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KK + Gov. Reagan 1-9-81

Check protocol of who to address
on podium.

To paraphrase a great British
Prime Minister — Churchill?

SAN DIEGO UNION
January 12, 1981

Reagan Heads For His Ranch

LOS ANGELES (AP) — President-elect Ronald Reagan headed for his ranch in the Santa Ynez Mountains near Santa Barbara yesterday for his last pre-inaugural visit there.

An aide said he planned to close the house.

Before leaving by Marine Corps helicopter, he told reporters at the Santa Monica Airport that he was finished with his work on his inaugural address "unless someone comes up with some better ideas."

Asked whether the speech, which he will deliver from the western steps of the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 20, would be short or long, he said, "short," and then added it would take about 15 minutes to deliver.

PRESERVATION COPY

U.S. truck plant can build no trucks because suppliers are refusing to provide four components, United Auto Workers union President Douglas A. Fraser said yesterday.

Officials of the struggling No. 3 automaker insisted in recent days that no supplier had cut off shipments for non-payment of bills. Yesterday, they did not confirm or deny Fraser's claim.

Fraser spoke to reporters after the fourth day of bargaining between company and union officials on Chrysler's proposed \$600 million wage freeze. The proposal is a key part of Chrysler's plan to win \$400 million more in government loan guarantees.

Fraser said that the Warren, Mich., assembly plant had no radiators, carpeting, gasoline tanks or straps used to attach the tanks to truck bodies. He did not name suppliers of the parts.

Congress has approved loan guarantees of up to \$1.5 billion for Chrysler and the automaker has used \$800 million. On Dec. 23, the company applied for another \$400 million. Chrysler says it needs the money by the end of January to stay in business.

Bones may be those of Atlanta youths

ATLANTA — Police searchers struggling through vine-entangled woods in a southwestern suburb yesterday found bones officials say may belong to one of two skeletons discovered in an investigation of the killings or disappearances of 16 black children.

About 200 policemen, police cadets and state and federal agents lined up yesterday for an intense, four-hour search of a 300-acre tract in suburban East Point, where the bodies of two other children have been found since November 1979.

"We found a couple of bones, that from all indications, were from the same skeletal remains that were found (Friday) night," Atlanta Police Chief George Napper said yesterday.

Atlanta Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown said the skeletal remains appeared to be those of children, but said it would be "in extremely poor taste and premature to speculate" whether the remains were those of the five missing black children.

Meanwhile, 250 volunteers searched woods several miles away yesterday but found nothing. A leader of the citizen search, Atlanta Councilman Arthur Langford, charged that police diverted his group to an area where no clues would be found for fear the volunteers would steal publicity.

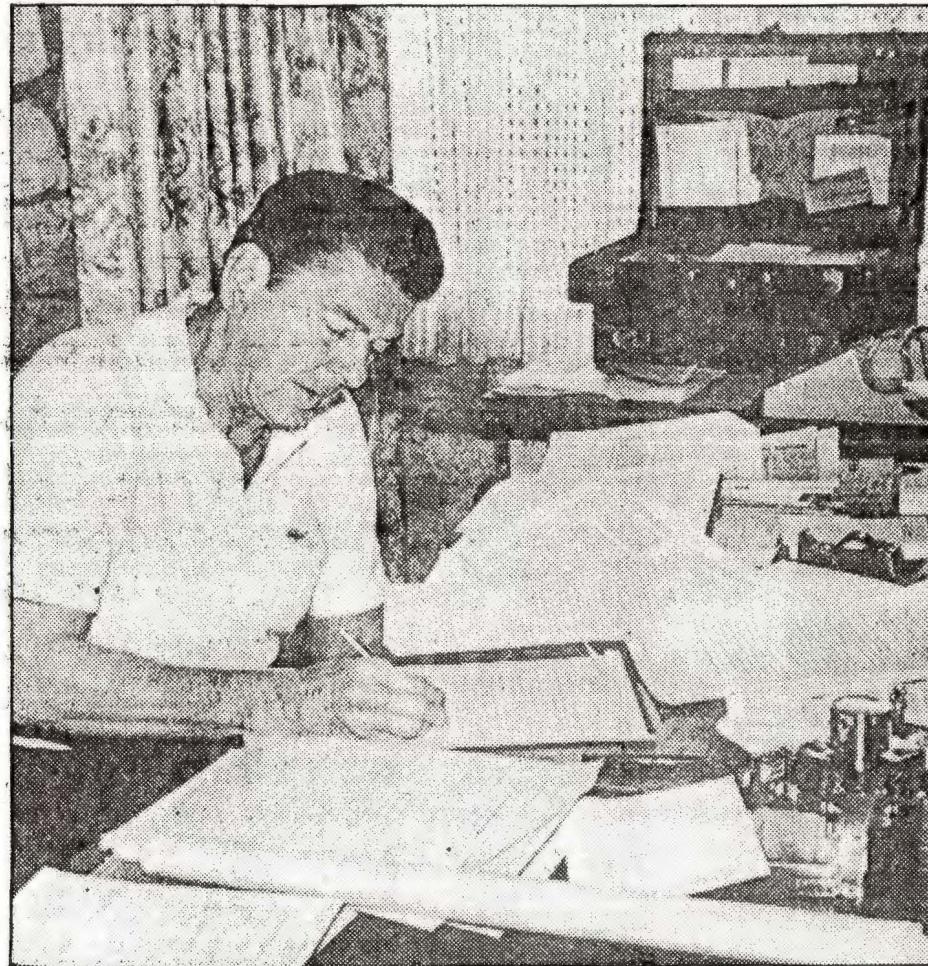
A buyer for Yale's valuable doubloon

demand that Haig explain himself at tomorrow's hearing.

Haig rejected, under questioning by Sen. Christopher Dodd, D-Conn., improved ties with Cuba. He said,

but Feby said instead that he favored creating a committee to decide what might be worth subpoenaing. Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., the Tennessee Republican, said that seeking the tapes would lead to

objection whatever to the commission's subpoenaing of conversations he had with Nixon while serving as his chief of staff. The material requested covers May 4 to July 18, 1973.



Ronald Reagan hard at work on his Inauguration Day speech.

Reagan 'putting his heart' into the inaugural address

Associated Press

With his Cabinet selected and key White House positions assigned, President-elect Ronald Reagan is devoting his energies to writing his inaugural address, seeking to convey "a sense of urgency" about the nation's ills.

He has completed a first draft, finishing his handwritten text on a cross-country flight Thursday afternoon. But there is still more work to be done, polishing and fine-tuning, and Reagan told reporters that in final form, "I still haven't gotten to that magic page yet, that last one."

Writing the speech is perhaps Reagan's last major task between now and the inauguration one week from Tuesday, and his aides are taking pains to portray the work as all his.

"The real bottom line is he wrote it out. He drafted the damn thing. He produced the product. He just did the whole thing," said one aide.

The speech, which Reagan will deliver from the western steps of the Capitol minutes after taking the oath of office at noon on Jan. 20, will be the most important document of his early administration.

Edwin Meese III, who will be the counselor to the president in the Reagan

White House, said yesterday that the inaugural address will "emphasize the fact that we face many problems in domestic and foreign affairs," and added: "There is a sense of urgency in the speech."

He said Reagan's tone was "one of expressing leadership, emphasizing the fact that he sees himself as president of all the people, not just those who voted for him."

The president-elect carried his copy of the first draft, written partly in pencil and partly with a blue ball-point pen on a yellow legal-size pad, into his limousine Friday when he was driven to his barbershop and to his tailor.

Reagan aides are tight-lipped about the inaugural address, at least when they are identified by name, because they expect that secrecy will heighten the impact of the speech and because they are sensitive to questions about whether Reagan himself is writing the document.

One aide said the speech was "several" pages long and would be of "moderate" length, probably 15 to 20 minutes when delivered.

An aide familiar with the writing said Reagan is "putting his effort into it and his heart."

Money

Continued from page A-1

arrangements with American banks overseas that had

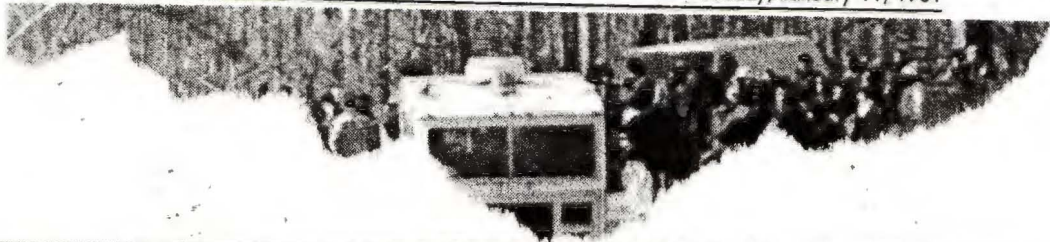
requests for clarification from the Iranians.

State Department officials said Christopher was unable to predict if the intense pace of the negotiations would result in an agreement before Carter leaves office.

Christopher, after what he described as a "very

Dec. 19, called for the United States to deposit \$14 billion in guarantees to cover the assets Iran claimed were frozen and another \$10 billion for the shah's property. As the assets were made available to Iran, it would draw from those funds on deposit in Iran.

This was rejected by the Carter administration on



From The San Diego Union's News Services

ST. AUGUSTINE, Fla. — Actor Richard Boone, known to television viewers for his role as Paladin in the series "Have Gun, Will Travel," died here yesterday of cancer of the throat. He was 63.

Boone, who was frequently cast as the late John Wayne's adversary in such films as "Big Jake" and "The Shootist," was serving as cultural ambassador of the state of Florida at the time of his death.

Boone, who had retired here in 1972 to paint, is survived by his wife, Claire, a former ballerina he married in 1951, and a son, Peter. Burial will be private.

In the "Have Gun, Will Travel" series, produced by CBS from 1957 to 1961, the craggy-faced Boone played a loner who hired out his shooting skills and carried business cards that read, "Have gun, will travel."

However, he was proudest of his work in "The Richard Boone Show," a pioneering attempt at a genuine television repertory theater. The show used the same actors in differ-

ent roles in a new play each week.

The show was a critical success but failed in ratings. It was canceled after one season.

Boone was born in Los Angeles on June 18, 1917, a seventh generation nephew of pioneer Daniel Boone.

Following an education at Stanford University, where he won the light heavyweight intercollegiate boxing title while studying liberal arts, he was an oil-field roustabout in Southern California and then took up painting full-time before spending four years in the Navy as an aerial gunner during World War II.

At the end of the war Boone decided to become an actor and moved to New York to study at the Neighborhood Playhouse under Sanford Meisner and Martha Graham, where he served as director-teacher during the 1970s.

After graduation he became one of the early members of Lee Strasberg's Actors' Studio, where he worked extensively with Strasberg and Elia Kazan. At the same time he studied and danced with Graham,

Anna Sokolov and Nina Fonaroff.

His first professional acting job was as understudy to John Gielgud in "Medea." He then played with Sir Michael Redgrave in "Macbeth." He also began to appear in television dramas presented on "Studio One," "Playhouse 90" and "Climax."

These appearances won him acclaim and the lead role in the new TV series "Medic," then on to "Have Gun, Will Travel."

He then moved on to the "Richard Boone Show" and eventually starred in the television series "Hec Ramsey."

He made his motion picture debut in 1951 in "The Halls of Montezuma." He was signed to a long-term contract at 20th Century-Fox and made 10 films there, including "The Robe" and "Vicki."

Boone also appeared in "The Alamo," "The Arrangement," "Night of the Following Day" and "Hombre." His last movie, "The Bushido Blade," is now in limited release overseas.

Boone was named best actor three

Reagan Polishes His Inaugural Address

From The San Diego Union's News Services

LOS ANGELES — Ronald Reagan yesterday secluded himself in his Pacific Palisades home polishing the inaugural address he will deliver Jan. 20 when he takes office as the nation's 40th president.

Aides said Reagan worked at a desk amid a home barren of most furniture, which already has been sent to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

He and his wife, Nancy, arranged to make their last trip today to Reagan's favorite retreat, his 688-acre ranch near Santa Barbara, before returning Wednesday to Wash-

ington.

Ken Khachigian, Reagan's chief speechwriter, said the first draft of the inaugural address already had been written by the president-elect and he was "polishing from here on in."

Khachigian would give no hint of the theme or tone of the speech.

"It's a magic moment, an historical moment," he said, saying the address should be a surprise to listeners.

Reagan read a book of inaugural addresses of past presidents, but Khachigian said it offered little help

in molding his 1981 speech.

"You can gain inspiration, but you don't get much guidance" because of the different circumstances of the times, he said.

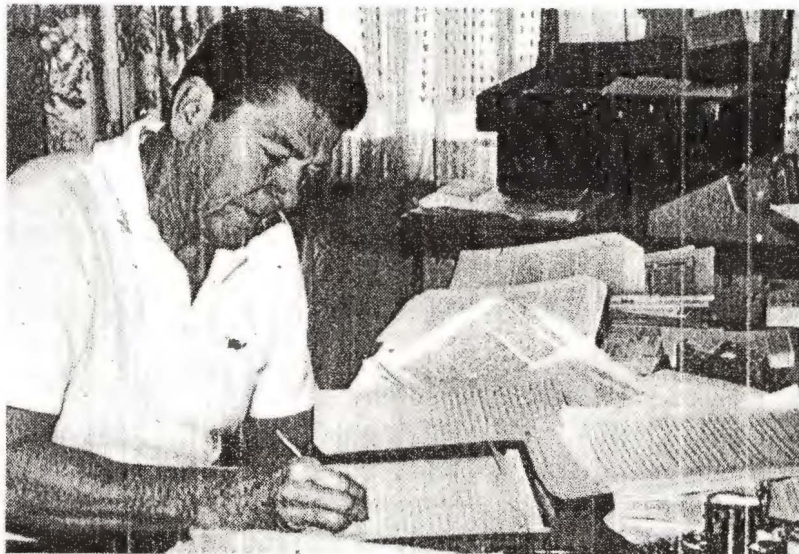
Khachigian, who worked in the Nixon and Ford administrations and on Reagan's campaign, now does consulting and public affairs work in San Clemente. He said his chief task in composing the inaugural address was to act as a "facilitator" who coordinated ideas on content, tone and substance.

The writing process began in mid-December, Khachigian said, when ideas were gathered in memo form from the staff. Reagan studied those and added his own ideas while aides followed up with suggestions in essay form.

Late in December, Khachigian said Reagan told him what he wanted to use from all the suggestions and the speechwriter boiled it down into a "loose form," from which Reagan wrote the first draft.

"He is a very good writer," Khachigian said. "He uses very spare prose — it's lean and it's very workmanlike and he's an excellent editor."

Edwin Meese III, who will be the counselor to the president in the Reagan White House, said the inaugural address will "emphasize the fact that we face many problems in domestic and foreign affairs," and added: "There is a sense of urgency in the speech."



PRESIDENT-ELECT AT WORK ON HIS SPEECH
... adviser says 'very spare prose' is used

1-12-81
**Inaugural:
President's
First Travail**

By BRYCE NELSON
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—From George Washington in 1789 to Jimmy Carter in 1977, U.S. Presidents have been deeply moved by the solemn ceremonies of the inauguration, a celebration they have variously hailed as "grand," "gorgeous" and "sublime."

But inaugurations also have been times that tried men's souls; James Madison and Zachary Taylor found themselves so victimized by human frailty and disorganization that they almost wished they had stayed in bed.

This year's ceremonies may be no exception. While no end of pomp and circumstance is planned, one Democratic senator contends that the West Front of the Capitol, where Ronald Reagan's inauguration will occur, is so old that sandstone blocks may topple onto the head of the new President—a possibility heatedly denied by the Capitol architect but typical of what incoming chief executives have to put up with on Inauguration Day.

'Sublimest Thing'

Wrote John Adams to his beloved wife, Abigail, after his 1797 inauguration: "My dearest friend—your dearest friend ne'er had a more trying day." During the ceremony, the 5-foot-7 Adams felt overshadowed, in prestige as well as height, by Washington, the 6-foot-2 outgoing President.

Even so, Adams confided to Abigail that "what they call the inauguration" is "the sublimest thing ever exhibited in America." One hundred and eighty years later, Jimmy Carter echoed these sentiments when he told a friend after his inauguration: "I'm as exhilarated—and as tired—as I have ever been in my life."

It is against this varied background and conflict of emotions that Ronald Reagan on Jan. 20 will take the 35-word oath making him the 40th President of the United States, an oath that over the years has become the centerpiece of lavish daylong ceremonies that go to the heart of the nation's democratic process.

Chances are that at the close of the day, the new Republican President will agree with a member of the opposition party, William McWhorter Cochrane, now minority staff director for the Senate Rules Committee, who has helped organize several recent inaugurations.

Testament to Democracy

"There's no ceremony in the Republic that's more important," Cochrane said recently. "It's symbolic of the fact that we don't need coups to change the guard in this country. I'm a straight-ticket Democrat, but I'm inspired with every new administration, Republican or Democrat."

This year, for the first time, ceremonies will be conducted at the West Front of the Capitol, rather than the east.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) touched off a brouhaha recently when he charged that the West Front was "on the verge of collapse" and would be "hazardous to the point of peril" for Reagan. Capitol Architect George S. White scoffs at such assertions, and anyway, he says, wooden braces he has

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PRESERVATION COPY

DAY: Inauguration Often President's First Travail

Continued from First Page

installed will solve the problem.

Indicative of how things get out of hand around inauguration time, a Moynihan aide now says the senator was indulging in a bit of hyperbole to press his case in a long-simmering dispute over plans to remodel the Capitol.

The switch from the East Front to the west is designed to accommodate more spectators and to take advantage of the striking view down the Washington Mall, a scene that serves as a panoramic evocation of the nation's history, taking in the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, the Potomac River and Arlington National Cemetery.

This is a far cry from the West Front view in the 1800s, when those looking out from the Capitol gazed

Contributing to this article was Diana C. Moore of the Times Washington Bureau.

down upon a canal carrying raw sewage, a swamp, ramshackle wooden buildings, smoke-belching locomotives at a railroad yard and a flourishing red-light district.

Considering this setting, it was perhaps only natural that some of the newly elected Presidents viewed their inaugurations with some trepidation, and that many voiced considerable relief when the day was done.

Washington had qualms at his inauguration, which was conducted in New York City. Even before reaching that city, he wrote: "My movements to the chair of government will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to a place of execution."

Washington was so awed by the occasion that he felt inadequate to the challenge confronting him. An observer wrote that "this great man was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket."

Help From Reporters

Harry S. Truman felt much the same when, upon the sudden death of Franklin D. Roosevelt on April 12, 1945, he was thrust onto the presidential stage near the close of World War II. As he was about to take the presidential oath in the Cabinet Room of the White House, the former Kansas City haberdasher murmured to a group of reporters: "If you fellows ever pray, please pray for me."

But Truman felt differently three years later after being elected in his own right. "A gorgeous day, in every sense of the word," he said then of his inauguration.

Some of the more festive inaugural rites, especially the traditional inaugural ball, tripped up other leaders.

James Madison, whose wife, Dolley, in 1809 was the first President's wife to witness her husband's inauguration, reluctantly attended a grand inauguration ball at Long's Hotel in southeast Washington. The socially minded Dolley thoroughly enjoyed the festivities, but Madison told a friend, "I would much rather be in bed."

At 64, Gen. Zachary Taylor, "Old Rough and Ready" of the Mexican and Indian wars, traveled by train from his Baton Rouge, La., home to Washington for his inauguration on March 5, 1849. The event was postponed one day because March 4 was a Sunday. (Inaugurations were held on March 4 until 1936, when the January date was adopted.)

As he stepped off the train at night amid booming

cannon, bonfires and flights of rockets, Taylor had about had it. "Oh, for a bed," he muttered.

But if these Presidents thought they suffered travail, they should have been standing with Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower on a specially built stand in front of the White House on Jan. 20, 1953, as the World War II hero reviewed his inaugural parade.

All was going peacefully when cowboy Monte Montana, his steed prancing along Pennsylvania Avenue, suddenly lassoed the surprised President, much of the chagrin of the Secret Service. Eisenhower's comment has not been recorded.

Such have been the tribulations of Inauguration Day, enough perhaps to have given some new Presidents second thoughts about their fate. Indeed, this was the case with John Adams as he was sworn in with the outgoing Washington at his side.

"A solemn scene it was indeed," Adams wrote to his wife, "and it was made more affecting to me by the presence of the general, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day.

"He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him think, 'Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which of us will be the happiest.'"

PRESERVATION COPY



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Bill Hamon

This is a good country - too
good to be burned down, or destroyed
by subversion. It is a good country
for all of us & for our children

For too long we have ~~been~~
allowed others to do our thinking
for us. It is time we do some
thinking of our own.

Are we qualified? The answer
is an ~~unequivocal~~ ^{unequivocal} yes. Our capability
is based on a bed-rock belief
in God & in traditional virtues
that have stood the test of centuries.

sidered in a jail. The basic concept is that the government has full responsibility for the welfare of the people and, in order to discharge that responsibility, must assume control of all their activities. It is significant that in actuality the Russian people have few of the rights supposedly "guaranteed" to them in their constitution, while the American people have them in abundance even though they are not guaranteed. The reason, of course, is that material gain and economic security simply cannot be guaranteed by any government. They are the result and reward of hard work and industrious production. Unless the people bake one loaf of bread for each citizen, the government cannot guarantee that each will have one loaf to eat. Constitutions can be written, laws can be passed and imperial decrees can be issued, but unless the bread is produced, it can never be distributed.

The Real Cause of American Prosperity

Why, then, do Americans bake more bread, manufacture more shoes and assemble more TV sets than Russians do? They do so precisely because our government does *not* guarantee these things. If it did, there would be so many accompanying taxes, controls, regulations and political manipulations that the productive genius that is America's would soon be reduced to the floundering level of waste and inefficiency now found behind the Iron Curtain. As Henry D. Thoreau explained:

"This government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. *It does not keep the country free. It does not settle the West. It does not educate. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more, if the government had not sometimes got in its way.* For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it." (Quoted by Clarence B. Carson, *The American Tradition*, p. 100; *P.P.N.S.*, p. 171)

In 1801 Thomas Jefferson, in his First Inaugural Address, said:

"With all these blessings, what more is necessary to make us a happy and prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall 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 had earned." (*Works* 8:3)

A Formula For Prosperity

The principle behind this American philosophy can be reduced to a rather simple formula:

1. Economic security for all is impossible without widespread abundance.
2. Abundance is impossible without industrious and efficient production.
3. Such production is impossible without energetic, willing and eager labor.

4. This is not possible without incentive.

5. Of all forms of incentive—the freedom to attain a reward for one's labors is the most sustaining for most people. Sometimes called *the profit motive*, it is simply the right to plan and to earn and to enjoy the fruits of your labor.

6. This profit motive *diminishes* as government controls, regulations and taxes *increase* to deny the fruits of success to those who produce.

7. Therefore, any attempt *through governmental intervention* to redistribute the material rewards of labor can only result in the eventual destruction of the productive base of society, without which real abundance and security for more than the ruling elite is quite impossible.

An Example of the Consequences of Disregarding these Principles

We have before us currently a sad example of what happens to a nation which ignores these principles. Former FBI agent, Dan Smoot, succinctly pointed this out on his broadcast number 649, dated January 29, 1968, as follows:

“England was killed by an idea: the idea that the weak, indolent and profligate must be supported by the strong, industrious, and frugal—to the degree that tax consumers will have a living standard comparable to that of taxpayers; the idea that government exists for the purpose of plundering those who work to give the product of their labor to those who do not work.

The economic and social cannibalism produced by this communist-socialist idea will destroy any society which adopts it and clings to it as a basic principle—*any* society.

The Power of True Liberty from Improper Governmental Interference

Nearly two hundred years ago, Adam Smith, the Englishman, who understood these principles very well, published his great book, *The Wealth of Nations*, which contains this statement:

“The natural effort of every individual to better his own condition, when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security, is so powerful a principle, that it is alone, and without any assistance, not only capable of carrying on the society to wealth and prosperity, but of surmounting a hundred impertinent obstructions with which the folly of human laws too often incumbers its operations; though the effect of these obstructions is always more or less either to encroach upon its freedom, or to diminish its security.” (Vol. 2, Book 4, Chapt. 5, p. 126)

But What About the Needy?

On the surface this may sound heartless and insensitive to the needs of those less fortunate individuals who are found in any society, no matter how affluent. “What about the lame, the sick and the destitute?” is an often-voiced question. Most other countries in the world have attempted to use the power of government to meet this need. Yet, in every case, the improvement has been marginal at best and has resulted in the long run

In the discharge of my duty I shall be guided by a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Fed. govt. & those reserved to the States or to the people.

The oath I have taken here today is ~~the~~ not peculiar to the office of the Pres. It is shared by every patriotic American — the solemn obligation to preserve, protect & defend the const. of the U. S.

Peace is the highest aspiration of the
people of the U. S. We ~~are~~ will negotiate for it,
sacrifice for it but we will not surrender for it—
now or ever.

the peace of the world has been in danger. And, of course, our will is read largely in terms of our capacity to exert our will.

Now, as a practical matter, what does that mean? Does it mean what some say -- that when a nation is armed, it invites war; that the purpose of arms is war? No. That is the argument of people who are either ignorant of, or contemptuous of, our history.

Our arms have never been used for conquest. That is a truth worth dwelling on. Show me any other which was not, or else is not today, like Russia, an imperial power. We never sought to control others. Our defense capacity was always used for just that: defense.

But, if that is so, upon what grounds do some claim that we are feared in the world? Is it an honest claim?

Well, it is and it isn't.

It is a claim undergirded by ignorance and gullibility. Those who find Pravda convincing may find the claim compelling. But what is the foundation of the fear? It is this: one of our Founding Fathers, I do not recall which, said, "The disease of liberty is catching." There are those in the world who fear their people will catch it. The United States of America has been a carrier from the days when Jefferson told the British Empire that "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." If we do nothing else, we encourage others by our very existence to believe that man's natural destiny is to be free, and that freedom is an achievable and workable ideal. Small wonder that some fear us. Heaven help humanity of the day their fears are laid to rest.

Now, today we have a President who advertises himself as a peacemaker. It is not an uncommon claim in this century.

technological innovation and a marked decline in the rate of saving as rising inflation has seriously undermined the expected value of tomorrow's dollars.

3. Crisis of cooperation

In comparing the workings of our political process with virtually any of the other major industrial nations, I cannot help but be struck by the almost complete lack of cooperation among government, business and labor. This has contributed in large part to the misguided regulations that have all but paralyzed many of our once competitive industries. If, for example, the Federal Government and business had worked more closely in concert in formulating reasonable emissions and fuel economy standards, much of this region's current pain could have been mitigated. Or, if labor unions and management had approached contract negotiations from the common perspective of the long-term viability of their enterprises many of the costly and self-defeating provisions of previous contract settlements could have been avoided. If Government, labor and business leaders could learn to approach the apparent tradeoffs of unemployment, declining real disposable income, and diminishing incentives, the solutions would undoubtedly be more equitable, creative, and far more likely to succeed.

The Dallas Morning News

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SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1980

Reagan for President

THE DALLAS Morning News endorses Ronald Reagan for president of the United States.

We endorse him for reasons that go beyond the simple need for speedy eviction of the White House's present occupant. This need is urgent enough, Jimmy Carter's policies having gravely weakened America both at home and abroad.

Of course, it avails nothing to throw out one bungler and promptly install another. We could not so warmly recommend the election of Ronald Reagan were we not convinced that a Reagan administration would substantially advance this country's prospects for peace and freedom during the critical 1980s.

The News believes that Reagan has not only the necessary attributes for the presidency, but, further, the potential to start getting America turned around — to set it on a new course, its limp and empty sails filled at last by the winds of freedom.

To begin with, Reagan has both intelligence and common sense, an invaluable combination in high office. Reagan, as those who know him affirm, reads widely and is quick to grasp issues.

But in addition, he is wise enough to know that he does not know everything, a form of wisdom rare in Washington. He will bring to his administration the best brains available. His foreign and domestic advisers are top-drawer — a compelling thought, considering the caliber of his opponent's inner circle.

In the second place, Reagan has a solid track record as governor of Califor-

nia. Lacking substantial power over the budget process, and faced when he entered office with a whopping deficit, he was obliged to raise taxes by \$900 million. But he also returned \$1 billion of state taxes directly to the people and provided another \$1 billion a year in subventions to local governments. His success at cutting the welfare rolls has become part of the Reagan legend.

Above all else, Reagan has a clear and consistent vision of what America ought to be doing at a moment of crisis; one that makes this election arguably the most important in our history.

Reagan asks why, being rich and enterprising, we struggle in the mire of stagflation; why, being powerful and freedom-loving, we command so little respect in the world.

The incumbent complains that he cannot help it if things are bad; that the country has a "malaise."

Reagan offers, by contrast, purpose, direction and leadership to bring America out of the wilderness. He wants tax cuts to spur productivity and defense-spending increases to make us stronger. He wants more consistency in our conduct of foreign affairs.

He is right to want these things, for they go to the heart of America's present dilemma — that of a skilled and energetic country unable for the past few years to combine vigor with vision.

Because he not only seeks these goals but presents workable plans to achieve them, The News believes the best possible choice for president is Ronald Reagan.

Dallas we as individuals are free. We cannot have a nation that is free.

We seek friendship & alliance with nations that share our dream of freedom. When they seek our help — help should be freely given. We have no wish to buy their sovereignty with our help for ~~our~~ our own sovereignty is not for sale.

12-29-80

Frank Cannon Jackson

Don't mention the hostage -
big mistake

Don't worry about just wrapping
Main thing is tone - The impression
you convey is important.

Tough, realistic - but a change
is here.

Tough, but upbeat - the effects
of campaign.

Never name J.C. & couch it.
But lay the blame where it
belongs.

{ The people voted for a
change & they will get
it.

Don't get hung up by needing
to write a historical document.
Don't make it only timeless.

Main thing - that the record be
credible.

America was an
idea in the heart
of every person
yearning to live free,
that idea became a
reality. The reality
took on life. But
even as we grow
older - we are,
first & last an
idea come to charge
the world.

- We have so much
to do in our lives
- we need special
energies to get it
done.

~~What~~ ^{are} I know that
we will get it
done - & we will have
those energies

We're Americans.

We must always
see the world
as it is not
as we wish it
to be —

But we must
always wish it
to be better
than it is

He didn't talk our
way into this
critical situation,
& we won't
talk our way
out. It won't
happen while each
of us watches what
our neighbors does -
it will happen when
each of us shows our
neighbor what must be done.

The government need
to be once again
on the side
not on our backs.

I take this
oath not just
as President but
as an American
citizen - Earl
of us - voluntarily -
swear to protect &
the C. of the
United States -
I am among you.

re: state vs
Fed govt.

Re. Hamie vs
institutional
arrangements - It
is coincident
that as the power
of our state has
diminished the dis-
location in our society
has increasingly
fed. overbearing

and centralization
also has the effect
of further de-
personalizing the
govt. — These
are profound
questions of our
modern society —
We must confront
restore balance
to the Federal
system.

We can no longer
hold out promises of success
what we make of success
we must largely make

Part I-A

W. S. C. S.

I N S I D E

had
the
sub-
no-
The
he

"disadvantaged youth"—boys and girls, ages 16 to 21, from impoverished communities, who had dropped out or flunked out of school and had no prospect for advancement. In the jargon of the day, the program was aimed at removing them from their "negative environ-

**Sooner State Has
a Super**

December 17, 1980

Ken

Here is another late starter, but I send it on for your review.

Bob Garrick

December 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED MEESE
FROM: ANNE ARMSTRONG *ala*
SUBJECT: THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

LENGTH:

After skimming the nearly 6000 words of William Howard Taft's 1909 speech, I am convinced that the length of an Inaugural Address should be no longer than 20 to 30 minutes. Lincoln's second, T. Roosevelt's, Wilson's first, FDR's first and Kennedy's are good examples of comparative brevity. The fewer words the President speaks, the more eloquent he must be -- and the more general.

SYMBOLISM:

The act performed on January 20th symbolizes one of the most important features of American government: the transfer of political power is peaceful. The significance of an act so much taken for granted should be emphasized.

The site of the address also offers opportunities for comment. The President will face the monuments of three of our greatest Presidents. Some brief remembrance of each might be useful.

For the first time, the President will also look west toward all the rest of the country.

THEME:

The American people have suffered numerous "New" offerings from new governments during this century. Some have caught on; some have not. Whether or not to introduce another one like "A New Beginning" is a difficult judgment to make. There is sufficient cause to argue that people generally are tired of these themes and deservedly cynical.

We need only recall the quick subsidence of "The New Foundation". And certainly, the press will probably lead the cynics. At the same time, the President's unique ability to generate optimism and enthusiasm can possibly overcome this negativism. However, rather than relying on the oft-used gimmicks of the past, he has all the theme he needs in the "community of values": "family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom".

STYLE:

For lean but eloquent English, nothing beats Lincoln's second Inaugural Address.

A writing style which no longer has its former impact is best exemplified in Kennedy's speech: "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." The best course to follow is that of simple and sinewy English, typical of the President-elect.

In a short speech for TV, too much applause can interrupt the flow and the feeling of inspiration which this speech should generate. The speech should be written so that there are just a few potent applause lines.

MOOD:

Ronald Reagan's mood or, better yet, his spirit is the best guideline for his speech. He is upbeat, optimistic, positive and inspiring. If his address captures his spirit and unerring sense of leadership of and relationship with his constituents, it will be in the right spirit.

CONTENT:

I question whether the American people fully appreciate the seriousness of our country's problems. Certainly inflation is a constant presence, but the broader ramifications of the country's strategic position have not yet fully registered.

Therefore, prior to the inspirational portion of the speech, the President should paint a realistic and, necessarily, stark picture of the tremendous problems we face. He should emphasize that they have been building for years and that it will take time to solve them. Nevertheless, he should note that the American people have faced even more serious problems in the past and have always solved them once the facts were fully understood and the need for sacrifices made clear.

I noted above that the President will be facing the monuments of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln during his address. Perhaps, in this "difficult times" portion of his remarks, an allusion could be made to the trying and ultimately triumphal times of these three leaders.

This is the occasion for a great leader. In this, his first act as President, he must reach for all the support he can muster. He should not use this occasion to cite a program of specific actions he intends to pursue. The effect of specific recommendations can be electric but also divisive. This first act should be a celebration of unity after the harshness and disharmony of the campaign battles.

I am not recommending a string of platitudes. But the eloquent expression of a basic theme articulating the President's vision for the country and his basic optimism and faith in the people will evoke the desired response of unity and confidence.

The President should take care not to promote unreasonable expectations. However, if this advice is to be transformed into a faint-hearted or overly cautious approach, this Administration will have gotten off on the wrong foot. The President must be realistic, as I have mentioned above. However, his greatest strength lies in generating confidence and optimism. This strength should be exploited to its fullest. A leader should lead and should express his vision and his own expectations as he sees them.

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help.

Molly

Inaugural Message of
RONALD REAGAN
Governor



Delivered during Inaugural Ceremonies
at the State Capitol

January 5, 1967

INAUGURAL ADDRESS
RONALD REAGAN
GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

Lieutenant Governor Finch, fellow Constitutional Officers, Justice McComb, Honorable Members of the Congress, President pro Tem Burns and Members of the Senate, Speaker Unruh and Members of the Assembly, Distinguished Guests:

To a number of us, this is a first and hence a solemn and momentous occasion, and yet, on the broad page of state and national history, what is taking place here is almost commonplace routine. We are participating in the orderly transfer of administrative authority by direction of the people. And this is the simple magic which makes a commonplace routine a near miracle to many of the world's inhabitants: the continuing fact that the people, by democratic process, can delegate this power, yet retain custody of it.

Perhaps you and I have lived with this miracle too long to be properly appreciative. Freedom is a fragile thing and is never more than one generation away from extinction. It is not ours by inheritance; it must be fought for and defended constantly by each generation, for it comes only once to a people. Those who have known freedom and then lost it have never known it again.

Knowing this, it is hard to explain those who even today would question the people's capacity for self-rule. Will they answer this: If no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? Using the

use this ~ s/g
like it to give

RR likes that

temporary authority granted by the people, an increasing number lately have sought to control the means of production as if this could be done without eventually controlling those who produce. Always this is explained as necessary to the people's welfare. But, "The deterioration of every government begins with the decay of the principle upon which it was founded." This is as true today as it was when it was written in 1748.

Government is the people's business, and every man, woman and child becomes a shareholder with the first penny of tax paid. With all the profound wording of the Constitution, probably the most meaningful words are the first three, "We, the People." Those of us here today who have been elected to constitutional office or legislative position are in that three-word phrase. We are of the people, chosen by them to see that no permanent structure of government ever encroaches on freedom or assumes a power beyond that freely granted by the people. We stand between the taxpayer and the taxspender.

It is inconceivable to me that anyone could accept this delegated authority without asking God's help. I pray that we who legislate and administer will be granted wisdom and strength beyond our own limited power; that with divine guidance we can avoid easy expedients as we work to build a state where liberty under law and justice can triumph, where compassion can govern and wherein the people can participate and prosper because of their government and not in spite of it.

The path we will chart is not an easy one. It demands much of those chosen to govern, but also from those who did the choosing. And let there be no mistake about this: We have come to a crossroad—a time of decision—and the path we follow turns away from any idea that government and those who serve it are omnipotent. It is a path impossible to follow unless we have faith in the collective wisdom and genius of

the people. Along this path government will lead but not rule, listen but not lecture. It is the path of a Creative Society.

A number of problems were discussed during the campaign and I see no reason to change the subject now. Campaign oratory on the issues of crime, pollution of air and water, conservation, welfare and expanded educational facilities does not mean the issues will go away because the campaign has ended. Problems remain to be solved and they challenge all of us. Government will lead, of course, but the answer must come from all of you.

We will make specific proposals and we will solicit other ideas. In the area of crime, where we have double our proportionate share, we will propose legislation to give back to local communities the right to pass and enforce ordinances which will enable the police to more adequately protect these communities. Legislation already drafted will be submitted, calling upon the Legislature clearly to state in the future whether newly adopted laws are intended to preempt the right of local governments to legislate in the same field. Hopefully, this will free judges from having to guess the intent of those who passed the legislation in the first place.

At the same time, I pledge my support and fullest effort to a plan which will remove from politics, once and for all, the appointment of judges . . . not that I believe I'll be overburdened with making judicial appointments in the immediate future.

Just as we assume a responsibility to guard our young people up to a certain age from the possible harmful effects of alcohol and tobacco, so do I believe we have a right and a responsibility to protect them from the even more harmful effects of exposure to smut and pornography. We can and must frame legislation that will accomplish this purpose without endangering freedom of speech and the press.

When fiscally feasible, we hope to create a California crime technological foundation utilizing both

public and private resources in a major effort to employ the most scientific techniques to control crime. At such a time, we should explore the idea of a state police academy to assure that police from even the smallest communities can have the most advanced training. We lead the nation in many things; we are going to stop leading in crime. Californians should be able to walk our streets safely day or night. The law abiding are entitled to at least as much protection as the lawbreakers.

While on the subject of crime . . . those with a grievance can seek redress in the courts or Legislature, but not in the streets. Lawlessness by the mob, as with the individual, will not be tolerated. We will act firmly and quickly to put down riot or insurrection wherever and whenever the situation requires.

Welfare is another of our major problems. We are a humane and generous people and we accept without reservation our obligation to help the aged, disabled and those unfortunates who, through no fault of their own, must depend on their fellow man. But we are not going to perpetuate poverty by substituting a permanent dole for a paycheck. There is no humanity or charity in destroying self-reliance, dignity and self-respect . . . the very substance of moral fiber.

We seek reforms that will, wherever possible, change relief check to paycheck. Spencer Williams, Administrator of Health and Welfare, is assessing the amount of work that could be done in public installations by welfare recipients. This is not being done in any punitive sense, but as a beginning step in rehabilitation to give the individual the self-respect that goes with performing a useful service.

But this is not the ultimate answer. Only private industry in the last analysis can provide jobs with a future. Lieutenant Governor Robert Finch will be liaison between government and the private sector in an all-out program of job training and education leading to real employment.

A truly great citizen of our state and a fine American, Mr. H. C. McClellan, has agreed to institute a statewide program patterned after the one he directed so successfully in the "curfew area" of Los Angeles. There, in the year and a half since the tragic riots, fully half of the unemployed have been channeled into productive jobs in private industry, and more than 2,600 businesses are involved. Mr. McClellan will be serving without pay and the entire statewide program will be privately financed. While it will be directed at all who lack opportunity, it offers hope especially to those minorities who have a disproportionate share of poverty and unemployment.

In the whole area of welfare, everything will be done to reduce administrative overhead, cut red tape and return control as much as possible to the county level. And the goal will be investment in, and salvage of, human beings.

This administration will cooperate with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in his expressed desires to return more control of curriculum and selection of textbooks to local school districts. We will support his efforts to make recruitment of out-of-state teachers less difficult.

On the subject of education . . . hundreds of thousands of young men and women will receive an education in our state colleges and universities. We are proud of our ability to provide this opportunity for our youth and we believe it is no denial of academic freedom to provide this education within a framework of reasonable rules and regulations. Nor is it a violation of individual rights to require obedience to these rules and regulations or to insist that those unwilling to abide by them should get their education elsewhere.

It does not constitute political interference with intellectual freedom for the taxpaying citizens—who support the college and university systems—to ask that, in addition to teaching, they build character on accepted moral and ethical standards.

Just as a man is entitled to a voice in government, so he should certainly have that right in the very personal matter of earning a living. I have always supported the principle of the union shop even though that includes a certain amount of compulsion with regard to union membership. For that reason it seems to me that government must accept a responsibility for safeguarding each union member's democratic rights within his union. For that reason we will submit legislative proposals to guarantee each union member a secret ballot in his union on policy matters and the use of union dues.

There is also need for a mediation service in labor-management disputes not covered by existing law.

There are improvements to be made in workmen's compensation in death benefits and benefits to the permanently disabled. At the same time, a tightening of procedures is needed to free business from some unjust burdens.

A close liaison with our congressional representatives in Washington, both Democratic and Republican, is needed so that we can help bring about beneficial changes in social security, secure less restrictive controls on federal grants and work for a tax retention plan that will keep some of our federal taxes here for our use with no strings attached. We should strive also to get tax credits for our people to help defray the cost of sending their children to college.

We will support a bipartisan effort to lift the archaic 160-acre limitation imposed by the federal government on irrigated farms. Restrictive labor policies should never again be the cause of crops rotting in the fields for lack of harvesters.

Here in our own Capitol, we will seek solutions to the problems of unrealistic taxes which threaten economic ruin to our biggest industry. We will work with the farmer as we will with business, industry and labor to provide a better business climate so that they may prosper and we all may prosper.

There are other problems and possible problems facing us. One such is now pending before the United States Supreme Court. I believe it would be inappropriate to discuss that matter now, but we will be prepared with remedial legislation we devoutly hope will be satisfactory to all of our citizens if court rulings make this necessary.

This is only a partial accounting of our problems and our dreams for the future. California, with its climate, its resources and its wealth of young, aggressive, talented people, must never take second place. We can provide jobs for all our people who will work and we can have honest government at a price we can afford. Indeed, unless we accomplish this, our problems will go unsolved, our dreams unfulfilled and we will know the taste of ashes.

I have put off until last what is by no means least among our problems. Our fiscal situation has a sorry similarity to the situation of a jetliner out over the North Atlantic, Paris bound. The pilot announced he had news—some good, some bad—and he would give the bad news first. They had lost radio contact; their compass and altimeter were not working; they didn't know their altitude, direction or where they were headed. Then he gave the good news—they had a 100-mile-an-hour tailwind and they were ahead of schedule.

Our fiscal year began July 1st and will end on the coming June 30th—six months from now. The present budget for this 12-month period is \$4.6 billion, an all-time high for any of the 50 states. When this budget was presented, it was admittedly in excess of the estimated tax revenues for the year. It was adopted with the assurance that a change in bookkeeping procedures would solve this imbalance.

With half the year gone, and faced now with the job of planning next year's budget, we have an estimate provided by the experienced personnel of the Department of Finance. We have also an explanation

of how a change in bookkeeping could seemingly balance a budget that called for spending \$400 million more than we would take in.

Very simply, it was just another one-time windfall—a gimmick that solved nothing but only postponed the day of reckoning. We are financing the 12-month spending with 15-month income. All the tax revenues for the first quarter of next year—July, August, and September—will be used to finance this year's expenses up to June 30th. And incidentally, even that isn't enough, because we will still have a deficit of some \$63 million.

Now, with the budget established at its present level, we are told that it, of course, must be increased next year to meet the added problems of population growth and inflation. But the magic of the changed bookkeeping is all used up. We are back to only 12 months' income for 12 months' spending. Almost automatically we are being advised of all the new and increased taxes which, if adopted, will solve the problem. Curiously enough, another one-time windfall is being urged. If we switch to withholding of personal income tax, we will collect two years' taxes the first year and postpone our moment of truth perhaps until everyone forgets we did not cause the problem—we only inherited it. Or maybe we are to stall, hoping a rich uncle will remember us in his will.

If we accept the present budget as absolutely necessary and add on projected increases plus funding for property tax relief (which I believe is absolutely essential and for which we are preparing a detailed and comprehensive program), our deficit in the coming year would reach three-quarters of a billion dollars.

But Californians are already burdened with combined state and local taxes \$113 per capita higher than the national average. Our property tax contributes to a slump in the real estate and building trades industries and makes it well nigh impossible for many citizens to continue owning their own homes.

For many years now, you and I have been shushed like children and told there are no simple answers to the complex problems which are beyond our comprehension.

I Well, the truth is, there are simple answers—there just are not easy ones. The time has come for us to decide whether collectively we can afford everything and anything we think of simply because we think of it. The time has come to run a check to see if all the services government provides were in answer to demands or were just goodies dreamed up for our supposed betterment. The time has come to match outgo to income, instead of always doing it the other way around.

The cost of California's government is too high; it adversely affects our business climate. We have a phenomenal growth with hundreds of thousands of people joining us each year. Of course the overall cost of government must go up to provide necessary services for these newcomers, but growth should mean increased prosperity and thus a lightening of the load each individual must bear. If this isn't true, then you and I should be planning how we can put up a fence along the Colorado River and seal our borders.

Well, we aren't going to do that. We are going to squeeze and cut and trim until we reduce the cost of government. It won't be easy, nor will it be pleasant, and it will involve every department of government, starting with the Governor's office. I have already informed the Legislature of the reorganization we hope to effect with their help in the executive branch and I have asked for their cooperation and support.

The new Director of Finance is in complete agreement that we turn to additional sources of revenue only if it becomes clear that economies alone cannot balance the budget.

Disraeli said: "Man is not a creature of circumstances. Circumstances are the creatures of men." You and I will shape our circumstances to fit our needs. }

Let me reaffirm a promise made during the months of campaigning. I believe in your right to know all the facts concerning the people's business. Independent firms are making an audit of state finances. When it is completed, you will have that audit. You will have all the information you need to make the decisions which must be made. This is not just a problem for the administration; it is a problem for all of us to solve together. I know that you can face any prospect and do anything that has to be done as long as you know the truth of what you are up against.

We will put our fiscal house in order. And as we do, we will build those things we need to make our state a better place in which to live and we will enjoy them more, knowing we can afford them and they are paid for.

If, in glancing aloft, some of you were puzzled by the small size of our State Flag . . . there is an explanation. That flag was carried into battle in Vietnam by young men of California. Many will not be coming home. One did—Sergeant Robert Howell, grievously wounded. He brought that flag back. I thought we would be proud to have it fly over the Capitol today. It might even serve to put our problems in better perspective. It might remind us of the need to give our sons and daughters a cause to believe in and banners to follow.

If this is a dream, it is a good dream, worthy of our generation and worth passing on to the next.

Let this day mark the beginning.

Ronald Reagan

Governor

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Ken Khandjian

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

WASHINGTON, DC 20270

December 15, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Meese
Jim Baker
Mike Deaver
Marty Anderson

SUBJECT: Inaugural Address

FROM: Tom Korologos T.K.

During one of our private meetings with the Governor last week, he asked that the following lines be part of his Inaugural Address.

"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."

Dick Allen 12-19-80

KK: 200-300

- 1) restore confidence in America
- 2) restore margin of safety
via vigorous defense program
- 3) coincidence of special sect
in Caribbean & Latin America -
not possible for call for
a Marshall plan for this area

allies etc.

Dick Moore, 12-23-80

Has a page opening w/ a
reference to the scene.

P.R. should consider using
it — the visual majesty
of the sight.

Doesn't think it should be too
abstract or lofty — if it is,
it won't be kept.

Don't put the audience to
sleep. Must be short, powerful,
simple etc.



✓ Dick Moore: 861-7800

Get Samuel Rosenman - "Working
w/ Roosevelt" - get this
book, Harper Bros.

✓ Ray Price - ~~home~~ 212-254-6757

✓ Tony Dolan - 634-7550

✓ PJB

✓ Bill Oavin

✓ Noel Koch

✓ Michael Scully - 212-593-7123
- 212-988-9873 - home

✓ Pete Hamford

✓ Bruce Werschevsky

Vernon Jordan Telecon

12-23-80

Sending me 3 ^{different}
versions

no pride of authorship -
wants it as effort to be
helpful;

Just between us:

Don't feel any pressure.

Official Announcement

November 13, 1979

7:30 p.m. EST

New York Hilton, New York, NY

Good evening. I am here tonight to announce my intention to seek the Republican nomination for President of the United States.

I'm sure that each of us has seen our country from a number of viewpoints depending on where we've lived and what we've done. For me it has been as a boy growing up in several small towns in Illinois. As a young man in Iowa trying to get a start in the years of the great depression and later in California for most of my adult life.

I've seen America from the stadium press box as a sportscaster, as an actor, officer of my labor union, soldier, officeholder and as both Democrat and Republican. I've lived in an America where those who often had too little to eat outnumbered those who had enough. There have been four wars in my lifetime and I've seen our country face financial ruin in the depression. I have also seen the great strength of this nation as it pulled itself up from that ruin to become the dominant force in the world.

To me our country is a living, breathing presence, unimpressed by what others say is impossible, proud of its own success, generous, yes and naive, sometimes wrong, never mean and always impatient to provide a better life for its people in a framework of a basic fairness and freedom.

Someone once said that the difference between an American and any other kind of person is that an American lives in anticipation of the future because he knows it will be a great place. Other people fear the future as just a repetition of past failures. There's a lot of truth in that. If there is one thing we are sure of it is that history need not be relived; that nothing is impossible, and that man is capable of improving his circumstances beyond what we are told is fact.

There are those in our land today, however, who would have us believe that the United States, like other great civilizations of the past, has reached the zenith of its power; that we are weak and fearful, reduced to bickering with each other and no longer possessed of the will to cope with our problems.

Much of this talk has come from leaders who claim that our problems are too difficult to handle. We are supposed to meekly accept their failures as the most which humanly can be done. They tell us we must learn to live with less, and teach our children that their lives will be less full and prosperous than ours have been; that the America of the coming years will be a place where--because of our past excesses--it will be impossible to dream and make those dreams come true.

I don't believe that. And, I don't believe you do either. That is why I am seeking the presidency. I cannot and will not stand by and see this great country destroy itself. Our leaders attempt to blame their failures on circumstances beyond their control, on false estimates by unknown, unidentifiable experts who rewrite modern history in an attempt to convince us our high standard of living, the result of thrift and hard work, is somehow selfish extravagance which we must renounce as we join in sharing scarcity. I don't agree that our nation must resign itself to inevitable decline, yielding its proud position to other hands. I am totally unwilling to see this country fail in its obligation to itself and to the other free peoples of the world.

The crisis we face is not the result of any failure of the American spirit; it is a failure of our leaders to establish rational goals and give our people something to order their lives by. If I am elected, I shall regard my election as proof that the people of the United States have decided to set a new agenda and have recognized that the human spirit thrives best when goals are set and progress can be measured in their achievement.

During the next year I shall discuss in detail a wide variety of problems which a new administration must address. Tonight I shall mention only a few.

No problem that we face today can compare with the need to restore the health of the American economy and the strength of the American dollar. Double-digit inflation has robbed you and your family of the ability to plan. It has destroyed the confidence

to buy and it threatens the very structure of family life itself as more and more wives are forced to work in order to help meet the ever-increasing cost of living. At the same time, the lack of real growth in the economy has introduced the justifiable fear in the minds of working men and women who are already overextended that soon there will be fewer jobs and no money to pay for even the necessities of life. And tragically as the cost of living keeps going up, the standard of living which has been our great pride keeps going down.

The people have not created this disaster in our economy; the federal government has. It has overspent, overestimated, and over-regulated. It has failed to deliver services within the revenues it should be allowed to raise from taxes. In the thirty-four years since the end of World War II, it has spent 448 billion dollars more than it has collected in taxes--448 billion dollars of printing-press money, which has made every dollar you earn worth less and less. At the same time, the federal government has cynically told us that high taxes on business will in some way "solve" the problem and allow the average taxpayer to pay less. Well, business is not a taxpayer; it is a tax collector. Business has to pass its tax burden on to the customer as part of the cost of doing business. You and I pay the taxes imposed on business every time we go to the store. Only people pay taxes and it is political demagoguery or economic illiteracy to try and tell us otherwise.

The key to restoring the health of the economy lies in cutting taxes. At the same time, we need to get the waste out of federal spending. This does not mean sacrificing essential services, nor do we need to destroy the system of benefits which flow to the poor, the elderly, the sick and the handicapped. We have long since committed ourselves, as a people, to help those among us who cannot take care of themselves. But the federal government has proven to be the costliest and most inefficient provider of such help we could possibly have.

We must put an end to the arrogance of a federal establishment which accepts no blame for our condition, cannot be relied upon to give us a fair estimate of our situation and utterly refuses to live within its means. I will not accept the supposed "wisdom" which has it that the federal bureaucracy has become so powerful that it can no longer be changed or controlled by any administration. As President I would use every power at my command to make the federal establishment respond to the will and the collective wishes of the people.

We must force the entire federal bureaucracy to live in the real world of reduced spending, streamlined functions and accountability to the people it serves. We must review the functions of the federal government to determine which of those are the proper province of levels of government closer to the people.

The 10th article of the Bill of Rights is explicit in pointing out that the federal government should do only those things specifically called for in the Constitution. All others shall

remain with the states or the people. We haven't been observing that 10th article of late. The federal government has taken on functions it was never intended to perform and which it does not perform well. There should be a planned, orderly transfer of such functions to states and communities and a transfer with them of the sources of taxation to pay for them.

The savings in administrative overhead would be considerable and certainly there would be increased efficiency and less bureaucracy.

By reducing federal tax rates where they discourage individual initiative--especially personal income tax rates--we can restore incentives, invite greater economic growth and at the same time help give us better government instead of bigger government. Proposals such as the Kemp-Roth bill would bring about this kind of realistic reductions in tax rates.

In short, a punitive tax system must be replaced by one that restores incentive for the worker and for industry; a system that rewards initiative and effort and encourages thrift.

All these things are possible; none of them will be easy. But the choice is clear. We can go on letting the country slip over the brink to financial ruin with the disaster that it means for the individual or we can find the will to work together to restore confidence in ourselves and to regain the confidence of the world. I have lived through one depression. I carry with me the memory of a Christmas Eve when my brother and I and our parents

exchanged our modest gifts--there was no lighted tree as there had been on Christmases past. I remember watching my father open what he thought was a greeting from his employer. We all watched and yes, we were hoping it was a bonus check. It was notice that he no longer had a job. And in those days the government ran radio announcements telling workers not to leave home looking for jobs--there were no jobs. I'll carry with me always the memory of my father sitting there holding that envelope, unable to look at us. I cannot and will not stand by while inflation and joblessness destroy the dignity of our people.

Another serious problem which must be discussed tonight is our energy situation. Our country was built on cheap energy. Today, energy is not cheap and we face the prospect that some forms of energy may soon not be available at all.

Last summer you probably spent hours sitting in gasoline lines. This winter, some will be without heat and everyone will be paying much more simply to keep home and family warm. If you ever had any doubt of the government's inability to provide for the needs of the people, just look at the utter fiasco we now call "the energy crisis." Not one straight answer nor any realistic hope of relief has come from the present administration in almost three years of federal treatment of the problem. As gas lines grew, the administration again panicked and now has proposed to put the country on a wartime footing; but for this "war" there is no victory in sight. And, as always, when the federal bureaucracy

fails, all it can suggest is more of the same. This time it's another bureau to untangle the mess made by the ones we already have.

But, this just won't work. Solving the energy crisis will not be easy, but it can be done. First we must decide that "less" is not enough. Next, we must remove government obstacles to energy production. And, we must make use of those technological advantages we still possess.

It is no program simply to say "use less energy." Of course waste must be eliminated and efficiency promoted, but for the government simply to tell the people to conserve is not an energy policy. At best it means we will run out of energy a little more slowly. But a day will come when the lights will dim and the wheels of industry will turn more slowly and finally stop. As President I will not endorse any course which has this as its principle objective.

We need more energy and that means diversifying our sources of supply away from the OPEC countries. Yes, it means more efficient automobiles. But it also means more exploration and development of oil and natural gas here in our own country. The only way to free ourselves from the monopoly pricing power of OPEC is to be less dependent on outside sources of fuel.

The answer obvious to anyone except those in the administration it seems, is more domestic production of oil and gas. We must also have wider use of nuclear power within strict safety rules,

of course. There must be more spending by the energy industries on research and development of substitutes for fossil fuels.

In years to come solar energy may provide much of the answer but for the next two or three decades we must do such things as master the chemistry of coal. Putting the market system to work for these objectives is an essential first step for their achievement. Additional multi-billion dollar federal bureaus and programs are not the answer.

In recent weeks there has been much talk about "excess" oil company profits. I don't believe we've been given all the information we need to make a judgment about this. We should have that information. Government exists to protect us from each other. It is not government's function to allocate fuel or impose unnecessary restrictions on the marketplace. It is government's function to determine whether we are being unfairly exploited and if so to take immediate and appropriate action. As President I would do exactly that.

On the foreign front, the decade of the 1980's will place severe pressures upon the United States and its allies. We can expect to be tested in ways calculated to try our patience, to confound our resolve and to erode our belief in ourselves. During a time when the Soviet Union may enjoy nuclear superiority over this country, we must never waiver in our commitment to our allies nor accept any negotiation which is not clearly in the national interest. We must judge carefully. Though we should leave no initiative untried in our pursuit of peace, we must be

clear voiced in our resolve to resist any unpeaceful act wherever it may occur. Negotiation with the Soviet Union must never become appeasement.

For the most of the last forty years, we have been preoccupied with the global struggle--the competition--with the Soviet Union and with our responsibilities to our allies. But too often in recent times we have just drifted along with events, responding as if we thought of ourselves as a nation in decline. To our allies we seem to appear to be a nation unable to make decisions in its own interests, let alone in the common interest. Since the Second World War we have spent large amounts of money and much of our time protecting and defending freedom all over the world. We must continue this, for if we do not accept the responsibilities of leadership, who will? And if no one will, how will we survive?

The 1970's have taught us the foolhardiness of not having a long-range diplomatic strategy of our own. The world has become a place where, in order to survive, our country needs more than just allies--it needs real friends. Yet, in recent times we often seem not to have recognized who our friends are. This must change. It is now time to take stock of our own house and to resupply its strength.

Part of that process involves taking stock of our relationship with Puerto Rico. I favor statehood for Puerto Rico and if the people of Puerto Rico vote for statehood in their coming referendum I would, as President, initiate the enabling legislation to make this a reality.

We live on a continent whose three countries possess the assets to make it the strongest, most prosperous and self-sufficient area on earth. Within the borders of this North American continent are the food, resources, technology and undeveloped territory which, properly managed, could dramatically improve the quality of life of all its inhabitants.

It is no accident that this unmatched potential for progress and prosperity exists in three countries with such long-standing heritages of free government. A developing closeness among Canada, Mexico and the United States--a North American accord--would permit achievement of that potential in each country beyond that which I believe any of them--strong as they are--could accomplish in the absence of such cooperation. In fact, the key to our own future security may lie in both Mexico and Canada becoming much stronger countries than they are today.

No one can say at this point precisely what form future cooperation among our three countries will take. But if I am elected President, I would be willing to invite each of our neighbors to send a special representative to our government to sit in on high level planning sessions with us, as partners, mutually concerned about the future of our Continent. First, I would immediately seek the views and ideas of Canadian and Mexican leaders on this issue, and work tirelessly with them to develop closer ties among our peoples. It is time we stopped thinking of our nearest neighbors as foreigners.

By developing methods of working closely together, we will lay the foundations for future cooperation on a broader and more significant scale. We will also put to rest any doubts of those cynical enough to believe that the United States would seek to dominate any relationship among our three countries, or foolish enough to think that the governments and peoples of Canada and Mexico would ever permit such domination to occur. I for one, am confident that we can show the world by example that the nations of North America are ready, within the context of an unswerving commitment to freedom, to seek new forms of accommodation to meet a changing world. A developing closeness between the United States, Canada and Mexico would serve notice on friend and foe alike that we were prepared for a long haul, looking outward again and confident of our future; that together we are going to create jobs, to generate new fortunes of wealth for many and provide a legacy for the children of each of our countries. Two hundred years ago we taught the world that a new form of government, created out of the genius of man to cope with his circumstances, could succeed in bringing a measure of quality of human life previously thought impossible.

Now let us work toward the goal of using the assets of this continent, its resources, technology and foodstuffs in the most efficient ways possible for the common good of all its people. It may take the next 100 years but we can dare to dream that at some future date a map of the world might show the North American

continent as one in which the peoples and commerce of its three strong countries flow more freely across their present borders than they do today.

In recent months leaders in our government have told us that, we, the people, have lost confidence in ourselves; that we must regain our spirit and our will to achieve our national goals. Well, it is true there is a lack of confidence, an unease with things the way they are. But the confidence we have lost is confidence in our government's policies. Our unease can almost be called bewilderment at how our defense strength has deteriorated. The great productivity of our industry is now surpassed by virtually all the major nations who compete with us for world markets. And, our currency is no longer the stable measure of value it once was.

But there remains the greatness of our people, our capacity for dreaming up fantastic deeds and bringing them off to the surprise of an unbelieving world. When Washington's men were freezing at Valley Forge, Tom Paine told his fellow Americans: "We have it in our power to begin the world over again," We still have that power.

We--today's living Americans--have in our lifetime fought harder, paid a higher price for freedom and done more to advance the dignity of man than any people who ever lived on this earth. The citizens of this great nation want leadership--yes--but not a "man on a white horse" demanding obedience to his commands. They want someone who believes they can "begin the world over again." A leader who will unleash their great strength and remove the

roadblocks government has put in their way. I want to do that more than anything I've ever wanted. And it's something that I believe with God's help I can do.

I believe this nation hungers for a spiritual revival; hungers to once again see honor placed above political expediency; to see government once again the protector of our liberties, not the distributor of gifts and privilege. Government should uphold and not undermine those institutions which are custodians of the very values upon which civilization is founded--religion, education and, above all, family. Government cannot be clergyman, teacher and parent. It is our servant, beholden to us.

We who are privileged to be Americans have had a rendezvous with destiny since the moment in 1630 when John Winthrop, standing on the deck of the tiny Arbella off the coast of Massachusetts, told the little band of Pilgrims, "We shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword throughout the world."

A troubled and afflicted mankind looks to us, pleading for us to keep our rendezvous with destiny; that we will uphold the principles of self-reliance, self-discipline, morality, and--above all--responsible liberty for every individual; that we will become that shining city on a hill.

I believe that you and I together can keep this rendezvous with destiny.

Thank you and good night.

####

Dick Moore

12-22-80

world watches as Pres. takes
his oath looking out on

- Wright - Character
- Jefferson - wisdom
- Lincoln - Compassion } of a President

the symbolic gestures of America

+ shines dedicated to our greatest

The things they represent are the
symbolism + gestures of America.

[sea to shining sea] →

historic, symbolic panorama of
freedom.

- De
- Secy of State
- Secy of Defense
- Secy of Treasury
- Meese
- Baker, Jim
- Wirth

- Paul Jaxalt
- Ed Gray

212 -
972-7088

- Casey
- Deaver
- Hofgreen
- Dick Cella
- MCA
- ~~Al Bradley~~
- Ann Armstrong
- Bill Thomas
- St. Jacques

634-4921
634-1530
213-454-0302 (Elaine) Pacific Pal.
634-1900

Keep

- Conf. Tom Evans
- Wm. F.A. Smith

Vernon Om 634-1122

- Herschick
- Cannon
- Scully
- Govin ✓
- Hannaford ✓
- Dick More
- Dolan ✓

~~Ed Gray~~

- PSB ✓
- George Will ✓
- Percy Price ✓
- George John ✓

202-659-5750
213-477-8237

- De
- PSB
- Will
- RKP
- George
- Hannaford

7776

- ✓ Marty (Gold Candy) - 12-8 634-7241
- ✓ Dick Allen (per Secy) 12-8 634-4911
- ✓ Meese - per ~~Secy~~ 12-8
- ✓ • Wirthlin - 12-8 634-4921
- Casey - 12-8 212-972-2088
- ✓ Jim Brady - 12-8 202-634-1862
- ✓ Bill Timman - per Secy 12-8 634-1616
- ✓ Anne Armstrong per Maria 12-8 634-7522
- ✓ Vene Om - per Secy 12-8 634-1122
- ✓ • Ed Gray - per Secy 12-8 634-4800
- Mike Deaver - 12-8 ^{very} flower
- ✓ - Stu Spencer - per Nancy (ok) 12-8 714-979-7151
- Caruthers

✓ Chud Tyson - ~~12-8~~ 202-634-1776

- ✓ Paul Coxalt
- ✓ Wm Fr. Smith
- Tom Evans
- John
- ✓ Will per Jeannie
- KK: - Hanford
- PJB
- ✓ • - RKP
- ✓ - Berger

NO Pat Buchanan - memo bad

Telew - Brewster Morgan
12-17-80

First time ever held at
West Front

1st time
in
Capitol

3-4-1801 - senate chamber
of capital for T. Jefferson

Carol
Patrick
Telecom
12-15-80

Protocols per private
meeting

12-15-80

"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"

TO: BOB GARRICK
From: John McLaughry
October 29, 1980

SUGGESTIONS FOR INAUGURAL ADDRESS
12/10/80

To: Ken Khachigian
From: Bob Garrick

McLAUGHRAY'S WANT LIST FOR THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION
(not necessarily in order of importance)

- LIBERTY** - create White House unit with real muscle to crack down on oppressive, meddling government activities that invade personal privacy, threaten property, inhibit self help etc.
- PROPERTY** - initiate Domestic Policy Review of all federal actions that threaten the human right of private property ownership; and of all federal programs that operate to expand ownership. (This should be a central theme of any Republican administration.)
- DECENTRALIZATION** - set process in motion to decentralize present federal programs and tax base to state and local governments
- SOUND MONEY** - explore legislation to ensure sound money; for example, bar Fed from buying federal securities in any quarter when the monetary base has increased more than 1% over previous quarter, except to refinance existing issues or retire debt. This will require Treasury to sell debt to real buyers, instead of getting Fed to print new money to finance it.
- DEREGULATION** - accelerate deregulation of industries, dismantling of special deals, privileges
- TAX LIMITATION** - move forward with constitutional amendment to limit taxation (not supermajority budget amendment, but genuine tax limitation).
- FREE MARKET ENERGY** - terminate both energy subsidies and energy price controls and regulation, along with most of the DoE grant programs to special interests; along with DoE, for that matter.
- CAPITAL MOBILITY** - propose legislation for full integration of corporate and personal income taxes along lines of Carter Commission (Canada, 1966); and Individual Enterprise Accounts, providing rollover account for investment in independent businesses, etc.
- ECONOMY** - adopt determined program to cut spending for wasteful and foolish ends; this means abolish whole programs, not just waste and mismanagement.
- PRIVATIZE** - conduct thorough review of all federal programs and activities that could even conceivably be privatized (flood insurance, FIA, TMAP)
- HUMAN RIGHTS** - undertake sincere human rights offensive by first assuring the human rights of Americans (see Liberty and Property, above) and then inviting other nations to match our standard; name persons to represent US on UN Human Rights Commission who are independent of State Department and Executive Branch, to speak out on conscience; mount propaganda offensive against Soviets
- ALL VOLUNTEER FORCE** - restore adequate pay, GI Bill etc. to make armed forces work.

PRESERVATION COPY

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

WASHINGTON, DC 20270

December 12, 1980

Mr. Ken Khachigian
2245 Avenida Salvador
San Clemente, CA 92672

Dear Ken:

Herewith, the total returns from the memo and a telephone call to all the players this morning asking that they meet the deadline which was extended one day to -- Friday, 12 December.

We are shipping one complete packet via Federal Express and the second (duplicate) package is being given to Joe Canzeri to bring to Los Angeles on the Governor's plane which has an ETA in LAX on Saturday, 13 December 4:45 p.m./Pacific Standard Time.

Most cordially,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Bob Garrick", with a large, sweeping flourish at the end.

Bob Garrick
Deputy Director/Public Affairs

Enclosures

December 15, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: President-Elect Reagan

FROM: Ken Khachigian

Herewith the returns from those I asked for suggestions on your Inaugural remarks. I thought these might help stimulate your thinking on the direction in which you would like to go.

Once we have in mind the conceptual direction you prefer, we will start to get some drafts in motion.

11 December 1980

MEMO FOR: The President-Elect

FROM: Ray Price 

SUBJ: Inaugural Address

Ken Khachigian has invited me to offer you a few suggestions on the Inaugural, which I'm delighted to do. These will concern procedure as well as content. Some will be obvious, some may be less so. They reflect the experience of having been the President's principal collaborator on two of the last three (1969 and 1973), and are designed primarily to suggest ways of approaching the task.

Also attached are a few pages from my own book on the Nixon years, dealing with the preparation of the first Inaugural. You might find it useful to skim these. I've marked a few particularly pertinent passages.

Above all, the Inaugural is a sacramental occasion. In the attached book pages, I refer to it as "the supreme sacrament of the democratic system." Thus, while policy directions are important, the spiritual element is also important. People at home and abroad will comb it for clues to the policies and priorities of the new administration. But it's vital that it touch the heart and lift the spirit, that it be an occasion in which the whole nation can feel included. Other speeches can divide; this one must unify.

This address, uniquely, represents a symbolic "laying on of hands" -- thus, it needs to reach out to the fearful and the disaffected, not to pretend that you agree with them, but to demonstrate that you care about them.

It's also vital that it have a clear, coherent theme, and that it not be allowed to become a "laundry list." You'll have people pressing you from every direction to include this or that constituency group or program. Don't. They'll have their turn, later in the administration. The inaugural is the President's own, and it ought to deal in grand themes, in values, aspirations, priorities -- it speaks to the moment and to history, to this time and to all time. It sets a tone. It defines a Presidency.

You may already have clearly in mind the central themes you want it to strike, or you may not. My own experience has been that it's good to give these time to evolve, to sort of percolate up -- to try out ideas, see if they work, see if they suggest others, let them bubble around for a while; to make notes of ideas as they occur, and then look back at them

again later, in the process selecting out a few that a) work well, and b) work well together.

As you get down toward the final drafts, you'll have to be ruthless in discarding good ideas that might be fine for other speeches but don't belong in this one. Save them; maybe you can use them later; but don't try to use them now.

Carter's Inaugural is a good one to read as an example of what not to do. It was a mish-mash; it didn't track; it kept contradicting itself; it showed no coherence of thought, and no apparent awareness of its contradictions. Sadly, it foreshadowed the Carter presidency.

Short is better than long. If you aim for a 10-minute speech, you may end up with 20 minutes -- which would probably be about right (and also about the outside limit). Any more would be too much; much less might seem too little.

Some of your advisers may urge that you use the Inaugural to announce a sock-'em-between-the-eyes economic program, whether supply-side expansionist or belt-tightening austerity. I would argue strongly that whatever such move you might plan to take should not be announced in the Inaugural. Wait a decent interval, and then do it before a joint session of Congress. Make the Inaugural a unifying, ceremonial, uplifting event, in which you gain political capital that you can then spend on the hard issues. (Also, specific programmatic recommendations come with greater authority from the Executive Branch than from transition task forces. Anything announced immediately on taking office will be seen as the product of transition task forces; those that come a little later will be seen as the product of the Executive Branch, with its resources and responsibilities.) The Inaugural has to open the door for a hard program to crack inflation, and has to be crafted in such a way that it leaves open the door later on to hit the theme that this is a Reagan cure for a Carter inflation. But that theme can't be hit in the speech. Carter is sitting there; the Inaugural has to unify; it has to meet all the standards of ceremonial propriety.

To the extent that the speech attacks, it should attack conditions, not people. It can summon us to a common effort to break the back of inflation, to put America back to work, etc., but it shouldn't point out (human) culprits. It's a day for grace, for celebration, not for confrontation -- except for confrontation with those conditions that are our common enemy.

People know the country has troubles. They want to know that their new President knows it, too. And they want

hope that something can be done about them. The address needs a sober, realistic recognition of the challenge, but also a confident assertion that we can meet it. Not that we can end all our ills, not that we can abolish pain and suffering and evil and greed, not that we can fundamentally alter the human condition, but that we can hold our own and move forward; that we can turn back the tide before it overwhelms us; that we can, with a concerted effort, turn over the world to our successors in better shape than we found it. We can fail by daring too little, or by attempting too much. If we're realistic about what we set out to achieve, we have a better chance of achieving it. In recent years we've had too many false hopes raised, and too many false fears fanned. There's a good, gut common sense out there in the American people. Optimism is also native to America. The address should speak to that common sense, and also to that optimism.

An Inaugural is both poetry and prose. It speaks to the heart and to the head, and the awesome splendor of the occasion gives it the wings of music. It can help lift the eyes of the American people, it can give them that glimpse of the mountain-top that inspires them to gird for the journey. Abroad and at home, we're going to have to renew America's spirit, restore the strength of America's principles -- and of its resolve -- and roll up our sleeves and get on with the job. The Inaugural can be a summons to precisely this.

The moment is right. We confront genuine crises, domestic and foreign, of the magnitude that can bring out the greatness of both people and nations. People want to believe. The address needs an exuberance, an uplift, a can-do feeling -- but for this one particularly, it's going to be important to make clear that "can-do" means something other than simply "government can do." It means America can do. We've invested too much of our faith in government, and therefore too little in ourselves and in each other.

Good luck. You can make it a classic. I think you will.

painted in Gothic script on the moldings. I especially liked the one that read, "Verily I Say Unto You—Heaven and Earth Shall Pass Away. But My Words Shall Not Pass Away." Later, when the building was being torn down to make way for a black-sheathed slab of a new office building, a friend salvaged this molding for me. She also salvaged one for the campaign's finance chairman, Maurice Stans. It read: "Feed My Sheep.")

During the transition period between election and inauguration, most of us who still were involved in the operation continued to work in the old Bible Society building. The President-elect himself set up transition headquarters at the Hotel Pierre, on Fifth Avenue, just a block south of his own apartment. While putting together his new administration, he was also giving a good deal of time and thought to his inaugural address. He sought out ideas from many sources, but it was understood from the beginning that I would be his basic collaborator on it, and would be the one who worked with him on pulling it together.

As usual, I churned around in several directions at once, experimenting with various themes, trying out ideas, looking for inspiration, trying to think through what would be most appropriate to the moment. More than almost any other public occasion, a presidential inauguration has an almost sacramental element. Symbolism is important. Substance is also important. The American people look to it for an indication of what to expect from a new president, and of what he expects from them. So does the rest of the world.

Nixon did the same. He read every previous inaugural address. He jotted down ideas, dictated notes, gathered suggestions, all the time reaching for the central theme that would tie it all together. He wanted to keep it short: "Only the short ones are remembered." As we talked one day in early January, in his office at the Pierre, he reflected on the earlier ones. "The most memorable have come at turning points," he commented. "Lincoln's second was a great one—Theodore Roosevelt's was damn good, even though it came in the middle of his presidency. Wilson's was very good, and FDR's first. Kennedy's basically stands up because it has some good phrases, and because it caught the mood and it caught himself." He said that some people, recalling Truman's announcement of Point Four in 1948, were urging that he put some such specific in this one—for example, inviting the Soviets to join us in sending a man to the moon. But he rejected that sort of thing as "gimmickry," and said "it would stand out too transparently as gimmickry." As a matter of basic courtesy, he wanted to be careful not to "kick the predecessor while he's sitting there on the platform, as Kennedy did in 1960—

saying 'the torch has been passed to a new generation,' and so forth—but still to get the idea of something new." We should make clear, he said, "that this administration is going to be progressive, that we're not just going to be caretakers, that this is not just going to be a period of 'normalcy.' It's a time when great decisions are going to be made, and when we can all be a part of history." He wanted to exhort the people themselves to play a greater role, "not by telling them to put their nose to the grindstone, but by appealing to their better natures."

Shortly after the election, Nixon tapped Henry Kissinger and Pat Moynihan, both Harvard professors, as his assistants for national-security affairs and for urban affairs, respectively. The appointments dramatically demonstrated not only that Nixon was looking for top-flight talent but also that he was willing to reach across old barriers to get it. Kissinger had been a close, long-time associate of Nixon's long-time rival Nelson Rockefeller. Moynihan, a Democrat, was a veteran of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations (and, in 1965, a losing candidate for the Democratic nomination for president of the New York City Council). Nixon asked both for their own recommendations for the inaugural address.

Kissinger responded with three pages of text. His covering memo read:

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

From: Henry A. Kissinger

Subject: Proposed Foreign-Policy Section of Your Inaugural Address

I am attaching the outline of the inaugural. Some version of the underlined sentences on page three should be in for the reasons we have discussed. I shall be happy to explain the grounds for the other passages. In general, the attempt was to strike a note of sober, precise, methodical, undramatic progress.

The "underlined sentences on page three" were:

"To those who, for most of the postwar period, have opposed and, occasionally, threatened us, I repeat what I have already said: let the coming years be a time of negotiation rather than confrontation. During this administration the lines of communication will always be open."

In passing the Kissinger material along, Nixon explained to me that this had been worked out with Soviet representatives as a public signal to confirm the private indications he had given that he really did want an "era of negotiation." But this—or some version of it—was the only part of the Kissinger material that was sacrosanct.

Kissinger might label his draft "the outline of the inaugural," but Nixon had his own ideas.

(Actually the Kissinger draft struck me as mostly standard boilerplate rhetoric. But the brief passage on Vietnam had substance. It read: "We shall make peace in Vietnam. This is our aim in negotiations in Paris and on the battlefield in Vietnam. We shall be patient and we shall persevere in both efforts. We seek no permanent presence in South Vietnam. We ask no more than that the people of that nation be allowed to determine their own fate free of external force. We shall settle for nothing less." Before passing it along, Nixon crossed out the last sentence. The line reflected his policy. But if he stated it that belligerently and that categorically in his inaugural it might hinder negotiations.)

Moynihan's response, characteristically, was brisk, breezy and to the point:

"You asked for thoughts concerning your inaugural address," his memo began. "I have only a small number, and they will be thoroughly familiar to you."

First, he said, was "the matter of commitments. There are three groups which, by and large, were not important to your candidacy, but which can prove immensely important to your presidency. These are the black poor, the white working class, and the educated youth."

Among the first of those groups, Nixon had long been the target of such a fear campaign that Moynihan felt a special reassurance was needed: "The black poor desperately need to be reassured that you have no intention of turning away from the great goals of the civil-rights acts of 1959, 1964, and 1965, the goals of a free and open society in which equality of opportunity for blacks increasingly has the outcome of equality of achievement as well. It would be difficult to overstate the present anxiety. . . . I repeat the statement of your urban-affairs task force: The rumor is widespread that the new government is planning to build concentration camps."

One of Nixon's central aims, which he repeatedly stressed during the campaign, was to reverse the flow of power to Washington, to decentralize, to strengthen the states and localities. On this, Moynihan wrote:

"I would urge you to consider the possibility of a brief acknowledgment that in the past the cry of decentralization was typically that of persons who wanted government, that is to say organized society, to attempt less, not more. This is not your purpose at all, nor is this why the surge toward decentralization arose. To the contrary, it has sprung from the desire that organized society should

in fact achieve its goals, and that big, centralized government simply cannot deliver on its promises."

In the margin beside this, Nixon scrawled: "Decentralization is not an excuse for inaction, but a key to action." It was a point he wanted to make.

Ideas and suggestions poured in. Billy Graham wrote, urging a "strong spiritual emphasis," and saying he was convinced that young people would respond "to a tough and hard challenge." One of Nixon's closest friends is Hollywood gagwriter Paul Keyes, who was the creator of the old Rowan and Martin "Laugh-In" show,⁵ and at the time was still its chief writer. Keyes also has a serious side, and he sent along five pages of suggested language. One passage in the speech was drawn from the Keyes material: "Let us take as our goal: Where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent."

Nixon continued honing his own ideas, and developing his own themes. As usual, it was in the final week or so—as he himself began his own intensive concentration on it—that it really began to take form.

Rose Mary Woods and I joined him in Key Biscayne, where we worked on it until it said basically what he wanted to say. "We should try not for a blockbuster," he told me, as we started that final phase, "but to say what's in our hearts; what we believe." And he wanted to do it in a way that would heal a divided country, not divide it further: "In reading the better inaugurals—Wilson's, FDR's, Teddy Roosevelt's, Kennedy's—one very subtle but important point comes through. Each had problems, and talked about them. Both Wilson and FDR talked about them and tried to analyze them—but the theme of each was to kick hell out of someone else and tell the American people they're great. We've got to write the section about the spirit of America, about confronting ourselves, in a way that we don't condemn everybody. We mustn't appear to be scolding the people."

In writing the speech, he was also defining the goals of his presidency.

One of those goals was summed up in a theme we developed

5. One of the trademarks of "Laugh-In" was the line "Sock it to me!" followed, usually, by the dousing of the person saying it with buckets of water. At one point during the campaign Nixon made a cameo appearance on the show, consisting solely of his appearing suddenly on the screen, asking, in a puzzled voice, "Sock it to me?"

during the campaign: to break the pattern of the century's middle third at the start of its final third. In a neat bit of historical symmetry, the administrations from Franklin Roosevelt's through Lyndon Johnson's precisely spanned the middle third of the twentieth century. FDR was inaugurated in March 1933. He was the architect of the modern presidency, and of the vast expansion of federal powers that continued from his administration onward, reaching its zenith under Johnson, who came to Washington in the 1930s as a Roosevelt protégé. Even during the Eisenhower years—in all but the first two of which Congress remained solidly Democratic—the trend toward an expanded federal role continued.

One result was a weakening of government at the state and local level. Washington commanded the resources and wrote the rules. Washington collected the taxes, and then, when it passed money back, the money came wrapped in a tangle of federal red tape and regulations and reporting requirements. Increasingly, people got into the habit of looking not to city hall or the statehouse when they had a problem, but to Washington. As long as Washington was where the power was, and where the glamour was, Washington also was where the talent went—however much that talent was needed at the state and local levels.

As a result decisions minutely affecting local communities came increasingly to be made by faceless officials far from the scene, who, however highly motivated, had no way of responding to the infinite variety of local conditions. People felt helpless, confronted with a decision-making process that had passed beyond their control or even their influence, a process they frequently could not even locate or identify. At the same time, the more people expected from Washington, the less they were inclined to do for themselves.

Nixon's goal was not to dismantle the New Deal but to shift the direction of change, to shift the flow of power away from Washington and back closer to the people themselves.

In his own mind, the need for this change was rooted in more than the mechanics of government: It was rooted in the human spirit, and it was vital to the restoration of the American spirit.

At one point, as we worked on the speech, he was dissatisfied with the section of the draft that dealt with this. He looked up from the draft and, as he so often did, began spinning out his thoughts aloud: "This misses it. What we've got to say is, the emphasis in the past has been on material things and on government action. We've come to the ultimate limit in that respect. We've never had more programs, spent more money, or passed more laws than in the past third of a century. Yet we have these terrible problems today, and

the reason is that we've reached the ultimate in what government can do by itself. The missing thing is what's at the heart of the American experiment. While the United States is thought of as the wonder of the world, in terms of its material progress, its wealth, its productivity, what matters is the fact that the United States has provided a place for individual self-expression. We've got to provide that opportunity. We've got to ask millions of Americans to join in, not only to get the job done but also because only as an individual gets involved in a cause bigger than himself is he really fulfilled. Man needs food, clothing, medical care. But, above all else, for a man to be whole he needs self-expression, a chance to create, to build, to participate."

The inaugural address was not the place to speak of the mechanics of government; that would come later. Rather, it was a place to signal directions, to suggest priorities, to lay a healing hand on the nation's fevered brow, and, importantly, to seek to enlist the people themselves in the "high adventure" that he saw ahead. (One theme he had stressed throughout the campaign was the need to encourage a renaissance of "voluntary action"—private-citizen efforts to deal with the problems of people and communities on a volunteer level. One of the major disappointments of the first term was that our attempts to do this, including establishment of a national information exchange on techniques that proved successful in various communities, failed really to get off the ground.)

But it was, as he had stressed, essential to signal change without "kicking the predecessor." Thus, he spoke of the middle third of the century as "a time of proud achievement." But he warned that "we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do. . . . What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all."

He reached out to assuage the blacks' fears, of which Moynihan had warned, and to dampen whatever hopes there might be among bitter-enders that they could turn the march of racial progress:

"No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

"This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to insure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man."

Nixon carefully warned potential adversaries abroad that in its pursuit of peace, his administration would also keep its powder dry:

"With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the

burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

"But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be."

He also set his own first priority:

"The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

"If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

"This is our summons to greatness."

And he added "this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon to the cause of peace among nations."

In one of my own early drafts, weeks before, I had included a passage urging that, as a nation, we "lower our voices." It came back from Nixon with a note to "keep this theme." We did, and it became the theme most widely bannered in headlines the next day and most remembered since:

"The simple things are the ones most needed today, if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

"To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

"In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words: from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

"We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices."

By the time we flew back to New York from Key Biscayne, the themes had been honed, and the speech was basically in shape. On the way to the airport, Nixon, Bebe Rebozo, and I stopped off at Key Biscayne's Jamaica Inn for a quick dinner. For years, the Jamaica Inn had been one of Nixon's favorite restaurants. The main part, where he normally dined, is built around a soaring, glass-walled botanical garden, with lights playing on lush tropical foliage. The inn also has a more informal annex, the English Pub, a warren of booths with plain wooden benches and tables, where a mostly youthful crowd drink beer from glass mugs while eating hamburgers and french fries. That evening, Nixon's last in Key Biscayne before be-

coming President the next Monday, we slipped in through a back door, past the kitchen, and, unnoticed, took a booth in the Pub. Bebe had ordered ahead of time, a hamburger steak for each of us. As soon as we finished, Nixon thanked a slightly flustered young waitress, and we slipped back out again past the kitchen to the car, to the waiting Air Force Jetstar, and New York.

Back in New York, we continued to work on the speech through Saturday, refining it, until finally, at midnight, we both were satisfied that it was finished. We were scheduled to leave the next afternoon, Sunday, for Washington. Sunday night Nixon was to stay at Washington's Statler Hilton Hotel, and then at noon on Monday, on the steps of the Capitol, he was to be inaugurated as the 37th President of the United States.

In his office refrigerator at the Pierre that final Saturday, he found a single bottle of Heineken's. He got out two glasses, and we shared it, as he put his feet up on his desk for a final few moments of relaxation. Then he, Rose Mary Woods, and I left his transition office for the last time, and rode the elevator in silence to the street floor. Leaving the Pierre by a back entrance, Rose and I walked him the one block up Madison Avenue and another block across Sixty-second Street to his apartment, with the Secret Service agents following a few steps behind. It was his last night in New York, his last in the apartment that had been home for the past five years. There was a feeling of finality about it. The transition was ending. Now, at last, the presidency was about to begin.

The next morning, it turned out that we were not quite finished, after all. While I was hastily trying to pack, the phone rang. It was Nixon with a last-minute idea. He said it had occurred to him that it would add a gracious touch if he were to invite the people to share with him "the majesty of this moment." But it would be important, we both felt, that if he did so it not be in a way that would seem overly self-celebratory. So I sat at my typewriter again, and in the course of three more phone calls back and forth we worked out the opening that he used:

"Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice-President, President Johnson, Vice-President Humphrey, my fellow Americans—and my fellow citizens of the world community:

"I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free."

That seemed to me not only graceful but a historically apt concept. In the latter 1960s the nation had been wracked by the worst violence and torment in a century—and beneath the riots, the burn-

ings, the armed rebellions on campus, had been a profound challenge to the orderly processes of the exercise and transfer of power. The question, in its simplest form, was whether rule by mob would supplant rule by the democratic system. The peaceful inauguration of a new president, sharing the platform with his outgoing predecessor, the oath administered by the chief justice, the ceremony itself taking place on the steps of the Capitol—this was, in a very real sense, the supreme sacrament of the democratic system, bringing the three branches of government together in a rite as old as the republic to ratify the choice of the people, freely expressed.

January 20 dawned cold, gray, raw. The inaugural stand was set up on the steps of the East Front of the Capitol, facing the thousands of invited guests who sat, bundled against the chill, on benches stretched across the Capitol grounds. Outgoing President Lyndon Johnson, who had helped carry John F. Kennedy to victory over Nixon in 1960, was there. Outgoing Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, defeated by Nixon in 1968, was there. Chief Justice Earl Warren, the sometimes bitter Nixon rival from their days together in California politics, was there. But old feuds were submerged now, old differences eclipsed, as Richard Nixon, his hand on his family Bible, repeated after Earl Warren the words from Article II, Section 7 of the Constitution:

"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

The power had passed. The man who sought it eight years earlier now held it, confident in its exercise, and eager to get on with the job.

IV

GHOSTS OF PRESIDENTS PAST

When each new president moves into the White House, he finds that he shares it with the ghosts of his predecessors. They all live on, their legacies part of a newly inaugurated president's inheritance.

Of the thirty-five¹ men who had been president before Nixon, three were still living when he took office. Four years later there were none. Of all those thirty-five ghosts, three in particular roamed the White House with the 37th President: Dwight D. Eisenhower, who died less than ten weeks after Nixon took office; John F. Kennedy; and Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

With Eisenhower, the links were deeply personal, a combination of father/son, mentor/protégé, commander/subordinate, predecessor/successor, forged during an association that spanned seventeen years. Nixon's administration was sprinkled with old friends who had served with him in the Eisenhower administration—Arthur Burns, chairman of Eisenhower's Council of Economic Advisers, named by Nixon first as counselor to the President and then as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; Maurice Stans, Eisenhower's budget director and Nixon's secretary of commerce; William Rogers, Eisenhower's attorney general and Nixon's secretary of state; Bryce Harlow, Eisenhower White House aide and, in

1. Nixon is counted as the 37th President, but only thirty-five persons preceded him. Grover Cleveland—elected in 1884, defeated for re-election in 1888, and elected again in 1892—is counted as having been both the 22nd and the 24th.