of leg. will suffice. Many of these programs will benefit all Americans.

- Social Services: Special effort in Appalachia; broaden food stamp leg.; National Service Corps for US problems.
- Business: Expand area redevelopment program.

- Labor: Enact youth employment leg.; modernize unemployment insurance and establish Commission on Automation; extend coverage of minimum wage laws.
- Education: FG aid to improve quality of teaching and counseling, and build more libraries.
- Health: Build more hospitals/nursing homes; train more nurses; hospital insurance for aged.
- Cities/Housing: Revise housing and urban renewal program to give more help to those displaced by slum clearance, and provide more housing for poor and elderly.
- Transportation: More modern mass transit in cities and low-cost transportation between them.
- Civil Rights: Strong support for equal opportunity; pass bill now pending in House.
- Immigration: Leg. to lift bars of discrimination against immigrants.

Politics: No room for senseless quarrels between Democrats and Republicans, House and Senate, North and South, Congress and the Administration. Vote each important proposal up or down, but at least bring it to a fair and final vote. Carry forward JFK's plans in his memory and because they are right.

Quotes > On urgency of tax cut decision:

"[E]very month of delay dilutes its benefits in 1964 for consumption, for investment, and for employment. For until the bill is signed, its investment incentives cannot be deemed certain, and the withholding rate cannot be reduced - and the most damaging and devastating thing you can do to any businessman in America is to keep him in doubt and to keep him guessing on what our tax policy is." (3159)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Goldwater opens primary drive; Shriver hinted as possible VP. Congress terms speech a classic political document. Seems to want to attract the broadest possible support for LBJ's election in the fall. Foreign policy receives good support, although public skepticism by GOP and private skepticism by DEMs vary widely. Refers to JFK 3 times in the speech. NAACP supports civil rights and proposals for aid to poor.

Applause: 80 times.

Johnson

Message # > 2

Date > January 4, 1965

Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress on opening day of session (9:00 p.m.); radio/TV broadcast.

Form > 5200 words; text divided under 20 headings; no data.

Themes &

Proposals >

National Security: State of the Union; Communist threat; seeking ways to increase peaceful trade with Communist bloc nations; why we are in Vietnam; review of US relations with other parts of the world - see #1.

Next heading is: "Toward the Great Society". Then outlines "A National Agenda" dealing with following subjects: disease; cities; natural beauty and pollution; economic development of depressed areas; control and prevention of crime and delinquency; voting rights; honor and support achievements of thought and creations of art; and eliminate waste and inefficiency.

In next 6 weeks, will submit special messages with detailed proposals for action in following areas:

- Keep economy growing;
- Open opportunity for all people; and
- Improve quality of American life.

The Economy: "We are in the midst of the greatest upward surge of economic well-being in the history of any nation." (3165) Budget designed to move the economy forward. Need price stability and avoid recession.

- Substantial cut in excise taxes.
- Rapid action on temporary income tax cuts.
- Special funds for job-creating public programs if recession threatens.

Spending/Taxes: Continue along path of balanced budget.

Domestic Affairs:

- Agriculture: Secy of USDA to find ways to reduce cost of FG farm programs and target aid to small farmers.
- Labor: Regional recovery program for stricken areas; worker training and development; extension of minimum wage to unprotected workers; and improvement and modernization of the unemployment compensation system (#1). Also, propose changes in Taft-Hartley Act, including 14B, re State right to work laws.
- Transportation: Heavier reliance on competition, and new policy for merchant marine; study high-speed rail transportation between urban centers, with test projects between Boston and Washington.
- Health: #1; new support for education; community centers to care for the mentally ill and for needy children.

- Social Services: Raise SS benefit payments; double war on poverty.
- Civil Rights: Enforcement and eliminate voting barriers.
- Immigration: New leg.
- Education: #1, plus some new elements, e.g., help needy children in preschool years, and aid public schools serving low-income families.
- Cities: New programs of help for basic community facilities and neighborhood centers of health and recreation.
- Housing: Changes in programs; create a D/HUD.
- Law/Judiciary: Will rec programs to control crime, e.g., training for local law enforcement officers; assembling expert panel on crime and delinquency.
- Natural Resources: Beautification of highways; more parks, seashores.
- Environment: Leg. auth. prevention of air and water pollution; control harmful wastes; increase research; make Potomac a model; wild rivers bill; WH Conference on Natural Beauty.
- Arts: Propose National Foundation on the Arts.
- Science: Programs to encourage basic science.

Politics:

- Leg. re Presidential succession.
- Electoral college reform - to ensure no elector can substitute his will for that of the people.

Quotes > On the role of the President:

"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." (3170-71)

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Ford chosen as Minority Leader. Great Society outlined; good prospects for passage of most of its proposals, of which Medicare is the most popular. Overall program will cost huge amount of money. McCormack terms it a "great message," while Thurmond sees it as a "frightening package." Used teleprompter - added 20 minutes to planned 30 minute speech.

Applause: 57 times.

Johnson

Message # > 3 Date > January 12, 1966
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 6100 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.

Themes &

Proposals >

Summary of recs: Funding for health and education programs enacted last year; prosecute war on poverty; new emphasis in foreign aid on removing hunger and disease and on controlling population growth; auth. trade expansion between US and Communist bloc; rebuild inner cities; attack water pollution; strengthen law enforcement and revitalize justice system; strengthen nondiscrimination in jury selection and housing rentals; create a DOT and reorganize several agencies; extend Reps terms to 4 years.

Nation is strong enough to build Great Society at home while pursuing goals abroad, including Vietnam.

National Security: Vietnam. Notes that he is following "the five continuing lines of policy that America has followed under its last four Presidents."

- Strength.
- Try to control arms and stop spread of nuclear weapons.
- Build associations of nations for common defense and world commerce.
- Help improve the life of man - foreign aid.
Proposes International Education Act and International Health Act.
- Support of national independence.
- Trade: Will ask for auth. to remove special tariff restrictions on trade between East and West.

The Economy: Reports on national prosperity and growth. Balance of payments deficit cut in half. As economy surges, must increase vigilance against inflation. Asks both labor and business to exercise price and wage restraint.

Spending/Taxes: Low budget deficit if approve total program. Will not hesitate to ask for more spending for Vietnam if necessary.

- Restore auto and some telephone excise taxes that were just reduced; needed due to military spending; other recs for improvement in tax structure.

Domestic Affairs:

- Civil Rights: Leg. re nondiscrimination in jury selection, housing rental/sale, and increasing auth. of Federal courts over infringements of constitutional rights.
- Labor: #2.
- Cities: Recs on FG aid to city planning (#2).

- Environment: Cooperative effort to end pollution in several river basins (2).
- Law/Judiciary: Program to help local police (#2).
- Education: Enact Teachers Corps.
- Transportation: Enact Highway Safety Act; new DOT; propose supersonic transport airplane.
- Consumers: Leg. re preventing deception; truth-in-packaging; interest and credit charge disclosure; and harmful drugs and cosmetics.
- Reorganization/Federalism: Modernize/streamline Executive branch and relations between all levels of government; need commission to develop creative Federalism.
- Constitutional amendment: 4-year term for Reps (#2).

Politics: Leg. re election reform and contributions.

DC: Home rule for DC.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

GOP backs LBJ on Vietnam, but not on domestic and anti-poverty proposals. Sen. Minority Leader Dirksen worried about inordinate Federal power in solving civil rights cases. Surprised with proposal for anti-discrimination re housing. The scope and range of his domestic proposals shock many; absence of more military proposals leaves audience surprised. DEMs also not very supportive; Sen. Majority Leader Mansfield gives minimal praise for the proposals. Proposal for 4-year House terms greeted with swift applause.

Johnson

Message # > 4
Delivery >
Form >
Themes &
Proposals >

Date > January 10, 1967

Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
8100 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.

Cites gains of last 3 years: Struck down barriers to civil rights; education for needy and college scholarships; Medicare; minimum wage increase and extension; new job training programs; Neighborhood Youth Corps and Head Start; urban development; and LEA Act. 5 ways to carry forward progress: Programs, partnerships, priorities, prosperity, and peace.

National Security: After review of world situation, focuses on why US is in Vietnam.

- Modernize Selective Service System; recs soon from National Commission on Selective Service.
- Pass East-West Trade Bill (#3) and approve consular convention with Soviet Union.

The Economy: Greatest disappointment was rise in interest rates and tightening of credit; took corrective action.

Spending/Taxes: Larger deficit.

- Rec 6% surcharge on corporate and individual income taxes (due to Vietnam).

Domestic Affairs: Must see to it that these new programs are administered and work effectively. Plan to work closely with S/LGs to assure FG aid is spent wisely.

- Business/Labor: Create a new Department of B & L.
- Social Services/Indians/Rural Areas: Strengthen Head Start; raise SS payments and other changes; major effort to provide self-help assistance to Indians and migratory farm workers; help those who live in rural poverty.
- Civil Rights: #3; also, eliminate discrimination in employment due to age; protect right to privacy by outlawing wire-tapping.
- Cities: Full funding for Model Cities Program.
- Environment: Vastly expand fight for clean air with attack on pollution at its sources; set up "regional airsheds."
- Natural Resources: Beautification program (#1).
- Consumers: #3; prevent massive power failures; assure safety in natural gas pipelines.
- Health: Extend Medicare benefits to disabled Americans under 65.
- Communications: Develop educational TV.
- Law/Judiciary: All out effort to combat crime; recs soon from National Crime Commission; will rec Safe Streets and Crime Control Act, whereby FG pays most of costs of improving local police forces and plans; also recs on juvenile delinquency and narcotics, and strict gun controls.

Politics: Election reform and financing (#3); tighten lobbying laws; restore reasonable franchise to those who move their residence.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

GOP and Southern DEMs join to defeat 21-days rule re Administration proposals. Powell crisis. Fairly sober and cautious message. Business pleased with proposed tax surcharge (although it "exhilarated nobody"). LBJ appeared solemn, grim, absent of glowing promises and upbeat rhetoric. A speech of maintenance. Moving from Cold War to cooperation, thus a period of transition. Reston notes a mood of mistrust as the President's most serious problem.

Johnson

Message #> 5 Date > January 17, 1968
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
 Form > 5400 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> National Security: Review includes: Vietnam; Kennedy Round
 (tariff reductions); Arab-Israeli war; Cyprus; Glassboro.

- Launch exploration of ocean depths with other nations.
- Funding for International Development Association and Asian Development Bank.
- Foreign aid based on self-help.
- Renew Food for Freedom Program.

The Economy: Clouds on the horizon; prices rising; interest rates higher than last year; will maintain dollar at \$35/ounce.

Spending/Taxes: Deficit growing; lack of action on tax bill.
 - Enact tax surcharge (#4) rather than more spending cuts.

Domestic Affairs: Notes unprecedented prosperity, yet "a certain restlessness - a questioning." Alludes to summer riots in cities.

- Labor: Larger manpower program.
- Cities: Full funding for Model Cities Program (#4).
- Housing: Large increase in campaign to build low and middle-income housing.
- Health: Rec Child Health Program to cover health care of needy from prenatal to first year of age; new measures to stem rising health care costs.
- Consumers: Good progress (Wholesome Meat, Flammable Fabrics, Product Safety Commission Acts passed last year); finish work by passing Truth-In-Lending, Fire Safety, and Pipeline Safety bills (#4) and 12 other leg. items submitted last year.
- Banking: Guard against fraud in commodity exchange markets.
- Law/Judiciary: #4; also proposing a Drug Control Act and more vigorous enforcement of drug laws.
- Agriculture: Raise farmers' income by establishing security commodity reserve and programs to help them bargain more effectively for fair prices.
- Transportation: New air safety measures.
- Veterans: Leg. to encourage returning veterans to assume job
- Environment: Strengthen and finance anti-pollution efforts.
- Education: Rec Educational Opportunity Act to break down financial barriers to entering college.
- Civil Rights: #3 etc.
- Natural Resources: #3 etc.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Urban riots, discontent, etc. Speech is somewhat more confident than in 1967. DEMs term it as wise and practical. GOP views it as a political campaign speech. LBJ calls for national sacrifice, but GOP issues strong criticism for failure to correctly assess impact and cost of Vietnam. Strong support for action against crime and violence.

Applause: 50 times.

Johnson

Message #>
Delivery >
Form >
Themes &
Proposals>

6 Date > January 14, 1969
Address to joint session of Congress; radio/TV broadcast.
4700 words; text divided under 8 headings; some data.
Farewell address; Johnson reiterates some earlier proposals and makes some new ones. Indicates that he initially resisted delivering message in person, but finally did so for philosophical and sentimental reasons.

National Security: Status of Paris peace talks on Vietnam. Need to resume talks with Soviet Union on limiting offensive and defensive missile systems (interrupted by Czechoslovakia; US election).

- Selective Service Act revision (#4 etc.).
- Ratify Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The Economy: Strong economy; surplus in balance of payments.

Spending/Taxes: Projected surplus, based on extension of surtax that was enacted last year.

Domestic Affairs:

- Cities: Increase support for Model Cities (#3 etc.); create an Urban Development Bank.
- Social Services: Increase SS benefits.
- Health: #5.
- Civil Rights: Cites passage of Fair Housing Act; need extend Voting Rights Act.
- Law/Judiciary: Cites passage of Safe Streets Act; need full funding; need strict gun controls - licensing and registration.
- Post Office: Reorganize postal system.
- Federal Compensation: Agrees with rec for pay increase made by Commission on Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Salaries.

* Pol/Media
Reaction >

Much nostalgia; mutual admiration event with standing ovation and Congressional cheers. Broke tradition by giving oral address as last State of the Union message.

37. RICHARD M. NIXON (R)1 Term + 1 1/2 Years: January 20, 1969 to August 9, 1974

More than any other modern President, Nixon explicitly recognized the role and importance of the State of the Union message. In his final message in 1974 he made many general and specific references to earlier messages - both his own and those of other Presidents. He also experimented with innovations in the structure and format of his messages more than any other President. In his first message, he said:

"The State of the Union Address is traditionally an occasion for a lengthy and detailed account by the President of what he has accomplished in the past, what he wants the Congress to do in the future, and, in an election year, to lay the basis for the political issues which might be decisive in the fall.

Occasionally there comes a time when profound and far-reaching events command a break with tradition.

This is such a time.

I say this . . . because new knowledge and hard experience argue persuasively that both our programs and our institutions in America need to be reformed."

As it turned out, that "break with tradition" was more rhetorical than real in Nixon's first message. A more noteworthy deviation from modern precedent occurred in 1973, when Nixon divided his message into parts and submitted them at different times during the year, each preceded by a radio address. Also unlike any other President, Nixon established a pattern in his first message, which he continued thereafter, of chiding and lecturing Congress on its failure to act on an ever increasing number of Administration proposals.

Nixon

Message #> 1 Date > January 22, 1970
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 4400 words; continuous text with no headings; no data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> National Security: Goal is an American generation of peace. New concepts and programs to achieve this goal are in a separate report on foreign policy. Many post-WWII policies are obsolete today.

- Neither defense nor development of other nations can be exclusively or primarily an American undertaking.
- We will maintain treaty commitments but reduce our involvement in other nations' affairs.
- Must develop new relationship with Soviet Union; move from confrontation to negotiation; approach strategic arms limitations and other areas from standpoint of mutual self-interest.

The Economy: No more important action for American people than to stop rising inflation. FG deficits are to blame.

Spending/Taxes: See above; must balance budget to slow inflation. Had balanced budget in 1969, surplus in 1970, and rec balanced budget for 1971. However, increased spending for law enforcement agencies.

Domestic Affairs: Despite unprecedented economic growth, saw unprecedented inflation, crime, and social unrest in sixties. Problem is one of government effectiveness. Must enter "a great age of reform of the institutions of American government." Notes that he submitted 2 dozen leg. proposals last year, none of which were enacted. Will offer at least 12 more major programs this session. Focus here on three priority areas:

- Social Services: Total reform of welfare system.
- Federalism: New Federalism; reverse flow of power from Washington back to the States and the people.
- Civil Rights: Equal voting rights and opportunities for employment and property ownership.

Also:

- Law/Judiciary: Increased budget for this area; must declare war on crime; Congress failed to act on 13 pieces of leg. designed to reduce crime in DC.
- Environment: "Restoring nature to its natural state is a cause beyond party and beyond factions. . . Clean air, clean water, open spaces - these should once again be the birthright of every American." Proposing \$10B clean waters program - municipal waste treatment plants; intensify research, set stricter standards, and strengthen enforcement re auto pollution.
- Natural Resources: Rec new financing methods to purchase open space and parklands.
- Other general references: Need for national growth policy; FG assistance in building new cities and rebuilding old ones; special needs of rural America.

Quotes > On the special meaning of the American spirit:

"Two hundred years ago this was a new nation of 3 million people, weak militarily, poor economically. But America meant something to the world then which could not be measured in dollars, something far more important than military might. . . .

We had a spiritual quality then which caught the imagination of millions of people in the world.

Today, when we are the richest and strongest nation in the world, let it not be recorded that we lack the moral and spiritual idealism which made us the hope of the world at the time of our birth."

Pol/Media
Reaction >

DEMs - in preemptive attack - pass budget bill with more for health, education, etc. But Nixon beat the DEMs by taking command of the major issues with strong proposals. Speech highly praised by both parties. DEMs call it impressive, but want more specifics. GOP call it historic. Reston: magnificent speech, reflects much political progress. Business reaction is favorable to balanced budget. Another reaction: "The most partisan nonpartisan speech ever." Deferred foreign policy issues until later.

Nixon

Message #> 2 Date > January 22, 1971
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 3300 words; continuous text with no headings; limited data.
 Themes &
 Proposals> 6 great goals dealing with domestic side of the nation's agenda. Separate report to Congress and the nation next month on foreign policy.

- 1) 92nd Congress should take up and complete unfinished business of the 91st, especially welfare reform.
- 2) Full prosperity in peacetime.
- 3) Restore and enhance our natural environment.
- 4) Improve America's health care and make it available more fairly to more people.
- 5) Strengthen and renew our State and local governments.
- 6) Executive reorganization.

The Economy: Tide of inflation has turned, but unemployment has increased; therefore, adopted an expansionary budget.

Spending/Taxes: "I ask the Congress to accept these expansionary policies - to accept the concept of the full employment budget."

Domestic Affairs: In next 2 weeks will ask Congress to take action on more than 35 pieces of carry-over leg.

- Social Services: Most important is welfare reform - minimum income plan; work incentives/requirements (#1).
- Environment: Build on foundation laid in 37-point program submitted to Congress last year (#1).
- Natural Resources: Will make recs for better land use and balanced national growth; will rec most extensive program ever for expansion in nation's parks, recreation areas, and open spaces (#1).
- Health: Major recs to assure basic medical care to the needy; major increase and redirection of aid to medical schools; incentives for better service delivery, reduced costs, and preventive medicine. Also, extra funding for cancer research.
- Federalism: New partnership (#1); propose enact plan of revenue sharing.

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Byrd replaces Kennedy as Majority Whip. 12 black Reps. boycott the speech. Congressional reaction is restrained. GOP gives a lot of praise, while DEMs exhibit cautious cooperation and general support. Seen as move to dismantle Great Society. Media reaction: economic program is vague; social program is good; good address - hope it works.

Nixon

Message #> 3
Delivery >

Date > January 20, 1972

Address to joint session of Congress and
Written Message to Congress.

Form >

Address: 4200 words; continuous text with no headings; no data; condensed version of the Message.
Message: 20,000 words; text divided under 43 headings; some data.

Themes &
Proposals>

National problems transcend partisanship. Not going to present huge list of new recs in this election year.

In both address and message, repeatedly hits the point that Congress has failed to act on numerous administration proposals, e.g.: "[This session] has before it more than 90 major administration proposals which still await action." In address, refers to a separate lengthy message "discussing in some detail where the Nation stands and setting forth specific legislative items on which I ask the Congress to act. Much of this is legislation which I proposed in 1969, in 1970, and to the first session of this 92nd Congress last year, and on which I feel it is essential that action be completed this year."

National Security: Noting differences in world in 11 years since JFK's Inaugural Address, outlines key principles of US foreign policy. Visits soon to China and Soviet Union.

- Increase defense spending; major programs to develop and buy better weapons systems.
- Improve National Guard and Reserves.
- Reform military retirement and survivor benefit programs.
- Full funding and reform of foreign aid.
- Revise leg. re US response to expropriation of US property by foreign governments.

The Economy: Reviews wage and price restraint program; international negotiations re exchange rate realignment; notes main problem is unemployment, at 6%.

- To deal with balance of payments deficit, adopt metric system; double budget for US Travel Service.

Spending/Taxes: Tax program was recently enacted.

Domestic Affairs: Reviews 6 great goals presented in last State of the Union message: welfare reform, revenue sharing, executive reorganization, environmental protection, health, and economic improvement. Presents these again along with additional proposals.

- Social Services: Welfare reform (#1); cites WH Conference on Aging, recs variety of measures to improve life for the aging - e.g., inflation-proof SS benefits; overhaul service delivery mechanisms in HEW programs through an Allied Services Act.
- Federalism: Revenue sharing (#1, #2); program of planning and management grants to S/LGs.
- Sweeping reorganization of Executive branch; replace existing departments with D/NR, HR, CD, EA, and USDA.
- Environment: Cites progress, but also 18 major leg. proposals need action: Reg. of pesticides and toxic substances; noise pollution; restrict dumping in oceans etc.; land use policy; reg. siting of power plants; control strip mining; National Resource Land Management Act and other measures to improve protection on FG-owned lands.
- Energy: Measures to assure ample supply of clean energy, including liquid metal fast breeder reactor.
- Health: Cites progress; need action on such proposals as the HMO Act; National Health Insurance Partnership leg.; and funding increases for research, schools, and special problems such as drug addiction and alcoholism.
- Labor: Protect workers' pension rights; variety of measures to cut unemployment, including programs for manpower training and public service jobs.
- Civil Rights: Promote equal opportunity with FG aid to minority businesses; EEO in FG hiring and contracting; programs for women.
- Indians: Programs to promote self-determination.
- Veterans: Notes actions taken to promote employment for Vietnam-era veterans.
- Agriculture: Cites action taken to help farmers.
- Rural Areas: Cites progress; enact Special Revenue Sharing for Rural Community Development.
- Cities: Provide help through new D/CD and Special Revenue Sharing for Urban Community Development.
- Consumers: Expand protections with leg. on product safety, consumer fraud, full disclosure in warranties and guarantees, and unsafe medical devices.
- Transportation: Cites progress in such areas as UMTA assistance; ship construction; Airport and Airway Trust Fund; enact Special Revenue Sharing for transportation; need Emergency Public Interest Protection Act to deal with transportation strikes; large funding increase for mass transit.
- Law/Judiciary: Need Special Revenue Sharing for law enforcement; leg. to prevent juvenile delinquency; leg. auth. and funding for Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention.

- Education: Cites problems of soaring school costs and inadequacy and inequity (court cases) of local property tax as main financing source; established Commission on School Finance; developing recs now; also, need for Special Revenue Sharing for education; leg. on Emergency School Aid for desegregation.
- Science: Separate message soon re FG partnership in technological research and development, with FG-supported research on projects designed to improve everyday lives in countless ways.

Quotes > On dealing with modern change:

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

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

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

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

Pol/Media
Reaction >

Outspoken criticism from DEM Presidential hopefuls. Congress seems cooperative. Discussion of leg. issues is non-partisan, but the flavor of the event is definitely partisan.

Applause: 13 times.

Nixon

Message # > 4 - See below
 Delivery > See below

Date > See below

In 1973 Nixon adopted a technique last used by Taft. He broke up the annual State of the Union message into 6 separate documents. The first document consisted of a brief overview, and was delivered as a written message to Congress. The remaining 5 documents were lengthy treatises on specific topics, and were all handled identically: a radio address (RA) summarizing the document, followed within a week by a written message (WM) to Congress.

Overview	(WM)	February 2, 1973
Natural Resources and the Environment	(RA)	February 14, 1973
	(WM)	February 15, 1973
The Economy	(RA)	February 21, 1973
	(WM)	February 22, 1973
Human Resources	(RA)	February 24, 1973
	(WM)	March 1, 1973
Community Development	(RA)	March 4, 1973
	(WM)	March 8, 1973
Law Enforcement and Drug Abuse Prevention	(RA)	March 10, 1973
	(WM)	March 14, 1973

In addition, on September 13, 1973 Nixon sent another State of the Union message to Congress. The summary is based on the September 13 message.

Form >
 Themes &
 Proposals >

15,000 words; text divided under 47 headings; some data.

As in message #3, the tone here is one of constant nagging and disappointment with the slowness of Congressional action on Administration proposals.

National Security: Cites recent SALT agreement; upcoming mutual and balanced force reduction negotiations.

- Maintain defense spending; e.g., Trident, B-1, cruise missile programs; do not require unilateral troop withdrawals from Europe.
- Pass Foreign Assistance Act; objects to cuts in military aid and Congressional intrusion on foreign policy leadership role of the Executive.
- Trade:
 - Trade Reform Act: One of most important bills before Congress; first significant reform in 10 years. Key upcoming events: Trade negotiations in Tokyo; annual meeting in Nairobi of IMF and WB re international monetary reform.
 - Export Administration Act: Greater auth. to establish controls on food and other exports.

The Economy: First priority is battle against inflation. Cites steps to date: New economic controls; FR; expand food supplies (recently enacted Farm Bill). Need following leg. to strengthen economy: Trade Reform, Export Administration, tax reform, and Stockpile Disposal Bills.

Spending/Taxes:

- Most important step against inflation is to balance the Federal budget by cutting spending; Congress is not exercising budget discipline (although trying to set up its own mechanism - an effort which Nixon lauds).
- No cut in defense spending.
- Tax reform (specific items); no tax increase.

Domestic Affairs:

- Energy: Concern re increasing domestic supplies and moderating demand; cites executive actions; stresses need for leg. action on 7 major bills, of which the first 4 must be enacted this year: (1) Alaskan pipeline construction; (2) deepwater ports construction for petroleum super-tankers; (3) natural gas dereg.; (4) new standards for surface mining (esp. coal) (#3); (5) reorganization of the Federal energy effort (establish D/Energy and Natural Resources, ERDA, and NRC); (6) siting of nuclear and fossil fuel power plants and transmission lines (streamline process re health and environmental safeguards); and (7) leg. to cancel oil leases in the Santa Barbara Channel and establish a National Energy Reserve.
- Environment/Natural Resources: Congress failed to act on 19 proposals; 3 especially important ones are: (1) National Land Use Policy Act to delineate proper FG (general standards) and S/LG (specific enforcement) roles (#3); (2) Toxic Substances leg. re standards for determining which chemicals are hazardous, and giving EPA new powers (#3); and (3) Safe Water Drinking Act to stimulate S/LG authorities to ensure that national standards are met (#1).
- Education: Cites gains re dismantling of dual school systems in the South. Need to shift most of the over 30 FG categorical grants to Special Revenue Sharing for Education (Better Schools Act) (#3). Leg. to curb busing.
- Social Services: Welfare reform needed (#1 etc.); leg. to establish a Legal Services Corporation; volunteerism - provide leg. auth. to ACTION.
- Labor: Notes OSHA act and overhaul of unemployment insurance system. Since Congress twice rejected the Special Revenue Sharing approach to manpower training, implementing it as far as possible administratively, but still favors leg. Also important leg: (1) Job Security Assis-

tance Act to set minimum benefit levels for State unemployment compensation programs and extend coverage to farm workers; (2) Vocational Rehabilitation Act amendments; (3) leg. to raise minimum wage (2 and 3 are to replace earlier measures he had to veto); (4) Retirement Benefits Tax Act and Employee Benefits Protection Act - re pension reform (#3).

- Health: Push next year for balanced health insurance partnership between public and private sectors. Pass HMO Assistance Act (#3).
- Indians: 6 major pieces of pending leg. to foster greater self-determination (#3), business opportunities, and better protection of their natural resources.
- Veterans: Cites benefits bills enacted. Need new pension leg. for veterans.
- Consumers: Rec establishing a separate Consumer Protection Agency (Congress failed to act on earlier proposal).
- Cities: Cites failure of urban renewal, Model Cities programs; chides Congress for failure to act; centerpiece leg. rec is the Better Communities Act to combine 5 categorical grant and 2 loan programs at local level (#3).
- Housing: Study just completed; will submit recs soon.
- Transportation: Cites enactment of leg. to auth. shift of some Highway Trust Fund money to mass transit; proposal to restructure railroad system in Northeast and Midwest; also will soon submit Transportation Improvement Act to ease up on reg. procedures affecting railroads.
- Disasters: Rec Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act and Flood Disaster Protection Act to overhaul disaster programs.
- Law/Judiciary: 3 major leg. recs: (1) Revise and reform Federal Criminal Code; (2) Heroin Trafficking Act; and (3) restoration of death penalty for certain crimes.
- Reorganization: Renew President's Reorganization Plan Authority Act which lapsed in April.
- The Arts: Auth. bill for Arts and Humanities Endowments.
- Other: Preparing for the Bicentennial; metric conversion.

DC: Urges self-government for DC.

Politics: Establish a Non-Partisan Commission on Federal Election Reform.

Quotes > Nixon's strained relationship with Congress - due to Water-gate, the impoundment issue, and the reassertion of the Congressional role - comes through most clearly in this message:

"[M]any Members of the Congress wish to play a larger role in governing the Nation. They want to increase the respect and authority which the American people feel for that great institution.

Personally, I welcome a Congressional renaissance. Although I believe in a strong Presidency - and I will continue to oppose all efforts to strip the Presidency of the powers it must have to be effective - I also believe in a strong Congress." (Nixon then goes on to challenge Congress to exercise its proper role by acting on more than 50 leg. measures he had proposed that year, and expresses his disappointment with Congressional action to date.)

Re failure to enact his community development programs:

"I am keenly disappointed that some Members of Congress seem so interested in continuing programs that are proven failures that we are unable to gain a full hearing for new approaches that clearly deserve a chance."

Nixon

Message #>

5

Date > January 30, 1974

Delivery >

Address to joint session of Congress and
Written Message to Congress.

Form >

Address: 5000 words; continuous text with no headings; no data; condensed version of the Message.

Message: 22,000 words; text divided under 52 headings; some data.

Themes &

Proposals>

Following are the key headings and contents of the written message. Virtually each topic contains a review of progress and accomplishments since 1969, followed by a description of current problems, leg. still pending, and a call for Congressional action. This summary focuses on the latter elements.

Introduction

Look at 1974 as the middle of an historical cycle; agenda must build on the past and look to the future.

MEETING OUR ENERGY NEEDS

Notes in Address that "In all of the 186 State of the Union messages delivered from this place, in our history this is the first in which the one priority, the first priority, is energy." Energy crisis is top leg. concern; reviews oil embargo, etc. Sent comprehensive energy message last week - will not repeat it here, but rather urge immediate action on the following highest priority measures: Special energy act

(permit more restrictions on energy consumption, postpone certain Clean Air Act requirements) windfall profits tax; special unemployment insurance; and mandatory reporting by major energy companies on inventories, production, etc. Also, establish FEA and ERDA; ultimately establish D/E&NR. 13 other leg. measures all to lead to Project Independence - energy self-sufficiency by 1980.

THE NATION'S ECONOMY

The World Economy: Reviews positive effects of his actions in 1971 to realign currency values, trading, etc.

International Trade Barriers: Enact Trade Reform Act (#4); reviews IMF negotiations to reform international payments system; fund US fair share in IDA.

The Domestic Economy: Inflation is most serious problem. Wage-price controls work only in the short-run. Relationship with energy crisis. No recs.

Role of the Federal Budget: Need for budget discipline; increases due to uncontrollables; urges enactment of "workable budget reform" process by Congress.

Tax Reform: Cites Tax Reform Act of 1969 and Revenue Act of 1971; urges enactment of reform proposals of last year to establish minimum taxable income, new rules for taxing income from foreign sources, and eliminate some tax shelters. Also, enact refundable tax credit for the low-income elderly whose property taxes exceed 5% of their income (#4).

Financial Reform: Leg. to reform financial system.

A HEALTHY AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

Congress should revamp Federal control over production of some remaining commodities; Administration will promote longer-run soil and water conservation practices, target research, and create one-stop agricultural service centers at the local level.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

"CETA (passed in 1973) is a landmark of the New Federalism." Needs more funding. Reiterates other earlier proposals (#3 etc.): Pension reform; leg. forbidding age discrimination in S/LGs; revisions in Federal/State unemployment insurance programs; and increase in minimum wage. New proposal: Economic Adjustment Assistance program to help States and communities deal with structural changes in their economies.

INCOME SECURITY

Cites rise in SS benefits and new SSI program. Need to rationalize and integrate income assistance programs. Need for welfare reform. Failure of AFDC. Gives up on Family Assistance Plan. Plans new effort at reform, to be guided by 5 principles.

IMPROVING OUR PEOPLE'S HEALTH

Cites progress: National Cancer Act; health manpower; HMO Act just passed; expansions of Medicare and Medicaid; increased funding for consumer safety programs. Major leg. initiative this year: Comprehensive health insurance proposal. Also: Health Resources Planning Act; expanded student scholarship and loan programs.

IMPROVING EDUCATION

Cites progress: New program of student assistance; NIE; Emergency School Aid to assist in school desegregation. Many of these need more funding; also, need leg. to reform Federal funding for elementary and secondary education (consolidate existing categorical grants; greater decision-making at S/LG levels, greater equity in funding distribution for education of the needy; and reform of the impact aid program); need leg. to curb busing, and to permit tax credits for sending kids to private schools.

HELPING OUR VETERANS

Urges enactment of pension and education proposals.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS

Progress for Minority Groups: Cites progress.

Justice for American Indians: #4.

The Rights of Women: Support for ERA; enact leg. to assure equal access to credit.

PROTECTIONS AGAINST CRIME AND INVASIONS OF PRIVACY

Crime: #4; also some revisions in judicial and penal systems; leg. to deal with employment problems caused by increase in illegal aliens in US.

Protecting the Right of Privacy: Cabinet-level review.

Ending Drug Abuse: No major recs.

ENHANCING THE ENVIRONMENT

Proposals include (only 1 and 2 are new): (1) Full funding for Land and Water Conservation Fund; (2) Alaskan lands set-aside; (3) D/Energy and Natural Resources (#4); (4) National Land Use Policy Act (#3 etc.); (5) Environmental Protection Tax Act to protect coastal wetlands and help assure historic preservation; (6) new "wilderness area" designations; (7) Big Thicket National Biological Reserve in Texas and Big Cypress National Fresh Water Reserve in Florida; (8) more auth. to Secretary of Interior to protect public domain lands; and (9) control pollution re toxic substances, hazardous wastes, and safe drinking water (#3 etc.).

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Again urges passage of Better Communities Act (#3 etc.); also need to pass Responsive Government Act - grants to improve S/LG planning and management.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Cites progress; no new proposals.

HELPING DISASTER VICTIMS

Pass Disaster Preparedness and Assistance Act (#4).

BETTER HOUSING FOR ALL

Pass 2 key measures: Financial Institutions Act (enable savings and loans to better compete) and Housing Act (ease tight mortgage credit situation, revise FHA and VA insured mortgages, improve public housing programs).

IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION

Pass 2 key measures: Leg. to significantly increase aid to public transit, including for operating expenses; and modernize regulatory system governing railroads (#4). Soon will also propose improvements in highway safety and restructuring of airport and airway financing system.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Praise for passage of home rule bill.

THE BICENTENNIALCULTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS

Reviews progress re Endowments for Arts and Humanities; support for Public Broadcasting; notes that cable TV is an emerging public policy issue.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Reviews the field; no recs.

THE NEW FEDERALISM

Need to strengthen S/LGs (#1 etc.). Notes impact of passed and pending leg. proposals.

MAKING GOVERNMENT WORK BETTER

Re FG reorganization and management; need to renew leg. auth. for Reorganization Plans.

CAMPAIGN REFORM

Will be submitting comprehensive proposals.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

Continuing Responsibility in Vietnam:

Building New Relationships: Soviet Union, China, Middle East.

Strengthening Our Free World Partnerships:

International Trade and Commerce: Need for Trade Reform Act and IMF negotiations (3 etc.).

Maintaining a Strong Defense Force: Increase budget.

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

38. GERALD R. FORD (R)

2 1/2 Years: August 9, 1974 to January 20, 1977

Ford

Message # > 1 Date > January 15, 1975
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress, preceded by Address to the Nation on Energy and Economic Programs, January 13, 1975, 9:00 p.m. (live radio and TV broadcast). Refers to delivering State of the Union in 2 days and says: "Tonight I want to talk to you about what must be done. After all, you are the people most affected."

Form > 4400 words; continuous text with no headings; some data.
 Themes & Proposals > Central theme is the energy crisis, followed by the economy, spending, and taxes. Foreign policy figures in the speech only in relation to the first two themes. Little on defense.

". . . I must say to you that the State of the Union is not good." (Then a few paragraphs on economic problems.)

"Now, I want to speak very bluntly. I've got bad news, and I don't expect any applause. The American people want action and it will take both the Congress and the President to give them what they want. Progress and solutions can be achieved. And they will be achieved.

My message today is not intended to address all the complex needs of America. I will send separate messages making specific recommendations for domestic legislation, such as General Revenue Sharing and the extension of the Voting Rights Act.

The moment has come to move in a new direction. We can do this by fashioning a new partnership between Congress, the White House and the people we both represent."

National Security: Theme is of the historic challenge and opportunity posed by present crisis; recalls US response to challenges at end of WWII.

The Economy: Major concern of the message - recession and inflation. Notes linkage to energy crisis.

Spending/Taxes:

- Rec 1 year tax reduction of \$16 B; 3/4 as cash rebates to individuals; 1/4 to businesses and farms in form of liberalized investment tax credit.
- Tax cut will increase deficit; therefore more important than ever to control spending. FY 76 budget includes:
 - (1) no new spending rec this year except for energy;
 - (2) leg. recs to restrain growth in many programs; and
 - (3) budget deferral and recisions recs. Will veto any new spending programs adopted by Congress.

- Rec 5% limit on Federal pay raises.
- Rec 1 year maximum increase of 5% in all FG programs tied to the consumer price index.

Domestic Affairs - Energy: Whole domestic part of message devoted to a comprehensive US energy program. Rec program to begin to restore US surplus capacity in total energy.

Goals: Reduce oil imports; end vulnerability to economic disruption by foreign suppliers; and develop energy technology and resources so that US can supply significant share of energy needs of Free World by 2000.

- Leg. to allow commercial production at Elk Hills, CA Naval Petroleum Reserve.
- Amendments to Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act to increase number of powerplants that can convert to coal.
- Using Executive auth. to raise fees on imported oil and petroleum products, until Congress can act on comprehensive energy tax program: Excise taxes and import fees on product imports and crude oil; dereg. of new natural gas and enactment of natural gas excise tax; enact windfall profits tax on oil producers (using Executive auth. to decontrol domestic crude oil prices).
- Notes that he rejected other options: rationing; higher gasoline taxes.
- Need massive program to increase energy supply, cut demand, and provide new standby emergency programs. Will press ahead with exploration, leasing, and production on areas of Outer Continental Shelf where environmental risks are acceptable.
- Clean Air Act amendments to allow greater coal use.
- Vetoed strip mining leg. last year; will sign revised version into law.
- Rec leg. to expedite nuclear licensing and siting and other measures to energize the nuclear power program.
- Need leg. auth. to establish tariffs, import quotas, or price floors to protect US energy prices at levels which will achieve energy independence.
- Additional steps to cut long-term consumption: Leg. to make thermal efficiency standards mandatory for all new buildings in US; new tax credit for homeowners who install insulation; program to help low income families purchase insulation; leg. to modify and defer auto pollution standards for 5 years.
- Standby emergency leg. and a strategic petroleum storage program.
- Funding for energy R&D activities; goals re synthetic fuels and shale oil production.

Cites numbers of plants, mines, etc. that his program envisions; says US can do it; refers to FDR's WWII production targets which were exceeded.

Ford

Message # > 2 Date > January 19, 1976
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
 Form > 5000 words; continuous text with no headings; some data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > The Bicentennial Year.

National Security: Reviews status of US foreign relations. Objects to Congressional interference in foreign policy - e.g., on Angola.

- Increase in defense budget.
- Need actions to reform and strengthen intelligence community.

The Economy: Improving slowly; double digit inflation was cut in half; came out of worst recession since WWII; unemployment still too high. First objective is to have sound economic growth without inflation.

Spending/Taxes: Again, emphasis on cutting growth in Federal spending.

- Broader tax reduction, and changes to encourage plant expansion and purchase of new equipment, concentrated in areas where unemployment rate exceeds 7%; estate tax changes to facilitate handing down small family businesses and farms.

Domestic Affairs:

- Housing: Rec for additional housing assistance.
- Regulation: need to reduce it.
- Business: Will strictly enforce antitrust laws. Planning reforms in a variety of economic sectors to promote competition: Airlines, trucking, railroads, and financial institutions.
- Energy: Calls upon Congress to finish work outlined in #1.
- Health: Rec catastrophic health insurance for everybody covered by Medicare. Rec combining Medicaid and 15 other Federal programs into a single \$10 B Federal grant to States, based on proportion of low-income families.
- Veterans: Will be taking steps to improve medical and hospital care for veterans.
- Social Services: Concerned about integrity of SS Trust Fund; it is in trouble; therefore rec increase in SS taxes; ask for auth. to tighten up rules for welfare eligibility and benefits; reform of Food Stamp program.
- Labor: Requesting funds to continue proven job training and employment opportunity programs.
- Law/Judiciary: Submitted recs last year on control of violent crime; stronger enforcement against dealing in drugs; aid to S/LG authorities.
- Federalism: Rec extension of revenue sharing leg.; grant consolidation recs.

Quotes > On the proper role and scope of government:

B-90

"Always we have had the best of intentions. But in the recent past we sometimes forgot the sound principles that had guided us through most of our history. We wanted to accomplish great things and solve age-old problems. And we became overconfident of our own abilities. We tried to be a policeman abroad and an indulgent parent here at home. We thought we could transform the country through massive national programs.

But often the programs did not work; too often, they only made things worse.

In our rush to accomplish great deeds quickly, we trampled on sound principles of restraint, and endangered the rights of individuals.

We unbalanced our economic system by the huge and unprecedented growth of Federal expenditures and borrowing. And we were not totally honest with ourselves about how much these programs would cost and how we would pay for them.

Finally, we shifted our emphasis from defense to domestic problems while our adversaries continued a massive buildup of arms.

The time has now come for a fundamentally different approach - for a new realism that is true to the great principles upon which this nation was founded." (Emphasis on balance)

Ford

Message #> 3 Date > January 12, 1977
Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress.
Form > 4400 words; continuous text with no headings; some data.
Themes &
Proposals> Farewell Address. State of the Union is good.

Appears to follow tradition of final message by deferring to President-elect Carter for legislative proposals (but some recs included in address):

"In a few days it will be his duty to outline for you his priorities and legislative recommendations. Tonight I will not infringe on that responsibility, but rather wish him the very best in all that is good for our country."

Reviews accomplishments in foreign policy; increase in defense spending; need for Trident missile launching submarine, B-1 bomber, and a better ICBM; progress in trade negotiations; most pressing need is for jobs; need to relieve heavy burden of taxation (earlier in month rec permanent income tax reduction and measures to stimulate investment; "I strongly urge the Congress to pass these measures . . ."); notes results in economy, renewal of general revenue sharing, expansion of community development, manpower, mass transit programs. Disappointments: Failure

to enact energy program; inability to complete many FG organizational reforms - e.g., Federal judicial system; growth in Congressional staffs and budget; sidetracking of most of his requests for auth. to consolidate overlapping programs and agencies, to use block grants, and reduce red tape and regulation.

"Again, I wish my successor, working with a substantial majority of his own party, the best of success in reforming the costly and cumbersome machinery of the Federal Government."

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES

39. JIMMY CARTER (D)1 Term: January 20, 1977 to January 20, 1981Carter

Message # > 1 Date > January 19, 1978
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress and
 Written Message to Congress.
 Form > Address: 4400 words; continuous text with no headings; some
 data.
Message: 13,750 words; text divided under 115 headings;
 some data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > Address: Summary of Contents

National Security: Notes emphasis on human rights in US
 foreign policy; SALT talks; Middle East.
 - Ratify Panama Canal treaties.

The Economy: This is the main domestic task, with energy as
 a central element; continue recovery and further cut unem-
 ployment and inflation; reached all major economic goals for
 1977. Outlines program of voluntary wage and price
 restraints.

Spending/Taxes:

- Detailed recs for tax reform and reduction (\$25 B) later
 in the week; includes substantial cuts in corporate tax
 rates and improvement in investment tax credits.
- Only 2% budget increase after inflation.

Domestic Affairs:

- Energy: We have failed the American people on energy
 leg.; notes creation of DOE.
- Labor/Social Services: Major increase in public jobs for
 young people and in public service employment programs;
 rec new program to encourage businesses to hire young and
 disadvantaged Americans; pass Humphrey-Hawkins bill.
- Agriculture: Notes passage in 1977 of new agricultural
 act.
- FG Organization/Management/Regulation: Notes passage of
 RPA; putting it to use. Also attacking Federal regula-
 tion, paperwork, and red tape. "I consider civil service
 reform to be absolutely vital."
- Education: Need D/Ed.

Cites separate written message which outlines other domestic
 initiatives: Welfare reform, consumer protection,
 education, urban policy, labor law reform, and national
 health care.

Message: Headings and Key Proposals(Introduction)

This year's highest priorities: Strong energy bill; coordinated economic program of job creation, tax reduction and reform, and anti-inflation measures; improving government; strong national defense; ratifying Panama Canal treaties and - if ready - SALT II treaty.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Cites problems when took office.

RESTORING ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Much of SU address devoted to comprehensive economic program, and Economic Report forthcoming soon. So this message only reviews the key elements: Tax cut; tax reform; anti-inflation program; extension of funding for public service (CETA) jobs and increase in spending for youth employment; and major new private sector jobs initiative.

Energy

Enact comprehensive energy leg. submitted last spring.

Employment

See recs re economy; also, pass Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act.

Inflation

Recs include those re economy; also, continue regulatory reform effort (both process, and in airline industry), and special effort in health care arena - the Hospital Cost Containment Act; also, voluntary restraint program.

Urban Assistance and Community Development

Cites increased funding last year for CD Block Grants and change in allocation formula to aid distressed urban areas. Rec further increases and extension of Anti-Recession Fiscal Assistance. Studying situation in NYC; in a few months will submit separate message re urban policy - outlines 5 elements of those proposals.

Agriculture and Rural Development

Food and Agriculture Act: Just enacted.

Grain Reserve: Initiated plan for reserve last year; rec an international emergency grain reserve to help us meet our food aid commitments abroad.

Agricultural Disaster and Drought Aid: Enacted a program; rec eliminating problems in the program.

Cites other steps to improve life in rural areas. Rec improvements in rural housing programs.

Agricultural Exports: Remove barriers and develop affirmative export policy; no specific recs.

Sugar: Ratify international sugar agreement.

Rural Development and Credit Policy: Cites results.

Small Business

MEETING OUR NATION'S HUMAN NEEDS

Health

Results so far: Established a Mental Health Commission; campaign to immunize 20 million children; reorganization of HEW (Medicare/Medicaid); leg. attacking fraud and abuse in latter; leg. making reimbursement for latter programs available to physician extenders in rural clinics.

Hospital Cost Containment: a major leg. rec.

National Health Insurance: Rec later this year.

Medical Improvements for Children: Rec a Child Health Assessment Program for lower-income children under Medicaid.

Teenage Pregnancy Proposal: Leg. to help prevent this.

Drug Abuse: No leg. rec.

World Health: No leg. rec.

Education

Results so far: 15% increase in funding. Seek leg. to create D/Ed. and to replace expiring education leg. Rec leg. to help low and middle-income families meet rising college tuition costs, and support major expansion in student aid programs.

Income Assistance

Welfare Reform: Last year, and again now, rec reform through the Better Jobs and Income Act: Consolidate AFDC, SSI, and Food Stamps into single cash assistance program providing a basic nationally uniform Federal benefit; jobs programs; and improving work incentives by expanding the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Family and Children: Rec school breakfast program be mandatory in schools with many needy children; major expansion in supplemental food programs; convene WH Conference on Families; enact reforms in foster care programs; etc.

The Elderly

Rec extending and strengthening Older Americans Act; more funding for meals programs.

Housing

Rec a variety of expanded programs and new initiatives: More rental housing assistance; more funding for rehabilitation loan program; major new operating subsidy program to reduce inventory of troubled projects; targeting of rural housing programs; etc.

Transportation

Highway and Transit Programs: Rec soon a comprehensive program to give S/LGs more flexibility, reduce narrow categorical accounts, more control over highway and mass transit funds in urban areas.

Highway Safety: Rec leg. to improve this; e.g., earmark DOT funds for 55 mph speed limit program.

Inland Waterway User Fees: Rec passage of such leg.

Aircraft Noise Abatement: Rec leg. to control this.

No-Fault Automobile Insurance: Leg. to establish minimum Federal standards for this.

Veterans

Variety of special programs outlined.

Arts and HumanitiesMAKING THE GOVERNMENT MORE EFFICIENT AND MORE RESPONSIVEGovernment Employees

Civil Service Reform: This leg. is a major priority.

Hatch Act Reform: Supports reform.

Part-Time and Flexi-Time Employment: Administrative action.

Reorganization, Management, and Regulatory Reform

Cites PRP results; OSHA cuts in paperwork and regs.; airline, trucking, and drug industry reform; reform of reg. process generally; and paperwork reduction.

(Other Reforms)

Cites need for reforms (many introduced last year) in: labor law; election reform; consumer reform; and public broadcasting.

Openness and Integrity

Need for lobby reform and ethics act.

Justice

Deals with following subjects: Civil rights and equal opportunity; educational opportunities; handicapped; anti-foreign boycott; minority business; undocumented aliens; and native Americans. Recs include: Ratify ERA; RP later for EEOC; leg. to impose sanctions on employers who hire undocumented aliens and to change the legal status of the many aliens now in the US.

Legal and Judicial Reform

Recs: US Criminal Code reform; judicial reform through the Omnibus Judgeship bill; wiretap reform; charters for intelligence agencies; and series of reforms for DC, including full voting representation in Congress. Established Presidential Commission to review Federal anti-trust enforcement and make recs. Will be sending separate message later on criminal justice and crime reduction. Studying recs re new leg. and reg. safeguards for privacy.

DEVELOPING AND PROTECTING OUR NATURAL RESOURCESEnergy

National Energy Policy: Notes "long and arduous" debate over his comprehensive national energy policy recs. Passage is highest and most urgent national priority.

Energy Statutes and Actions: Cites results - DOE; natural gas pipeline; Emergency Natural Gas Act; SPR.

Outer Continental Shelf Legislation: Leg. to improve management of this is major item pending before Congress.

Nuclear Energy: Rec leg. to establish better controls on export of nuclear fuels and technologies; stop Clinch River Breeder Project.

Environment

Environmental Statutes: 3 major laws enacted: Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act; Clean Air Act Amendments; and Clean Water Act.

Water Policy: Will be proposing recs based on complete review of Federal water policy.

Alaska Lands: Leg. re use of Federal lands in Alaska.

Redwood National Park: Leg. to expand its boundaries.

National Heritage Program: Rec soon leg. auth. for a Federal-State program to preserve natural and cultural heritage of the US.

Federal Compliance With Environmental Laws: Funding to bring FG facilities into compliance.

Federal Reclamation: After study, will propose changes in 1902 Reclamation Act.

Mining Law Reform: Leg. to replace archaic 1872 Mining Law with a modern leasing system for publicly-owned mineral resources.

Oil Spills: Leg. to establish strict liability standards.

Science and Technology

Funding increases.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Moral Leadership: Subjects include human rights; non-proliferation; and arms sales.

Ties With Friends and Allies: Review of summits; problems with integrity of the dollar. Urges Congress to approve US participation in IMF's Supplementary Financing Facility.

The Developing Countries: Most important rec is to ratify Panama Canal Treaties.

Promoting Regional Reconciliation: Middle East; Southern Africa; Horn of Africa; Cyprus.

Preserving Peace: SALT II negotiations; defense spending (building cruise missiles; develop MX; increase in Trident submarine force; etc.).

Carter

Message # > 2 Date > January 23, 1979
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress and
 Written Message to Congress (January 25).
 Form > Address: 3000 words; continuous text with no headings; some
 data.
Message: 22,000 words; text divided under 109 headings;
 some data.

Themes &
 Proposals > Address: Summary of Contents

This was the message with the famous "new foundations" theme.

National Security: Main topic is SALT II.

- Approve results of multilateral trade negotiations.
- Enact auth. leg. re US commitment to Taiwan.

The Economy: Reviews anti-inflation program announced October 1978 (government restraint coupled with wage and price restraint).

Spending/Taxes: Budget to further reduce size of deficit.

Domestic Affairs:

- Health: No clearer test of Congressional commitment to fighting inflation than leg. re hospital cost containment.
- Business/Transportation: Also fight inflation by better enforcement of anti-trust laws and reducing government obstacles to competition - e.g., deregulation; cites results in airline industry, and need to focus on railroad, bus, and trucking industries as well.

- FG Reorganization/Management: Create D/Ed., reorganize economic development and management of natural resources; enact sunset law.

Politics:

- Enact leg. re public financing of campaigns.

Message: Headings and Key Proposals

Domestic Policy Priorities: Economy (restrain inflation and promote employment); improve government; human and social needs; rights and liberties; and natural resources.

INFLATION

Topics: Tight budget; voluntary pay and price standards; real wage insurance; exports; COWPS.

Recs:

- Hospital Cost Containment bill (#1).
- Real wage insurance program to protect employee groups that comply with the 7% voluntary wage standard.
- Approve Tokyo Round of the Multilateral Trade Negotiations; leg. permitting waiver of imposition of countervailing duties.
- Reauth. COWPS with no new restraints.

EMPLOYMENT

Cites passage of many recs in #1. Reform leg. auth. for USES, to integrate that program better into the new employment and training programs.

MAKING GOVERNMENT MORE EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE

Topics: Reorganization; regulatory reform; civil service and pay reform; public financing; sunset; lobby reform; waste, fraud, and inefficiency; /// [page missing]

Recs:

- Create D/Ed. (#1); also will rec RPs re economic development and natural resources.
 - Will soon send message on Surface Transportation Reform (and possibly reorganization).
 - Regulatory Reform Act and leg. improvements in specific regulatory programs; opposes legislative veto.
 - Pay reform leg.
 - Public financing law for Congressional elections (#1).
 - Sunset law.
 - Reform of lobby disclosure law.
- /// [page missing]

ENHANCING OUR RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

Topics: Consumer representation; judgeships and judicial reform; antitrust enforcement and competition; etc.

Recs:

- Leg. to establish Federal minimum standards for State no-fault automobile compensation systems (#1).
- Leg. to overhaul LEAA; set up National Institute of Justice.
- Variety of steps to reform judicial system and of class action procedures.
- Leg. to overturn SC decision whereby only direct purchasers may recover damages from antitrust violators.
- Recs later based on Task Force study of banking issues: Regulation Q; system of deposit interest rate controls.

ENHANCING BASIC HUMAN AND SOCIAL NEEDS

Health: Topics: National Health Plan (being developed); prevention and accessible health services; child health assessment; mental health; drug abuse; food and nutrition; worker health and safety.

Recs:

- Pass Hospital Cost Containment (#1) and Health Planning Acts.
- Reforms to make it easier for HMO's to obtain reimbursement under Medicare and Medicaid.
- Revised CHAP program (#1).
- Will be rec comprehensive mental health leg.
- Overhaul drug regulation laws (general).
- Further leg. to strengthen food programs.

Housing: Stresses problems of housing in rural areas.

Community Development: Fund the CD Block Grant program at full auth. level; continue Urban Development Action Grant program.

Neighborhoods: Cites passage of the Livable Cities and Neighborhood Self-Help Development programs and the National Consumer Cooperative Bank. This year will submit recs of National Commission on Neighborhoods.

Urban Policy: Notes announcement of Nation's first comprehensive urban policy last year. Rec again: Urban fiscal assistance program; and the National Development Bank.

Social Security Changes: Recs re trimming costs of certain benefits. Established a Pension Commission to review entire pension system in US.

Disability Insurance Reforms: Rec integrated package of reforms to improve incentives for rehabilitation of the disabled, etc.

Welfare Reform: Rec package of reforms. (#1)

Families: Cites WH Conference on the Family.

Child Welfare Reform: Agains will propose major reforms in foster care and adoption services (#1).

Older Americans: Cites continuing efforts.

Veterans: Seek leg. to improve benefits.

Education: D/Ed.

Higher Education: Rec reauth. of omnibus higher education leg.: the Higher Education Act and the National Defense Education Act.

Science and Technology: Cites importance; accomplishments.

Space:

Communications: Variety of steps cited.

Small Business: Cites results; preparation for WH Conference on Small Business; will develop leg. to improve SBA.

Cultural Affairs: Funding for WH Conferences.

PROTECTING BASIC RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

Civil Rights: Leg. to provide enforcement mechanism to prohibit discrimination in housing; give D/HUD cease and desist powers.

Women: Cites accomplishments.

District of Columbia:

Native Americans:

Handicapped:

Undocumented Aliens:

Martin Luther King, Jr.: Leg. to commemorate his birthday as a national holiday.

Minority Business:

Civil Liberties: New leg. re privacy; rights of press (Stanford Daily case); labor law reform (#1); Export Administration Act reauth.; enact statutory charters for intelligence community; reform of Federal criminal code; Hatch Act reform. Notes establishment of Commissions on Hunger and on the Holocaust.

PRESERVING AND DEVELOPING NATURAL RESOURCES

Energy: Funding increases; soon submit message on solar energy; development of leg. recs re strong program for nuclear waste disposal; leg. to simplify licensing and siting of nuclear power reactors; recs on domestic crude oil pricing later; need leg. establishing an Inland Energy Assistance program to aid S/L areas experiencing rapid population growth as result of new energy supply development.

Water Policy Legislation: Leg. changes in Federal water projects.

Environment: Leg. re protection of Alaskan lands; water policy implementation; recs to resolve status of most remaining roadless areas in the National Forest System; leg. to consolidate Federal funds for environmental programs at the State level.

The State of Food and Agriculture: Rec again a comprehensive, nationwide all-risk insurance reform bill to consolidate several existing disaster assistance programs into a single share-the-cost program; rec again leg. to auth. international emergency wheat reserve (#1); ratify international sugar agreement (#1).

Rural Development: Cites many initiatives.

FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

Leg. re Taiwan; SALT II upcoming; leg. implementing Panama Canal treaties; funding for bilateral assistance programs and participation in multilateral institutions.

Carter

Message # > 3 Date > January 23, 1980
 Delivery > Address to joint session of Congress and
 Written Message to Congress (January 21).
 Form > Address: 3300 words; continuous text with no headings;
 limited data.
Message: 36,000 words; text divided under 59 headings; much
 data.
 Themes &
 Proposals > Address: Summary of Contents

National Security: 4/5 of speech devoted to this subject, with focus on Iran, Afghanistan, and US reaction; review of US relationship with Soviet Union, SALT II, Middle East and Persian Gulf.

- Leg. to revitalize Selective Service System.

2 additional key topics: Energy (need to enact energy leg.) and the economy (reduce deficit and balance budget; restrain pay increases; cut paperwork and regulation; jobs for minority youth; measures to increase productivity, savings, and investment).

Message: Key Proposals

Major new proposals limited to a critical few (listed below) so that Congress can enact agenda of proposals already before it:

- Youth Employment
- General Revenue Sharing
- Utility Oil Use Reduction
- Nuclear Waste Management and NRC Reorganization
- Standby Gasoline Rationing Plan
- Implementation of US response to Soviet invasion

ADDENDUM TO THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE SUMMARIESPolitical and Media Reaction to the Messages Since 1974

Note: The political and media reaction to the earlier messages in the State of the Union Message Summaries data base is included as a data element with each message.

NIXONMessage #5: January 30, 1974

Forceful delivery, although most proposals were already made public or stressed in earlier speeches. Nixon tried to negate Watergate problems by reporting on past accomplishments. 12 liberal DEMs hissed twice. "He shouldn't have wasted his time . . ." (Nedzi, Michigan). Most Congressional leaders believe the key issue is Watergate, although these policy proposals are important.

FORDMessage #1: January 15, 1975

Ford announced that the state of the Union is "not good." Speech reported as the "gloomiest . . . since the Depression." Liberals criticize the tax rebate plan as too restrictive; conservatives criticize budget deficits as too large. Highly adventurous speech. Public support for the President's economic plan not all that favorable; Congress likely to develop its own package. Budget deficits projected to be higher than forecast because Congress does not appear to want to follow Ford's spending guidelines.

Message #2: January 19, 1976

Sober and careful speech; more upbeat than last year. DEMs call it uninspiring. Conservatives indicate Ford's dreams for the nation are moderate. General Congressional reaction is that more needs to be done to stimulate the economy. GOP conservatives pleased; "didn't bend to election year pressure and promise the world."

Message #3: January 12, 1977

Modest, restrained speech, containing no surprises. Interrupted 22 times by applause. Somewhat teary-eyed.

CARTERMessage #1: January 19, 1978

Congressional response is tepid; controversial proposals will be altered by Congress. Tax issue cuts across party lines, follows ideological break. Speech did not sharpen the focus of his public philosophy. Style consisted of stilted delivery, subdued tones, and no deliberate thrust of boldness. Interrupted 44 times by applause, mostly generated by Administration people in the galleries.

Message #2: January 23, 1979

Sober message. Congress is restrained and cool in its reaction. John Rhodes terms it a "non-message." Press sees middle of the road approach as potential 1980 DEM platform. Unlike last year's emphasis on negative elements, this speech focused on positive achievements. Interrupted 26 times by applause, mostly by the GOP on economic and government restraint.

Message #3: January 23, 1980

Sharp partisan Congressional reaction. Speech on Soviet power contrasts vividly with the hope for detente expressed early in the Administration. Almost the entire speech focused on foreign policy. Hardline by Carter indicates his growing understanding of the realism of power politics.

Message #4: January 16, 1981

Little political/media coverage or reaction.

SECTION C

ANALYTIC TABLES

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EXPLANATION OF TABLE 1: SUBJECT CONTENT ANALYSIS

The Subject Content Analysis table summarizes the substantive content (themes and proposals) portion of the State of the Union Message Summary (SUMS) Data Base - i.e., of the 70 messages from 1913 to 1981.

Columns

The table is in two pages. The first page covers the 36 annual messages from the beginning of the Woodrow Wilson Presidency (1913) to the end of Harry Truman's partial first term (1949). The second page covers the 34 annual messages from the beginning of Truman's first full term (1950) to the end of the Carter Presidency (1981). The names of the Presidents and the number of their annual message is displayed across the top row of the tables.

Rows

The tables summarize the contents of the 70 Presidential messages in terms of the 36 broad subjects or topics listed in the left-hand column. These subjects correspond to major government roles, functions, and public policy concerns. To the extent possible, similar or related topics were grouped together in 9 "cluster" areas. Of the 36 total topics, the first 4 fall under the category of national security and international relations, while the remainder deal with domestic matters.

Codes

Coverage of a specific subject in an individual SUM is indicated by the use of code letters, representing differences in how the subject was treated or presented by the President. Definitions of each of these codes follow.

Code in Table 1	Definition
--------------------	------------

- | | |
|---|---|
| a | Indicates legislative proposals to Congress of greatest relative importance, based on the following considerations. |
| | - The President identified the subject as the "most important task facing Congress". |
| | - The subject made a dramatic appearance as a new and major area of Federal action, or its treatment represented a sharp departure from prior experience. |
| | - The subject was addressed comprehensively, in great detail, and/or with many separate recommendations. |

- b Indicates all other legislative proposals to Congress of at least some significance. The subjects are coded differently from those described above because:
- The subject was not identified as the most important.
 - It was treated as a single proposal, narrow in scope and impact.
 - While its importance was stressed, no supporting details, arguments, or related proposals were presented.
 - It was presented as a request to fund a previously authorized program rather than establish a new program.
 - It was simply cited - with no details or summary of contents - as an important subject which would be dealt with in a separate message.
- e Signifies not new initiatives but rather:
- Generalized recommendations with no specific call to action.
 - Exhortations to continue existing programs or policies, where such extension does not involve a significant legislative decision.
 - A review of accomplishments; status or progress report; report on administrative actions or changes; or a discussion or commentary on a problem.
 - Announcement of establishment of a commission to deal with a problem, or expression of interest in someone else's action or initiative on the subject.

These codes are hierarchical in value; that is, a implies some elements of b and e, and b implies some elements of e. Use of the codes in capital letters signify that the subject not only fulfilled one of the definitions listed above, but also was a major theme of the SUM. In a number of SUMs, major themes were explicitly identified in the text; in a handful of cases, a SUM was devoted to a single topic. In other cases a major theme was identified based on the level and length at which the subject was treated in the SUM.

In most cases, passing references to subjects - such as when a long list of subjects are strung together in a single paragraph and not mentioned again - are not included in the content analysis.

Major themes may or may not be accompanied by major or even minor proposals. For example, Franklin Roosevelt's messages during the WWII period generally do not contain many specific requests for legislative action.

SUBJECT CONTENT ANALYSIS: STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES (1950 - 1981)

President: Message #:	Truman 5 6 7 8	Eisenhower 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Kennedy 1 2 3	Johnson 1 2 3 4 5 6	Nixon 1 2 3 4 5	Ford 1 2 3	Carter 1 2 3 4
Foreign Policy	E A A E	A E A A B A e B E	A B E	e E E B B B	e e E	e E E	A B A E
National Defense	b A A E	A A A b E A E E E	A B e	e E E B e B	e A A b	e B E	e E B E
Trade/World Economy	b	a b b a b A b E e	A e	e b b e	b A A	b e	b A B E
Foreign Aid	A A A E	A b a A e E e	A E E	e e a b a	A B		e e b E
The Economy	e b a e	B e e e b e e	A A e	B B e E e e	E E E A E	e e e	E B B A
Spending/Taxes	e b a e	A A e e b b b e	e a A	A A B A A e	E E e A B	A A A	A e e A
Agriculture	b b b e	E A b B e b b e	B e	e b b	E B		B b B E
Business/Economic Dev.	b	b b e	b	b b b		e	b b a B
Labor	a b b e	B b a a a e e	a a b	a a a b a e	A A A	b e	A B B B
Natural Resources	e e e	e b e b e	b b b	b b e	b b b		A A A E
Water Resources	b e	b b a e e	b b				e b b e
Environment			e b	a b a b	A b A A A	a	A A A E
Energy					b A A	A a E	A A A E
Transportation	e	b e a e	b	b b a b	A a A	e	A b A A
Shipping				b			a A
Soc. Security/Welfare	b b b e	b b b a e	b A	A b b b b	A A A a E	a	A A A A
Health	b b a e	b a b e	a A a	a a b b b b	A A b A	a	B A A A
Education	b b b	b e b b b b b	b A e	b a b b	A A A		a a a e
Housing	b e	a e a e	b b	b a b e	e A	b	A e A E
Civil Rights	b b e	e e a B b e	b B b	A b a a a b	a A B		B B B E
Veterans	b e	e e e e	e	b	E b B	e	b b b e
Immigration		b b a a e		b b	b		a e a e
Indians		e e e	e	b	B b B		e e e
Consumers		b	b	a a a	A b		b b e e
Banking/Finance		e		b	b		b b b
Law/Judiciary		b	b b	b b A A b	a A A b	a e	A A a e
Postal Service		e b b a e	b	a			b
Science & Technology	b	b e e e	e	b	b E		b e e E
Communications				b	e		b b a b
The Arts		b		b	b e		e e e b
FG Org./Mgmt./Reg.	b e	B a b e	E b	b e b	e A b B	b E	A A A E
Federalism/States			e e	e e b	E A A B	a e	a e
Cities			e e	A	b b a b a b	e B A A	e b A A E
Rural Areas		b b e		b b	e B E		b e A E
Territories/D.C.	a a	a a a a b e e		b	b e		b b e B
Politics/Pol. System		b b b		b a a	b e		a a a
Message #:	5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3	1 2 3 4

TABLE 2 (Summary)

SUMMARY OF PRESIDENTS AND THEIR STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES (1913 - 1981)

Table of Averages for Each Administration

President	Approx. # Words and Delivery:		Major Proposal		Other Proposal		Report/ Review		Total Subjs. (A-e)	Themes (A,B,E)	
	Speech	Written	(A)	(a)	(B)	(b)	(E)	(e)			
<u>WILSON</u> 8 Messages:	4,350 6	3,700 2	0.9	1.1	0.4	5.0	0.1	0.6	8.1	1.4	
<u>HARDING</u> 2 Messages:	6,050 2	- -	1.0	1.0	1.0	5.5	-	3.0	11.5	2.0	
<u>COOLIDGE</u> 6 Messages:	7,600 1	10,000 5	0.7	1.2	0.3	10.3	0.2	4.8	17.5	1.2	
<u>HOOVER</u> 4 Messages:	- -	7,525 4	1.0	0.3	1.8	5.3	0.3	4.5	13.0	3.0	
<u>ROOSEVELT</u> 12 Messages:	3,610 10	6,250 2	0.3	0.1	0.8	2.5	1.0	1.8	6.5	2.1	
<u>TRUMAN</u> 8 Messages:	5,100 6	17,750 2	1.6	2.6	-	8.3	1.0	3.3	16.8	2.6	
<u>EISENHOWER</u> 9 Messages:	6,400 7	8,100 2	1.6	2.3	0.8	5.3	1.0	6.1	17.1	3.3	
<u>KENNEDY</u> 3 Messages:	6,100 3	- -	3.7	1.7	1.3	6.7	1.3	2.3	17.0	6.3	
<u>JOHNSON</u> 6 Messages:	5,450 6	- -	1.3	4.0	1.3	9.0	0.8	3.0	19.5	3.5	
<u>NIXON</u> 5 Messages:	4,200 4	19,000 3	7.4	0.8	2.2	3.8	2.6	2.4	19.2	12.2	
			(Both in 2 years)								
<u>FORD</u> 3 Messages:	4,600 3	- -	1.3	2.0	0.3	1.3	1.7	4.3	11.0	3.3	
<u>CARTER</u> 4 Messages:	3,600 3	26,900 4	9.3	3.3	4.0	6.5	4.3	6.0	33.3	17.5	
			(Both in 3 years)								
<u>TOTAL</u> 70 Messages:	4,900 51	13,200 24	2.1	1.6	1.0	5.7	1.1	3.4	14.9	4.2	
			(Both in 5 years)								

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF PRESIDENTS AND THEIR STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES (1913 - 1981)

President and Message #	Approx. # Words and Delivery: Speech Written		Major Proposal (A) (a)		Other Proposal (B) (b)		Report/ Review (E) (e)		Total Subjs. (A-e)	Themes (A,B,E)
<u>WILSON</u>										
1	3,500	-	1	1	1	6	-	-	9	2
2	4,300	-	1	1	-	4	-	2	8	1
3	7,500	-	1	3	-	6	-	1	11	1
4	2,000	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	5	1
5	3,600	-	2	-	-	5	-	-	7	2
6	5,200	-	-	-	1	6	1	2	10	2
7	-	4,800	1	3	1	4	-	-	9	2
8	-	2,600	-	1	-	5	-	-	6	-
Total	26,100	7,400	7	9	3	40	1	5	65	11
% (A-e)			11%	14%	5%	62%	2%	8%	102%	17%
Average	4,350	3,700	0.9	1.1	0.4	5.0	0.1	0.6	8.1	1.4
<u>HARDING</u>										
1	5,800	-	1	-	2	7	-	3	13	3
2	6,300	-	1	2	-	4	-	3	10	1
Total	12,100	-	2	2	2	11	-	6	23	4
% (A-e)			9%	9%	9%	48%	-	26%	98%	17%
Average	6,050	-	1.0	1.0	1.0	5.5	-	3.0	11.5	2.0
<u>COOLIDGE</u>										
1	7,600	-	1	4	-	14	-	2	21	1
2	-	7,800	-	2	-	9	1	2	14	1
3	-	11,700	1	1	-	12	-	2	16	1
4	-	11,200	1	-	-	9	-	8	18	1
5	-	9,900	-	-	2	9	-	7	18	2
6	-	9,400	1	-	-	9	-	8	18	1
Total	7,600	50,000	4	7	2	62	1	29	105	7
% (A-e)			4%	7%	2%	59%	1%	28%	101%	7%
Average	7,600	10,000	0.7	1.2	0.3	10.3	0.2	4.8	17.5	1.2

TABLE 2 (Continued)

President and Message #	Approx. # Words and Delivery: Speech Written		Major Proposal (A) (a)		Other Proposal (B) (b)		Report/ Review (E) (e)		Total Subjs. (A-e)	Themes (A,B,E)
<u>HOOVER</u>										
1	-	12,900	-	-	3	10	1	6	20	4
2	-	5,400	-	-	1	6	-	5	12	1
3	-	6,800	2	1	1	5	-	7	16	3
4	-	5,000	2	-	2	-	-	-	4	4
Total	-	30,100	4	1	7	21	1	18	52	12
% (A-e)			8%	2%	13%	40%	2%	35%	100%	23%
Average	-	7,525	1.0	0.3	1.8	5.3	0.3	4.5	13.0	3.0
<u>ROOSEVELT</u>										
1	2,400	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	7	1
2	3,700	-	1	1	-	3	-	2	7	1
3	3,900	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	4	2
4	3,000	-	-	-	-	1	-	8	9	-
5	4,800	-	-	-	4	1	1	1	7	5
6	3,600	-	-	-	2	3	1	2	8	3
7	3,200	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	5	1
8	3,400	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3	3
9	3,500	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	2
10	4,600	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3	2
11	-	3,900	-	-	1	4	1	-	6	2
12	-	8,600	-	-	2	12	1	1	16	3
Total	36,100	12,500	4	1	9	30	12	22	78	25
% (A-e)			5%	1%	12%	38%	15%	28%	99%	32%
Average	3,610	6,250	0.3	0.1	0.8	2.5	1.0	1.8	6.5	2.1
<u>TRUMAN</u>										
1	-	25,500	2	6	-	13	2	-	23	4
2	6,700	-	2	1	-	6	-	6	15	2
3	5,500	-	1	2	-	12	1	3	19	2
4	3,600	-	1	6	-	10	-	-	17	1
5	5,100	-	1	2	-	11	1	3	18	2
6	4,200	-	3	-	-	7	-	-	10	3
7	5,400	-	3	4	-	7	-	2	16	3
8	-	10,000	-	-	-	-	4	12	16	4
Total	30,500	35,500	13	21	-	66	8	26	134	21
% (A-e)			10%	16%	-	49%	6%	19%	100%	16%
Average	5,100	17,750	1.6	2.6	-	8.3	1.0	3.3	16.8	2.6

TABLE 2 (Continued)

President and Message #	Approx. # Words and Delivery: Speech Written		Major Proposal (A) (a)		Other Proposal (B) (b)		Report/ Review (E) (e)		Total Subjs. (A-e)	Themes (A,B,E)
<u>EISENHOWER</u>										
1	8,000	-	3	2	3	4	1	3	16	7
2	7,000	-	4	2	-	9	1	3	19	5
3	7,800	-	2	4	-	13	-	7	26	2
4	-	8,800	1	10	1	7	-	4	23	2
5	4,400	-	-	2	1	2	1	4	10	2
6	5,700	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	7	4
7	5,700	-	-	1	1	6	1	2	11	2
8	6,100	-	-	-	1	4	3	6	14	4
9	-	7,400	-	-	-	-	2	26	28	2
Total	44,700	16,200	14	21	7	48	9	55	154	30
% (A-e)			9%	14%	5%	31%	6%	36%	101%	19%
Average	6,400	8,100	1.6	2.3	0.8	5.3	1.0	6.1	17.1	3.3
<u>KENNEDY</u>										
1	5,500	-	4	2	-	8	1	1	16	5
2	7,100	-	6	2	4	6	1	1	20	11
3	5,700	-	1	1	-	6	2	5	15	3
Total	18,300	-	11	5	4	20	4	7	51	19
% (A-e)			22%	10%	8%	39%	8%	14%	101%	37%
Average	6,100	-	3.7	1.7	1.3	6.7	1.3	2.3	17.0	6.3
<u>JOHNSON</u>										
1	3,200	-	3	2	1	6	-	4	16	4
2	5,200	-	1	5	1	12	2	2	23	4
3	6,100	-	-	7	1	10	2	2	22	3
4	8,100	-	2	4	2	11	1	2	22	5
5	5,400	-	2	5	1	8	-	4	20	3
6	4,700	-	-	1	2	7	-	4	14	2
Total	32,700	-	8	24	8	54	5	18	117	21
% (A-e)			7%	21%	7%	46%	4%	15%	100%	18%
Average	5,450	-	1.3	4.0	1.3	9.0	0.8	3.0	19.5	3.5

TABLE 2 (Continued)

President and Message #	Approx. # Words and Delivery: Speech Written		Major Proposal (A) (a)		Other Proposal (B) (b)		Report/ Review (E) (e)		Total Subjs. (A-e)	Themes (A,B,E)
<u>NIXON</u>										
1	4,400	-	2	2	-	1	3	5	13	5
2	3,300	-	3	-	-	2	2	-	7	5
3	4,200	20,000	13	-	3	3	3	2	24	19
4		15,000	10	2	1	9	-	1	23	11
5	5,000	22,000	9	-	7	4	5	4	29	21
Total	16,900	57,000	37	4	11	19	13	12	96	61
% (A-e)			39%	4%	11%	20%	14%	13%	101%	64%
Average	4,200	19,000	7.4	0.8	2.2	3.8	2.6	2.4	19.2	12.2
<u>FORD</u>										
1	4,400	-	2	1	-	1	-	3	7	2
2	5,000	-	1	5	1	3	1	3	14	3
3	4,400	-	1	-	-	-	4	7	12	5
Total	13,800	-	4	6	1	4	5	13	33	10
% (A-e)			12%	18%	3%	12%	15%	39%	99%	30%
Average	4,600		1.3	2.0	0.3	1.3	1.7	4.3	11.0	3.3
<u>CARTER</u>										
1	4,400	13,750	11	3	3	9	1	5	32	15
2	3,000	22,000	9	2	4	10	1	8	34	14
3	3,300	36,000	11	8	6	4	-	5	34	17
4	-	36,000	6	-	3	3	15	6	33	24
Total	10,700	107,750	37	13	16	26	17	24	133	70
% (A-e)			28%	10%	12%	20%	13%	18%	101%	53%
Average	3,600	26,900	9.3	3.3	4.0	6.5	4.3	6.0	33.3	17.5
<u>TOTAL (51 speeches; 24 written messages)</u>										
	249,500	316,450	145	114	70	401	76	235	1041	291
% (A-e)			14%	11%	7%	39%	7%	23%	101%	28%
Average	4,900	13,200	2.1	1.6	1.0	5.7	1.1	3.4	14.9	4.2

TREATMENT OF SUBJECTS IN 70 STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES (1913 - 1981)

TABLE 3

SUBJECT	MAJOR PROPOSAL			OTHER PROPOSAL			REVIEW/REPORT			TOTALS (N + n = 70)	
	Times Covered	Relative % (70)	Adjusted % (N)	Times Covered	Relative % (70)	Adjusted % (N)	Times Covered	Relative % (70)	Adjusted % (N)	Covered (N)	Not C'vrd (n)
Foreign Policy	10	14.3	16.1	13	18.6	21.0	39	55.7	62.9	62	8
National Defense	14	20.0	24.1	18	25.7	31.0	26	37.1	44.8	58	12
Trade/World Economy	9	12.9	20.5	16	25.7	40.9	17	24.3	38.6	44	26
Foreign Aid	12	17.1	35.3	10	14.3	29.4	12	17.1	35.3	34	36
The Economy	10	14.3	20.4	13	18.6	26.5	26	37.1	53.1	49	21
Spending/Taxes	19	27.1	32.2	22	31.4	37.3	18	25.7	30.5	59	11
Agriculture	9	12.9	20.0	25	35.7	55.6	11	15.7	24.4	45	25
Business/Eco. Devel.	4	5.7	11.8	22	31.4	64.7	8	11.4	23.5	34	36
Labor	20	28.6	37.7	21	30.0	39.6	12	17.1	22.6	53	17
Natural Resources	3	4.3	8.3	23	32.9	63.9	10	14.3	27.8	36	34
Water Resources	1	1.4	3.4	21	30.0	72.4	7	10.0	24.1	29	41
Environment	10	14.3	55.6	6	8.6	33.3	2	2.9	11.1	18	52
Energy	7	10.0	38.9	8	11.4	44.4	3	4.3	16.7	18	52
Transportation	13	18.6	37.1	16	22.9	45.7	6	8.6	17.1	35	35
Shipping	4	5.7	25.0	11	15.7	68.8	1	1.4	6.3	16	54
Soc. Sec./Welfare	13	18.6	37.1	17	24.3	48.6	5	7.1	14.3	35	35
Health	16	22.9	45.7	17	24.3	48.6	2	2.9	5.7	35	35
Education	8	11.4	25.0	20	28.6	62.5	4	5.7	12.5	32	38
Housing	9	12.9	34.6	9	12.9	34.6	8	11.4	30.8	26	44
Civil Rights	8	11.4	23.5	19	27.1	55.9	7	10.0	20.6	34	36
Veterans	1	1.4	3.2	14	20.0	45.2	16	22.9	51.6	31	39
Immigration	6	8.6	26.1	12	17.1	52.2	5	7.1	21.7	23	47
Indians	-	-	-	6	8.6	54.5	5	7.1	45.5	11	59
Consumers	4	5.7	36.4	5	7.1	45.5	2	2.9	18.2	11	59
Banking/Finance	3	4.3	23.1	9	12.9	69.2	1	1.4	7.7	13	57
Law/Judiciary	11	15.7	35.5	15	21.4	48.4	5	7.1	16.1	31	39
Postal Service	2	2.9	20.0	6	8.6	60.0	2	2.9	20.0	10	60
Science & Technology	-	-	-	6	8.6	46.2	7	10.0	53.8	13	57
Communications	1	1.4	11.1	7	10.0	77.8	1	1.4	11.1	9	61
The Arts	-	-	-	4	5.7	50.0	4	5.7	50.0	8	62
FG Org./Mgmt./Reg.	5	7.1	14.7	19	27.1	55.9	10	14.3	29.4	34	36
Federalism/States	4	5.7	28.6	3	4.3	21.4	7	10.0	50.0	14	56
Cities	7	10.0	36.8	7	10.0	36.8	5	7.1	26.3	19	51
Rural Areas	2	2.9	14.3	7	10.0	50.0	5	7.1	35.7	14	56
Territories/D.C.	9	12.9	32.1	11	15.7	39.3	8	11.4	28.6	28	42
Political System	5	7.1	25.0	11	15.7	55.0	4	5.7	20.0	20	50
TOTAL	259	10.3	24.9	471	18.7	45.2	311	12.3	29.9	1041	1479

TABLE 4INDEX TO SELECTED QUOTATIONS

Section B contains a data base of summaries of the last 70 State of the Union Messages. Among the elements included in that data base are direct quotations from selected messages which were especially characteristic of the President or the message, or were relevant to current public policy issues. Following is an index to the direct quotations that can be found in Section B.

<u>President and Subject of the Quotation</u>	<u>Page</u>
WILSON	
Fending off critics of his national defense policy	B-2
Broad view of role of government	B-2
Role of democracies in peace and war	B-3
Regarding his intention to attend the Paris peace negotiations	B-5,6
Tariffs and America's new position in world affairs	B-6,7
Hour of test and trial for America	B-7
COOLIDGE	
Government's role in public education and welfare	B-11
Need for economy in government spending	B-12
Coolidge as supply-sider	B-12
Importance of local government	B-14
Nature of government spending	B-15
Need to reduce taxes	B-15
On Federalism and respect for government	B-15
HOOVER	
Promotion of voluntarism as key Federal role in providing social services	B-19
Federal role in dealing with unemployment	B-22
Importance of local government and individualism	B-22
Regarding need to cut entitlements back to original intention	B-23

	<u>Page</u>
ROOSEVELT	
Defines purpose of his first address to Congress	B-25
Federal role in dealing with unemployment	B-25
Relationship between legislative and executive branches . . .	B-25
Need to focus government activity on major public policy objectives	B-27
Impact of dependence on government relief	B-27
Reviews relationship established with Congress	B-28
The public responsibilities of corporate America	B-30
Need for national unity	B-32
TRUMAN	
Need for bi-partisanship	B-39
First use of "Fair Deal" label	B-42
Notes upcoming Presidential election	B-45
EISENHOWER	
The role of government	B-49
Soviet threat and US response	B-56
KENNEDY	
View on the public service	B-60
Need for a substantial tax cut	B-63
JOHNSON	
Urgency of need for tax cut decision	B-65
The role of the President	B-67
NIXON	
The special meaning of the American spirit	B-74
On dealing with modern change	B-78
On his strained relationship with Congress	B-82
FORD	
Need for new direction; State of the Union "not good" . . .	B-87
On the proper role and scope of government	B-90

SECTION D

SUBJECT CONTENT ANALYSIS GRAPHS

EXPLANATION OF SUBJECT CONTENT
ANALYSIS GRAPHS

The Subject Content Analysis Graphs depict the coverage of selected subjects in the last 70 State of the Union Messages. The four values on the left axis correspond to the codes contained in Table 1. They are:

0. This subject was not mentioned in this speech.
1. This subject was reviewed or reported on.
2. This subject was a moderately important proposal.
3. This subject was a major proposal.

Thus, if the line graph consistently hovers between values 2 and 3 over a number of years, this issue received much emphasis in those State of the Union Messages. All graphs have the exact same scale permitting the reader to compare different tables. Subjects are paired on each graph to reduce the number of graphs, not necessarily to induce comparison of the two subjects.

The graphs are listed in the following order of subject pairings:

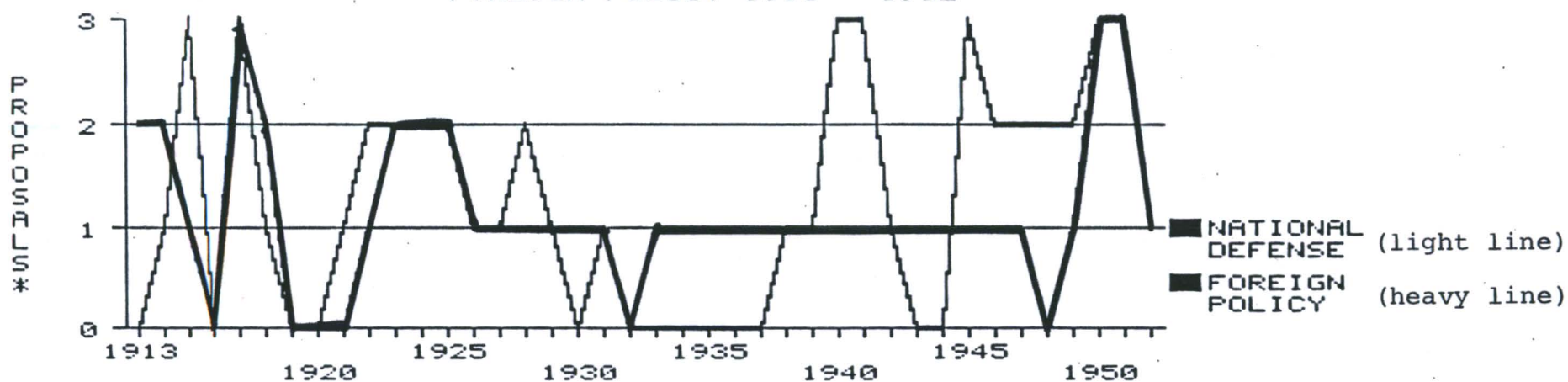
1. National Defense/Foreign Policy
2. Foreign Aid/World Trade Economy
3. Economy/Spending and Taxes
4. Agriculture/Business and Economic Development
5. Natural Resources/Water Resources
6. Environment/Energy
7. Transportation/Shipping
8. Social Security and Welfare/Health
9. Education/Housing
10. Consumer/Labor
11. Civil Rights/Immigration
12. Veterans/Indians
13. Banking and Finance/Law and Judiciary
14. Federal Government/Political System

Not included are the following subjects:

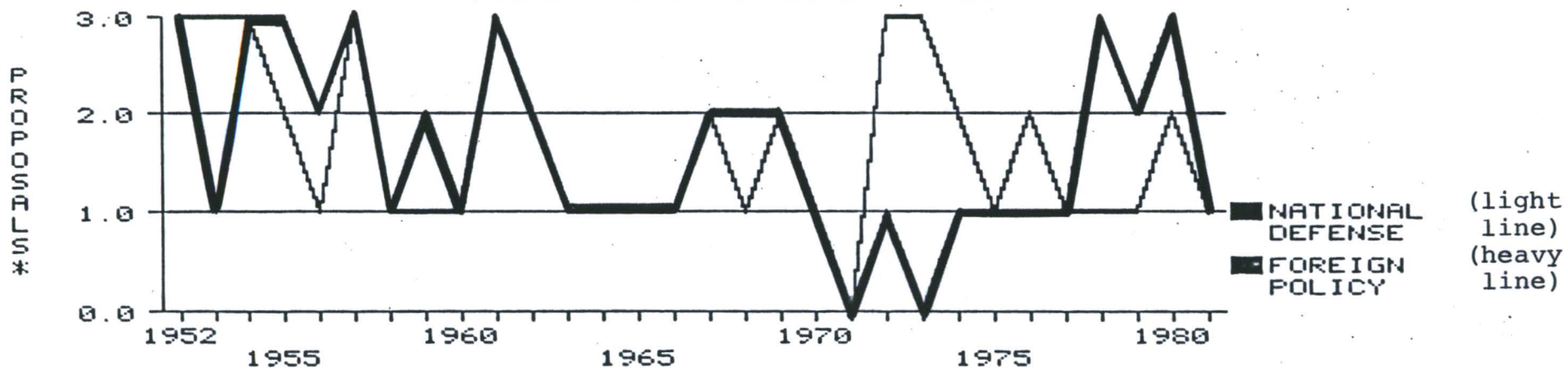
1. Postal Service
2. Science and Technology
3. Communications
4. Arts
5. Federalism and the States
6. Cities
7. Rural Areas
8. Territories and D.C.

While reading the graphs you may find one line disappearing. This is because for that particular instance both lines have the same value and one line is plotted over the other.

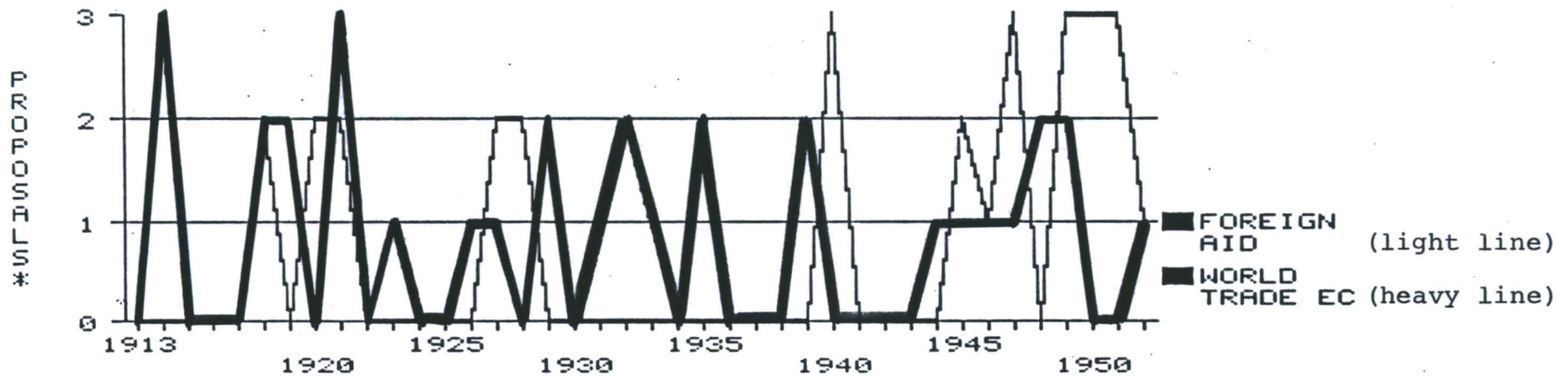
NATIONAL DEFENSE & FOREIGN POLICY: 1913 - 1952



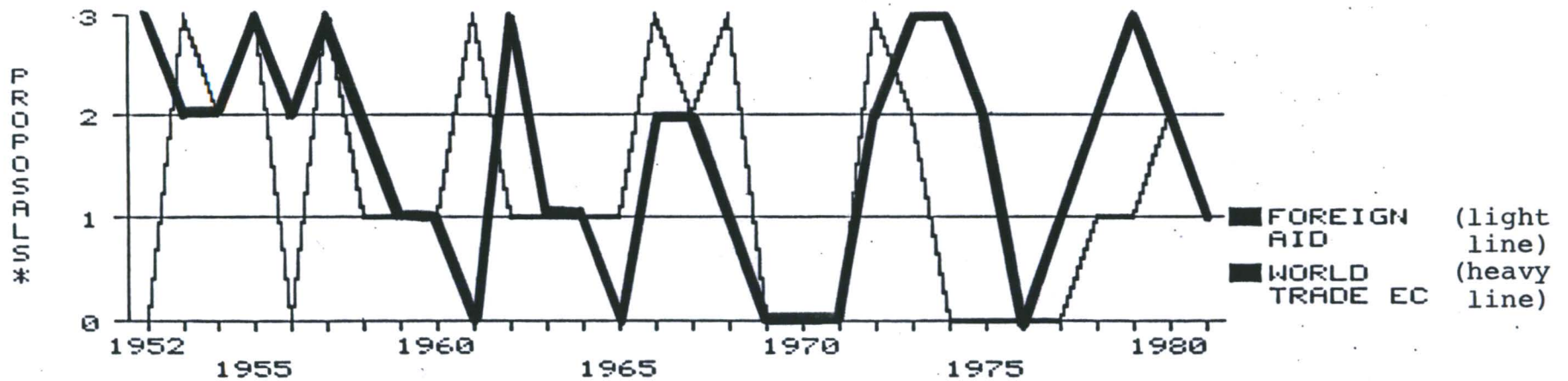
NATIONAL DEFENSE & FOREIGN POLICY: 1952 - 1981



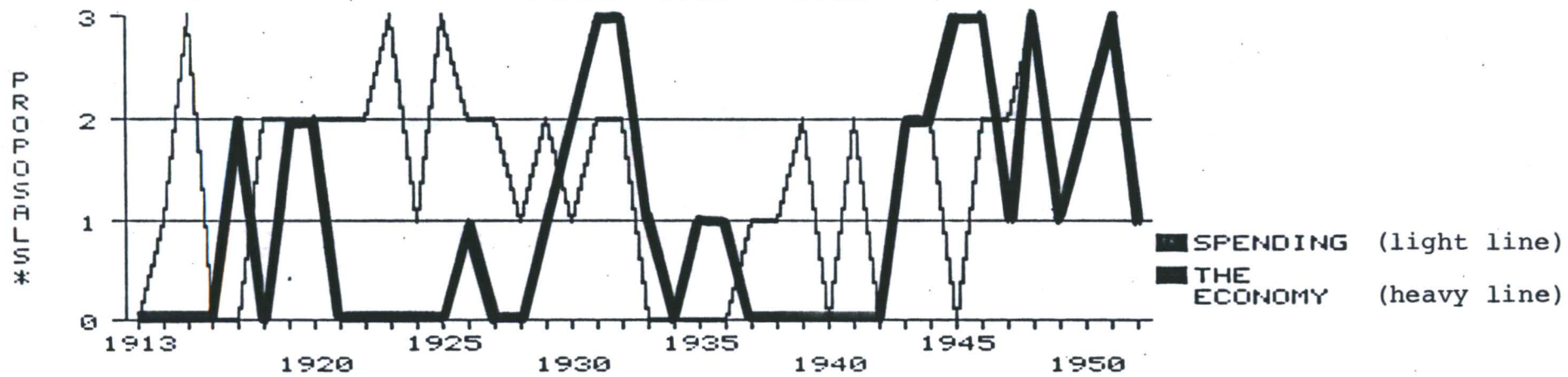
FOREIGN AID & WORLD
TRADE ECONOMY: 1913 - 1952



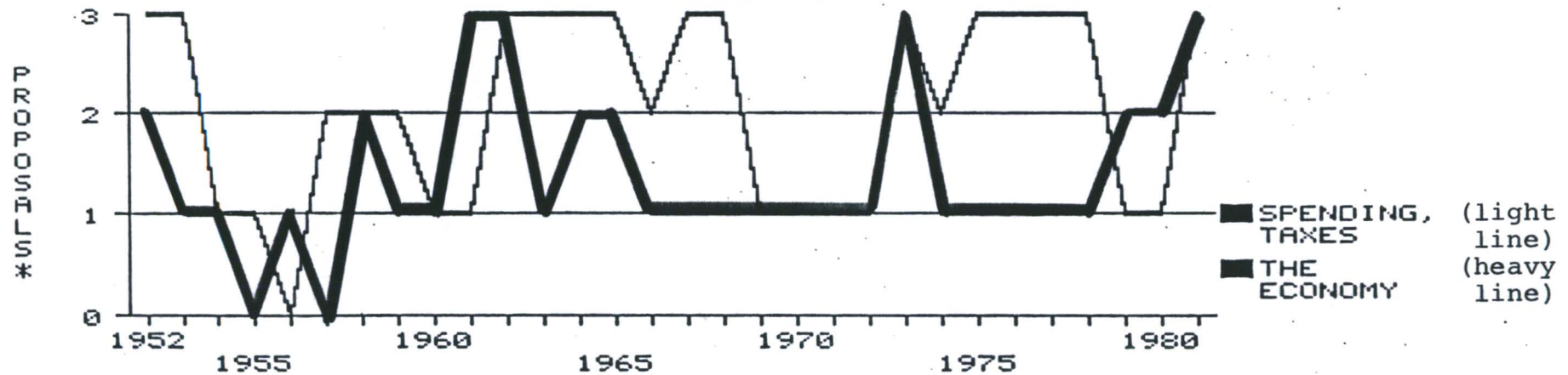
FOREIGN AID & WORLD
TRADE ECONOMY: 1952 - 1981



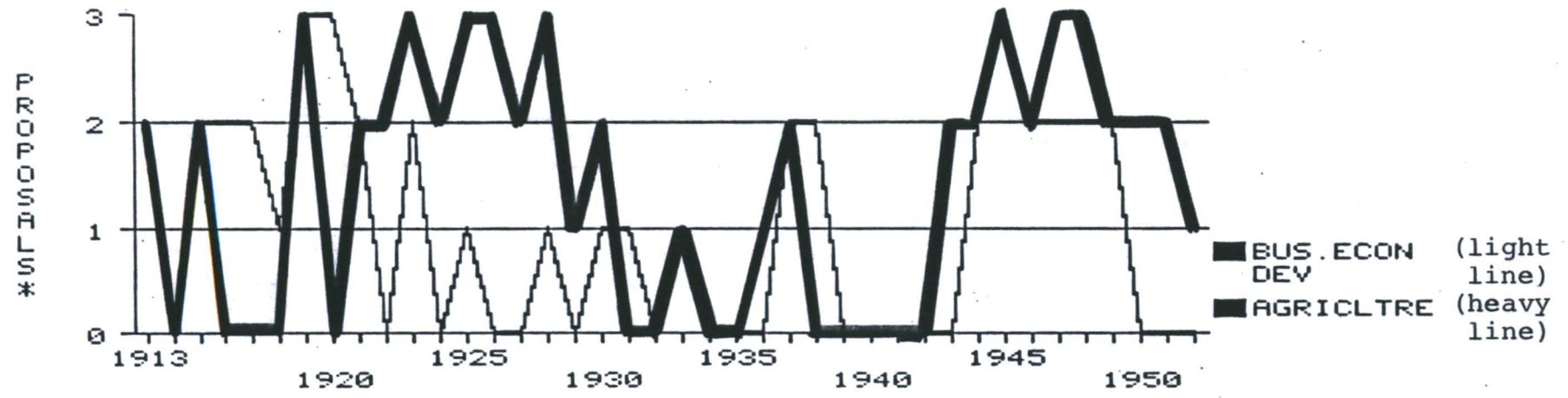
THE ECONOMY, SPENDING &
TAXES: 1913 - 1952



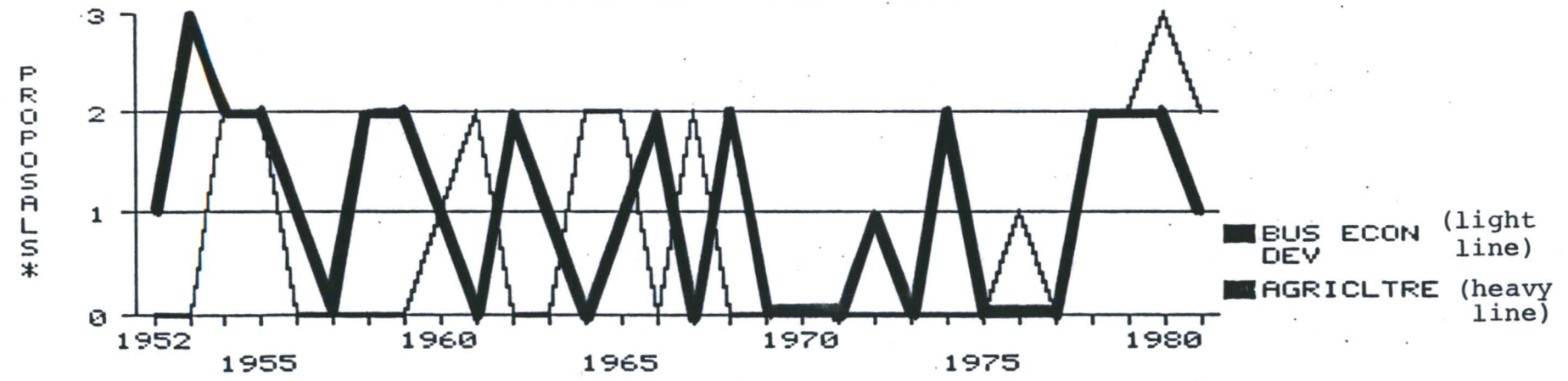
THE ECONOMY, SPENDING &
TAXES: 1952 - 1981



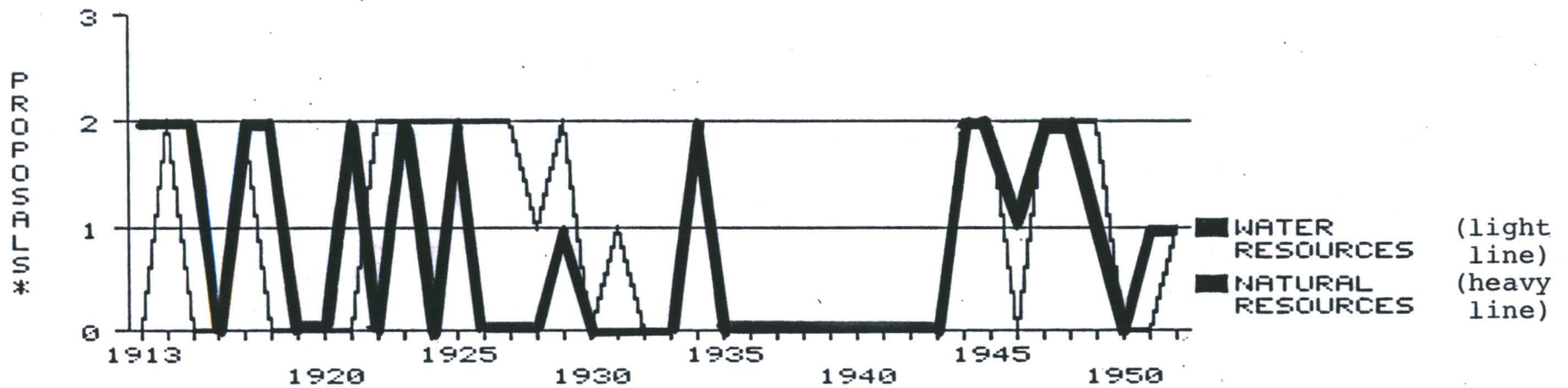
AGRICULTURE, BUSINESS &
ECONOMIC DEV: 1913 - 1952



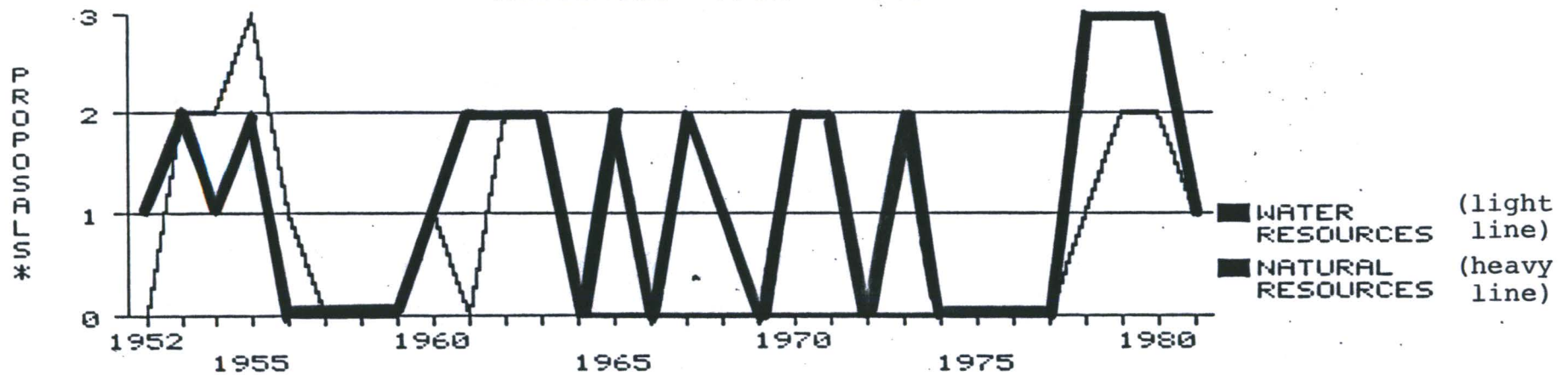
AGRICULTURE, BUSINESS &
ECONOMIC DEV: 1952 - 1981



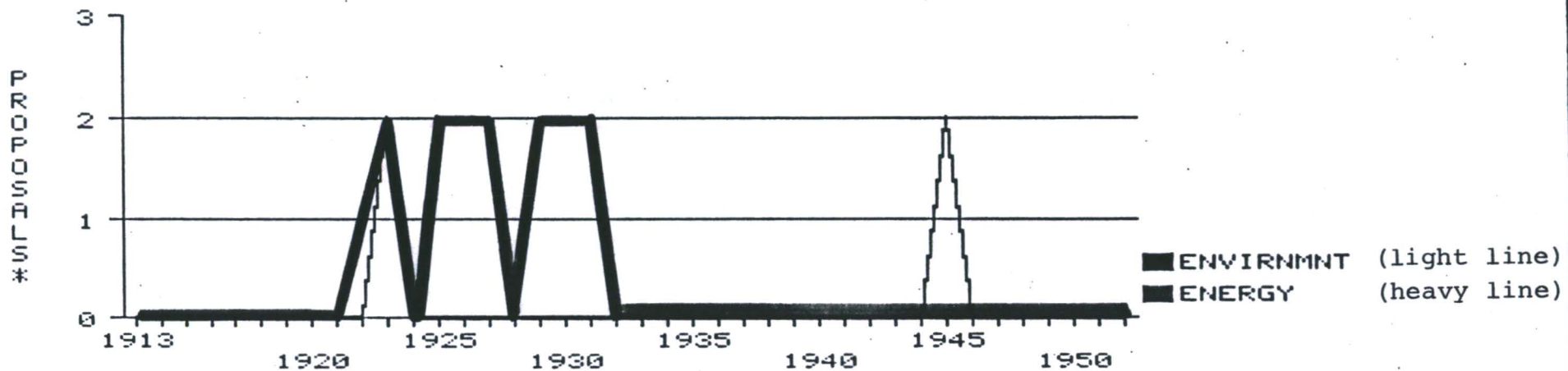
NATURAL & WATER
RESOURCES: 1913 - 1952



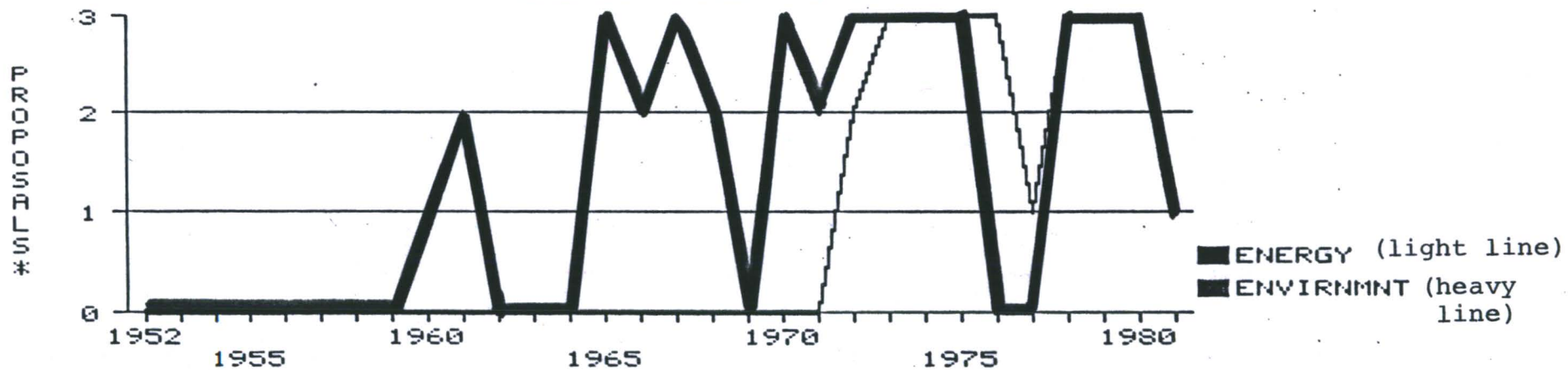
NATURAL & WATER
RESOURCES: 1952 - 1981



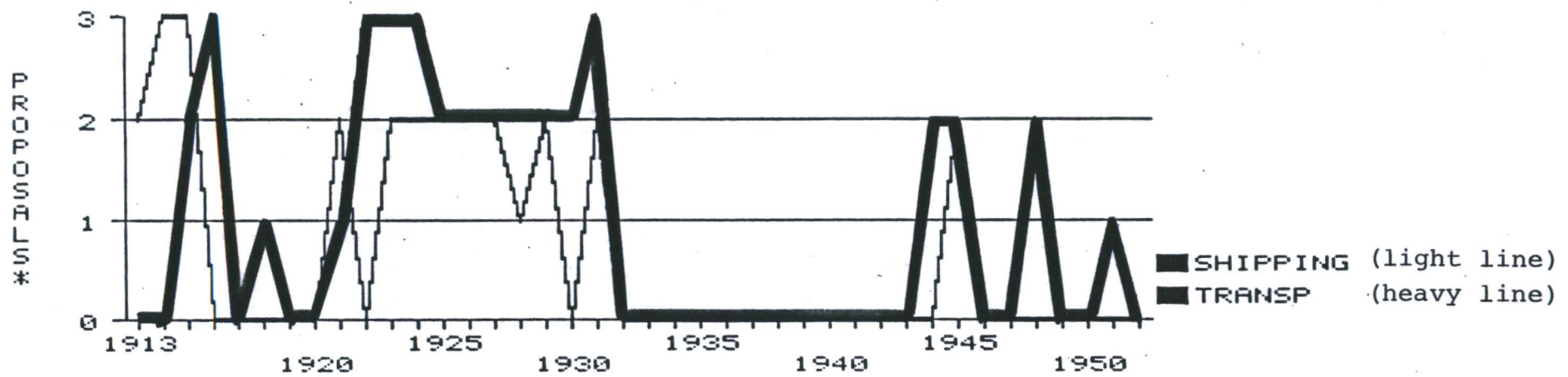
ENVIRONMENT &
ENERGY: 1913 - 1952



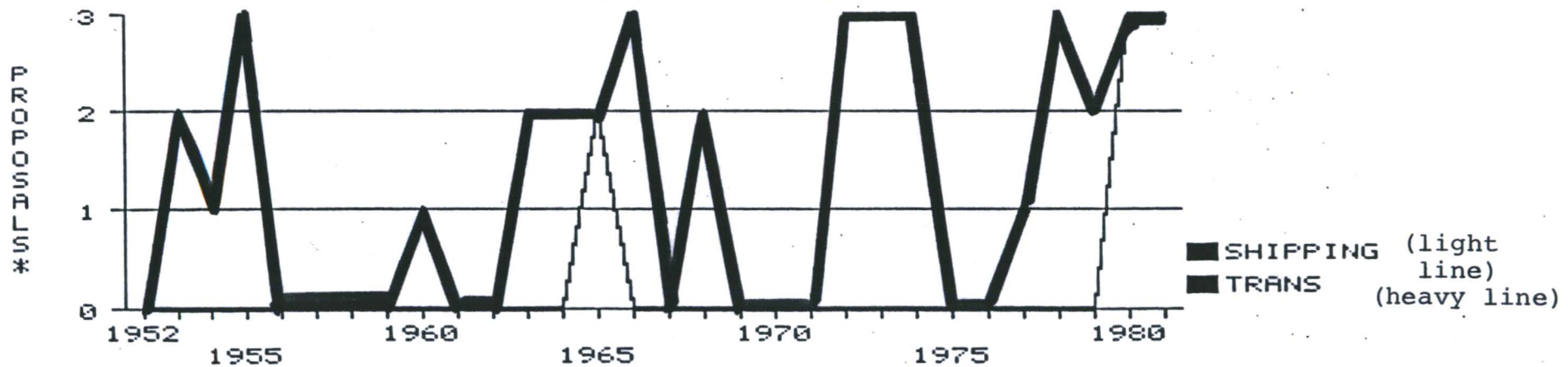
ENVIRONMENT &
ENERGY: 1952 - 1981



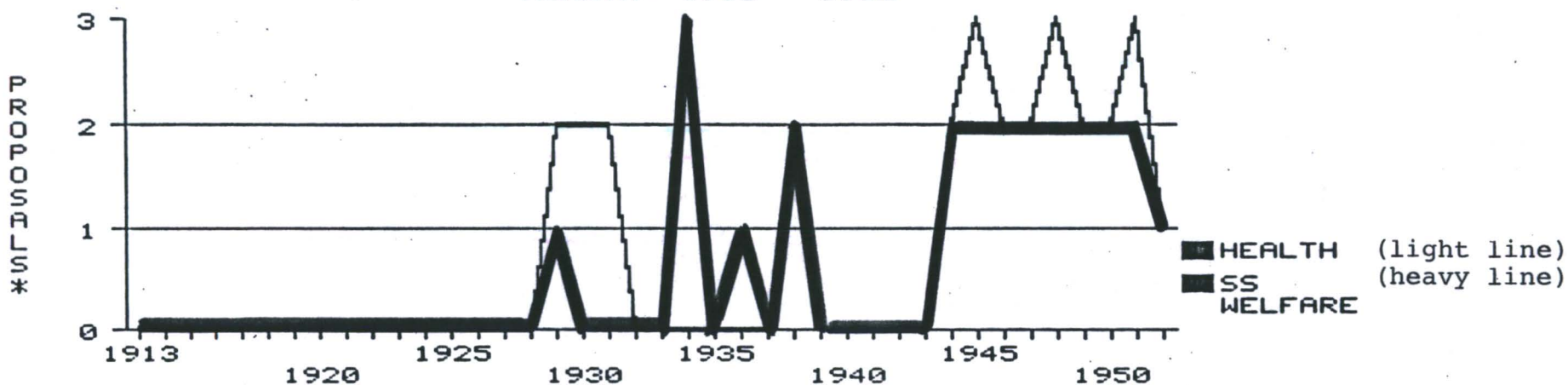
TRANSPORTATION &
SHIPPING: 1913 - 1952



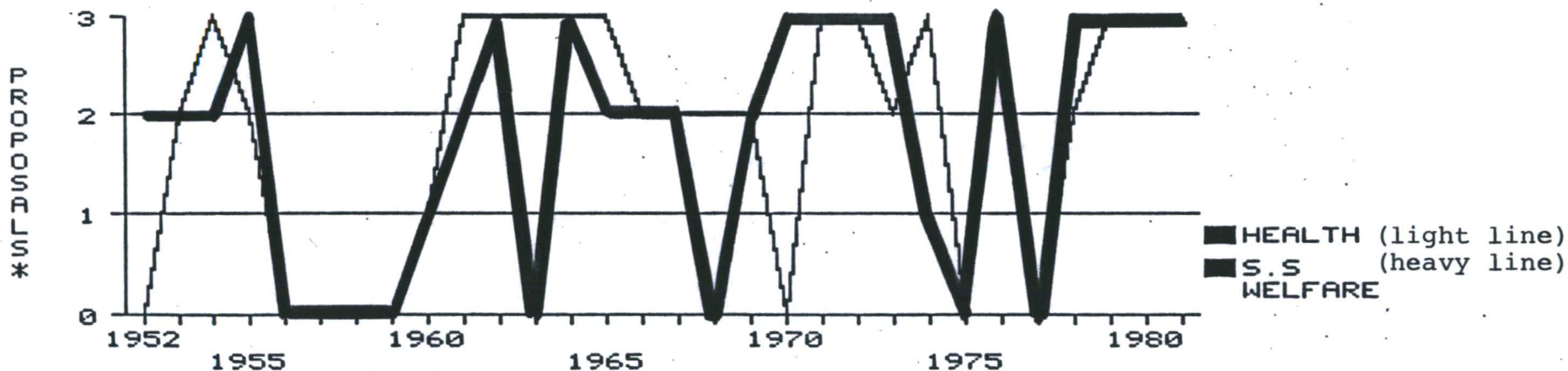
TRANSPORTATION &
SHIPPING: 1952 - 1981



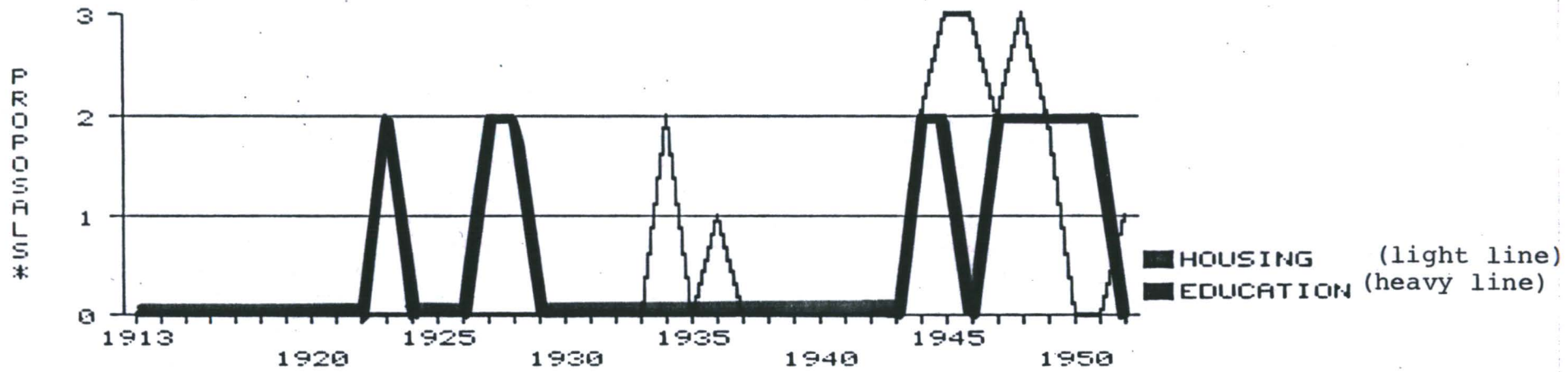
SOCIAL SECURITY, WELFARE &
HEALTH: 1913 - 1952



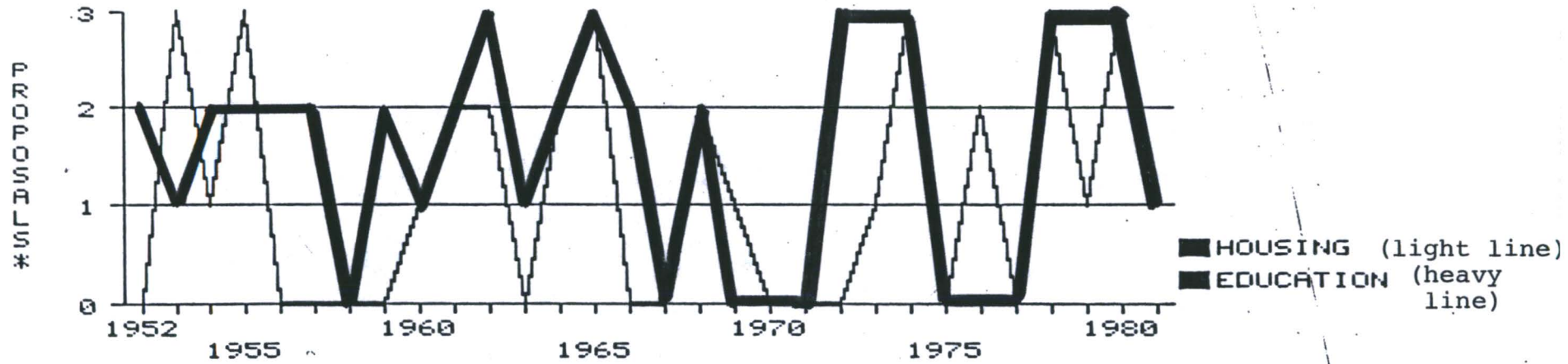
SOCIAL SECURITY, WELFARE &
HEALTH: 1952 - 1981



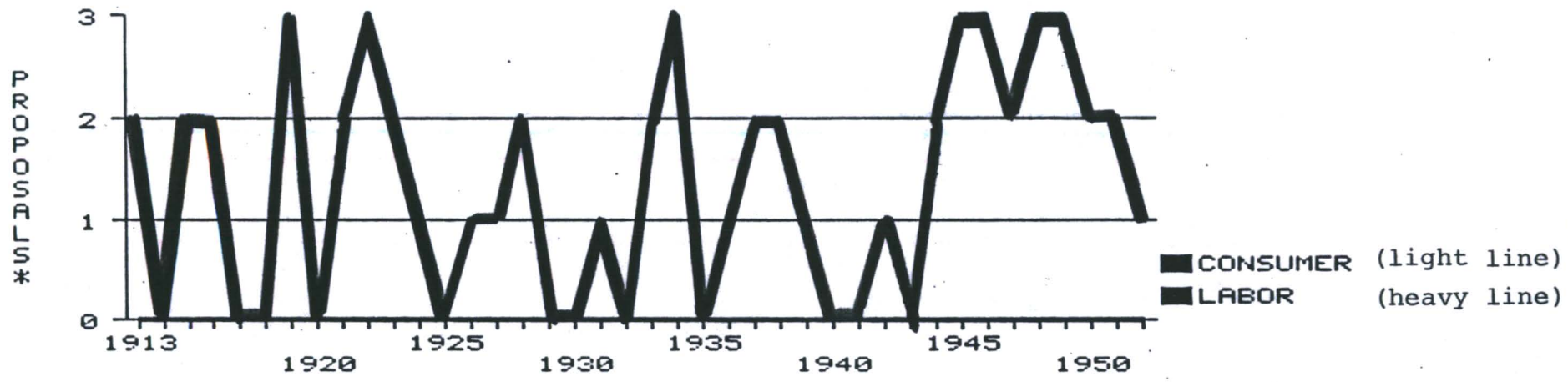
EDUCATION &
HOUSING: 1913 - 1952



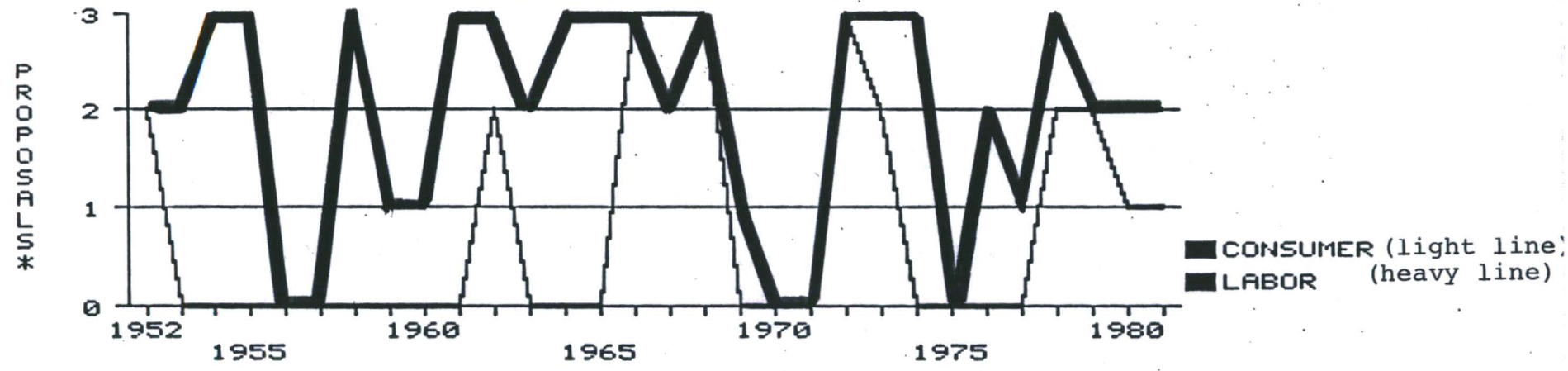
EDUCATION &
HOUSING: 1952 - 1981



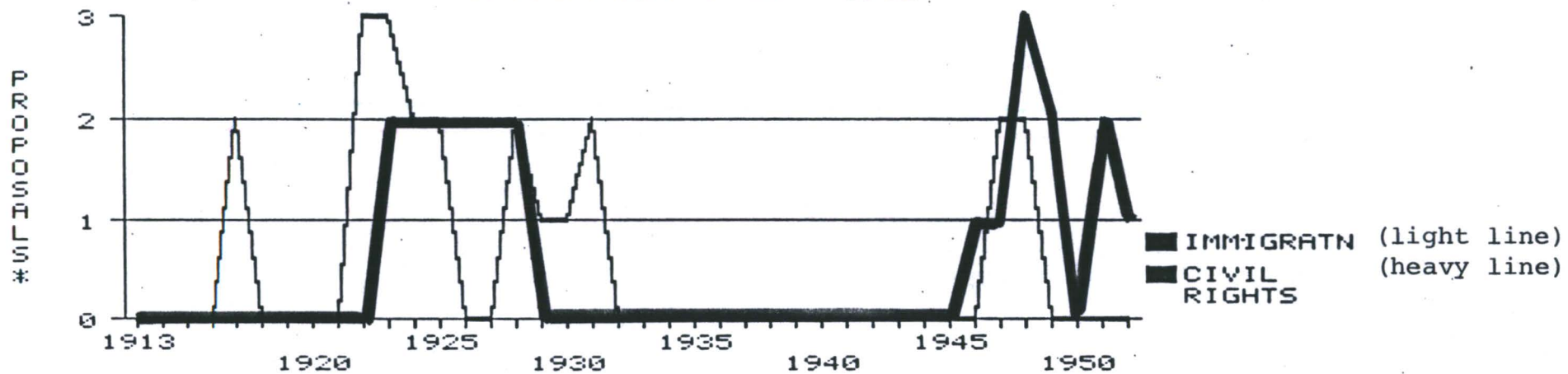
CONSUMER &
LABOR: 1913 - 1952



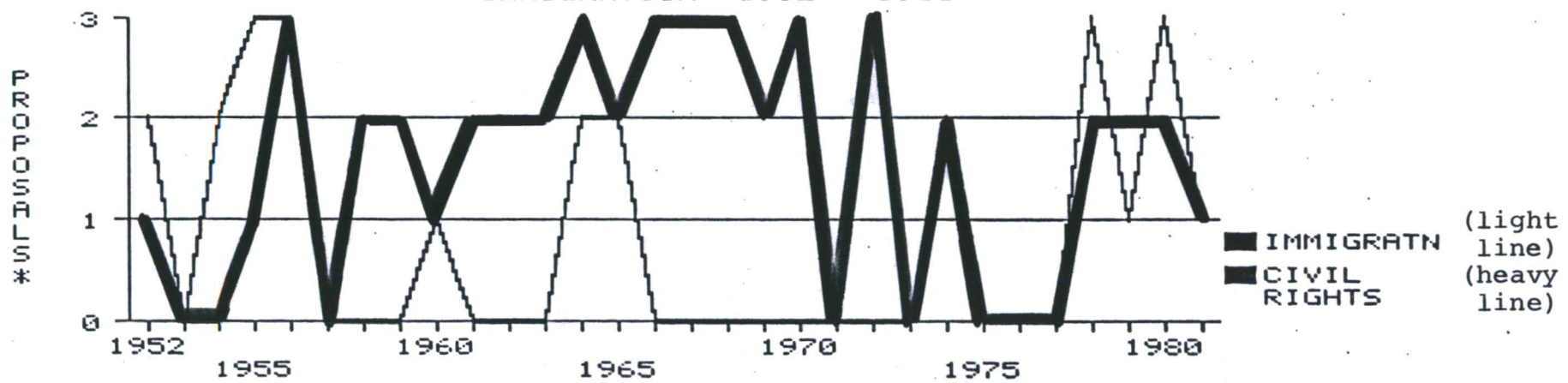
CONSUMER &
LABOR: 1952 - 1981



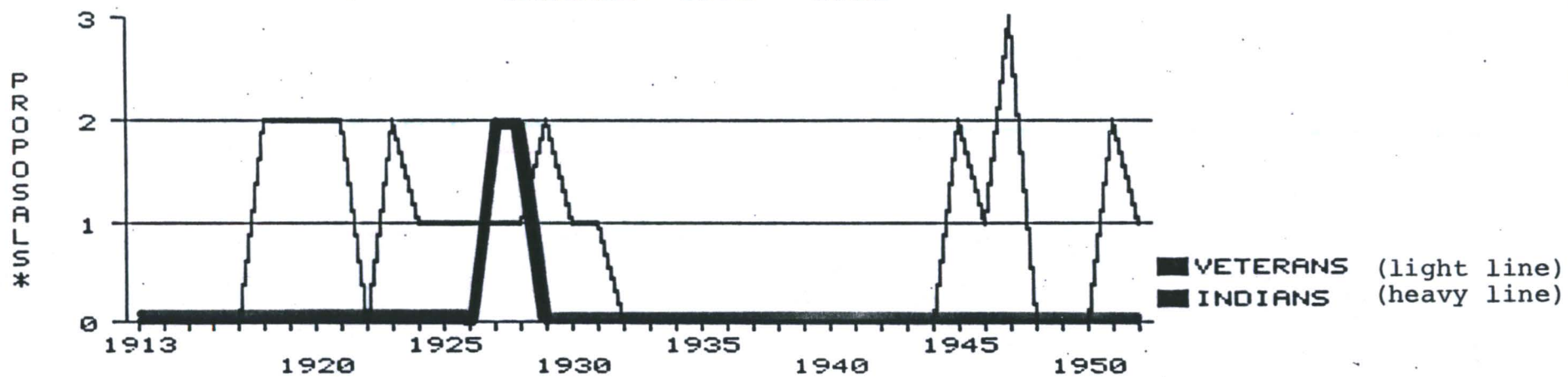
CIVIL RIGHTS & IMMIGRATION: 1913 - 1952



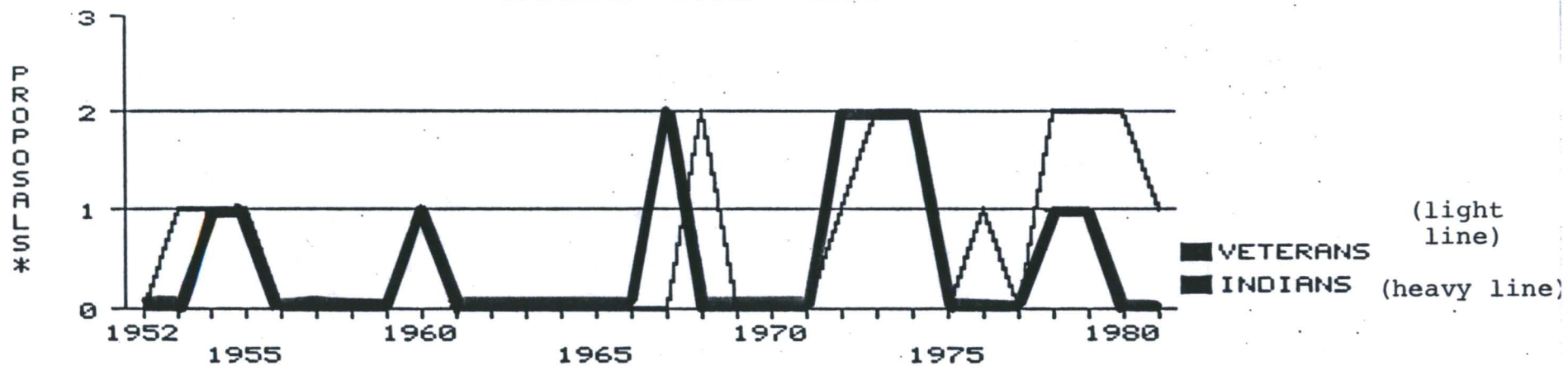
CIVIL RIGHTS & IMMIGRATION: 1952 - 1981



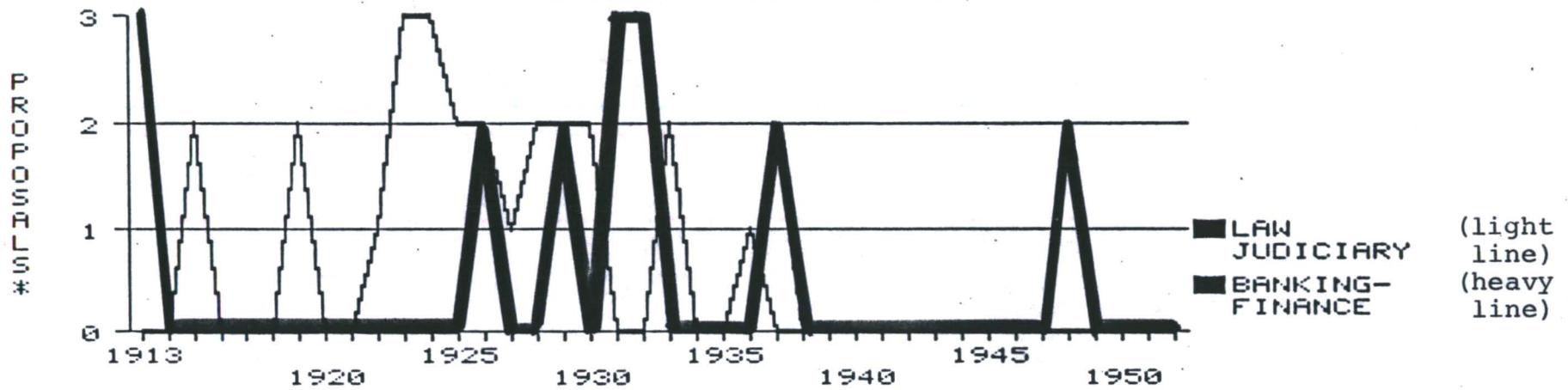
VETERANS & INDIANS: 1913 - 1952



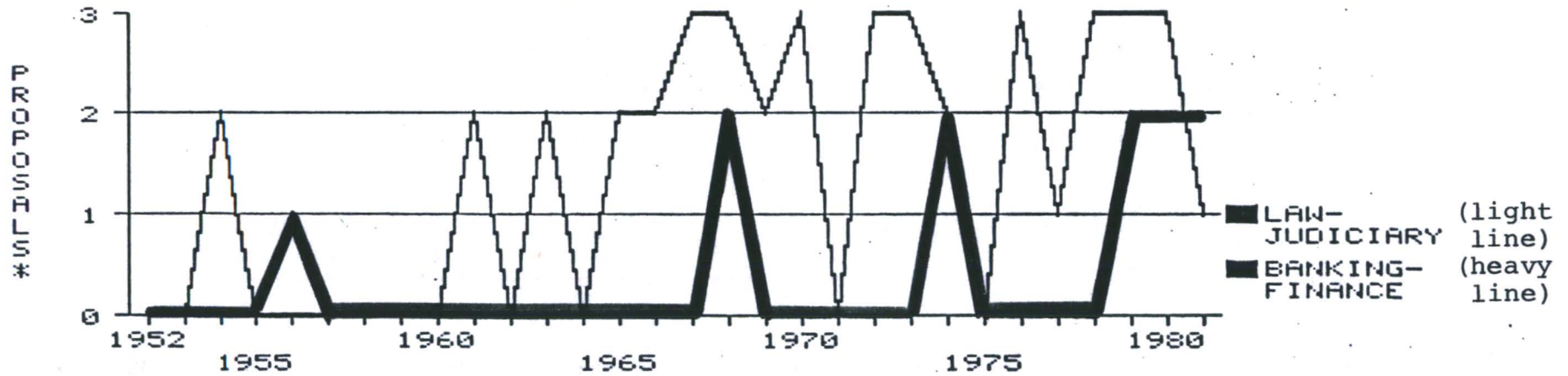
VETERANS & INDIANS: 1952 - 1981



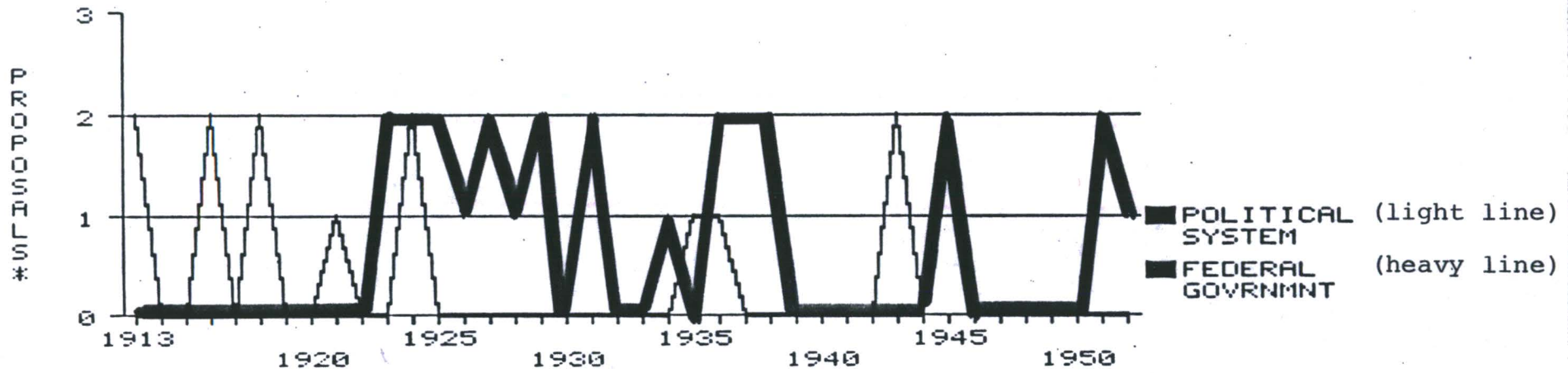
BANKING, FINANCE, LAW
& JUDICIARY: 1913 - 1952



BANKING, FINANCE, LAW
& JUDICIARY: 1952 - 1981



FEDERAL GOVERNMENT & POLITICAL SYSTEM: 1913 - 1952



FEDERAL GOVERNMENT & POLITICAL SYSTEM: 1952 - 1981

