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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

MR. SPEAKER, / MR. VICE PRESIDENT, / MEMBERS OF THE

95th CONGRESS AND DISTINGUISHED GUESTS: /

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION, I COME BEFORE

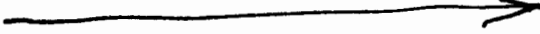
YOU ONCE AGAIN TO REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE UNION.

THIS REPORT WILL BE MY LAST.

BUT FOR THE UNION...

MAYBE

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BUT FOR THE UNION, IT IS ONLY THE FIRST OF SUCH  
REPORTS IN OUR THIRD CENTURY OF INDEPENDENCE, / THE CLOSE  
OF WHICH NONE OF US WILL SEE. WE CAN BE CONFIDENT,  
HOWEVER, THAT 100 YEARS FROM NOW A FREELY ELECTED  
PRESIDENT WILL COME BEFORE A FREELY CHOSEN CONGRESS TO RENEW  
OUR GREAT REPUBLIC'S PLEDGE TO GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE,  
BY THE PEOPLE, FOR THE PEOPLE. 

FOR MY PART, I PRAY THE THIRD CENTURY WE ARE  
BEGINNING WILL BRING TO ALL AMERICANS, OUR CHILDREN  
AND THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN, A GREATER MEASURE  
OF INDIVIDUAL EQUALITY, OPPORTUNITY AND JUSTICE,  
A GREATER ABUNDANCE OF SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL BLESSINGS,  
AND A HIGHER QUALITY OF LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT  
OF HAPPINESS. →

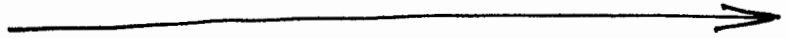
THE STATE OF THE UNION IS A MEASUREMENT OF THE MANY  
ELEMENTS OF WHICH IT IS COMPOSED - A POLITICAL UNION  
OF DIVERSE STATES, AN ECONOMIC UNION OF VARYING INTERESTS,  
AN INTELLECTUAL UNION OF COMMON CONVICTIONS AND A MORAL  
UNION OF IMMUTABLE IDEALS.

TAKEN IN SUM, I CAN REPORT THAT THE STATE OF THE UNION

IS GOOD. / THERE IS ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT AS ALWAYS,

BUT TODAY WE HAVE A MORE PERFECT UNION THAN WHEN MY

STEWARDSHIP BEGAN.



AS A PEOPLE, WE DISCOVERED THAT OUR BICENTENNIAL  
WAS MUCH MORE THAN A CELEBRATION OF THE PAST; IT BECAME  
A JOYOUS REAFFIRMATION OF ALL THAT IT MEANS TO BE AMERICANS,  
A CONFIRMATION BEFORE ALL THE WORLD OF THE VITALITY AND  
DURABILITY OF OUR FREE INSTITUTIONS. →

I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN PRIVILEGED TO PRESIDE OVER  
THE AFFAIRS OF OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DURING THESE EVENTFUL  
YEARS WHEN WE PROVED, AS I SAID IN MY FIRST WORDS UPON  
ASSUMING OFFICE, THAT "OUR CONSTITUTION WORKS; OUR  
GREAT REPUBLIC IS A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS AND NOT OF MEN;  
HERE, THE PEOPLE RULE." →



THE PEOPLE HAVE SPOKEN; THEY HAVE CHOSEN A NEW  
PRESIDENT AND A NEW CONGRESS TO WORK THEIR WILL;  
I CONGRATULATE YOU -- PARTICULARLY THE NEW MEMBERS --  
AS SINCERELY AS I DID PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER. →

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.

DURING THE PERIOD OF MY OWN SERVICE IN THIS CAPITOL

AND IN THE WHITE HOUSE I CAN RECALL MANY ORDERLY TRANSITIONS

OF GOVERNMENTAL RESPONSIBILITY -- OF PROBLEMS AS WELL AS

OF POSITION, OF BURDENS AS WELL AS OF POWER. →

THE GENIUS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM IS THAT WE DO THIS  
SO NATURALLY AND NORMALLY; // THERE ARE NO SOLDIERS MARCHING  
IN THE STREETS EXCEPT IN THE INAUGURAL PARADE; \ NO PUBLIC  
DEMONSTRATIONS EXCEPT FOR SOME OF THE DANCERS AT THE  
INAUGURAL BALL; \ THE OPPOSITION PARTY DOESN'T GO  
UNDERGROUND BUT GOES ON FUNCTIONING VIGOROUSLY IN  
THE CONGRESS AND THE COUNTRY; // AND OUR VIGILANT PRESS  
GOES RIGHT ON PROBING AND PUBLISHING OUR FAULTS AND FOLLIES,  
CONFIRMING THE WISDOM OF THE FRAMERS OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT.•

BECAUSE THE TRANSFER OF AUTHORITY IN OUR FORM OF

GOVERNMENT AFFECTS THE STATE OF THE UNION, AND OF THE WORLD,


I AM HAPPY TO REPORT TO YOU THAT THE CURRENT TRANSITION

IS PROCEEDING VERY WELL. I WAS DETERMINED THAT IT SHOULD,

I WANTED THE NEW PRESIDENT TO GET OFF TO AN EASIER START

THAN I HAD. →



WHEN I BECAME PRESIDENT ON AUGUST 9, 1974, OUR  
NATION WAS DEEPLY DIVIDED AND TORMENTED. IN RAPID  
SUCCESSION, THE VICE PRESIDENT AND THE PRESIDENT HAD  
RESIGNED IN DISGRACE. WE WERE STILL STRUGGLING WITH  
THE AFTER-EFFECTS OF A LONG, UNPOPULAR AND BLOODY WAR  
IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. 

THE ECONOMY WAS UNSTABLE AND RACING TOWARD THE WORST

RECESSION IN 40 YEARS. PEOPLE WERE LOSING JOBS.

THE COST OF LIVING WAS SOARING. THE CONGRESS AND THE

CHIEF EXECUTIVE WERE AT LOGGERHEADS. THE INTEGRITY OF OUR

CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS AND OF OTHER INSTITUTIONS WAS BEING

QUESTIONED.



FOR MORE THAN 15 YEARS, DOMESTIC SPENDING HAD  
SOARED AS FEDERAL PROGRAMS MULTIPLIED AND THE EXPENSE  
ESCALATED ANNUALLY. DURING THE SAME PERIOD, OUR  
NATIONAL SECURITY NEEDS WERE STEADILY SHORTCHANGED.

IN THE GRAVE SITUATION WHICH PREVAILED IN AUGUST 1974,  
OUR WILL TO MAINTAIN OUR INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP WAS  
IN DOUBT.





I ASKED FOR YOUR PRAYERS, AND WENT TO WORK.

IN JANUARY 1975, I REPORTED TO THE CONGRESS THAT THE  
STATE OF THE UNION WAS NOT GOOD. / I PROPOSED URGENT  
ACTION TO IMPROVE THE ECONOMY AND TO ACHIEVE ENERGY  
INDEPENDENCE IN TEN YEARS. →

I REASSURED AMERICA'S ALLIES AND SOUGHT TO REDUCE THE DANGER  
OF CONFRONTATION WITH POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES. I PLEDGED  
A NEW DIRECTION FOR AMERICA.

**1975**

NINETEEN SEVENTY-FIVE WAS A YEAR OF DIFFICULT DECISIONS,  
BUT AMERICANS RESPONDED WITH REALISM, COMMON SENSE  
AND SELF-DISCIPLINE.

BY JANUARY 1976, WE WERE HEADED IN A NEW DIRECTION,  
WHICH I HOLD TO BE THE RIGHT DIRECTION FOR A FREE SOCIETY.

I WAS GUIDED BY THE BELIEF THAT SUCCESSFUL PROBLEM-SOLVING  
REQUIRES MORE THAN FEDERAL ACTION ALONE; THAT IT INVOLVES

A FULL PARTNERSHIP AMONG ALL BRANCHES AND LEVELS

OF GOVERNMENT, AND PUBLIC POLICIES WHICH NURTURE AND

PROMOTE THE CREATIVE ENERGIES OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISES,

INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS.



A YEAR AGO, I REPORTED THAT THE STATE OF THE UNION  
WAS BETTER IN MANY WAYS A LOT BETTER BUT STILL  
NOT GOOD ENOUGH•—————→

COMMON SENSE TOLD ME TO STICK TO THE STEADY COURSE

WE WERE ON, TO CONTINUE TO RESTRAIN THE INFLATIONARY

GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT, TO REDUCE TAXES AS WELL AS SPENDING,

TO RETURN LOCAL DECISIONS TO LOCAL PEOPLE, TO PROVIDE

FOR LONG-RANGE SUFFICIENCY IN ENERGY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

NEEDS. 

I RESISTED THE IMMENSE PRESSURES OF AN ELECTION YEAR


TO OPEN THE FLOODGATES OF FEDERAL MONEY AND THE TEMPTATION

TO PROMISE MORE THAN I COULD DELIVER• I TOLD IT AS IT WAS

TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND DEMONSTRATED TO THE WORLD THAT,

IN OUR SPIRITED POLITICAL COMPETITION, AS IN THIS CHAMBER,

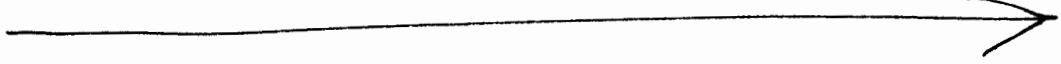
AMERICANS CAN DISAGREE WITHOUT BEING DISAGREEABLE• →

NOW, AFTER 30 MONTHS AS YOUR PRESIDENT I CAN SAY  
THAT WHILE WE STILL HAVE A WAY TO GO, I AM PROUD OF THE  
LONG WAY WE HAVE COME TOGETHER• 

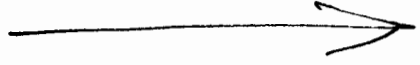
I AM PROUD OF THE PART I HAVE HAD IN REBUILDING  
CONFIDENCE IN THE PRESIDENCY, CONFIDENCE IN OUR FREE SYSTEM  
AND CONFIDENCE IN OUR FUTURE. ONCE AGAIN, AMERICANS  
BELIEVE IN THEMSELVES, IN THEIR LEADERS, AND IN THE PROMISE  
THAT TOMORROW HOLDS FOR THEIR CHILDREN.



I AM PROUD THAT TODAY AMERICA IS AT PEACE. NONE  
OF OUR SONS ARE FIGHTING AND DYING IN BATTLE ANYWHERE  
IN THE WORLD. / AND THE CHANCE FOR PEACE AMONG  
ALL NATIONS IS IMPROVED BY OUR DETERMINATION TO HONOR  
OUR VITAL COMMITMENTS IN THE DEFENSE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM.

I AM PROUD THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS STRONG DEFENSES,  
STRONG ALLIANCES AND A SOUND AND COURAGEOUS FOREIGN  
POLICY• 

-- OUR ALLIANCES WITH OUR MAJOR PARTNERS, THE GREAT  
INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, JAPAN, AND  
CANADA, HAVE NEVER BEEN MORE SOLID. / CONSULTATIONS  
ON MUTUAL SECURITY, DEFENSE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS  
HAVE GROWN CLOSER. COLLABORATION HAS BRANCHED OUT  
INTO NEW FIELDS, SUCH AS ENERGY, ECONOMIC POLICY  
AND RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD. →

WE HAVE USED MANY AVENUES FOR COOPERATION, INCLUDING  
SUMMIT MEETINGS HELD AMONG MAJOR ALLIED COUNTRIES. THE  
FRIENDSHIP OF THE DEMOCRACIES IS DEEPER, WARMER AND MORE  
EFFECTIVE THAN AT ANY TIME IN 30 YEARS. 

-- WE ARE MAINTAINING STABILITY IN THE STRATEGIC

NUCLEAR BALANCE, AND PUSHING BACK THE SPECTRE OF NUCLEAR

WAR• A DECISIVE STEP FORWARD WAS TAKEN IN THE VLADIVOSTOK

ACCORD WHICH I NEGOTIATED WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV

JOINT RECOGNITION THAT AN EQUAL CEILING SHOULD BE PLACED

ON THE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS ON EACH SIDE• →

WITH RESOLVE AND WISDOM ON THE PART OF BOTH NATIONS,

A GOOD AGREEMENT IS WELL WITHIN REACH THIS YEAR•

-- THE FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST HAS BEEN

BUILT• HOPES FOR FUTURE PROGRESS IN THE MIDDLE EAST WERE

STIRRED BY THE HISTORIC AGREEMENTS WE REACHED AND THE TRUST

AND CONFIDENCE WE FORMED•



-- THANKS TO AMERICAN LEADERSHIP, THE PROSPECTS


FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST ARE BRIGHTER THAN THEY HAVE

BEEN IN THREE DECADES. / THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL CONTINUE

TO LOOK TO US TO LEAD THEM FROM CONFRONTATION AND WAR

TO A NEW ERA OF ACCOMMODATION AND PEACE. / WE HAVE NO

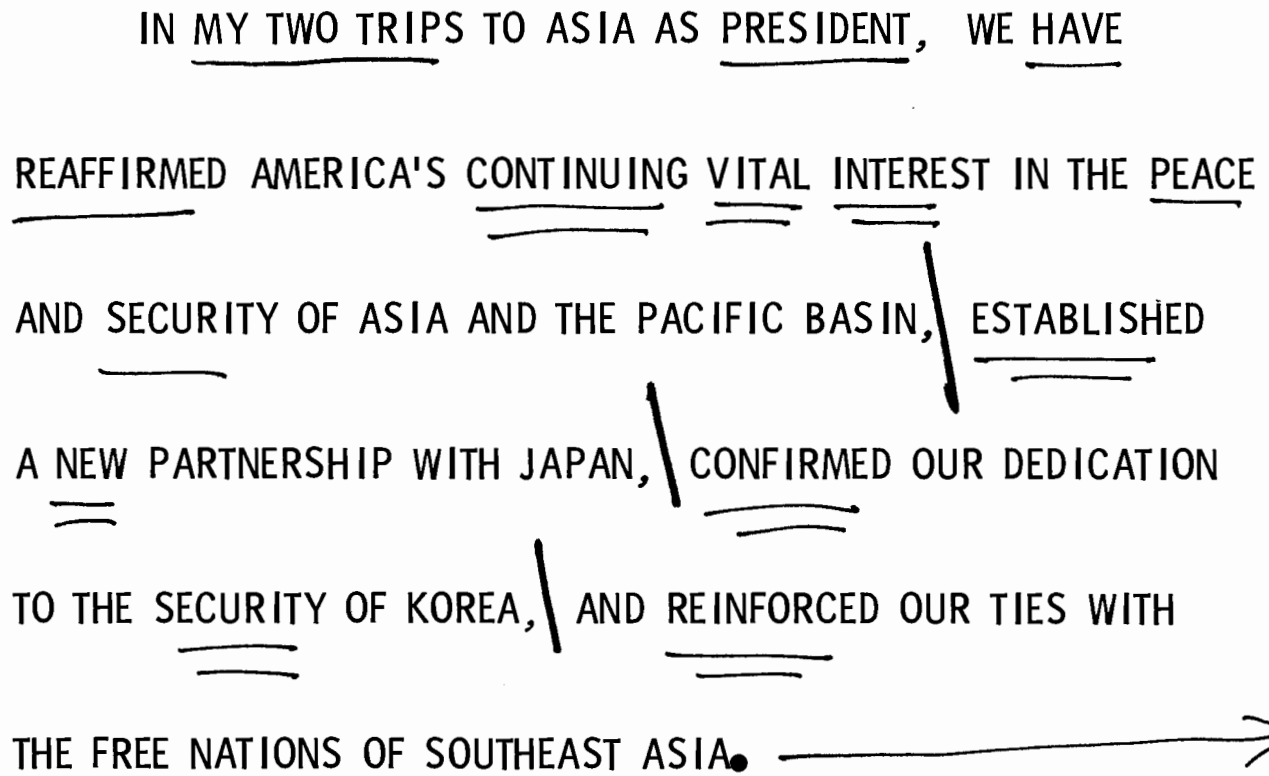
ALTERNATIVE BUT TO PERSEVERE. →

THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR A FINAL SETTLEMENT ARE GREAT, AND THE  
PRICE OF FAILURE IS A RETURN TO THE BLOODSHED AND HATRED  
THAT FOR TOO LONG HAVE BROUGHT TRAGEDY TO ALL THE PEOPLES  
OF THIS AREA, AND REPEATEDLY EDGED THE WORLD TO THE BRINK  
OF WAR. 



-- OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA IS PROVING ITS IMPORTANCE AND ITS DURABILITY.  
WE ARE FINDING MORE AND MORE COMMON GROUND BETWEEN  
OUR TWO COUNTRIES ON BASIC QUESTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL  
AFFAIRS.

IN MY TWO TRIPS TO ASIA AS PRESIDENT, WE HAVE  
REAFFIRMED AMERICA'S CONTINUING VITAL INTEREST IN THE PEACE  
AND SECURITY OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC BASIN, ESTABLISHED  
A NEW PARTNERSHIP WITH JAPAN, CONFIRMED OUR DEDICATION  
TO THE SECURITY OF KOREA, AND REINFORCED OUR TIES WITH  
THE FREE NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA.



-- AN HISTORIC DIALOGUE HAS BEGUN BETWEEN INDUSTRIAL  
NATIONS AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS. / MOST PROPOSALS  
ON THE TABLE ARE INITIATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, INCLUDING  
THOSE ON FOOD, ENERGY, TECHNOLOGY, TRADE, INVESTMENT  
AND COMMODITIES. / WE ARE WELL LAUNCHED ON THIS PROCESS  
OF SHAPING POSITIVE AND RELIABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONS  
BETWEEN RICH NATIONS AND POOR NATIONS OVER THE LONG-TERM. →

-- WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN TRADE NEGOTIATIONS

AND AVOIDED PROTECTIONISM DURING RECESSION.

WE STRENGTHENED THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM.

DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS THE FREE WORLD'S MOST IMPORTANT

ECONOMIC POWERS HAVE ALREADY BROUGHT ABOUT IMPORTANT

CHANGES THAT SERVE BOTH DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING ECONOMIES.

THE MOMENTUM ALREADY ACHIEVED MUST BE NURTURED AND

STRENGTHENED, FOR THE PROSPERITY OF RICH AND POOR DEPENDS

UPON IT.

-- IN LATIN AMERICA, OUR RELATIONS HAVE TAKEN ON

A NEW MATURITY AND A SENSE OF COMMON ENTERPRISE. /

-- IN AFRICA, THE QUEST FOR PEACE, RACIAL JUSTICE \

AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS AT A CRUCIAL POINT. /

THE UNITED STATES, IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED

KINGDOM, IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THAT HISTORIC PROCESS. →

? WILL CHANGE COME ABOUT BY WARFARE AND CHAOS AND FOREIGN


INTERVENTION? OR WILL IT COME ABOUT BY NEGOTIATED AND FAIR

? SOLUTIONS, ENSURING MAJORITY RULE, MINORITY RIGHTS

AND ECONOMIC ADVANCE? AMERICA IS COMMITTED TO THE SIDE

OF PEACE AND JUSTICE, AND TO THE PRINCIPLE THAT AFRICA SHOULD

SHAPE ITS OWN FUTURE FREE OF OUTSIDE INTERVENTION. →

-- AMERICAN LEADERSHIP HAS HELPED TO STIMULATE NEW  
INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO STEM THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR  
WEAPONS AND TO SHAPE A COMPREHENSIVE TREATY GOVERNING  
THE USE OF THE OCEANS. 

I AM GRATIFIED BY THESE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. / THEY  
CONSTITUTE A RECORD OF BROAD SUCCESS FOR AMERICA, AND

FOR THE PEACE AND PROSPERITY OF ALL MANKIND. / THIS

ADMINISTRATION LEAVES TO ITS SUCCESSOR A WORLD IN BETTER

CONDITION THAN WE FOUND. / WE LEAVE, AS WELL, A SOLID

FOUNDATION FOR PROGRESS ON A RANGE OF ISSUES THAT ARE VITAL

TO THE WELL BEING OF AMERICA. →



WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
AND WHAT CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION,  
DEMONSTRATE THE GENIUS OF AMERICANS WORKING TOGETHER  
FOR THE COMMON GOOD. / IT IS THIS, OUR REMARKABLE ABILITY  
TO WORK TOGETHER, THAT HAS MADE US A UNIQUE NATION. / IT IS  
CONGRESS, THE PRESIDENT, AND THE PEOPLE STRIVING FOR  
A BETTER WORLD.

I KNOW ALL PATRIOTIC AMERICANS WANT THIS NATION'S  
FOREIGN POLICY TO SUCCEED.

I URGE MEMBERS OF MY PARTY IN THE CONGRESS TO GIVE  
THE NEW PRESIDENT LOYAL SUPPORT IN THIS AREA.

I EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THIS NEW CONGRESS WILL  
RE-EXAMINE ITS CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

THE EXCLUSIVE RIGHT TO DECLARE WAR, / THE DUTY TO ADVISE  
AND CONSENT ON THE PART OF THE SENATE, / AND THE POWER OF  
THE PURSE ON THE PART OF THE HOUSE, ARE AMPLE AUTHORITY  
FOR THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH AND SHOULD BE JEALOUSLY GUARDED•

BUT BECAUSE WE MAY HAVE BEEN TOO CARELESS OF THESE  
POWERS IN THE PAST DOES NOT JUSTIFY CONGRESSIONAL INTRUSION  
INTO, OR OBSTRUCTION OF, THE PROPER EXERCISE OF  
PRESIDENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES NOW OR IN THE FUTURE.

THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. IN THESE TIMES

CRISES CANNOT BE MANAGED AND WARS CANNOT BE WAGED BY

COMMITTEE.

NOR CAN PEACE BE PURSUED SOLELY BY PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE.

TO THE EARS OF THE WORLD, THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS FOR THE

NATION. WHILE HE IS, OF COURSE, ULTIMATELY ACCOUNTABLE


TO THE CONGRESS, THE COURTS AND THE PEOPLE, HE AND HIS

EMISSARIES MUST NOT BE HANDICAPPED IN ADVANCE IN THEIR

RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS AS HAS SOMETIMES HAPPENED

IN THE PAST.



AT HOME, I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE NATION'S RECOVERY  
FROM THE RECESSION AND OUR STEADY RETURN TO SOUND ECONOMIC  
GROWTH. / IT IS NOW CONTINUING AFTER THE RECENT PERIOD  
OF UNCERTAINTY, WHICH IS PART OF THE PRICE WE PAY FOR  
FREE ELECTIONS. 

OUR MOST PRESSING NEED TODAY AND IN THE FUTURE

IS MORE JOBS -- PRODUCTIVE AND PERMANENT JOBS

CREATED BY A THRIVING ECONOMY.



WE MUST REVISE OUR TAX SYSTEM BOTH TO EASE THE BURDEN  
OF HEAVY TAXATION AND TO ENCOURAGE THE INVESTMENT NECESSARY  
FOR THE CREATION OF PRODUCTIVE JOBS FOR ALL AMERICANS WHO  
WANT TO WORK. EARLIER THIS MONTH I PROPOSED A PERMANENT  
INCOME TAX REDUCTION OF TEN BILLION DOLLARS BELOW CURRENT  
LEVELS INCLUDING RAISING THE PERSONAL EXEMPTION FROM  
750 DOLLARS TO 1,000 DOLLARS.



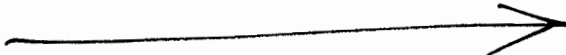
I ALSO RECOMMENDED A SERIES OF MEASURES TO STIMULATE  
INVESTMENT, SUCH AS ACCELERATED DEPRECIATION FOR NEW PLANTS  
AND EQUIPMENT IN AREAS OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, / A REDUCTION  
IN THE CORPORATE TAX RATE FROM 48 TO 46 PERCENT,  
AND ELIMINATING THE PRESENT DOUBLE TAXATION OF DIVIDENDS.●  
I STRONGLY URGE THE CONGRESS TO PASS THESE MEASURES TO  
HELP CREATE THE PRODUCTIVE, PERMANENT JOBS IN THE PRIVATE  
ECONOMY THAT ARE ESSENTIAL TO OUR FUTURE. ● →

ALL OF THE BASIC TRENDS ARE GOOD; WE ARE NOT ON THE BRINK  
OF ANOTHER RECESSION OR ECONOMIC DISASTER. / IF WE FOLLOW  
PRUDENT POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE PRODUCTIVE INVESTMENT  
AND DISCOURAGE DESTRUCTIVE INFLATION, WE WILL COME OUT  
ON TOP. →

WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY CUT INFLATION BY MORE THAN HALF:

WHEN I TOOK OFFICE, THE CONSUMER PRICE INDEX WAS RISING

AT 12.2 PERCENT A YEAR. DURING 1976, THE RATE OF

INFLATION WAS FIVE PERCENT. 

WE HAVE CREATED MORE JOBS. OVER FOUR MILLION

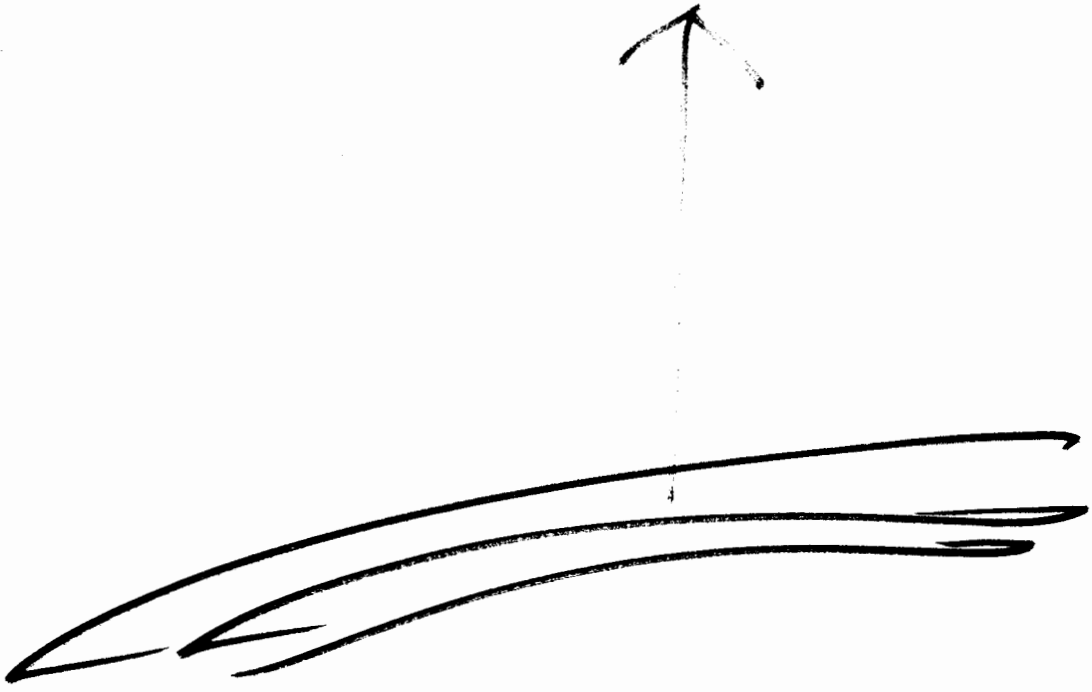
MORE PEOPLE HAVE JOBS TODAY THAN IN THE SPRING OF 1975.

THROUGHOUT THIS NATION TODAY WE HAVE OVER 88 MILLION PEOPLE

IN USEFUL, PRODUCTIVE WORK + MORE THAN AT ANY OTHER TIME

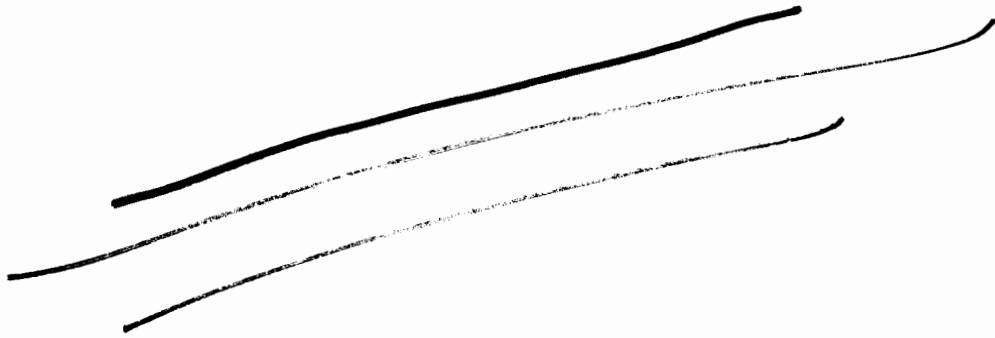
IN OUR HISTORY. BUT, THERE ARE STILL TOO MANY AMERICANS

UNEMPLOYED. THIS IS MY GREATEST REGRET AS I LEAVE OFFICE.



WE BROUGHT ABOUT WITH THE CONGRESS, AFTER MUCH DELAY,  
THE RENEWAL OF GENERAL REVENUE SHARING. WE EXPANDED  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND FEDERAL MANPOWER PROGRAMS.  
WE BEGAN A SIGNIFICANT URBAN MASS TRANSIT PROGRAM.  
FEDERAL PROGRAMS TODAY PROVIDE MORE FUNDS FOR OUR STATES  
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THAN EVER BEFORE -- 70 BILLION DOLLARS  
FOR THE CURRENT FISCAL YEAR. →

THROUGH THESE PROGRAMS AND OTHERS THAT PROVIDE  
AID DIRECTLY TO INDIVIDUALS WE HAVE KEPT FAITH WITH OUR  
TRADITION OF COMPASSIONATE HELP FOR THOSE WHO NEED IT.  
AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD CENTURY WE CAN BE PROUD OF THE  
PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE IN MEETING HUMAN NEEDS FOR ALL  
OF OUR CITIZENS. →



WE HAVE CUT THE GROWTH OF CRIME BY NEARLY 90 PERCENT•

TWO YEARS AGO, CRIME WAS INCREASING AT A RATE OF 18 PERCENT


ANNUALLY• / IN THE FIRST THREE QUARTERS OF 1976, THAT

GROWTH RATE HAD BEEN REDUCED TO TWO PERCENT• / BUT CRIME,

AND THE FEAR OF CRIME, REMAINS ONE OF THE MOST SERIOUS

PROBLEMS FACING OUR CITIZENS• 

WE HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESSSES• AND THERE HAVE BEEN  
SOME DISAPPOINTMENTS•

BLUNTLY, I MUST REMIND YOU THAT WE HAVE NOT MADE  
SATISFACTORY PROGRESS TOWARD ACHIEVING ENERGY  
INDEPENDENCE• 



ENERGY IS ABSOLUTELY VITAL TO THE DEFENSE OF OUR

COUNTRY, \ TO THE STRENGTH OF OUR ECONOMY, \ AND TO THE QUALITY

OF OUR LIVES. \ TWO YEARS AGO I PROPOSED TO THE CONGRESS

THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL ENERGY PROGRAM: →

A SPECIFIC AND COORDINATED SET OF MEASURES THAT WOULD END  
OUR VULNERABILITY TO EMBARGO, BLOCKADE, OR ARBITRARY  
PRICE INCREASES, AND WOULD MOBILIZE U.S. TECHNOLOGY  
AND RESOURCES TO SUPPLY A SIGNIFICANT SHARE OF THE FREE  
WORLD'S ENERGY NEEDS AFTER 1985. →

OF THE MAJOR ENERGY PROPOSALS I SUBMITTED TWO YEARS

AGO, ONLY HALF BELEATEDLY BECAME LAW. / IN 1973, WE WERE

DEPENDENT UPON FOREIGN OIL IMPORTS FOR 36 PERCENT OF OUR

NEEDS. TODAY WE ARE 40 PERCENT DEPENDENT, AND WE'LL PAY

OUT 34 BILLION U.S. DOLLARS FOR FOREIGN OIL THIS YEAR

ALONE. / SUCH VULNERABILITY AT PRESENT OR IN THE FUTURE

IS INTOLERABLE. →

THE ANSWER TO WHERE WE STAND ON OUR NATIONAL ENERGY

EFFORT TODAY REMINDS ME OF THE OLD ARGUMENT OVER WHETHER THE

TANK IS HALF FULL OR HALF EMPTY. / THE PESSIMIST WILL SAY

WE HAVE HALF FAILED TO ACHIEVE OUR TEN-YEAR ENERGY GOALS,

THE OPTIMIST WILL SAY THAT WE HAVE HALF SUCCEEDED.

I AM ALWAYS AN OPTIMIST, / BUT WE MUST MAKE UP FOR LOST TIME.

WE HAVE LAID A SOLID FOUNDATION FOR COMPLETING THE  
ENORMOUS TASK WHICH CONFRONTS US. / I HAVE SIGNED INTO

LAW FIVE MAJOR ENERGY BILLS WHICH CONTAIN SIGNIFICANT

MEASURES FOR CONSERVATION, RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT,

STOCKPILING AND STANDBY AUTHORITIES. →

WE HAVE MOVED FORWARD TO DEVELOP THE NAVAL PETROLEUM

RESERVES; TO BUILD A FIVE HUNDRED MILLION BARREL STRATEGIC

PETROLEUM STOCKPILE; TO PHASE-OUT UNNECESSARY GOVERNMENT

ALLOCATION AND PRICE CONTROLS; TO DEVELOP A LASTING

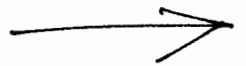
RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER OIL CONSUMING NATIONS;

TO IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF ENERGY USE THROUGH CONSERVATION

IN AUTOMOBILES, BUILDINGS AND INDUSTRY; AND TO EXPAND

RESEARCH ON NEW TECHNOLOGY AND RENEWABLE RESOURCES,

SUCH AS WIND POWER, GEOTHERMAL AND SOLAR ENERGY.



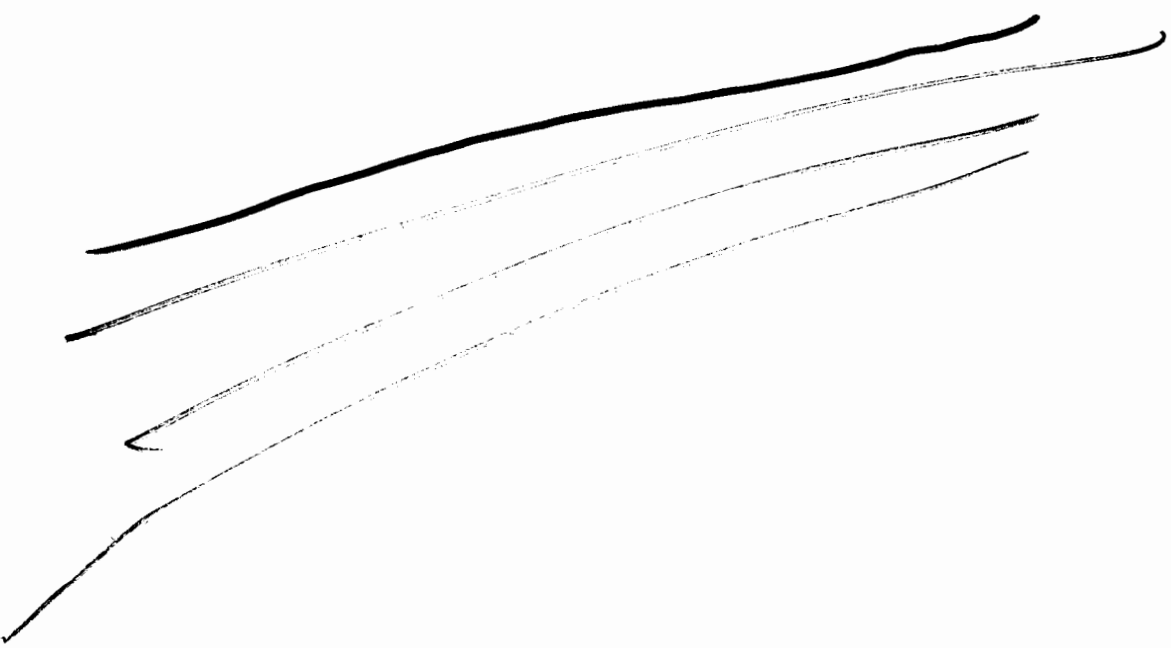
ALL THESE ACTIONS, SIGNIFICANT AS THEY ARE FOR THE  
LONG TERM, ARE ONLY THE BEGINNING. I RECENTLY SUBMITTED  
TO THE CONGRESS MY PROPOSALS TO REORGANIZE THE FEDERAL  
ENERGY STRUCTURE, AND THE HARD CHOICES WHICH REMAIN  
IF WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT REDUCING OUR DEPENDENCE UPON  
FOREIGN ENERGY.

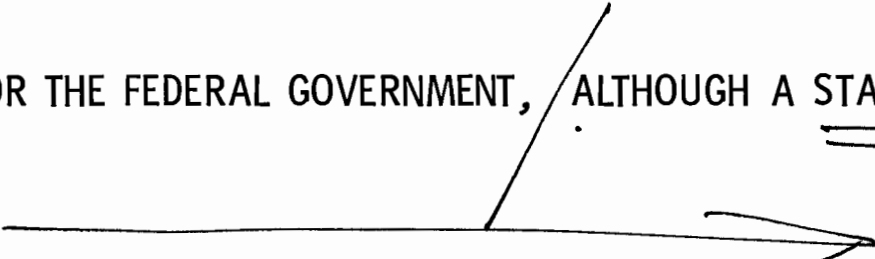
THESE INCLUDE PROGRAMS TO REVERSE OUR DECLINING  
PRODUCTION OF NATURAL GAS AND INCREASE INCENTIVES FOR  
DOMESTIC CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION. I PROPOSE TO MINIMIZE  
ENVIRONMENTAL UNCERTAINTIES AFFECTING COAL DEVELOPMENT,  
EXPAND NUCLEAR POWER GENERATION AND CREATE AN ENERGY  
INDEPENDENCE AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL  
ASSISTANCE FOR VITAL ENERGY PROGRAMS WHERE PRIVATE CAPITAL  
IS NOT AVAILABLE. →




WE MUST EXPLORE EVERY REASONABLE PROSPECT FOR MEETING  
OUR ENERGY NEEDS WHEN OUR CURRENT DOMESTIC RESERVES OF OIL  
AND NATURAL GAS BEGIN TO DWINDLE IN THE NEXT DECADE•

I URGENTLY ASK CONGRESS AND THE NEW ADMINISTRATION  
TO MOVE QUICKLY ON THESE ISSUES• THIS NATION HAS THE  
RESOURCES AND CAPABILITY TO ACHIEVE OUR ENERGY GOALS IF ITS  
GOVERNMENT HAS THE WILL TO PROCEED•



I HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTED BY INABILITY TO COMPLETE MANY  
OF THE MEANINGFUL ORGANIZATIONAL REFORMS WHICH  
I CONTEMPLATED FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH A START  
HAS BEEN MADE. 

FOR EXAMPLE, THE FEDERAL JUDICIAL SYSTEM HAS LONG  
SERVED AS A MODEL FOR OTHER COURTS. / BUT TODAY IT IS  
THREATENED BY A SHORTAGE OF QUALIFIED FEDERAL JUDGES  
AND AN EXPLOSION OF LITIGATION CLAIMING FEDERAL  
JURISDICTION. 

I COMMEND TO THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONGRESS

THE RECENT REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF

JUSTICE, UNDERTAKEN AT MY REQUEST, ON "THE NEEDS OF THE

FEDERAL COURTS." I ESPECIALLY ENDORSE ITS PROPOSALS

FOR A NEW COMMISSION ON THE JUDICIAL APPOINTMENT PROCESS.

WHILE THE JUDICIAL BRANCH OF OUR GOVERNMENT MAY

REQUIRE REINFORCEMENT, THE BUDGETS AND PAYROLLS OF THE

OTHER BRANCHES REMAIN STAGGERING. →

I CANNOT HELP BUT OBSERVE THAT WHILE THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

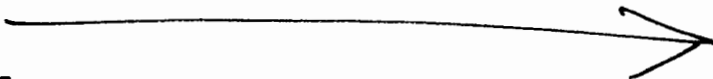
AND THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT HAVE BEEN REDUCED

AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CIVILIANS IN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

CONTAINED DURING THE 1970s, / THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH HAS

INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY, ALTHOUGH THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE

CONGRESS REMAINS AT 535•



CONGRESS NOW COSTS THE TAXPAYERS MORE THAN A MILLION DOLLARS

A YEAR PER MEMBER; THE WHOLE LEGISLATIVE BUDGET HAS PASSED

THE BILLION DOLLAR MARK•

I SET OUT TO REDUCE THE GROWTH IN THE SIZE AND

SPENDING OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, BUT NO PRESIDENT CAN

ACCOMPLISH THIS ALONE•



THE CONGRESS SIDETRACKED MOST OF MY REQUESTS FOR AUTHORITY  
TO CONSOLIDATE OVERLAPPING PROGRAMS AND AGENCIES,  
TO RETURN MORE DECISION-MAKING AND RESPONSIBILITY TO STATE  
AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS THROUGH BLOCK GRANTS INSTEAD OF  
RIGID CATEGORICAL PROGRAMS AND TO ELIMINATE UNNECESSARY  
RED TAPE AND OUTRAGEOUSLY COMPLEX REGULATIONS. →

WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS IN CUTTING BACK THE  
EXPANSION OF GOVERNMENT AND ITS INTRUSION INTO INDIVIDUAL  
LIVES -- BUT THERE IS MUCH MORE TO BE DONE. /

IT CAN ONLY BE DONE BY TOUGH AND TEMPORARILY PAINFUL  
SURGERY BY A CONGRESS AS PREPARED AS THE PRESIDENT TO  
FACE UP TO THIS VERY REAL POLITICAL PROBLEM. →



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.

THE TASK OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IS NEVER FINISHED.

THE PROBLEMS ARE GREAT; THE OPPORTUNITIES ARE GREAT.

AMERICA'S FIRST GOAL IS AND ALWAYS WILL BE PEACE

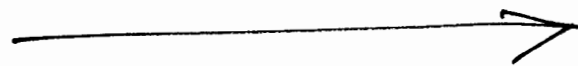
WITH HONOR•

AMERICA MUST REMAIN FIRST IN KEEPING PEACE

IN THE WORLD•

WE CAN REMAIN FIRST IN PEACE ONLY IF

WE ARE NEVER SECOND IN DEFENSE•



IN PRESENTING THE STATE OF THE UNION TO THE CONGRESS  
AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, I HAVE A SPECIAL OBLIGATION AS  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF TO REPORT ON OUR NATIONAL DEFENSE.  
OUR SURVIVAL AS A FREE AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE REQUIRES,  
ABOVE ALL, STRONG MILITARY FORCES THAT ARE WELL-EQUIPPED  
AND HIGHLY TRAINED TO PERFORM THEIR ASSIGNED MISSION.

I AM PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED TO REPORT THAT OVER THE  
PAST TWO AND A HALF YEARS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO REVERSE THE  
DANGEROUS DECLINE OF THE PREVIOUS DECADE IN THE REAL RESOURCES  
THIS COUNTRY WAS DEVOTING TO NATIONAL DEFENSE. THIS WAS  
AN IMMEDIATE PROBLEM I FACED IN 1974. THE EVIDENCE WAS  
UNMISTAKABLE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD BEEN STEADILY INCREASING  
THE RESOURCES IT APPLIED TO BUILDING ITS MILITARY STRENGTH.

DURING THIS SAME PERIOD THE UNITED STATES' REAL  
DEFENSE SPENDING DECLINED. / IN MY THREE BUDGETS,  
WE NOT ONLY ARRESTED THAT DANGEROUS DECLINE, BUT WE HAVE  
ESTABLISHED THE POSITIVE TREND WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR  
ABILITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

THE VIETNAM WAR BOTH MATERIALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY

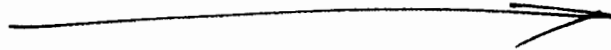
AFFECTED OUR OVERALL DEFENSE POSTURE•

THE DANGEROUS

ANTI-MILITARY SENTIMENT DISCOURAGED DEFENSE SPENDING

AND UNFAIRLY DISPARAGED THE MEN AND WOMEN WHO SERVE

IN OUR ARMED FORCES•



THE CHALLENGE THAT NOW CONFRONTS THIS COUNTRY IS

WHETHER WE HAVE THE NATIONAL WILL AND DETERMINATION

TO CONTINUE THIS ESSENTIAL DEFENSE EFFORT OVER THE LONG TERM,

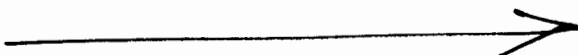
AS IT MUST BE CONTINUED. / WE CAN NO LONGER AFFORD TO

OSCILLATE FROM YEAR TO YEAR IN SO VITAL A MATTER.

INDEED, WE HAVE A DUTY TO LOOK BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION

OF BUDGETS, AND TO EXAMINE THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM WE WILL

FACE OVER THE NEXT GENERATION.



I AM THE FIRST RECENT PRESIDENT ABLE TO ADDRESS

LONG-TERM BASIC ISSUES WITHOUT THE BURDEN OF VIETNAM.

THE WAR IN INDOCHINA CONSUMED ENORMOUS RESOURCES,

AT THE VERY TIME THAT THE OVERWHELMING STRATEGIC SUPERIORITY

WE ONCE ENJOYED WAS DISAPPEARING.



IN PAST YEARS, AS A RESULT OF DECISIONS BY THE UNITED STATES, OUR STRATEGIC FORCES LEVELLED OFF.

YET, THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUED A STEADY, CONSTANT

BUILD-UP OF ITS OWN FORCES, COMMITTING A HIGH PERCENTAGE

OF ITS NATIONAL ECONOMIC EFFORT TO DEFENSE.



THE UNITED STATES CAN NEVER TOLERATE A SHIFT IN THE  
STRATEGIC BALANCE AGAINST US / OR EVEN A SITUATION WHERE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE OR OUR ALLIES BELIEVE THE BALANCE IS

SHIFTING AGAINST US.

THE UNITED STATES WOULD RISK THE

MOST SERIOUS POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES IF THE WORLD CAME TO

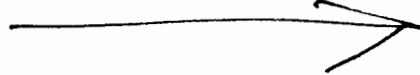
BELIEVE THAT OUR ADVERSARIES HAVE A DECISIVE MARGIN OF

SUPERIORITY.

TO MAINTAIN A STRATEGIC BALANCE WE MUST LOOK AHEAD TO

THE 1980s AND BEYOND. / THE SOPHISTICATION OF MODERN

WEAPONS REQUIRES THAT WE MAKE DECISIONS NOW IF WE ARE TO

ENSURE OUR SECURITY TEN YEARS FROM NOW. 

THEREFORE I HAVE CONSISTENTLY ADVOCATED AND STRONGLY

URGED THAT WE PURSUE THREE CRITICAL STRATEGIC PROGRAMS:

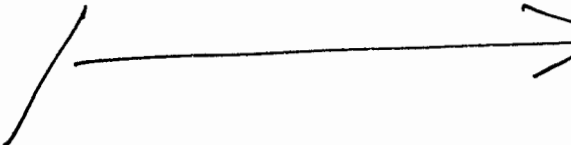
THE TRIDENT MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINE; THE B-1 BOMBER,

WITH ITS SUPERIOR CAPABILITY TO PENETRATE MODERN AIR DEFENSES;

AND A MORE ADVANCED INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE THAT

WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO SURVIVE NUCLEAR ATTACK AND DELIVER

A DEVASTATING RETALIATORY STRIKE.

IN AN ERA WHERE THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES ARE IN  
ROUGH EQUILIBRIUM, THE RISKS OF CONFLICT BELOW THE NUCLEAR  
THRESHOLD MAY GROW MORE PERILOUS. / A MAJOR LONG-TERM  
OBJECTIVE, THEREFORE, IS TO MAINTAIN CAPABILITIES TO DEAL  
WITH, AND THEREBY DETER, CONVENTIONAL CHALLENGES AND  
CRISES, PARTICULARLY IN EUROPE. / 

WE CANNOT RELY SOLELY ON STRATEGIC FORCES TO

GUARANTEE OUR SECURITY OR TO DETER ALL TYPES OF AGGRESSION.

WE MUST HAVE SUPERIOR NAVAL AND MARINE FORCES TO MAINTAIN

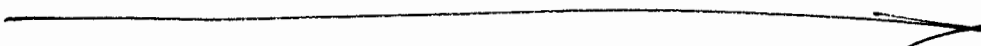
FREEDOM OF THE SEAS, STRONG MULTI-PURPOSE TACTICAL AIR

FORCES, AND MOBILE, MODERN GROUND FORCES.



ACCORDINGLY: I HAVE DIRECTED A LONG-TERM EFFORT  
TO IMPROVE OUR WORLDWIDE CAPABILITIES TO DEAL WITH REGIONAL  
CRISES.

-- I HAVE SUBMITTED A FIVE YEAR NAVAL BUILDING  
PROGRAM INDISPENSABLE TO THE NATION'S MARITIME STRATEGY. →

-- BECAUSE THE SECURITY OF EUROPE AND THE INTEGRITY OF  
N.A.T.O. REMAIN THE CORNERSTONE OF AMERICAN DEFENSE POLICY,  
I HAVE INITIATED A SPECIAL, LONG-TERM PROGRAM TO ENSURE  
THE CAPACITY OF THE ALLIANCE TO DETER OR DEFEAT AGGRESSION  
IN EUROPE. 



AS I LEAVE OFFICE, I CAN REPORT THAT OUR NATIONAL  
DEFENSE IS EFFECTIVELY DETERRING CONFLICT TODAY•

OUR ARMED FORCES ARE CAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT THE VARIETY

OF MISSIONS ASSIGNED TO THEM. / PROGRAMS ARE UNDERWAY

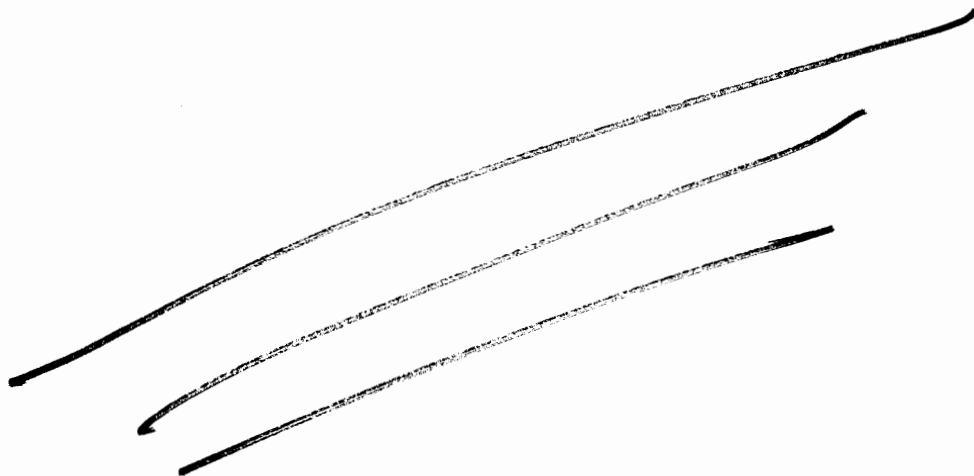
WHICH WILL ASSURE WE CAN DETER WAR IN THE YEARS AHEAD• →

BUT I ALSO MUST WARN THAT IT WILL REQUIRE A SUSTAINED

EFFORT OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS TO MAINTAIN THESE CAPABILITIES.

WE MUST HAVE THE WISDOM, / THE STAMINA AND THE COURAGE /

TO PREPARE TODAY FOR THE PERILS OF TOMORROW.

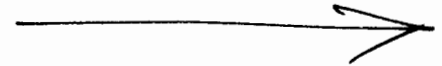


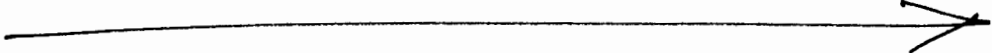
AS I LOOK TO THE FUTURE AND I ASSURE YOU I INTEND

TO GO ON DOING THAT FOR A GOOD MANY YEARS -- I CAN SAY

WITH CONFIDENCE THAT THE STATE OF THE UNION IS GOOD, BUT WE

MUST GO ON MAKING IT BETTER AND BETTER•



THIS GATHERING SYMBOLIZES THE CONSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATION  
WHICH MAKES CONTINUED PROGRESS POSSIBLE, SYNCHRONIZING  
THE SKILLS OF THREE INDEPENDENT BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT,  
RESERVING FUNDAMENTAL SOVEREIGNTY TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS  
GREAT LAND. 

IT IS ONLY AS THE TEMPORARY REPRESENTATIVES AND

SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE THAT WE MEET HERE - WE BRING NO

HEREDITARY STATUS OR GIFT OF INFALLIBILITY AND NONE FOLLOWS US

FROM THIS PLACE. / LIKE PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, LIKE THE

MORE FORTUNATE OF HIS SUCCESSORS / I LOOK FORWARD TO THE

STATUS OF PRIVATE CITIZEN WITH GLADNESS AND GRATITUDE.

TO ME, BEING A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IS THE GREATEST HONOR AND PRIVILEGE IN THIS WORLD.

FROM THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH FATE AND MY FELLOW  
CITIZENS HAVE GIVEN ME, / AS A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE, /  
AS VICE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, / AND AS  
PRESIDENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE, I HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND AND  
TO PLACE THE HIGHEST VALUE ON THE CHECKS AND BALANCES  
WHICH OUR FOUNDERS IMPOSED ON GOVERNMENT THROUGH THE  
SEPARATION OF POWERS, AMONG CO-EQUAL LEGISLATIVE,  
EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES. →

THIS OFTEN RESULTS IN DIFFICULTY AND DELAY,

AS I WELL KNOW, BUT IT ALSO PLACES SUPREME AUTHORITY

UNDER GOD, BEYOND ANY ONE PERSON, ANY ONE BRANCH,

ANY MAJORITY GREAT OR SMALL, OR ANY ONE PARTY.

THE CONSTITUTION IS THE BEDROCK OF ALL OUR FREEDOMS;

GUARD AND CHERISH IT; KEEP HONOR AND ORDER IN YOUR OWN

HOUSE; AND THE REPUBLIC WILL ENDURE.

IT IS NOT EASY TO END THESE REMARKS; IN THIS CHAMBER,

ALONG WITH SOME OF YOU, I HAVE EXPERIENCED MANY OF THE

HIGHLIGHTS OF MY LIFE. IT WAS HERE THAT I STOOD 28 YEARS

AGO WITH MY FRESHMAN COLLEAGUES AS SPEAKER SAM RAYBURN

ADMINISTERED THE OATH I SEE SOME OF YOU NOW,

CHARLIE BENNETT, DICK BOLLING, CARL PERKINS, PETE RODINO,

HARLEY STAGGERS, TOM STEED, SID YATES AND CLEM ZABLOCKI,

AND I REMEMBER THOSE WHO HAVE GONE TO THEIR REST.



IT WAS HERE WE WAGED MANY A LIVELY BATTLE, WON SOME,  
LOST SOME, BUT ALWAYS REMAINING FRIENDS. / IT WAS HERE  
SURROUNDED BY SUCH FRIENDS, THAT THE DISTINGUISHED CHIEF  
JUSTICE SWORE ME IN AS VICE PRESIDENT ON DECEMBER 6, 1973.

IT WAS HERE I RETURNED EIGHT MONTHS LATER AS PRESIDENT  
TO ASK YOU NOT FOR A HONEYMOON, BUT FOR A GOOD MARRIAGE.

I WILL ALWAYS TREASURE THOSE MEMORIES.

I THANK YOU

FOR THEM.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS, I ONCE ASKED FOR YOUR PRAYERS,

AND NOW I GIVE YOU MINE: / MAY GOD GUIDE THIS WONDERFUL

COUNTRY, ITS PEOPLE, AND THOSE THEY HAVE CHOSEN TO LEAD

THEM. / MAY OUR THIRD CENTURY BE ILLUMINATED BY LIBERTY

AND BLESSED WITH BROTHERHOOD, SO THAT WE AND ALL WHO COME

AFTER US MAY BE THE HUMBLE SERVANTS OF THY PEACE.

AMEN.

GOOD NIGHT AND GOD BLESS YOU.

END OF TEXT