

Text of President's State of the

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19—Following is the prepared text of President Ford's State of the Union Message delivered tonight to a joint session of Congress:

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of the 94th Congress and distinguished guests;

As we begin our Bicentennial, America is still one of the youngest nations in recorded history. Long before our forefathers came to these shores, men and women had been struggling on this planet to forge a better life for themselves and their families.

In man's long upward march from savagery and slavery—throughout the nearly 2,000 years of the Christian calendar, the nearly 6,000 years of Jewish reckoning—there have been many deep, terrifying valleys, but also many bright and towering peaks.

One peak stands highest in the ranges of human history. One example shines forth of a people uniting to produce abundance and to share the good life fairly and in freedom. One union holds out the promise of justice and opportunity for every citizen.

That union is the United States of America.

We have not remade paradise on earth. We know perfection will not be found here. But think for a minute how far we have come in 200 years.

The Common Heritage

We came from many roots and have many branches. Yet all Americans across the eight generations that separate us from the stirring deeds of 1776, those who know no other homeland and those who just found refuge on our shores, say in unison:

I am proud of America and proud to be an American. Life will be better here for my children than for me.

I believe this not because I am told to believe it, but because life has been better for me than it was for my father and my mother.

I know it will be better for my children because my hands, my brains, my voice and my vote, can help make it happen.

And it has happened here in America. It happened to you and to me.

Government exists to create and preserve conditions in which people can translate their ideals into practical reality. In the best of times, much is lost in translation. But we try.

Sometimes we have tried and failed.

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 as an indulgent parent here at home. We thought that we could transform the country through massive national programs.

Often Made Things Worse

—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.

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Union Message Before Joint Session of Congress

—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.

We must introduce a new balance to our economy—a balance that favors not only sound, active government but also a much more vigorous, healthier economy that can create new jobs and hold down prices.

We must introduce a new balance in the relationship between the individual and the Government—a balance that favors greater individual freedom and self-reliance.

Local Responsibilities

We must strike a new balance in our system of federalism—a balance that favors greater responsibility and freedom for the leaders of our state and local governments.

We must introduce a new balance between spending on domestic programs and spending on defense—a balance that insures we fully meet our obligations to the needy while also protecting our security in a world that is still hostile to freedom.

And in all that we do, we must be more honest with the American people; promising them no more than we can deliver, and delivering all that we promise.

The genius of America has been its incredible ability to improve the lives of its citizens through a unique combination of governmental and free citizen activity.

History and experience tell us that moral progress comes not in comfortable and complacent times, but out of trial and confusion. Tom Paine aroused the troubled Americans of 1776 to stand up to the times that try men's souls, because the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph.

A Lot Better in Year

Just a year ago I reported that the state of the union was not good.

Tonight I report that the state of our union is better—in many ways a lot better—but still not good enough.

To paraphrase Tom Paine, 1975 was not a year for summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. It was a year of fears and alarms and of dire forecasts—most of which never happened and won't happen.

As you recall, the year 1975 opened with rancor and bitterness. Political misdeeds of the past had neither been forgotten nor forgiven.

The longest, most divisive war in our history was winding toward an unhappy conclusion. Many feared that the end

of that foreign war of men and machines meant the beginning of a domestic war of recrimination and reprisal.

Friends and adversaries abroad were asking whether America had lost its nerve.

Finally, our economy was ravaged by inflation—inflation that was plunging us into the worst recession in four decades.

At the same time, Americans became increasingly alienated from all big institutions. They were steadily losing confidence not just in big government, but in big business, big labor and big education, among others.

Ours was a troubled land.

Year of New Realism

And so, 1975 was a year of hard decisions, difficult compromises, and a new realism that taught us something important about America.

It brought back a needed measure of common sense, steadfastness and self-discipline. Americans did not panic or demand instant or useless cures. In all sectors people met their difficult problems with restraint and responsibility worthy of their great heritage.

Add up the separate pieces of progress in 1975, subtract the setbacks, and the sum total shows that we are not only headed in the new direction I proposed 12 months ago, but that it turned out to be the right direction.

It is the right direction because it follows the truly revolutionary American concept of 1776 which holds that in a free society, the making of public policy and successful problem-solving involves much more than government. It involves a full partnership among all branches and levels of government, private institutions and individual citizens.

Common sense tells me to stick to that steady course.

Take the state of our economy.

Last January most things were rapidly getting worse.

This January most things are slowly but surely getting better.

The worst recession since World War II turned around in April. The best cost of living news of the past year is that double digit inflation of 12 percent or higher was cut almost in half. The worst—unemployment remains too high.

Being Hired Much Faster

Today nearly 1.7 million more Americans are working than at the bottom of the recession. At year's end people were again being hired much faster than they were being laid off.

Yet let us be honest: Many Americans have not yet felt these changes in their daily lives. They still see prices going up too fast, and they still know the fear of unemployment.

And we are a growing nation. We need more and more jobs every year. Today's economy has produced over 85 million jobs for Americans, but we need a lot more jobs, especially for the young.

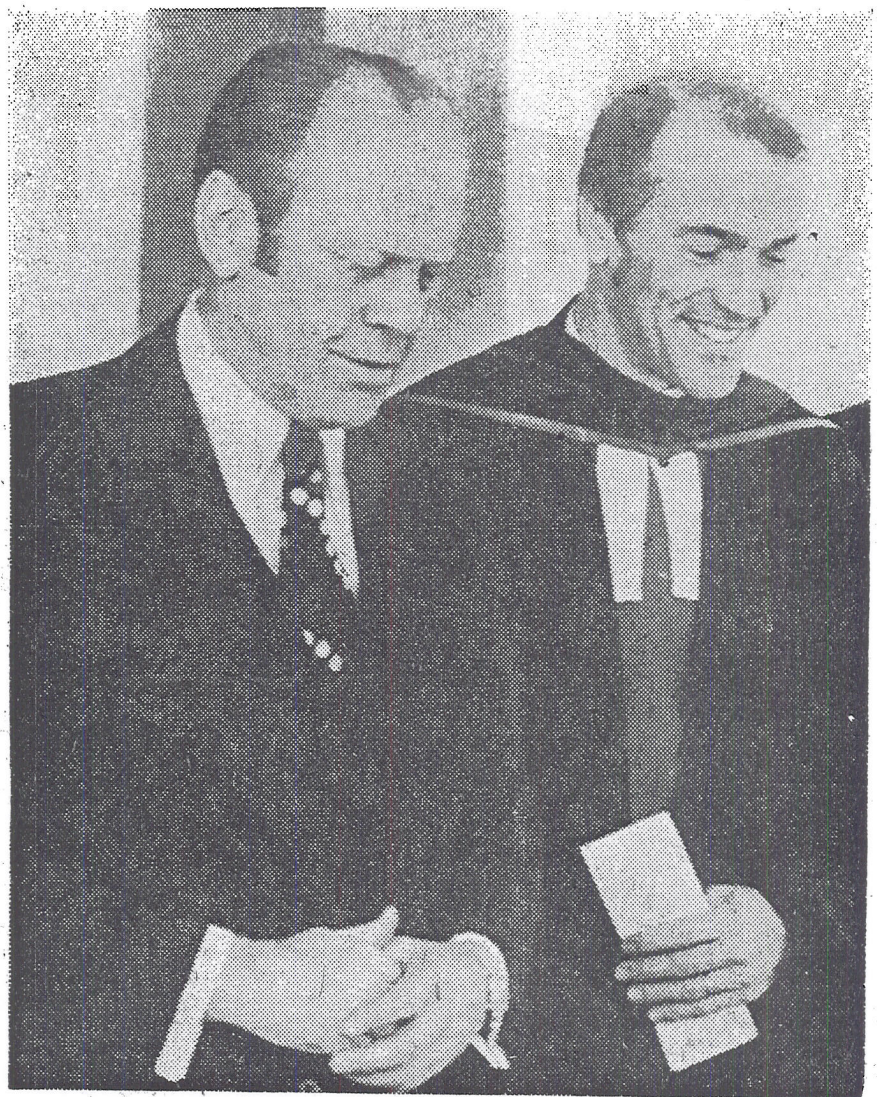
My first objective is to have sound economic growth without inflation.

We all know from recent experience what runaway inflation does to ruin every other worthy purpose. We are slowing it; we must stop it cold.

For many Americans the way to a healthy noninflationary economy has become increasingly apparent; the Government must stop spending so much and borrowing so much of our money; more money must remain in private hands where it will do the most good. To hold down the cost of living, we must hold down the cost of government.

Cutting Budget Growth

In the past decade, the Federal budget has been growing at an average rate of over 10 percent every year. The budget I am submitting Wednesday cuts this rate of growth in half. I have kept my promise to submit a budget for the next fiscal year of \$395 billion. In fact, it is \$394.2 billion.



The New York Times

President Ford and the Rev. Louis Evans leaving National Presbyterian Church in Washington after a service for the reconvening of Congress.

Job for Every American

One test of a healthy economy is a job for every American who wants to work.

Government—our kind of government—cannot create that many jobs. But the Federal Government can create conditions and incentives for private business and industry to make more and more jobs.

Five out of six jobs in this country are in private business and industry. Common sense tells us this is the place to look for more jobs and to find them faster.

I mean real, rewarding, permanent jobs.

To achieve this we must offer the American people greater incentives to invest in the future. My tax proposals are a major step in that direction.

To supplement these proposals, I ask that Congress enact changes in Federal tax laws that will speed up plant expansion and the purchase of new equipment. My recommendation will concentrate this job-creation tax incentive in areas where the unemployment rate now runs over 7 percent. Legislation to get this started must be approved at the earliest possible date.

Within the strict budget total I will recommend for the coming year, I will ask for additional housing assistance.

for 500,000 families. These programs will expand housing opportunities, spur construction and help to house moderate and low income families.

We had a disappointing year in the housing industry in 1975 but it is improving. With lower interest rates and available mortgage money, we can have a healthy recovery in 1976.

Tyranny of Massive Regulation

A necessary condition to a healthy economy is freedom from the petty tyranny of massive Government regulation. We are wasting literally millions of working hours costing billions of consumers' dollars because of bureaucratic red tape. The American farmer, who not only feeds 215 million Americans but also millions worldwide, has shown how much more he can produce without the shackles of Government control.

Now, we need reforms in other key areas in our economy—the airlines, trucking, railroads and financial institutions. I have concrete plans in each of these areas, not to help this or that industry, but to foster competition and to bring prices down for the consumer.

This Administration will strictly enforce the Federal antitrust laws for the same purpose.

Taking a longer look at America's future, there can be neither sustained growth nor more jobs unless we continue to have an assured supply of energy to run our economy. Domestic production of oil and gas is still declining. Our dependence on foreign oil at high prices is still too great, draining jobs and dollars away from our own economy at the rate of \$125 per year for every American.

Last month I signed a compromise national energy bill which enacts a part of my comprehensive energy independence program. This legislation was late in coming, not the complete answer to energy independence, but still a start in the right direction.

Rest of Energy Proposals

I again urge the Congress to move ahead immediately on the remainder of my energy proposals to make America invulnerable to the foreign oil cartel. My proposals would:

☐ Reduce domestic natural gas shortages.

☐ Allow production from national petroleum reserves.

☐ Stimulate effective conservation, including revitalization of our railroads and the expansion of our urban transportation systems.

☐ Develop more and cleaner energy from our vast coal resources.

☐ Expedite clean and safe nuclear power production.

☐ Create a new national energy independence authority to stimulate vital energy investment.

☐ And accelerate development of technology to capture energy from the sun and the earth for this and future generations.

Also for the sake of future generations we must preserve the family farm and family-owned small businesses. Both strengthen America and give stability to our economy.

I will propose estate tax changes so that family businesses and family farms can be handed down from generation to generation without having to be sold to pay taxes.

I propose tax changes to encourage people to invest in America's future, and their own, through a plan that gives moderate income families income tax benefits if they make long-term investments in common stock in American companies.

Costly Medical Services

The Federal Government must and will respond to clearcut national needs—for this and future generations.

Hospital and medical services in America are among the world's best but the cost of a serious and extended illness can quickly wipe out a family's lifetime savings. Increasing health costs are of deep concern to all and a powerful force pushing up the cost of living.

The burden of a catastrophic illness can be borne by very few in our society. We must eliminate this fear from every family.

I propose catastrophic health insurance for everybody covered by Medicare. To finance this added protection, fees for short-term care will go up somewhat, but nobody after reaching

age 65 will have to pay more than \$300 a year for covered hospital or nursing home care nor more than \$250 for one year's doctors' bills.

We cannot realistically afford federally dictated national health insurance providing full coverage for all 215 million Americans. The experience of other countries raises questions about the quality as well as the cost of such plans. But I do envision the day when we may use the private health insurance system to offer more middle income families high quality health services at prices they can afford and shield them also from catastrophic illnesses.

Those Really Needing It

Using the resources now available, I propose improving the Medicare and other Federal health programs to help those who really need more protection: older people and the poor. To help states and local governments give better health care to the poor I propose that we combine 16 existing Federal programs including Medicaid into a single \$10 billion Federal grant.

Funds would be divided among the states under a new formula which provides a larger share of Federal money to those states that have a larger share of low income families.

I will take further steps to improve the quality of medical and hospital care for those who have served in our armed forces.

Now let me speak about Social Security.

Our Federal Social Security system for people who have worked hard and contributed to it all their lives is a vital part of our economic system. Its value is no longer debatable. In my budget for fiscal year 1977 I am recommending that the full cost of living increase in Social Security benefits be paid during the coming year.

But I am concerned about the integrity of our Social Security trust fund that enables people—those retired and those still working who will retire—to count on this source of retirement income. Younger workers watch their deduction rise and wonder if they will be adequately protected in the future. We must meet this challenge head-on.

Fund Headed for Trouble

Simple arithmetic warns all of us that the Social Security trust fund is headed for trouble. Unless we act soon to make sure the fund takes in as much as it pays out, there will be no security for old or young.

I must therefore recommend a three-tenths of 1 percent increase in both employer and employee Social Security taxes effective Jan. 1, 1977. This will cost each covered employee less than one extra dollar a week and will insure the integrity of the trust fund.

As we build our economy, we have a continuing responsibility to provide a temporary cushion to the unemployed. At my request the Congress enacted two extensions and expansions in unemployment insurance which helped those who were jobless during 1975. These programs will continue in 1976.

In my fiscal 1977, I am also requesting funds to continue proven job training and employment opportunity programs for millions of other Americans.

Compassion and a sense of community—two of America's greatest strengths throughout our history—tell us we must take care of our neighbors who cannot take care of themselves. The host of Federal programs in this field reflect our generosity as a people.

But everyone realizes that when it comes to welfare, government at all levels is not doing the job well. Too many of our welfare programs are inequitable and invite abuse. Worse, we are wasting badly needed resources without reaching many of the truly needy.

Can't Walk Away

Complex welfare programs cannot be reformed overnight. Surely we cannot simply dump welfare into the laps of the 50 states, their local taxpayers or private charities, and just walk away from it. Nor is it the right time for massive and sweeping changes while we are still recovering from a recession.

Nevertheless, there are still plenty of improvements we can make. I will ask Congress for Presidential authority to tighten up rules for eligibility and benefits.

Last year I twice sought long-over-

due reform of the scandal-riddled food stamp program. This year I say again: Let's give food stamps to those most in need. Let's not give any to those who don't need them.

Protecting the life and property of the citizen at home is the responsibility of all public officials but is primarily the job of local and state law enforcement authorities.

Americans have always found the very thought of a Federal police force repugnant and so do I. But there are proper ways in which we can help to insure domestic tranquillity as the Constitution charges us.

My recommendations on how to control violent crime were submitted to the Congress last June with strong emphasis on protecting the innocent victims of crime.

To keep a convicted criminal from committing more crimes we must put him in prison so he cannot harm more law-abiding citizens. To be effective, this punishment must be swift and certain.

Too often criminals are not sent to prison after conviction but are allowed to return to the streets.

Some judges are reluctant to send convicted criminals to prison because of inadequate prison facilities. To alleviate this problem at the Federal level, my new budget proposes the construction of four new Federal facilities.

For More U.S. Attorneys

To speed Federal justice, I propose an increase this year in U.S. attorneys prosecuting Federal crimes and reinforcement of the number of U.S. marshals.

Additional Federal judges are needed, as recommended by me and the Judicial Conference.

Principal Alliances Solid

Our principal alliances, with the industrial democracies of the Atlantic Community and Japan, have never been more solid.

—A further agreement to limit the strategic arms race may be achieved.

—We have an improving relationship with China, the world's most populous nation.

—The key elements for peace among the nations of the Middle East now exist.

—Our traditional friendships in Latin America, Africa, and Asia continue.

—We have taken the role of leadership in launching a serious and hopeful dialogue between the industrial world and the developing world.

—We have achieved significant reform of the international monetary system.

We should be proud of what the United States has accomplished.

The American people have heard too much about how terrible our mistakes, how evil our deeds, and how misguided our purposes. The American people know better.

The truth is we are the world's greatest democracy. We remain the symbol of man's aspirations for liberty and well-being. We are the embodiment of hope for progress.

I say it is time we quit downgrading ourselves as a nation. Of course, it is our responsibility to learn the right lessons from past mistakes. It is our duty to see that they never happen again. But our greater duty is to look to the future. The world's troubles will no go away.

For Strong Policies

The American people want strong and effective international and defense policies.

In our constitutional system, these policies should reflect consultation and accommodation between the President and Congress. But in the final analysis, as the framers of our Constitution knew from hard experience, the foreign relations of the United States can be conducted effectively only if there is strong central direction that allows flexibility of action. That responsibility clearly rests with the President.

I pledge to the American people policies which seek a secure, just, and peaceful world. I pledge to the Congress—to work with you to that end.

We must not face a future in which we can no longer help our friends, such as in Angola—even in limited and carefully controlled ways. We must not lose all capacity to respond short of military intervention. Some hasty actions of the Congress during the past year—most recently in respect to Angola—were in my view very shortsighted. Unfortunately, they are still very much on the minds of our allies and our adversaries.

A strong defense posture gives weight to our values and our views in international negotiations; it assures the vigor of our alliances; and it sustains our efforts to promote settlements of international conflicts. Only from a position of strength can we negotiate a balanced agreement to limit the growth of nuclear arms. Only a balanced agreement will serve our interest and minimize the threat of nuclear confrontation.

Rise in Defense Budget

The defense budget I will submit to Congress for fiscal 1977 will show an essential increase over last year. It provides for a real growth in purchasing power over last year's defense budget, which includes the costs of our all-volunteer force.

We are continuing to make economies to enhance the efficiency of our military forces. But the budget I will submit represents the necessity of American strength for the real world in which we live.

As conflict and rivalries persist in the world, our United States intelligence capabilities must be the best in the world.

The crippling of our foreign intelligence services increases the danger of American involvement in direct armed conflict. Our adversaries are encouraged to attempt new adventures, while our own ability to monitor events, and to influence events short of military action—is undermined.

Without effective intelligence capability, the United States stands blindfolded and hobbled.

In the near future, I will take actions to reform and strengthen our intelligence community. I ask for your positive cooperation. It is time to go beyond sensationalism and insure an effective, responsible and responsive intelligence capability.

Tonight I have poken of our problems at home and abroad. I have recommended policies that will meet the challenge of our third century.

I have no doubt that our union will endure—better, stronger and with more individual freedom.

To a Better Future

We can see forward only dimly—one year, five years, a generation perhaps. Like our forefathers, we know that if we meet the challenges of our own time with a common sense of purpose and conviction—if we remain true to our Constitution and our ideals—then we can know that the future will be better than the past.

I see America today crossing a threshold, not just because it is our Bicentennial, but because we have been tested in adversity. We have taken a new look at what we want to be and what we want our nation to become.

I see America resurgent, certain once again that life will be better for our children than it is for us, seeking strength that cannot be counted in megatons and riches that cannot be eroded by inflation.

I see these United States of America moving forward as before toward a more perfect union where the Government serves and the people rule.

We will not make this happen simply by making speeches, good or bad, yours or mine, but by hard work and hard decisions made with courage and common sense.

I have heard many inspiring Presidential speeches, but the words I remember best were spoken by Dwight D. Eisenhower.

"America is not good because it is great," the President said. "America is great because it is good."

President Eisenhower was raised in a poor but religious home in the heart of America. His simple words echoed President Lincoln's eloquent testament that "right makes might." And Lincoln in turn evoked the silent image of George Washington kneeling in prayer at Valley Forge.

So all these magic memories, which link eight generations of Americans, are summed up in the inscription just above me.

How many times have we seen it?—"In God We Trust."

Let us engrave it now in each of our hearts as we begin our Bicentennial.

Another major threat to every American's person and property is the criminal carrying a handgun. The way to cut down on the criminal use of guns is not to take guns away from the law-abiding citizen but to impose mandatory sentences for crimes in which a gun is used, make it harder to obtain cheap guns for criminal purposes, and concentrate gun control enforcement in high crime areas.

My budget recommends 500 additional Federal agents in the 11 largest metropolitan high crime areas to help local authorities stop criminals from selling and using handguns.

The sale of hard drugs is on the increase again. I have directed all agencies of the Federal Government to step up enforcement efforts against those who deal in drugs. In 1975, Federal agents seized substantially more heroin coming into our country than in 1974.

I recommended months ago that the Congress enact mandatory fixed sentences for persons convicted of Federal crimes involving the sale of hard drugs. Hard drugs degrade the spirit as they destroy the body of their users.

Local Responsibility

It is unrealistic and misleading to hold out the hope that the Federal Government can move into every neighborhood and clean up crime. Under the Constitution, the greatest responsibility for curbing crime lies with state and local authorities. They are the frontline fighters in the war against crime.

There are definite ways in which the Federal Government can help them. I will propose in the new budget that the Congress authorize almost \$7 billion over the next five years to assist state and local governments to protect the safety and property of all citizens.

As President I pledge the strict enforcement of Federal laws and—by example, support and leadership—to help state and local authorities enforce their laws. Together we must protect the victim of crime and insure domestic tranquility.

Last year I strongly recommended a five-year extension of the existing revenue-sharing legislation which thus far has provided \$19 billion to help state and local units of government solve problems at home. This program has been effective with decision making transferred from the Federal Government to locally elected officials. Congress must act this year or state and local units of government will have to drop programs or raise local taxes.

Consolidating Programs

Including my health care reforms, I propose to consolidate some 59 separate Federal programs and provide flexible Federal dollar grants to help states, cities and local agencies in such important areas as education, child nutrition and social services. This flexible system will do the job better and do it closer to home.

The protection of the lives and property of Americans from foreign enemies is one of my primary responsibilities as President.

In a world of instant communications and intercontinental missiles, in a world economy that is global and interdependent, our relations with other nations become more, not less, important to the lives of Americans.

America has had a unique role in the world since the day of our independence 200 years ago. And ever since the end of World War II, we have borne—successfully—a heavy responsibility for insuring a stable world order and hope for human progress.

Today, the state of our foreign policy is sound and strong.

—We are at peace—and I will do all in my power to keep it that way.

—Our military forces are capable and ready; our military power is without equal. And I intend to keep it that way.