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January 4, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

FROM: Ken Khachigian 

SUBJECT: First Draft of Inaugural Address

Here, at last, is the first working draft of suggested remarks for your Inaugural Address. It represents the melding together of the instructions you gave me, the paragraphs of language you provided, the best of the contributions submitted to you, and my effort to tie it all together with a single voice and theme.

Some guiding observations:

(1) It is on the order of 3400 words, or, by my guess, about 20 minutes reading time -- without applause. Thus, it is a bit too long and needs cutting down. However, I decided it was better to let you see more rather than less in this draft. We now have a luxury of time to cut.

(2) I decided against including any quotations, even though we had many good ones to choose from. Nobody quotes great men quoting other great men. Moreover, how do you choose the very best quotations to go in an historic speech like this? However, we have time and can make room for some specially good ones.

(3) You'll notice that I didn't use the Des Moines Register letters or some of the other anecdotes you provided. Mainly, I could not get them to work well in this text. On the other hand, I believed that they would have more impact for you if used in some of the early speeches of your administration.

(4) The first half of the speech is substantive -- putting up front the economic questions, hinting at what you will do, and then addressing the entire issue of overgrown government. I think it fits well with your campaign positions. The second half is more thematic, with the final pages being evocative.

(5) The theme that comes out of this is "renewal." You would be calling for a "time of renewal." This was not used for its rhetorical qualities -- i.e., time of renewal is not analogous to "The New Deal." But the concept of renewal, though simple, seemed to me to be at the core of your election -- the very thing people are yearning for. And you can see how this fits in with much of the text.

(6) As I indicated to you, I have used the symbolism of speaking from the West Front to cement your peroration. I think it works well, but should be used only if you feel comfortable with it.

(7) When we first spoke about this speech you recalled a script line from a motion picture about Bataan -- about Frank McHugh saying something to the effect: "We're Americans! What's happening to us?" This triggered my thoughts about the final line of the speech. Coming where it does, in the way it does, seems to me a mighty summation of everything you've said before.

(8) Now, I'll wait until you've had a cut at this before doing anything further. I'm scheduled for another visit on January 9 to get back your changes and to discuss it further. There is, needless to say, not the least of pride of authorship on the part of anyone who helped with this. We only hope this helps you in the very difficult task of moving the nation on January 20.

(9) Some housekeeping chores:

-- You and I have the only copies. I am not circulating this draft because you have not yet worked it over. Only after we have your changes will we begin to run it before a very limited number of people for review. Thus, I have already indicated to other staff members that this copy you have is not to be duplicated.

-- I am returning to you all the raw materials you started with -- not to burden you down, but only to insure that you feel you have all the possible resources you may want as you work on this. Incidentally, Ray Price's contribution came in after the last deadline, so I'm including it in the back of your notebook should you want to review those materials. I've already incorporated in your draft one of his suggested paragraphs which fit well.

-- I am also returning the Register letters and your speech cards in case you find a place to fit them in. I have copies of everything, so we can easily discuss any of these materials if you wish.

Once again, I am here to help in any way I can. I am scheduled to fly back to Washington with you on Jan. 14 and will be available thereafter to take this down to the wire, to make sure all review procedures are completed, and all "mechanics" are handled. It goes without saying that this has been a signal honor for me to help you with these remarks.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President:

For 180 years, these halls of Congress have borne witness to the peaceful passage of executive authority in America. Thus, what is momentous to the participants in this ceremony is as the commonplace routine in the span of our history. It is a miracle of our heritage which allows us to make changes of leadership with the greatest of order and dignity.

This act truly symbolizes the triumph of our Constitution. Here, we reassert the right of free men and women to govern themselves, to determine their own future and to shape the destiny of their children.

We do more than celebrate the accomplishment of one person or the end of an election process. We reaffirm at this solemn moment that in America the people never lose their power; they only delegate it.

I want you, my fellow citizens, and especially President Carter, to know how much I appreciate the spirit of cooperation which the outgoing administration has accorded us throughout the recent transition process. You showed a watching world that we remain united and helped give our countrymen reassurance in the integrity of our political processes.

Now the business of America goes forward, and the spirit of accord we have found here underscores the fact that conti-

nunity is an essential hallmark of our democracy.

Thirty-eight men before me have sworn to the same oath I have taken here today. But that oath is not peculiar to the office of the President. The obligation to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States is shared by every patriotic American. I take comfort in knowing that the people are supporting me in fulfilling the solemn charge of that oath.

This compact, between the people and their President, is essential at this time because the United States is confronted with a severe economic affliction. There may be semantic disputes over how to define what it is, but common sense tells us that this great problem needs no definition. It faces you and your families every day. You know what it is.

We suffer from the worst sustained peacetime inflation in our history. This extraordinary phenomenon distorts our economic decisions. It penalizes thrift. It crushes the struggling young as well as the fixed-income elderly. It threatens, no less, to shatter the lives of tens of millions of people and poison our future economic wellbeing.

America also is not at full production, and idle industries have cast millions into unemployment. This is the most sadly human dimension of our economic adversity, causing human misery and personal indignity.

We have a system of taxation which imposes unfair and unwise burdens on the taxpayer. Our tax system should be an equitable

one that guarantees all citizens receipt of their just reward for their hours of labor. It should not be a penalty on successful achievement.

And let's be honest with ourselves. As individuals, we cannot forever spend that which we don't have, so why do we believe that we may do so as a nation? We are now paying the uncomfortable price for decades of flaunting budgetary reality, piling deficit upon deficit, and mortgaging our future for the temporary conveniences of the present.

True, we can be grateful that the problems are not of literal human survival, nor are we faced with immediate financial disaster. But to continue this long trend is a sure guarantee for social, cultural, and political upheavals of tragic proportions. Today's problems are great, but they are only warning signals.

We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And act we will.

I did not take this pledge as Chief Executive to preside over the steady dissolution of the strongest economy in the world. Very soon, I will propose positive measures to begin the process of regaining control over this severe problem.

These unprecedented economic ills will not disappear magically. They were long in building up, and they will take long to beat back. You will see no miracles, and so progress will come by inches and feet, not by miles.

We must work together, and we must help each other. Success will not come from watching what our neighbor does but by each

of us showing our neighbor what must be done.

The solutions we seek will be equitable as we can make them. No group should be singled out to pay the price for a national problem. We entered this impending crisis together, and we shall leave it together.

For a problem with roots so deep, the solutions will have to reach deep. There will be no sacred cows, and the only special interest will be restoration of our prosperity.

Join with me, and with the Congress; we will all begin to put America back to work to earn dollars that retain value.

Even as we work to find answers, we must study to find causes. Much of what is wrong with our economic system came about not because of personal decisions made by the people but because of bad decisions made by the government.

It's been nearly half a century since the Depression. Then, a desperate nation turned to the Federal Government to lead it out of crisis. But what began as an experiment in response to an emergency became a habit. We've gone too far, threatening to upset that delicate balance between what people are required to do together and what they are allowed to do individually.

The result is that after five decades we face a different kind of crisis. In this crisis, government isn't the solution. Government is the problem.

The founders clearly understood the perils of power vested so heavily in the state. That peril is even greater in modern times. For the era of the complex society, of advanced communi-

cations and technology, has given to government a sweeping new dimension of power and even greater capacity for mischief. This is the negative government -- one that saps our energies. It scolds, lectures and overregulates.

It is time we brought an end to the negative government. We know that the true glory of our nation includes, but also transcends our governmental institutions. We are and have always been a nation that has a government and not the other way around. That is what makes us special among the nations of the earth.

Whenever our nation faces great problems, she places faith in the first principles which founded America. They were simple truths -- "self evident" truths -- among them that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Today, because government has grown too much, the critical question of our time is: who is the servant and who the master?

The time is now to reverse the growth of the state before the growth of the state reverses the course of America. We must re-examine the institutional arrangements that have grown up over the past decades. Surely, it is no coincidence that the greatest of our economic tribulations have paralleled the massive growth of government in our lives.

The goal of this administration will be to reduce the size and influence of the Federal Government. In this republic, government must be the servant of the people.

Therefore, in the discharge of my duties, I shall be guided by a careful observance of the distinction between the powers

granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. There is a need for all of us to be reminded that the States created the Federal Government; the Federal Government did not create the States.

It is my aim to ensure that the government expands the choices of individuals, instead of limiting them. The government must promote opportunity, not smother it. It must foster productivity, not stifle it.

We seek to revitalize the proper functions of government and once again set loose the energy and ingenuity of the American people. We must breathe life into those social and economic institutions which serve as both buffer and bridge between the individual and the state.

So that we are not misunderstood: We don't intend to do away with government. We simply intend to make it work. We want it to work with us and not over us. It should stand by our side and not on our back.

During recent years, the idea grew among some circles that individual Americans could not be entrusted to make the right decisions. Well, for too long we have allowed others to do our thinking for us. It is time to do some thinking of our own.

Are we qualified? The answer is an unequivocal, yes. Our capability is built on a bedrock belief in God and in traditional virtues that have stood the test of centuries.

So today, we issue no empty promises or easy rhetoric. It is enough to speak the truth and to have quiet confidence in what is known so well -- that the government must exist to

guarantee our freedoms. And unless we as individuals are free, we cannot have a nation that is free. When we restore that freedom, I am confident that in good time sustained prosperity and economic vitality will be ours again.

My fellow Americans, we have survived decades of testing. Our country is ready once again to fulfill its historical destiny.

We are too great a nation to be confined to small dreams. Therefore, I ask you to begin with me today an era of national renewal. With all the creative energy at our command, we shall renew our determination, our courage, our strength, our spirit, our faith, and our hope. And in renewing ourselves, we will give life to heroic dreams.

We hear it said that because of our current difficulties, our nation is doomed to an inevitable decline. Well, I do not believe in a fate that will fall on the United States of America no matter what we do -- I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. If we take direct action against our difficulties and confront our problems, we will not simply endure -- we will prevail.

Those who do not fear direct action are the builders of America, the unsung heroes of our daily existence -- the laborer upon whose back the nation's cities and commerce rose up; the farmer whose struggles with nature feed this country and much of the world beyond; the entrepreneur whose vision and initiative create new jobs, new goods, new wealth and new opportunities; the artist, the artisan and the craftsman who interpret and re-interpret and enrich our culture.

At the very heart of our great national renewal are those individuals and families whose work keeps us strong and whose sacrifices keep us free; whose taxes fuel the government and whose voluntary donations perform the works of charity; whose values sustain our national life; whose patriotism is quiet but deep.

To these men and women, whose role is so often overlooked, and whose voice is so often drowned out, I say today:

Your time has come.

Your values have a home in my home.

Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are now where they should be, at the heart of this government.

No national renewal will be possible without the participation of those who for too many years were left out.

Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. An expanding prosperity is the best way to open the doors of equal opportunity. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the crushing burden of impossible prices.

To the men and women reaching out for help and hope, I say today: Our national renewal also demands that we display the quality of our compassion.

For how can we love our country and not love our countryman? And how can we love our countryman and not reach out to lift him when he falls, heal him when he is sick, and raise him by extension of opportunity to self-sufficiency so that he stands equal in fact and not just in theory?

Renewal at home must be a foundation which makes us stronger in the face of a restless world. The world must know that the United States will renew its fiber and begin conducting itself in a way which commands respect. It is time for America once again to be the exemplar of freedom and beacon of hope across the earth.

We must face this world with no illusions. We may be at peace, but the forces of discord and conflict are poised to threaten the peace. And for hundreds of millions of our fellow humans on this planet, freedom's sweet music sounds no note.

To our neighbors, we extend an invitation to strengthen our historic ties. We will look to mutually beneficial relations and not impose on your sovereignty or intervene in your internal affairs. But those who pose as neighbors while seeking to export terrorism and hatred will have neither our help nor our goodwill.

To our allies, I say you will find we are ready to make stronger the binds of our affinity. The word of the United States of America will be reliable. Our support will be steady. Our commitment will be firm. We will match loyalty with loyalty.

We are realistic enough to know that we can maintain friendship with our allies without giving up on our ideals and that pursuing our best interests does not require relinquishing our principles.

From our beginning, we have sought friendship and alliance with nations that share our dream of freedom. When they have

sought our help, we have given it freely, and we continue to do so. We have no wish to buy their sovereignty with our help because our own sovereignty is not for sale.

To the vast world which has not shared in the blessings of our freedom and prosperity, I say that we will seek to have you know us for our compassion as well as our strength. We will always be able to share our bounty where people must fight the most basic elements of human survival.

But we will not apologize for our system of the free marketplace of ideas and products -- especially to those who condemn us while benefiting from our advances. Let the world worry less about the redistribution of old wealth and more about creating massive new opportunities for producing new wealth.

To the enemies of freedom and to our potential adversaries, I remind you that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it, but we will not surrender for it -- now or ever.

We are open to mutual negotiation, but will never allow negotiation to become an end in itself. We hope to reduce destructive armaments but will not be taken advantage of in any agreement. We can be the best of friends when accommodation is called for, but we will be the most tireless opponent if there must be opposition.

We must weigh our foreign policy objectives on the scale of realism. We will always wish the world to be better than it is, but we must always see the world as it is and not as we wish it to be.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. We will act when the occasion calls for action. We shall never shrink from our responsibilities.

Our principles of national defense will be simple. We will make ourselves strong enough to prevail against any adversary who threatens us, in any quarter, and at any time. We will be prepared to honor our sacred obligations. We will always seek to use our power to deter and not to destroy.

Our physical strength is as nothing if it is not matched with moral courage and the rightness of our cause. We are secure in the knowledge that no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have.

I welcome this time of challenge and renewal. I know that the rest of the world will believe in us because we are going to believe in ourselves. The fire of our spirit can infuse all peoples with our renewed sense of hope. A generation steeled by harsh wars and brittle peaces does not easily forsake honor at the moment of the struggle for the human spirit. We remember the timeless admonition: evil is powerless if the good are unafraid.

My fellow Americans, this is a good country -- for us and for all of our children. There is nothing wrong with it that we can't fix. Why? Because from our very beginning, the American people have not aspired to great titles or riches, but they have -- especially in our darkest ours -- aspired to

great deeds. This is a time for great deeds.

I believe Americans have been called upon by God and by history to create prosperity through our work, defend freedom by our courage, advance the cause of justice by our institutions, and do the work of mercy with all our hearts.

Before America became a nation, she was an idea in the heart of every person yearning for freedom. That idea became a reality. The reality matured in the form of our union. But even as we enter our third century, let us never forget that, more than anything else, we are an idea come to change the world.

Our rich heritage makes possible the tasks now before us. Were we to fail that heritage now, the haunting memories of the American spirit would rise up to remind us how we got where we are. That spirit issued from the sons and daughters of America -- those who left their plows to fight at Lexington; those who were pitted against their brothers at Gettysburg; the fresh-faced young boys crossing an ocean to fight at Verdun or to bleed into the sands of Pacific beachheads; and the unheralded patriots who sacrificed in the jungles of Southeast Asia.

Can we look at what they did for their country and for human liberty and then dare say that we cannot once again be great?

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held on the West Front of the Capitol Building. Standing here allows us to see one of the most magnificent vistas man has ever created. As the eye looks past the open Mall, it fastens upon those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man. George Washington, Father of our Country. He came to greatness reluctantly, leading America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. He believed in the people more than himself, and out of that humility rose to their greatness.

Off slightly to my left, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. A man of wisdom beyond his years. He fervently believed in the liberty of all people and in their freedom to excel. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence.

Beyond the reflecting pool, those dignified columns wherein the Great Emancipator is enshrined. However long God sees fit to bless our adventure in self-government and however deeply we range in exploring the meanings of our democracy, whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

And, finally, beyond the river are those lovely, gently sloping hills whose beauty and quiet belie the harsh, echoing cannonades of the battles they memorialize. It is Arlington National Cemetery. The unbroken symmetry of those simple white crosses add into infinity the cost of our liberty.

Fellow citizens, the spiritual presence of these memorials fills me with an inspiration second only to the nourishment of the soul that I seek from God Almighty. Our nationhood and inheritance are etched in their stones. Every lesson of America is expressed by their imposing example.

As God watches over us and guides us in our time of renewal, I shall pray to Him for the sustenance given by this moment

and this panorama.

We have great deeds to do. We shall need all our energies to do them. But do them we will.

We are, after all, Americans.

#

December 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

FROM: Ken Khachigian

SUBJECT: Suggested Remarks: Inaugural Address

Herewith a batch of suggested remarks for the Inaugural. None of these are finished texts -- they are chunks of prose for you to sample. They can spur your thinking and provide some language to go into the speech. I know there is too much here, and I apologize in advance: however, I felt it best, this first time around, to err on the side of inclusion. I wanted you to have the widest possible sampling of prose. Reading these will give you, I think, a pretty good idea of what not to say as well as what you do want to say.

You'll find these are short on substance -- especially in outlining a commitment to deal with an urgent domestic economic agenda, but I can provide that in the first draft. Pete Hannaford's draft also provides a little more on the substance side.

I have taken the liberty of marking with blue brackets the language that struck me as being particularly apt.

Please do not feel you need to heavily edit at this point. What would be helpful is for you to mark up the kinds of things you think will work -- and the phrases and paragraphs which seem to capture your thoughts. Of course, if any of this triggers ideas and language on your part, I would plan to incorporate them in the draft I submit, and I would welcome them.

I still plan to present to you a master draft on January 4 -- prior to your departure. This draft will include materials you select out from these submissions. It will be helpful to me if we could meet as soon as you have had a chance to digest these remarks -- for me to get additional guidance and so I can go forward with the draft along specific lines you prefer.

If you want to discuss any of this by telephone over the holidays, I can be reached at 714-498-3879 or 714-498-6352. I have taken a duplicate copy with me and stand ready to review it with you.

December 12, 1980

Memo to : Ken Khachigian

From: Bill Gavin *Bill*

Re: Inaugural Speech

In line with our conversation about the speech, here are some ideas. I think the speech should be no more than fifteen minutes, upbeat, but with a recognition of the problems we face. What follows is language which you might use in whole or part to stress these themes.

One hundred eighty four years ago, in his Inaugural Address President John Adams said that our Constitution is "the result of good heads prompted by good hearts." He then asked:

"What other form of government, indeed, can so well deserve our esteem and our love?"

Today, by these ceremonies, we answer President Adams. The Constitution of the United States still is esteemed and loved by the American people.

Good heads and good hearts, wisdom and virtue, working together have been the bedrock upon which we have built our nation.

Our problems and our tragedies have arisen and deepened only when we have forgotten what the power of free minds and loving hearts can and ought to do.

And so, as I assume the office you have entrusted to me, I say to you, members with me of the great American family:

I believe Americans, now as in the past, have been called upon by God and by history to create prosperity through our work,

defend freedom by our courage, advance the course of justice by our institutions and do the work of mercy and compassion with all our hearts.

We know that freedom has its burdens. But, in the Biblical phrase, we also know that the yoke of freedom is easy and its burden is light, for we have seen, in this cruel and bloody century what can happen when freedom is lost.

We know that the hidden glory of America resides not in our monuments but in our neighborhoods; not in the words engraved on public buildings but in the words engraved by God in our hearts; not in the halls of government but in the farms and fields, in the mystic reverence our people have for the fruitful earth we have inherited.

We know that the true glory of our nation includes, but also transcends our governmental institutions. We are a nation that has a government and not the other way around--and that is what makes us special among the nations of the earth.

We are a nation of workers and always have been and we know that work is not some abstraction of the economic mind, but the living, beating heart of progress for our families and our nation.

We have never confused material progress with materialism--our progress has always been guided and, at times, judged by the high standards of spiritual truth.

(Ken: here a section on foreign relations, defense, etc. And then:)

In this brief moment of our life as a nation, we stand and look at what we have done with pride. We look at what we have to do with anticipation and the optimism that is as much a part of the American spirit as the Star Spangled Banner.

My fellow, Americans, when I see the problems confronting us, I choose to see them not in terms of despair, but with hope and, yes, joy.

We are Americans. We are a nation of workers. We have work to do.

Let us get on with it, together!

Ken: Please add this 2-page piece to my previous insert.

December 22, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

From: Bill Gavin B

Re: Inaugural Remarks: A "Call to Action" section.

~~Americans have never succumbed to the sickness of despair. Yet we~~
BECAUSE OF OUR CURRENT DIFFICULTIES
hear it said that our nation is doomed to an inevitable decline, ~~because~~
~~of our current difficulties.~~ ^{WELL} To ~~this I say~~ I do not believe in a fate
that will fall on the United States of America no matter what we do -- ~~but~~
I do believe in a fate that will fall on the United States of America if
we do nothing. ^{IF WE} ~~We must and will~~ take direct action against our difficulties
and confront our problems. ~~If we do these~~, we will not simply endure --
we will prevail.

From the heart of this precious land; from the neighborhoods, from
the farms, wherever families live and work to build their dreams; from
the assembly lines and from the new technologies; deep in the earth and
off our shores; in our classrooms and on our construction sites; along the
great highways, on land and in the air -- wherever the will and the energy
of the American people is exercised in freedom -- there we see a new spirit
of adventure, of daring, of great visions and mighty enterprises.

We are too great a nation to be confined to little dreams.

We have too great a heritage to limit our horizons.

Where there is now idleness there must and will be work.

Where there is now despair there must and will be hope.

Where there is any doubt we can defend freedom there must and will
be confidence and strength.

At the heart of this great national revival are those individuals and families whose work keeps us strong and whose sacrifices keep us free, whose taxes and voluntary donations perform the works of charity and mercy, whose values sustain our national life, whose patriotism is quiet but deep.

To these men and women, whose role is so often overlooked and whose voice is so often drowned out by the clamor of other, louder voices, I say today:

Your time has come.

Your values have a home in Washington.

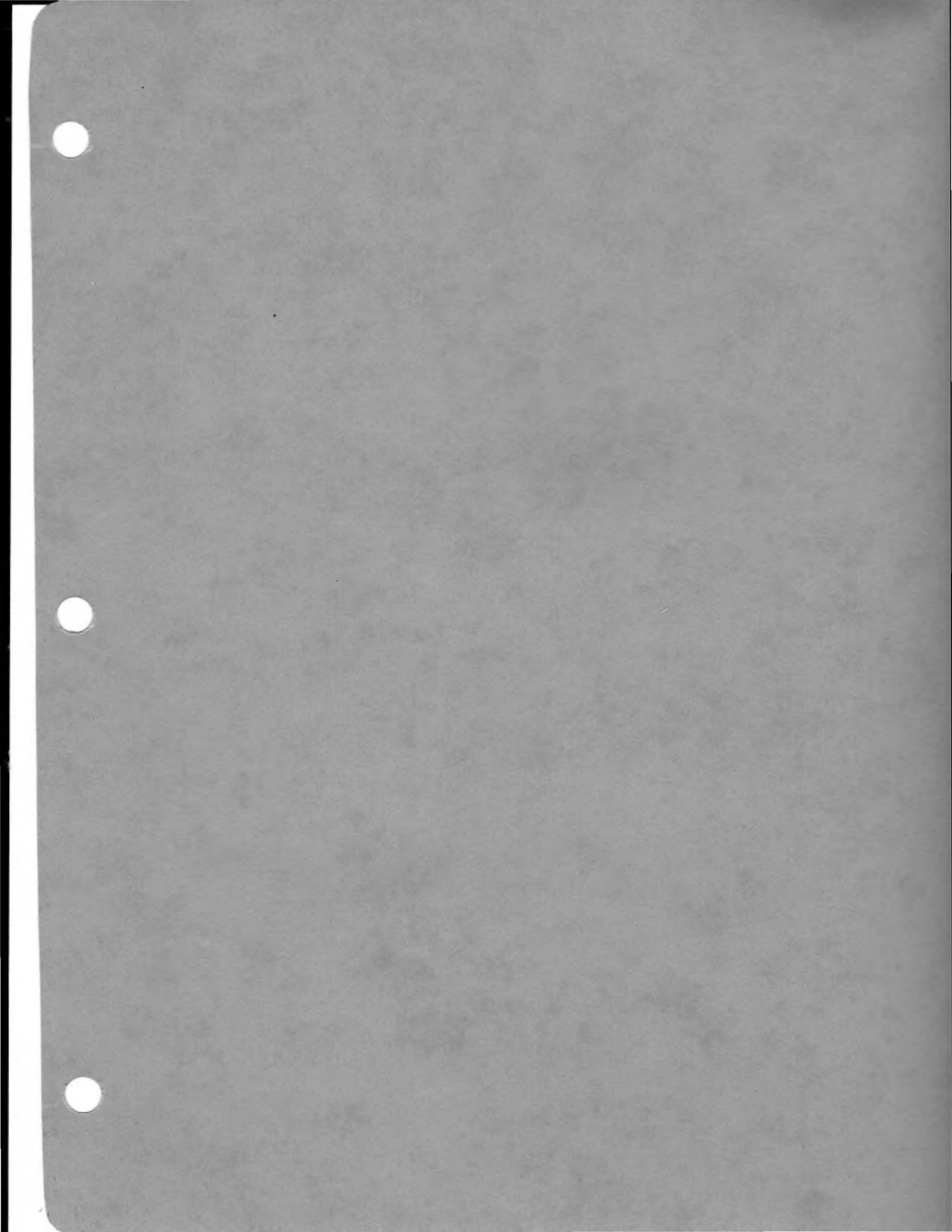
Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are now where they should be, at the heart of this government.

No longer shall you be the invisible men and women of this nation.

No longer shall your values and your sacrifices be taken for granted.

Because you have not asked government for anything except the chance to build your own lives, it has mistakenly been assumed that government can ignore you. That mistake will never be made by this administration.

Wherever you may be -- on the streetcorner or in the fields, in the suburbs or in the small towns, you are not alone. The values you believe in are shared by others and those values are at the heart of the new spirit and at the heart of this administration.



Today we observe more than a peaceful transition of government, more than an orderly transfer of constitutional authority -- we also reassert a right proclaimed now for two centuries by a young nation on a new continent: the right of free men and women to govern themselves, to determine their own future, to shape their children's destiny.

And so today, in taking this oath before God -- and at your hand, Mr. Chief Justice -- I accept not a bestowal of power but a stewardship for the people.

In renewing this tradition of self-government under God -- of government by the governed -- we testify to the soundness of the democratic ideal and the stability of our republican form of government. And it is the continuity of this tradition that reminds the nations of the world -- both friend and foe -- that in its third century the American nation stands proud, walks tall -- and shall endure.

This nation was born in a simple wisdom. A wisdom that held: "A wise and frugal government will restrain men from injuring one another but leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government"

Although it sprang from contemporary insight and ancient learning, this view of man and state was also honed by the hard, harsh experiences of crisis, war and revolution.

The founders of the American nation understood the peril of power invested in the state -- they had seen their rights -- once honored by time and tradition and fortified by reason -- deadened by the unthinking, arbitrary constraints of distant government.

And so in a plan for a new nation, they assigned to government the task of civil order and common defense but left to the people -- to their separate communities and institutions -- the work of finding and pursuing a creative, just and good society.

This wisdom, born in an agrarian age has even more meaning for our world. For the era of complex society -- of advanced technology and mass communications -- has given to government a sweeping new dimension of power and an ever greater capacity for harm. And the era of ideology has made of the state -- not a potentially dangerous adversary whose power must be watched, controlled, limited -- but the avatar of a new age, the principal vehicle of social change -- before whose power, the rights of individuals and private associations are as nothing.

In the name of high ideals these rights were denied, and the cult of the state ~~has~~ became a litany of tragedy:

In the name of ending inequality, excellence has been stifled;

In the name of redistributing wealth, enterprise has been discouraged;

In the name of perfecting man, man's dignity has been denied;

In the name of ennobling humanity, humanity has been demeaned;

In the name of liberating the individual, the individual has been isolated from family, community, and providence.

Now, the task before us is not just to reject subservience to the total state, not just to resist the lockstep of collective mediocrity, not just to question the arbitrary decisions of faceless, unelected leaders.

For in reasserting our tradition of self-government under God we must raise once again the exciting prospect of an orderly, compassionate, pluralistic society -- an archipelago of prospering communities and divergent institutions -- a place where a free and energetic people can work out their own destiny.

This is not to underestimate our current difficulties. Though the genius of the federal system and the traditional protection of two vast oceans has limited the intrusion of ideologies that preached excessive government, their effects are still felt in our inflated currency, in unnecessary regulation,

in burdensome taxation, in the evisceration of savings and investment, in the dependency of the unfortunate, in the power of unelected interests.

In the coming months and years we must address these problems. Though they will not be easily solved nor quickly ended -- solve them we will, end them we shall -- but not with glib slogans, not with a vast of federal initiatives, not with a sweeping transformation of American life.

For our purpose is not to seek revolutionary turmoil but prudent reform, not to accomplish national upheaval but national renewal.

While we seek to revitalize the proper functions of government, we must remove government's smothering hand from where it can only do ^{us} harm. We must set loose ~~again~~ the energy and ingenuity of the American people. We must reinvigorate those social and economic institutions which werve as both buffer and bridge between the individual and the state -- and which remain the real source of our progress as a people.

So today we issue no empty promises or easy rhetoric -- it is enough to speak the truth -- to have a quiet confidence in what is known so well: that the American nation is young and proud and strong -- and that in God's good time sustained prosperity and economic vitality will be ours again.

But while we seek economic stability and social progress at home we must continue the quest for peace abroad. And in this quest we must have no illusions about the world in which we live.

There are those who, in proclaiming the supremacy of the state, make themselves our adversary -- it is they who insist that history dictates an end to representative government and a final triumph for collectivism.

Our century has seen its tragic share of such claims -- and we have inherited stark, forbidding monuments to the emptiness of those claims: monuments to inhumanity; to concentrated evil, to rehearsed cruelty -- monuments made not of marble or

stone but of barbed wire and terror.

But from these terrible places have come survivors -- witnesses to the triumph of the human spirit over the mystique of state power; prisoners whose spiritual values made them the rulers of their guards. With their survival, they brought us "the secret of the camps," a lesson for our time and for any age: evil is powerless if the good are unafraid.

So in the recent hard years of the American nation, we must see not a sign of decay, not a loss of hope -- but a time of trial, a rite of passage for a young nation and an idealistic people.

For when it is written, the history of our time will not dwell long on the hardships of our recent past -- but history will ask -- and our answers endure ^{forever} ~~long afterward~~ -- did a nation born of hope lose hope? Did a people forged by courage find courage wanting? Did a generation steeled by a harsh war and harsh peace forsake honor at the moment of a great climactic struggle for the human spirit?

But if it asks these questions -- history answers them as well -- ⁱⁿ the lives of generations of Americans before us -- their past is our past, their vision uplifts us, their strength inspires us; they stand in silent witness to what the world will soon know and history someday record: that in its third century the American nation came of age, -- affirming its leadership of free men and women, -- serving selflessly ^a ~~a~~ vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

In invoking the names of past generations of Americans, we rededicate ourselves to the truths they so frequently proclaimed on this occasion: that our republic was founded on the kindness of providence, the virtue and strength of our people, the extraordinary expansion of our commonwealth, the union of ^{var} diverse communities, the simple genius of our constitution, the artful workings of our federal system, the ever-vigilant regard for the rights of our minorities, the freedom of our hemisphere and a never-flagging quest for peaceful relations with all nations.

It is these traditions that make possible the tasks now before us: to restore government to its rightful place in our lives, to return our nation to work and prosperity, to find new sources of wealth and energy, to expand the physical and life sciences, to encourage culture, to negotiate through international organizations the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations, to stop an ever more dangerous arms race, to find and follow every path to peace.

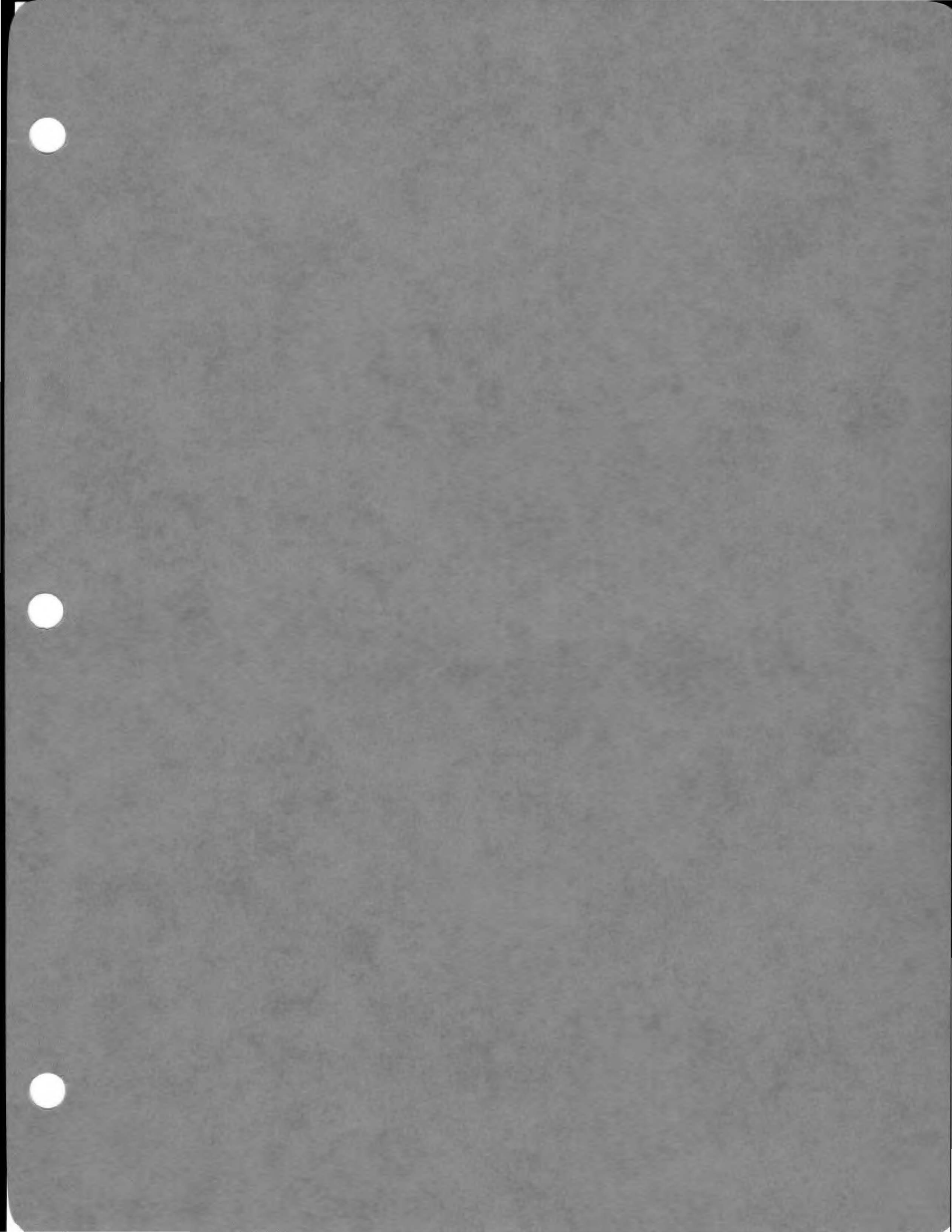
But above all we seek to renew our spiritual strength, our commitment as a nation to a law higher than our own. For only by building a wall of such spiritual resolve can a free people protect their own heritage and hope someday to make it the birthright of all men.

This year, we will celebrate ~~the~~ ^{the} victory two centuries ago at Yorktown -- ^{the victory} /of a small, fledgling nation over a mighty world power. The heritage from the long difficult struggle is before our eyes today -- in the great halls of our government,

in the monuments to the memory of our great leaders.

It is this heritage that evokes images of a much loved land -- a land of struggling settlers and lonely immigrants, of giant cities and great frontiers, -- images of all that this land is and all that we want her to be.

This is the America entrusted to us -- let us stand by her, protect her, lead her wisely -- so that in future times other generations who seek courage or inspiration will look to our age and say of us that we did protect and pass on a shining city, a once and future land, a bright and hopeful nation whose great ideals and generosity of heart the world still honors.



draft

hannaford

Every few years we Americans recreate something of a miracle for a nation so vast, so populous and so complex. We elect a new President and then we expect -- and get -- an orderly and peaceful passage of power from one administration to another.

We do this without anxiety, for the heritage and the Constitution which the founders of our nation gave us makes it very natural for us to transfer this mantle of leadership and authority.

In recent weeks we have gone through the latest of these transitions. I want you, my fellow citizens, and especially President Carter to know how much I appreciate the spirit of cooperation which the outgoing administration has accorded us throughout the transition process.

Now, the business of the republic goes forward, and the spirit of accord we have found here underscores the fact that continuity is an essential hallmark of the American democratic process.

Many scholars have pondered the "secret" of this American system of ours. I think it lies in the ~~strength of our people~~ unique way we Americans exercise individual initiative, yet pull together when it counts. And, together, we reach out to help others.

There is a church in a small New England town which has these words written above its entrance: "In non-essentials, liberty; in essentials, unity; in all things, charity." I think that sums up the equation we Americans use in ~~balancing~~ approaching our work as individuals and as a people.

The individual is the still source of our strength. Power flows from the man or woman who casts a ballot, through ~~the~~ local governments to the states which, in turn, ~~are the~~ ~~source~~ are the source of our federal government. In recent years there have been ^{Some} ~~those~~ who believed that only the federal government could solve our problems. ^{It has not. In fact,} ~~the~~ the application of a common denominator, in many cases, brought unintended results: new problems as difficult as the ones they were ^{meant} ~~intended~~ to correct. It is time to look at these rules, regulations and laws anew. To find out where some went wrong and to get about the business of correcting and improving them. And, where it makes good sense, ^{we should return} ~~to give~~ the authority and responsibility -- and the ^{funding} ~~sources~~ to pay for programs -- back to the states.

~~During the years when some of these were being~~

During ~~the~~ recent years the idea grew among some circles that individual Americans could not be trusted to make the right decisions; that we as ~~a~~ a nation no longer had the will ^{to} shoulder the mantle of ^{world} leadership, ~~in the world.~~

~~But~~ Late last year, you, the men and women of America, gave your reply. You told the world ~~you~~ that you ^{do} want to solve ~~the~~ ~~our~~ problems at home and to restore our position of leadership as a nation. ^{And,} That is the task before us.

We are equal to it, of that I am convinced. Throughout the history of our nation ~~we~~ we have been a problem-solving people. ^{have always sought} We ~~are~~ new frontiers. ~~First~~ Today the frontiers are not of land, but of space, of science, of industry, of the mind. When we see problems, we are restless. We ^{are itching to solve} ~~want to get about the business~~ ~~of solving~~ them. That quality of restlessness; ^{and the individual initiative that lies behind it} ~~is the one~~ ^{what} my administration ~~wants~~ ^{begins} ~~wants~~ ^{right now.} to tap. We are restless, too. We want to get to work so we can start solving those problems.

Today we face economic ~~troubles~~ troubles that are unprecedented in the memories of most Americans. We face the job of restoring the world's confidence in our economy and in our leadership. It is a big job. You have elected me to lead our nation to solutions over the next four years, but I can do this only with your support, your help, ~~and~~ your energy.

Over the days and weeks ahead I shall announce a number of actions to be taken or proposed. ^(for Congressional action) Each will be a facet of an overall program to restore our nation's economic health and its security. None will accomplish ~~miracles~~ miracles overnight. Progress will come by inches ^{and feet} rather than ^{by} miles. But ^{and purposefully} progress will be made, steadily. While I cannot promise miracles, I do promise to keep you informed of what we are doing, why we are doing and what progress we achieve ~~as~~ after we have done it.

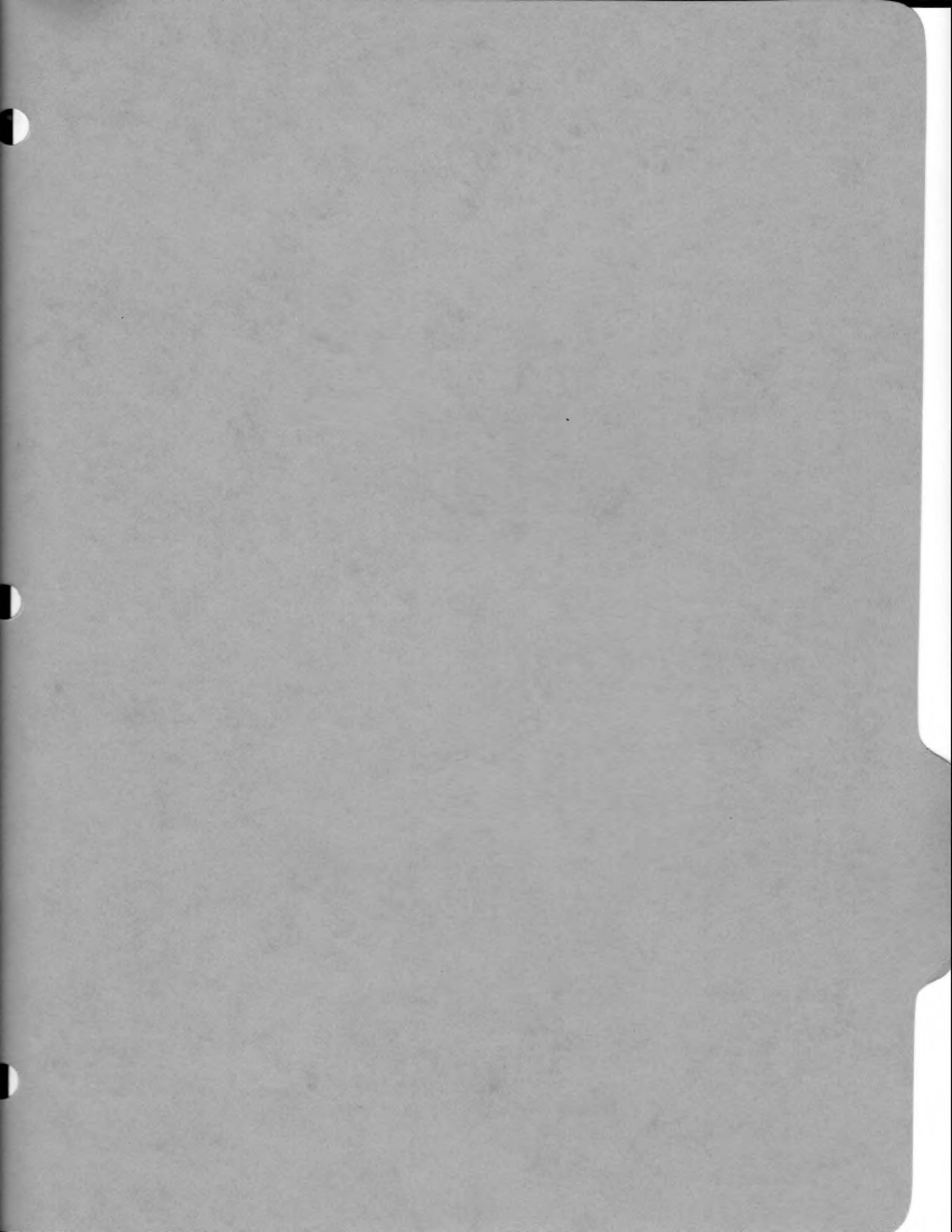
Our first objective is to get inflation under control. We intend to ~~do it~~ do it with a program that combines tax cuts ~~that~~ ^{which} give people the incentive to save, ~~to~~ invest and ~~to~~ produce, with ~~increased control~~ ^{over} increased control ~~of~~ federal spending. We have already initiated, during the transition process, a line-by-line review of the federal budget so that we can examine every program to see where greater efficiency and savings can be made.

We are also going to review the mass of federal regulations that have grown up around our economy in recent years. Nearly all of them were inspired by well-intentioned legislation, but in some cases the regulations that followed the legislation have caused undue costs and inefficiencies in our economy, not to mention the burden they have added to the cost of the government's doing business. There will be no "sacred cows" in this review process. Every set of regulations will be examined to see if it is prudent or excessive; to see if its objectives can be met at reasonable or unreasonable cost in terms of jobs and the prosperity of our people. ^{Now} ~~Neither~~ are we going to attack these regulations with a wildly swinging battle axe. We intend to deal with each one on its merits.

We need and seek your help right now in this process. If you know of a case of ~~an~~ undue or excess^{ive} regulation, please write to me about it.

Balancing the ~~budget~~ the federal budget is an important goal, too, but not all the things we want to do can be achieved at once. Once the full, productive effect~~s~~ of significant tax cuts is felt by our economy and ~~the~~ America is on the move again; once the effect of budget economies is felt; and as our products and services again become competitive in world markets, then we will find the day

of balanced budgets and ~~ultimately reduced deficits~~ close at hand.



(Khachigian)

POSSIBLE OPENING

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, My
fellow citizens:

Today, once again, the spirit of our democracy endures through the peaceful transfer of authority. Marked by order and dignity, this ceremony symbolizes the triumph of our Constitution and reminds us anew of the wonder of our system.

We gather not in a closed room, but in the bright outdoors. Our meeting is not conducted secretly at night, but openly at midday.

Here, we do much more than memorialize the accomplishment of one person or the end of an election process. Truly, we reaffirm at this sacred moment that in America the people never lose their power; they only delegate it.

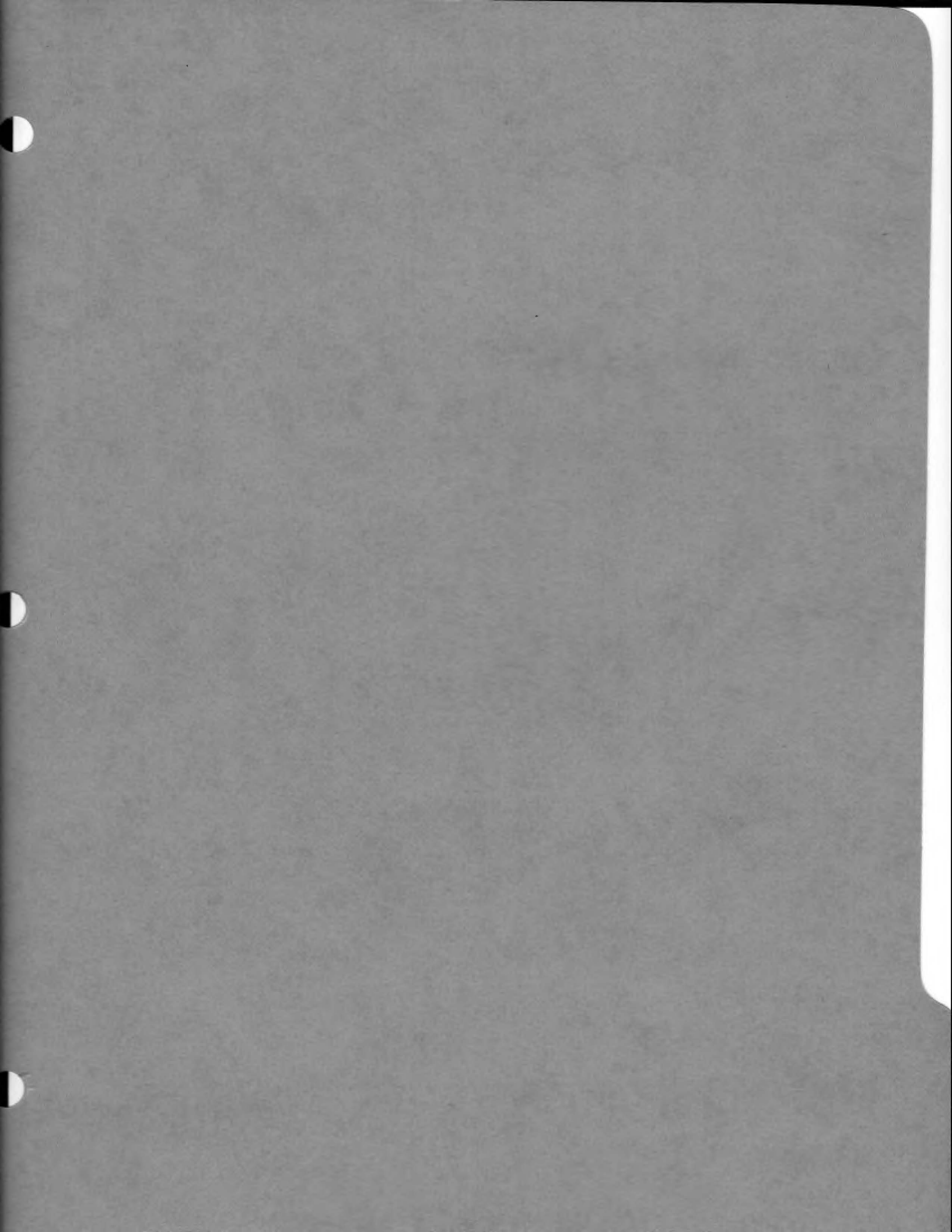
President Carter . . . your full cooperation in the transition period has been invaluable to me. Your support showed a watching world that we remain united and gave our citizens reassurance in the integrity of our political processes. Thank you.

(Khachigian)

Thirty-eight men before me have sworn to the same oath I have taken here today. But that oath is not peculiar to the office of the President. It is shared by every patriotic American -- the solemn obligation to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.

In peacetime, Americans uphold it by the quality of their commitment. In time of conflict, they have upheld it with their courage and, many of them, with their lives.

The exercise of this duty is what holds our society together. With it, we can do anything. Without it, we would no longer be at one in our purpose, and our nation could not long survive.



(Bruce Herschensohn)

The times require us to travel an uncharted journey. And so that those who come after us may travel securely, the times require us to be the map-makers of that journey.

The citizens of other nations know that a strong America is essential to the security of the world. We will not abandon their trust in us -- we will match loyalty with loyalty -- and in so doing, we will never abandon the ideals we have set for ourselves.

With our citizens having come from so many countries with such varied cultures, the secret of America's oneness comes from America's openness. The secret of America's unity comes from America's diversity. The secret of America's independence comes from America's interdependence. Having received the heritage of all the great peoples of the world, this nation ~~doe~~ not demand that those who entered ~~ed~~ give up their pride of origin, but rather that they retain it and share it with those of other origins. With that foundation, our nation will continue to join together uncommon heritages in a common ideal -- the ideal of liberty, opportunity, and excellence.

Freedom is fragile, and it is the responsibility, both of the State and of the spirit. A man circled by guards may still keep his spirit free. A man alone to all horizons may still have his spirit enslaved. Chains of iron that bind the limbs of men are more easily unlocked than chains of mind that bind their spirits. Our duty is not only to insure the continued freedom of the State, but to create the climate for the freedom of each man's spirit.

(Bruce Herschensohn)

Our tax system ~~should no longer be a penalty for those who strive to achieve.~~ It should be an equitable system that guarantees all citizens ~~the~~ receipt of their just rewards for their hours of labor. **IT SHOULD NOT BE A PENALTY FOR SUCCESSFUL ACHIEVEMENT**

Our military posture should no longer surrender to the softer phrases of sufficiency or parity or mutuality of defense forces. We should have supremacy in defense so that no citizen of this country has to live under threat from a foreign power.

Our system of free enterprise and the free market place of ideas and products should stop apologizing to those around the world who condemn us while benefiting from our advances. Our system needs to be infused not by the redistribution of old wealth, which it has become -- but by fresh opportunities for new wealth, which it must achieve.

(Bruce Herschensohn)

(After telling what it is that we are going to try to achieve.) Some would call it Utopia, but I call it possible.

To accomplish all of this, there is much to change. But we must never strive for change in the pursuit of being different. We must only strive for change in the pursuit of being better.

One hundred years forward, in the year 2081, another Inauguration Ceremony will take place in front of this Capitol dome, and another President, as yet unborn, will speak to our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren. It is our prayer today that he will be able to tell them that the road upon which we embarked was the right road, and helped to bring about a century free from the man-made evils that have plagued this world too long.

We live under no illusion of guarantee that the possible is imminent, but the road is in front of us, the course is set, and asking God to light our way, the journey ~~was~~ begun.

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Khaschigian

From: Dick Moore

Subject: The Monuments on the Mall

As I mentioned, I went up to the west front of the Capitol to check the view and I am more convinced than ever that it could add an extra new dimension to the Inaugural Address, both visually and rhetorically. These monuments are symbols which all the world understands but they have never before been part of an Inaugural ceremony.

There are several ways to work them into a speech. My own guess is that the reference should be made at the opening, and the following is my best thought as to how to do it. In any case, the reference should be preceded by a reminder that this is the first time the ceremony has taken place on this side of the Capitol.

Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you and your Congressional colleagues for your decision to hold this traditional ceremony for the first time on the West Front of our nation's Capital. To us there is no vista more inspiring or more symbolic of the heart and soul of America than the panorama which stretches out before us here.

How fitting it is that a new President should take the historic oath of office within sight of the people's memorials to Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln. How appropriate that he should deliver his Inaugural Address in the spiritual presence of these immortal Americans.

To all who witness this scene today, throughout our nation and throughout the world, let us affirm that the strength and character of Washington, the wisdom of Jefferson and the compassion of Lincoln guide the American people today just as surely as they did in the difficult times when those great men served our nation so well.

December 24, 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian

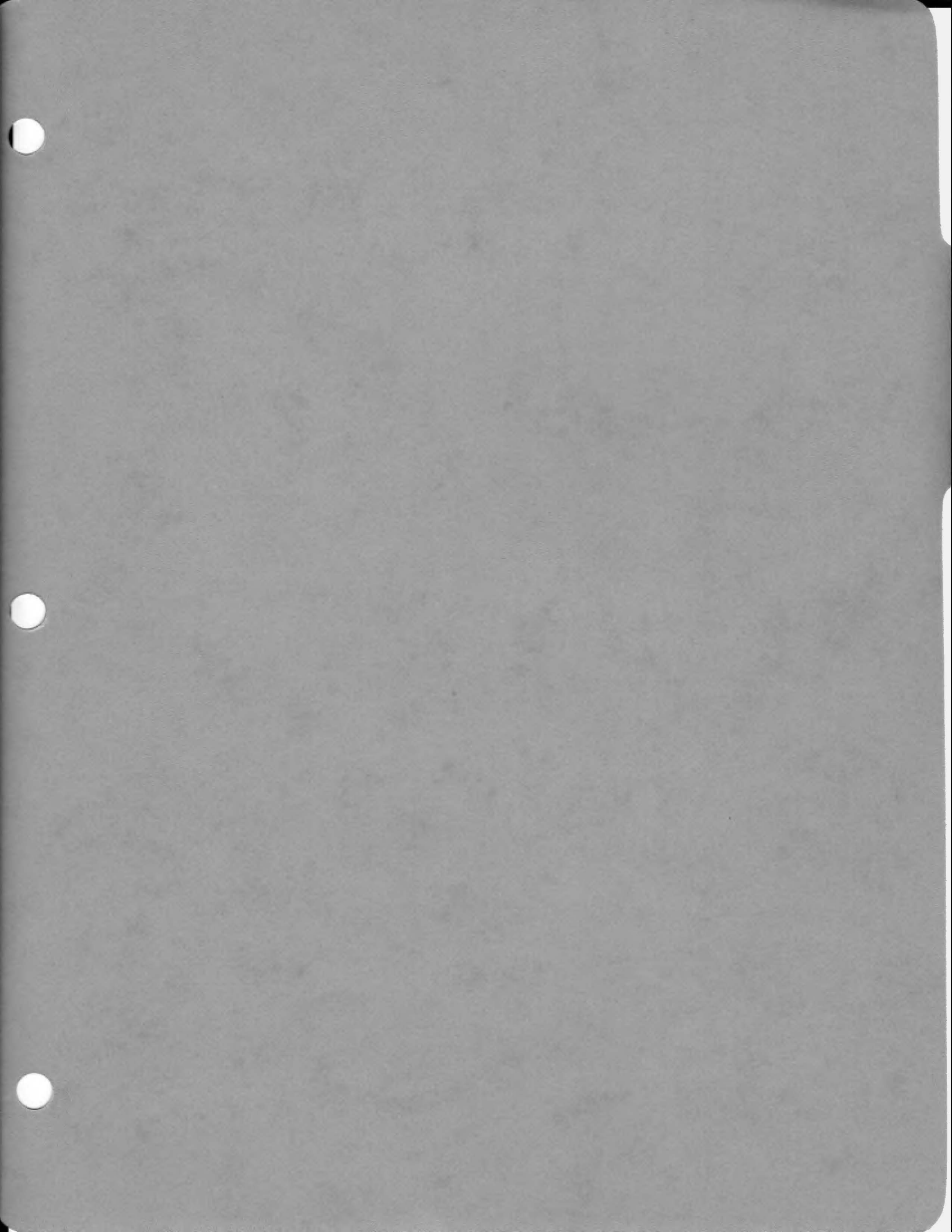
FROM: Dick Moore

SUBJECT: Invoking the Deity: God's Grace

The phrase "God shed His grace on thee" is one of the best known and best loved references to the Deity in all our language. Because President Reagan will be facing west, from sea to shining sea, a reference "America the Beautiful" might especially be appropriate. He could then point out that so long as the American people are true to their heritage of freedom, so long as they reflect the character and wisdom and compassion of our greatest presidents, and so long as they remain prepared to sacrifice in defense of our principles and our country, then they will be deserving of God's grace. With it they can conquer any adversity and truly secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity -- and recapture the trust and respect of the free world.

Incidentally, the following may be a little far out, yet it is worth considering in view of the fact that Poland and the Pope are much in favor. As a means of getting into a religious tone at the close, the following is a possibility:

Not long ago one of the world's great spiritual leaders, a man totally dedicated to the cause of peace, paid a visit to America. His plane landed in Boston not far from Faneuil Hall and Bunker Hill. As he set foot on American soil, he knelt and kissed the ground. He then made brief ceremonial remarks. and in his speech --



(KOGH)

Suggested Remarks for Inaugural Address

Openings

My fellow citizens, "except the Lord build the House, they labor in vain that build it." As we set our minds and hands to the work before us and as I undertake the duties of the highest office conferred in the world by free men and women, will you bow your heads and bear with me a moment as I make a ~~sp~~gill prayer of my own asking God's blessing on the purposes which bring us to this place.

Almighty God, grant that I and those who join with me now in the executive responsibilities of this government may never stray from the firm commitments of those oaths by which we consecrate ourselves to the service of this great people. May we govern with that humility which is the only proper response to the trust of a free people; indifferent to those distinctions of creed, race, or position which our spiritual heritage teaches us are meaningless, and which our Constitutional precepts deny all standing.

Grant us, we beseech Thee, the wisdom to know right from wrong, the tolerance to hear all views, the patience to weigh all concerns, the courage to act out of conscience rather than expedience, and that balance of faith and humility which alone can deter persistence in a bad course though it be conceived with honorable intention, and permit correction, however hurtful the admission for its necessity may be.

We ask that political differences not be an impediment to the well-being of our people, but a means to betterment; that whatever our differences, we shall in every word and deed be guided by the wish to be worthy of our heritage, equal to our posterity, and deserving of Thy Grace. Amen.

* * * * *

The inauguration of an American President marks a new beginning in an old adventure . . . an observance of change and an acknowledgment of continuity. The institutions which bring us to this occasion were established more than two centuries ago. By history's reckoning we are the world's oldest republic. Yet nowhere in the world is the notion of liberty more fresh and compelling; nowhere do the obligations of liberty assert themselves more forcefully . . . nowhere are they embraced more fervently.

* * * * *

Two decades ago we stood, unknowing, at the threshold of a war so profoundly divisive that the social, economic and political cracks and fissures resulting from it can be traced down to this day seven years beyond its conclusion.

Two decades ago we stood on the brink of social dislocations which divided our people, bloodied our streets, alienated one generation from another, enshrined sentiment, emotion and capricious ambition as guides to national action, felled a President, and made a mockery of democratic government.

Two decades ago we emerged from a time of healing and restoration after the ravages of World War Two and Korea, a time of tranquility, prosperity and social justice, and plunged heedlessly and needlessly into such turmoil as this nation had not suffered since the Great Civil War.

Few nations in history have survived the sort of wrenching events which the American nation has endured over the past twenty years. Never successfully challenged from without, we have faced the most deadly threat of all: the threat from within . . . to our self-confidence, to our sense of purpose, to our free institutions.

We have survived. We shall prevail.

This day is both an inauguration and a demarcation; an end and a beginning; a time for new dedication to old truths.

* * * * *

Historical Perspectives

The fundamental truth with which the American experience confronts us is that freedom is not free. Those who believe otherwise have only to look to the personal destinies of those who committed their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors in declaring that we were a free people. Few escaped suffering for their noble acts. The liberty we enjoy cost them dearly.

It has cost subsequent generations dearly.

We have no right to hold their sacrificial gift lightly, or to suppose that we can enjoy it without sacrifice.

Yet neither have we reason to doubt that the sacrifices needed to revitalize and defend our free institutions will be rewarded.

For it is the object of liberty to enhance the lives of all, and not to limit the range of man's potential or to level the benefits he may enjoy through his genius, his courage, and his toil.

* * * * *

When Pericles spoke to his fellow Athenians at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War, he spoke to a people shaken and uncertain of their destiny.

He began by reminding them of their responsibilities as a free people, the first being to their ancestors, saying: "They dwelt in the country without break in the succession from generation to generation, and handed it down free to the present time by their valor."

He reminded them of their image in the eyes of the world of that day, saying that "in our enterprises we present the singular spectacle of daring and deliberation."

He finished with this assurance: "Great will be your glory in not falling short of your national character."

In being true to our national character we shall redeem our obligation to our heritage, meet the demands of our own day, and make ourselves worthy of future esteem.

* * * * *

Domestic

My fellow Americans, the agenda before us will not be defined by new programs, but by old precepts.

The first is that in this republic, government is the ^aservient of the people. Today, when one-third of the average citizen's salary is taken from him or her by government, who is the ^aservient and who the master? The answer to that question can be read in the record of this nation's economic decline, in factories stilled, in businesses bankrupt, in people without work, in dreams destroyed.

* * * * *

To those who insist that this nation's greatness is not defined in material terms, I say that material strength is not the mark of a materialistic people. It is the mark of a disciplined, hard-working, creative people whose pride is in their self-reliance.

The creation of wealth is no more than a consequence of these virtues. The destruction of wealth, the diminution of a nation's

(ROCH)—5

economy, is no less than a reflection of the discouragement of those virtues.

We must reawaken them, and reward them.

* * * * *

We must harken again to the builders of America: to the laborer upon whose back a rich nation rose up; to the farmer and the rancher whose ~~hourly~~ struggles with nature feed this nation and much of the world beyond; to the entrepreneur whose vision and initiative and courage create new jobs, new goods, new wealth and new opportunities for a richer life for more people; to the artist, the artisan and the craftsmen who interpret and re-interpret and enrich our culture; to the makers of America, we must be attentive. And so we shall.

* * * * *

I have heard it said in America that there are no more heroes.

That is false.

I have looked America's heroes in the face outside a thousand factory gates, outside our mines, and across the counters of countless stores; I have seen them on the farms and on the plains of this nation; I have spoken to them in the homes they make, among the families they provide for, in the neighborhoods they maintain.

And there^{is} is one special group of heroes that I wish to acknowledge on this occasion, a group whose interests and well-being I intend to watch over with the solicitude of a father, and with the respect of one indebted, as we are all indebted to them.

That group is the young men who bore the battles of Vietnam.

Any nation which sends its young men off to war, and then sneers at their exertions, disparages their sacrifice, questions their morality, uses them as scapegoats for political misjudgments, and receives them home without honor takes a very long step toward disaster.

This disgrace, this blot on our national honor, I mean to erase by word and deed, by symbol and significant action.

We suffer no dearth of heroes in this land; we have merely suffered confusion as to who they were.

* * * * *

Though we love this land beyond any telling of it, yet we are not complacent nor blind to those failings by which some are excluded and others denied. America is not a finished product, but an on-going adventure, and those who are impatient for perfection take on themselves a special obligation to weigh their urgent ideals in the balance of a history marked by steady expansion of human liberty and opportunity.

Two centuries ago, Burke counseled caution for those who wished to reshape a nation, saying that the reformer "should never dream of beginning its restoration by its subversion; that he should approach to the faults of the State as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe and trembling solicitude."

His words are no less cogent today, for the fabric of mutual trust upon which our whole history is painted and beneath which we shelter today is a fragile thing, more easily torn than mended.

* * * * *

We must not falter in the steady tread toward equality for all. Common sense tells us that those who have the least stake in a society have the least interest in its preservation. And so, out of simple self-interest, if not common decency, we must be diligent to see that every citizen has such a stake, and that our institutions comprehend no distinction between the least among us and the most exalted.

At the same time, both common sense and historical experience teach us that we cannot institutionalize compassion and make it the responsibility of the state without making its recipients wards of the state, dehumanized objects of a cold, mechanized and grudging charity.

We must find our way back to that genuine, robust compassion which flows from the human heart, which is founded in love and mutual respect, and which once bound the family, enriched the neighborhood, strengthened the nation, and defined true patriotism.

For how can we love our country and not love our countryman? And how can we love our countryman and not reach out to lift him when he falls, heal him when he is sick, clothe him when he is naked, and raise him by example and occasion to self-sufficiency so that he stands equal with us in fact and not just in theory?

* * * * *

I believe that the conscience of man, permitted to do its work, will do more to restore our society and that essential comity which is the life force of a decent society than all the programs ever devised by a self-interested bureaucracy.

* * * * *

International

There are those in the world who tell us that man's destiny is determined, and that we are prisoners of history. We do not agree. Free men understand the difference between being prisoners of history, which is a novel and corrupt thesis, and being prisoners of the state and its ideology — which is the brutal reality of life for a large part of the world's people.

* * * * *

The Italian statesman, Cavour, said that "You can do anything

(Koch)--8

with bayonets . . . except sit on them." It is always possible to conquer by force, but it is not eternally possible to govern by force. This is the meaning of events in eastern Europe today. If there is a threat to peace in the world today, it flows from the fact that tyranny and the human spirit are not compatible.

The danger to world peace today comes not from any immediate effort to impose a totalitarian system on the free world, but rather from the increasingly brutal efforts required to maintain that system where it exists.

* * * * *

There is an inherent instability in any political system in which the state is exalted above the people, the mass above the individual; in which the government is not representative of the will of the people, and the people have no means to change the government; in which truth is a grave threat, and in which humanity's unquenchable thirst for liberty is a frightening specter which hangs over every deliberation.

* * * * *

If we are to have peace in the world, then we must see the world as it is and not as we wish it to be. We must see ourselves as our allies see us, and not as we wish them to see us, and we must above all see ourselves as our adversaries see us.

* * * * *

There are those who believe, or say they do, that the Soviet threat to human liberty and world peace is not real, but is rather in the eyes of the beholder.

There are those who believe, or say they do, that if the United States would only unilaterally disarm itself, then our adversaries, encouraged by such a gesture of confidence and good

will, would beat their swords into plowshares and peace would come to the world at last.

Those who believe this seek the security of the ostrich. For nothing is more certain than this: Those who rule by force are condemned to live in fear, and those who live in fear will always constitute a threat to the common good of man.

* * * * *

No people desire peace more fervently than our own. No responsibility rests more heavily on the shoulders of a President than the responsibility for preserving the peace, and so preserving the lives of his countrymen and the lives of our allies.

* * * * *

We will go to the ends of the earth in the search for peace. But we will not pay any price for peace. We will pay any price for ~~our~~ liberty; we have done it before, and we shall have no compunction about doing it again. We shall maintain arms sufficient to the purpose, and we shall expect our allies to do the same. Freedom is indivisible, and so is the responsibility for defending it.

* * * * *

We do not wish to sacrifice our social progress and our economic well-being to building arms and armies as others in the world do. But we shall ensure that our arms and our armies are sufficient. And we shall take further confidence from the knowledge that no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will of free men and women. *It is a weapon our adversaries in Tokyo would not have.*

* * * * *

We have differences with those powers which hold the future of

(KOCH)--10

the world in their hands, even as we do. And so we shall be conscious in all that we do to find those paths to the future which skirt both conflict and capitulation.

But finally, our course will be set by that point upon which we and our adversaries agree irrevocably, definitively and beyond polemic, that point which is the guide to our dealings with the world, and the touchstone of our national existence. It is this -- and our adversaries while denying all else, will not deny this, but insist upon it with obstinate conviction: in the communist world, man is the servant of the government -- which they exalt by calling it the state; and in the world's oldest republic, the leader of the free world, government is the servant of man.

That remains the most revolutionary idea in a world which in many areas has raised thuggery to the level of international policy.

We too are the product of a revolution.

Ken,

I will forward additional material, including endings by mail.

Merry Christmas and warm regards,

Noel
