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TO: ROBERT GARRICK

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

RE: INAUGURAL

- 1. Attached is a lettrr from Senator Armstrong which has already been sent on to the president-elect.
- 2. Congressman Clausen of California suggests: that
 we point out that the foundation of the federal system has
 been ignored in deference to the roof (higher levels)
 of the system. He said we should point out that decentralizing
 and dispersing the federal bureacracy is one of our goals.
 He said liberals have advocated programs that were supposed
 to do things for people but which actually did things to
 people. The congressman felt we should stress that we want
 do things with people. The basic conflict in our world
 is between closed and controlled society and open and
 free society. He said we should also point out that
 our performance at home on economic matters will be seen
 abroad as an indicator of our resolve in foreign affairs.
- 3. I have read the past inaugural speeches and will prepare a draft as soon as Ken suggests we get underway. He said on the phone that he would probably assemble all the suggestions and then do a memo and send it out to the writers.

United States Senate WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

DEC 2, 1980

DEAR TONY -

HERE'S A COPY OF the Le Her I promised to SEND.

JENJOYPD CHATTING WITH YOU ON The phono. Lets get better acauginted.

Sincerely -

Jay

Dear Nancy,

I am so excited about your being the first lady of our nation.

I would welcome the opportunity to discuss an important event with you. As prayer chairman of the American Festival of Evangelism, an organization of one hundred and forty of the major denominations and Christian organizations of America, we are calling for one million prayer groups to pray for your husband, you and all of our nation's leadership on Inauguration Day, January 20.

This will be the greatest mobilization of prayer in the history of our nation. We would like to ask President elect Reagan to declare that day as a National Day of Prayer.

My husband and I have been long time enthusiastic supporters of you and your husband - "the best Governor California ever had."

You and I have participated in different meetings which you may or may not remember. One was a luncheon in Northern California and another the National Republican Women's Convention in New York City.

You may contact me at:

Mrs. Bill Bright Campus Crusade for Christ Arrowhead Springs San Bernardino, CA 92414 Phone: (714)886-5224

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Lovingly,

Vonette Bright

The Honorable Ronald Reagan 10960 Wilshire Westwood Village, CA 90024

Dear Governor Reagant

Inauguration Day, January 20, 1981, will soon be upon us. While you are making plans for your election, I should like to make a suggestion.

I serve on the Lausanne Cormittee for World Evangelization, founded by Dr. Billy Crahem in 1974. This body is representative of the Evangelical Community around the world. The North American Cormittee of this body is planning an American Festival of Evangelism, July 27-30, 1981, with an estimated 20,000 persons in attendance. I have been asked to coordinate the nationwide prayer for this event. The committee which I have called together is planning events to help call America to prayer. We trust that these will have a profound impact upon the spiritual life of this nation.

On January 20, 1981, it is our plan to call the Christians of each corrunity together to pray for our nation. We are in the process of organizing prayer committees and contacting leading businessmen and pastors in every rajor metropelitan area, giving encouragement and instruction for organizing this event.

Enowing of your abiding faith in God, we should like to request that, if you are elected, you will use your influence toward having Inauguration Day declared a "Estional Day of Prayer." We should be willing to help organize and involve community churches of all denominations in the Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox traditions in this effort. We are open to your suggestions and counsel and I am confident that all Christians share my hope in this decade of American history. I am certain that you are owere of the strong emphasis that most of our forefathers placed upon prayer, especially during important times of crisis. We are available to be of help in this effort and sweit the outcome of the election and your response to this request. I have sent a similar letter to President Carter.

God bless you as you seek to serve the Lord and this country.

Sincerely in Christ,

Mrs. William R. Bright

cc: The Nonorable Jesse Helms
Nr. James E. Lyon
Mr. Robert Pittenger

Milliam L ARMSTRONG
COLONADO

Diniled Slales Senale

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 1, 1980

The Honorable Ronald Reagan President-elect of the United States 1726 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Mr. President:

As you and your staff begin to prepare your Inaugural Address, I urge you to include an acknowledgment of the huge nationwide effort to support your Administration in prayer.

Under the leadership of Dr. Bill Bright, Leighton Ford, E.V. Hill, Pat Robertson, Bailey Smith and Tom Zimmerman a nationwide committee has been formed to stimulate one million prayer meetings on Inauguration Day...in office buildings, schools, shopping centers and homes.

I believe these prayer meetings — small, nondenominational, nonsectarian, nonpartisan — can have a profound effect upon the future of America. Indeed, I am convinced that the tremendous outpouring of prayer by believers throughout the nation has already had much to do with the healing of our land and the opportunity which you have been given to provide new leadership to America.

Mr. President, it would be a tremendous encouragement to all of those who are taking part in this effort if your Address could include a brief acknowledgment of the fact that this effort to bring together millions of Americans in at least one million prayer meetings throughout the nation. Millions of Americans rallied to your call for prayer in your Address to the Republican National Convention. For you to begin your Administration on Inauguration Day in a similar manner would surely please the Lord and, I am sure, please and encourage your many friends.

My family and I will continue to remember you and Mrs. Reagan and others of your Administration in our prayers.

Sincerely,

William L. Armstrong

WLA:al

Enclosures

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of the flyer describing the organizational effort which we hope will result in a million or more prayer meetings on Inauguration Day. I thought you might like to see it.

bcc: Dr. Bill Bright

CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR CHRIST INTERNATIONAL

Arrowhead Springs, San Bernardino, California 92414, U.S.A. Telephone (714) 886-5224 William R. Bright, President

November 14, 1980



The Honorable William L. Armstrong P. O. Box 98 Aurora, CO 80010

My dear Bill,

It was so good to talk with you on the telephone a few minutes ago. I am excited that you are using your influence to encourage Ronald Reagan to declare January 20, Inauguration Day, a day of national prayer. I cannot think of a better way for him to begin his term of office.

Enclosed is correspondence between Vonette and Governor Reagan. Also enclosed is a copy of a mailgram that she sent to Nancy today.

Thanks for your help in presenting Dr. Hill to head up a blue ribbon committee for dealing with the inner city crisis. I assume that this committee will be comprised of several blacks, hispanics and orientals, approximately 8-10 in number.

You and Ellen are very dear to me. Vonette and I send our love to both of you, Will and Ann.

Yours for fulfilling the Great Commission in this generation,

Dr. William R. Bright

June 30, 1980

Mrs. William R. Bright Compus Crusade for Christ International Arrowhead Springs San Bernardino, CA 92414

Dear Mrs. Bright:

Thank you for your very kind letter.
Thank you, too, for the prayers and
your good words. Yes, I would be very
happy to do anything I could to bring
about the declaration of such a day of
prayer as you mentioned. I, of course,
will not be in charge so it would only
be whatever influence I might have in the
planning for that day. That is, if I am
elected.

Again, thank you for your letter. Best regards.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

9841 AIRPORT BOULEVARD, SUITE 1430, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90045

Hengan for President – United States Senator Paul Laugh, Chairman: Bay Buchaman, Treasurer, A copy of our report is filed with and available for parchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463 MEMORANDUM FOR:

President-Elect Ronald Reagan

FROM:

Edwin J. Gray

RE:

Inaugural Address

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

Length

Twelve minutes optimum (15 minutes maximum)

Tone

Simple eloquence. An appeal to the American spirit. The best is yet to come.

Ideas for inclusion

- 1. Return to the principles which guided the founders of this nation and which have left a legacy of individual freedom which must be strengthened.
- 2. Return to the ideals which emphasize self-reliance, individual enterprise.
- 3. Reduce reliance on federal government to solve problems and return to the concepts of constitutional federalism where decision-making resides closest to the people.
- 4. Return to traditional values -- home, family, neighborhood, moral values, recognition that God rules in the affairs of nations and peoples.
- 5. Recognizing that government has a duty to help those who cannot help themselves, assure that public funds are expended in a manner which seeks to accomplish this objective and cut waste, fraud and abuse.
- 6. First priority to confront immediate and serious problem of the economy is to reduce the increase in government spending -- "cut, squeeze and trim" -- and reduce taxes to get economy moving again.
- 7. The measures which <u>must</u> be taken to trim federal spending will not be popular. But they must be taken, and they will be taken.
- 8. Reduce the heavy hand of government regulation on business and provide incentives for greater investment in the private sector to create new jobs, get people working again, improve productivity, and make America more competitive in the international marketplace.
- 9. Economic program for the 80s is essential to reduce inflation which is eating away the nation's economic strength, and if trend is allowed to continue, will destroy private enterprise system which has brought such great strength to the country over generations.
- 10. Strong economy is essential to national security and ability of nation to defend self and and freedom, hence peace in the world.

- 11. Job ahead difficult...but America's spirit has conquered adversity many times before.
- 12. Will adopt foreign policy which restores respect for American determination to be strong. More important we be respected than loved by others.
- 13. Essential that homeownership opportunities be increased since this given families a stake in the American system, fosters individual and family responsibility in the neighborhood, in the community.
- 14. Need for government to join hands and work together with the private sector in addressing the needs of our cities.
- 15. Will seek to establish policies which put an end to government's controntation with business -- will work to restore partnership between government and the private sector.
- 16. Will insist on absolute honesty of appointees and not permit even the appearance of possible wrongdoing.
- 17. Will open every avenue for securing reduction in arms. Cannot be done unilaterally. Need for defensive strength to negotiative this goal.
- 18. Government's principal responsibility is to protect freedom and the national security of the American people. Policies will not lose sight of this duty.
- 19. Emphasize peace through strength. This is a fact of life that we must recognize. Will not ignore the myriad lessons of history.
- 20. America has grown more and more complex, but values which made America great remain. They are simple, fundamental, unchanging in all societies to survive.
- 21. Emphasize commitment to the rule of law, which assures order in a society, and which is based in the constitution on truths which were self-evident, based on the Judeo-Christian ethic.
- 22. Reaffirm that we will oppose efforts by our adversaries to conduct terrorism and acts of subversion in the Western Hemisphere to establish marxism and communism.
- 23. Importance of developing energy self-sufficiency in this country.
- 24. Will seek to balance environmental considerations with need for job creation and economic prosperity.
- 25. As Americans, recognizing the state of the economy, we must join hands to make the system work and get the government off the back of the private sector.
- 26. Never again will we leave our people -- as we did in Iran -- subject to the kind of terrorism which has made them hostages, in violation of international law.
- 27. Our economic problems will not be solved overnight, but in making the hard decisions they will be solved for the good of us all.
- 28. Need for prayers of all Americans as undertake tasks ahead.

Deaver&Hannaford,Inc. public relations & public affairs LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SACRAMENTO • WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 11, 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Pete Hannaford

SUBJECT: Inaugural address

This is in response to Ed Meese's memo of 12/10. Here are some thoughts:

- 1) Keep it as short as possible. Ten minutes would be ideal. It will be cold. It may be windy. Many of the people will have been standing outdoors for quite some time.
- 2) Make a special effort to show outreach to key groups to whom RR owes nothing politically: blacks, hispanics, much of organized labor, for example.
- 3) I believe the American people used this election to draw a "bottom line" under Vietnam and Watergate. Thus, RR's basic messages of hope; economic problem-solving through growth and production; and a chance for those who haven't had a share of the pie to get one all are particularly apt at this time. The speech should communicate the spirit with which RR will address the nations's problems in the years ahead. It can be the opening of a new era and one in which the Republicans act as a magnet for people disaffected by the old nostrums of the Democrats.
- 4) RR has always done well relating to the strength and voluntary efforts of the people. He should invite the full participation of all Americans; perhaps invite them to write to him right away to tell him what is on their minds.
- 5) Continue to call it our government. It belongs to us, as a people; it just hasn't been doing things the way it should.
- 6) If RR intends to implement some Executive orders immediately upon unauguration he might allude to this as a means of demonstrating that his will be an activist administration, but with a new kind of activism. In short, the new activism.
- 6) Quote JFK as a means of co-opting the sense of idealism the Democrats use to claim as their private preserve. Quote Ike, too because his was the last truly calm, well-balanced administration in terms of the economy and order in the world.

25 19th Street, N.W., Suite 750, Washington, D.C. 20036 • 202/659-5750 VX/TELEX 710-822-1947 • Cable "DEAVFORD" DC

T0:

President-elect Ronald Reagan

FROM:

Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE:

December 12, 1980

RE:

Thoughts On The Inaugural Speech

- We need to think of this speech as the Inaugural Address for the new Reagan Administration, but more importantly it will be the theme setting address for the decade of the 1980's by the Chief of State of the most powerful nation in the world.
- As a theme setting address, it should be "visionary," poetic and thoughtful, not programmatic.
- Visionary addresses describe the lessons of the past to give meaning to the present and hope to the future.
- The speech should be hopeful and uplifting without being unrealistic.
- The speech should reference when you began your campaign and the principles of government and issues that influenced you to run.
- Need to bring expectations of Presidential performance inline with the scope and magnitude of the job.
- Should not be long, range 1500-2000 words.
- You should be especially comfortable with the words and should have an active role in crafting them (follow the model of the acceptance speech).
- The vision of America speech and your acceptance speech are exemplary of the style needed.
- Should focus specifically on the following themes:
 - Trust the values of American society that are largely responsible for sustaining its growth.
 - Treat America's leaders, public and private, as accountable stewards responsible for living up to those commonly shared values of family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom.

- Recognize the inherent value of individual initiative and the operating premise of a representative democracy that government--federal, state, and local--should not perform functions that are better handled by individual citizens on their own behalf.
- Government's size and cost have exceeded what is reasonable and have resulted in government doing the unnecessary and, too frequently, missing the mark on the needful.
- A sluggish economy and inflation are principally caused by excessive taxation and an overly-regulated private enterprise sector.
- A once proud and powerful America has acquiesced to a secondary role in the world. And,
- Leaders have the obligation to translate the people's aspirations and hopes into public policies which would give direction to the collective enterprise.

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,

Bob Garrick

Deputy Director/Public Affairs

Enclosures

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 <u>sacramental</u> 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 <u>not</u> 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. 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 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 than "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 1960saying '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 boiler-plate 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 Moynthan 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, 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.



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 a

^{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.

Deaver&Hannaford, Inc. public relations & public affairs LOS ANGELES • NEW YORK • SACRAMENTO • WASHINGTON, D.C.

December 11, 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Pete Hannaford

SUBJECT: Inaugural address

This is in response to Ed Meese's memo of 12/10. Here are some thoughts:

- 1) Keep it as short as possible. Ten minutes would be ideal. It will be cold. It may be windy. Many of the people will have been standing outdoors for quite some time.
- 2) Make a special effort to show outreach to key groups to whom RR owes nothing politically: blacks, hispanics, much of organized labor, for example.
- 3) I believe the American people used this election to draw a "bottom line" under Vietnam and Watergate. Thus, RR's basic messages of hope; economic problem-solving through growth and production; and a chance for those who haven't had a share of the pie to get one -- all are particularly apt at this time. The speech should communicate the spirit with which RR will address the nations's problems in the years ahead. It can be the opening of a new era and one in which the Republicans act as a magnet for people disaffected by the old nostrums of the Democrats.
- 4) RR has always done well relating to the strength and voluntary efforts of the people. He should invite the full participation of all Americans; perhaps invite them to write to him right away to tell him what is on their minds.
- 5) Continue to call it our government. It belongs to us, as a people; it just hasn't been doing things the way it should.
- 6) If RR intends to implement some Executive orders immediately upon unauguration he might allude to this as a means of demonstrating that his will be an activist administration, but with a new kind of activism. In short, the new activism.
- 6) Quote JFK as a means of co-opting the sense of idealism the Democrats use to claim as their private preserve. Quote Ike, too because his was the last truly calm, well-balanced administration in terms of the economy and order in the world.

25 19th Street, N.W., Suite 750, Washington, D.C. 20036 ● 202/659-5750 VX/TELEX 710-822-1947 ● Cable "DEAVFORD" DC

TO: President-elect Ronald Reagan

FROM: Richard B. Wirthlin

DATE: December 12, 1980

RE: Thoughts On The Inaugural Speech

• We need to think of this speech as the Inaugural Address for the new Reagan Administration, but more importantly it will be the theme setting address for the decade of the 1980's by the Chief of State of the most powerful nation in the world.

- As a theme setting address, it should be "visionary," poetic and thoughtful, not programmatic.
- Visionary addresses describe the lessons of the past to give meaning to the present and hope to the future.
- The speech should be hopeful and uplifting without being unrealistic.
- The speech should reference when you began your campaign and the principles of government and issues that influenced you to run.
- Need to bring expectations of Presidential performance inline with the scope and magnitude of the job.
- Should not be long, range 1500-2000 words.
- You should be especially comfortable with the words and should have an active role in crafting them (follow the model of the acceptance speech).
- The vision of America speech and your acceptance speech are exemplary of the style needed.
- Should focus specifically on the following themes:
 - Trust the values of American society that are largely responsible for sustaining its growth.
 - Treat America's leaders, public and private, as accountable stewards responsible for living up to those commonly shared values of family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom.

- Recognize the inherent value of individual initiative and the operating premise of a representative democracy that government--federal, state, and local--should not perform functions that are better handled by individual citizens on their own behalf.
- Government's size and cost have exceeded what is reasonable and have resulted in government doing the unnecessary and, too frequently, missing the mark on the needful.
- A sluggish economy and inflation are principally caused by excessive taxation and an overly-regulated private enterprise sector.
- A once proud and powerful America has acquiesced to a secondary role in the world. And,
- Leaders have the obligation to translate the people's aspirations and hopes into public policies which would give direction to the collective enterprise.

MEMORANDUM FOR:

President-Elect Ronald Reagan

FROM:

Edwin J. Gray

RE:

Inaugural Address

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

Length

Twelve minutes optimum (15 minutes maximum)

Tone

Simple eloquence. An appeal to the American spirit. The best is yet to come.

Ideas for inclusion

- 1. Return to the principles which guided the founders of this nation and which have left a legacy of individual freedom which must be strengthened.
- 2. Return to the ideals which emphasize self-reliance, individual enterprise.
- 3. Reduce reliance on federal government to solve problems and return to the concepts of constitutional federalism where decision-making resides closest to the people.
- 4. Return to traditional values -- home, family, neighborhood, moral values, recognition that God rules in the affairs of nations and peoples.
- 5. Recognizing that government has a duty to help those who cannot help themselves, assure that public funds are expended in a manner which seeks to accomplish this objective and cut waste, fraud and abuse.
- 6. First priority to confront immediate and serious problem of the economy is to reduce the increase in government spending -- "cut, squeeze and trim" -- and reduce taxes to get economy moving again.
- 7. The measures which $\underline{\text{must}}$ be taken to trim federal spending will not be popular. But they must be taken, and they will be taken.
- 8. Reduce the heavy hand of government regulation on business and provide incentives for greater investment in the private sector to create new jobs, get people working again, improve productivity, and make America more competitive in the international marketplace.
- 9. Economic program for the 80s is essential to reduce inflation which is eating away the nation's economic strength, and if trend is allowed to continue, will destroy private enterprise system which has brought such great strength to the country over generations.
- 10. Strong economy is essential to national security and ability of nation to defend self and and freedom, hence peace in the world.

- 11. Job ahead difficult...but America's spirit has conquered adversity many times before.
- 12. Will adopt foreign policy which restores respect for American determination to be strong. More important we be respected than loved by others.
- 13. Essential that homeownership opportunities be increased since this gives families a stake in the American system, fosters individual and family responsibility in the neighborhood, in the community.
- 14. Need for government to join hands and work together with the private sector in addressing the needs of our cities.
- 15. Will seek to establish policies which put an end to government's controntation with business -- will work to restore partnership between government and the private sector.
- 16. Will insist on absolute honesty of appointees and not permit even the appearance of possible wrongdoing.
- 17. Will open every avenue for securing reduction in arms. Cannot be done unilaterally. Need for defensive strength to negotiative this goal.
- 18. Government's principal responsibility is to protect freedom and the national security of the American people. Policies will not lose sight of this duty.
- 19. Emphasize peace through strength. This is a fact of life that we must recognize. Will not ignore the myriad lessons of history.
- 20. America has grown more and more complex, but values which made America great remain. They are simple, fundamental, unchanging in all societies to survive.
- 21. Emphasize commitment to the rule of law, which assures order in a society, and which is based in the constitution on truths which were self-evident, based on the Judeo-Christian ethic.
- 22. Reaffirm that we will oppose efforts by our adversaries to conduct terrorism and acts of subversion in the Western Hemisphere to establish marxism and communism.
- 23. Importance of developing energy self-sufficiency in this country.
- 24. Will seek to balance environmental considerations with need for job creation and economic prosperity.
- 25. As Americans, recognizing the state of the economy, we must join hands to make the system work and get the government off the back of the private sector.
- 26. Never again will we leave our people -- as we did in Iran -- subject to the kind of terrorism which has made them hostages, in violation of international law.
- 27. Our economic problems will not be solved overnight, but in making the hard decisions they will be solved for the good of us all.
- 28. Need for prayers of all Americans as undertake tasks ahead.

December 6, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED MEESE

JIM BAKER

FROM: Ken Khachigian

SUBJECT: Governor Reggan's Inaugural Address

Here is the basic procedure and schedule I plan to follow forthheddevelopment of the President Elect's Inaugural Address, subject to any changes he wishes to make.

The first phase of preparation is intended to allow everyone in a key position and whose substantive advice is required an opportunity to make an input into the speech. For virtually all of these individuals, this will be the only chance for them to make their views known. At my suggestion, this will be done in the form of a memorandum to the Governor not to exceed two pages. This memo will cover what the writer feels should be in the speech: tone, substance, length, any special gestures to make, etc. At this phase, we will nostask for speech texts. By the time you receive this memo, I will have already made the requests for these memos and ask that they be detirered to Bob Garrick at Transition Headquarters by C.O.B. Thursday, December 11.

In order to elicit candid advice, these memos should be seen only be the Governor and whomewear he plans to discuss them with. Confidentiality will be required to make this procedure work.

After the Governor has had an opportunity to review these memoranda, he and ILwill discuss how he wants this speech to read --what subjects he wants to cover, how long he wants to be, the tone of the language, the kind of audience ke wants to direct it to, etc. I will try to elecit from him as much specific direction as possible in order to give guidance to the writers. This should be done around December 17 or 18.

After this discussion, I will pass on thethevernor's directions to a number of writers from whom I will askifar speech materials. We still have to wook out the best procedure in this regard, but I am inclined to ask for two different things. From a limited number --sas few as two or three -- I will obtain full speech texts. From all the rest, I will ask for four to five

pages of "suggested remarks." These can include chunks of paragraphs that can be put in the speech, suggested openings, and perorations. They can include apt quotations or historical anecdotes. They should also include some grace notes -- gestures and nice touches which make the speech distinctive and memorable.

The holidays complicate things a bit, so I plan to ask for all speech materials back from writers by December 29 or 30. I will noteinterpose myself at this point. The Governor should be able to read everything he receives to make his own judgment. On about January 3, he and I would meet once again to determine how he would like to proceed, based on the speeches or inserts he liked best. Perhaps from this, I can then draw up a "master speech". This would include what he deemed the best of everyghing. And is is from this that we could enter the final phase.

I would try to get this consolidated first draft back to the Governor byaabout January 8 or 8. From this we will rework until we have a satisfactory draft from which the Governor can work for two or three days totally on his own -- getting it precisely the way he wants it. At this point, I can help him eddotially if he desires. I will have things researched for him. But most of all, I can provide a buffer for him.

By January 18 (watwhich time we'll be in Washington), we should have a final draft or nearly final draft. We can leave that one day open for any final touches the Governor wants placed on the speech. On January 19, we will type it final and get into press release form and on to teleprompter, etc. I will be in Washington to assist throughout the final steps.

It is important that all who want to have their views heard on this speech do so in the first phase. This cannot be a committee product, and the closer we get to January, the more difficult it will be to deal with those who want to make an "Imprint" on the INaugural. And because we are dealing with a number of logistic and mechnical problems, we will have to insist that all deadlines be promptly met. At the end, I would strongly discourage dirculating the speech for comment -- except for only a very few whose advice the Governor has expressly asked for.

Bob Garrick has agreed to serve as a clearinghouse throughout thie process.

December 12, 1980.

TO: ROBERT GARRICK

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

RE: INAUGURAL

- 1. Attached is a lettr from Senator Armstrong which has already been sent on to the president-elect.
- 2. Congressman Clausen of California suggests: that
 we point out that the foundation of the federal system has
 been ignored in deference to the roof (higher levels)
 of the system. He said we should point out that decentralizing
 and dispersing the federal bureacracy is one of our goals.
 He said liberals have advocated programs that were supposed
 to do things for people but which actually did things to
 people. The congressman felt we should stress that we want
 do things with people. The basic conflict in our world
 is between closed and controlled society and open and
 free society. He said we should also point out that
 our performance at home on economic matters will be seen
 abroad as an indicator of our resolve in foreign affairs.
- 3. I have read the past inaugural speeches and will prepare a draft as soon as Ken suggests we get underway. He said on the phone that he would probably assemble all the suggestions and then do a memo and send it out to the writers.

United States Senate WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

DEC 2, 1980

DENR TONY -

HERE'S A COPY OF the Le Here I promised to SEND.

JENSOYPD CHATTING W. THE YOU ON The phono. Lets get better acanginger.

Sincerely -

Jay .

The Honorable Ronald Reagan 10960 Wilshire Westwood Village, CA 90024

Dear Governor Reagant

Inauguration Day, January 20, 1981, will soon be upon us. While you are making plans for your election, I should like to make a suggestion.

I serve on the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, founded by Pr. Billy Crahem in 1974. This body is representative of the Evangelical Community around the world. The North American Committee of this body is planning an American Festival of Evangelism, July 27-30, 1981, with an estimated 20,000 persons in attendance. I have been asked to coordinate the nationwide prayer for this event. The committee which I have called together is planning events to help call America to prayer. We trust that these will have a profound impact upon the spiritual life of this nation.

On January 20, 1981, it is our plan to call the Christians of each corrunity together to pray for our nation. We are in the process of organizing prayer committees and contacting leading businessmen and pastors in every rajor metropelitan area, giving encouragement and instruction for organizing this event.

Enouing of your abiding faith in God, we should like to request that, if you are elected, you will use your influence toward having Inauguration Day declared a "National Day of Prayer." We should be willing to help organize and involve community churches of all denominations in the Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox traditions in this effort. We are open to your suggestions and counsel and I am confident that all Christians share my hope in this decade of American history. I am certain that you are aware of the strong emphasis that most of our forefathers placed upon prayer, especially during important times of crisis. We are available to be of help in this effort and sweit the outcome of the election and your response to this request. I have sent a similar letter to President Carter.

God bless you as you seek to serve the Lord and this country.

Sincerely in Christ,

Mrs. William R. Bright

cc: The Honorable Jesse Helms

lir. James E. Lyon

Mr. Robert Pittenger

being the first 1

Dear Nancy,

I am so excited about your being the first lady of our nation.

I would welcome the opportunity to discuss an important event with you. As prayer chairman of the American Festival of Evangelism, an organization of one hundred and forty of the major denominations and Christian organizations of America, we are calling for one million prayer groups to pray for your husband, you and all of our nation's leadership on Inauguration Day, Januray 20.

This will be the greatest mobilization of prayer in the history of our nation. We would like to ask President elect Reagan to declare that day as a National Day of Prayer.

My husband and I have been long time enthusiastic supporters of you and your husband - "the best Governor California ever had."

You and I have participated in different meetings which you may or may not remember. One was a luncheon in Northern California and another the National Republican Women's Convention in New York City.

You may contact me at:

Mrs. Bill Bright Campus Crusade for Christ Arrowhead Springs San Bernardino, CA 92414 Phone:(714)886-5224

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Lovingly,

Vonette Bright

June 30, 1980

Mrs. William R. Bright Compus Crusade for Christ International Arrowhead Springs San Bernardino, CA 92414

Dear Mrs. Bright:

Thank you for your very kind letter.
Thank you, too, for the prayers and your good words. Yes, I would be very happy to do anything I could to bring about the declaration of such a day of prayer as you mentioned. I, of course, will not be in charge so it would only be whatever influence I might have in the planning for that day. That is, if I am elected.

Again, thank you for your letter. Best regards.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

9841 AIRPORT BOULEVARD, SUITE 1430, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90045

Heagan for President—United States Senator Faul Laudit, Chairman; Bay Buchanan, Treasurer, A copy of our report is filed with and available for parchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. 20463

CAMPUS CRUSADE FOR CHRIST INTERNATIONAL

Arrowhead Springs, San Bernardino, California 92414, U.S.A. Telephone (714) 886-5224 William R. Bright, President

November 14, 1980



The Honorable William L. Armstrong P. O. Box 98 Aurora, CO 80010

My dear Bill,

It was so good to talk with you on the telephone a few minutes ago. I am excited that you are using your influence to encourage Ronald Reagan to declare January 20, Inauguration Day, a day of national prayer. I cannot think of a better way for him to begin his term of office.

Enclosed is correspondence between Vonette and Governor Reagan. Also enclosed is a copy of a mailgram that she sent to Nancy today.

Thanks for your help in presenting Dr. Hill to head up a blue ribbon committee for dealing with the inner city crisis. I assume that this committee will be comprised of several blacks, hispanics and orientals, approximately 8-10 in number.

You and Ellen are very dear to me. Vonette and I send our love to both of you, Will and Ann.

Yours for fulfilling the Great Commission in this generation,

Dr. William R. Bright

12-15-80

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT-ELECT REAGAN FROM: Ken Khachigian

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

Juanger with.

United States Benate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 1, 1980

The Honorable Ronald Reagan President-elect of the United States 1726 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Mr. President:

As you and your staff begin to prepare your Inaugural Address, I urge you to include an acknowledgment of the huge nationwide effort to support your Administration in prayer.

Under the leadership of Dr. Bill Bright, Leighton Ford, E.V. Hill, Pat Robertson, Bailey Smith and Tom Zimmerman a nationwide committee has been formed to stimulate one million prayer meetings on Inauguration Day...in office buildings, schools, shopping centers and homes.

I believe these prayer meetings -- small, nondenominational, nonsectarian, nonpartisan -- can have a profound effect upon the future of America. Indeed, I am convinced that the tremendous outpouring of prayer by believers throughout the nation has already had much to do with the healing of our land and the opportunity which you have been given to provide new leadership to America.

Mr. President, it would be a tremendous encouragement to all of those who are taking part in this effort if your Address could include a brief acknowledgment of the fact that this effort to bring together millions of Americans in at least one million prayer meetings throughout the nation. Millions of Americans rallied to your call for prayer in your Address to the Republican National Convention. For you to begin your Administration on Inauguration Day in a similar manner would surely please the Lord and, I am sure, please and encourage your many friends.

My family and I will continue to remember you and Mrs. Reagan and others of your Administration in our prayers.

Sincerely,

William L. Armstrong

WLA:al

Enclosures

P.S. I am enclosing a copy of the flyer describing the organizational effort which we hope will result in a million or more prayer meetings on Inauguration Day. I thought you might like to see it.

bcc: Dr. Bill Bright

12-12-0 Ed Gray: Feleum Englant 12-15 minutes - Simple clowerer -- Oppeal to America quait Ot very difficult tresidency in the - Solve the justlen - will be difficult but we all pull together. - Hard Decisius & change in duestion

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December 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ken Khachigian
FROM: Bob Garrick

As you can see, this came to me from Bill Timmons. I am always jumpy when I get material from an outside source as I am $\operatorname{con-}$ cerned with copyrights and other legal ramifications. I will leave it to your good judgment as to whether you want to do anything with this.

x x x

Enclosure as stated.

TIMMONS AND COMPANY, INCORPORATED

1850 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D. C. 20006 (202) 331-1760

WILLIAM E. TIMMONS
PRESIDENT

December 11, 1980

Dear Dr. Novick:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 25, with your proposed Inaugural Address for President-Elect Reagan.

Your draft has been forwarded to Robert Garrick, Deputy Director for the Transition for Public Affairs. Mr. Garrick is coordinating the Inaugural Address with the speech writers for the President-Elect. I know that your thoughts for President-Elect Reagan's Inaugural Address will be greatly appreciated.

With very best regards,

Sincerely,

William E. Timmons

Stephen A. Novick, M.D. Chief Cardiac and Prenatal Cardiac Clinics Mt. Sinai Medical Center 133 East 73rd Street New York, New York 10021

bcc: Bob Garrick (w/inc - FYI)

STEPHEN A. NOVICK, M. D. CARDIOLOGY

133 EAST 73rd STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 - UN 1-9000



45 LUDLOW STREET YONKERS, N. Y. 10705 914 - 423-7267

14

November 25, 1980

Mr. William Timmons Deputy Director of Transition Team 1726 M Street North West Washington, D.C. 20270

Dear Mr. Timmons:

At the suggestion of Bob Becker of Congressman Benjamin Gilman's office, I am submitting a proposed Inaugural Address for President-Elect Ronald Reagan. Mr. Reagan has a great opportunity on January 20, 1981 to translate his landslide victory into words that will ignite and awaken the nation from its lethargy. I hope some of my thoughts will be of some assistance in this task.

Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully submitted,

SAN/rn encl.

cc: Mr. Bob Becker

Steve Marsk

Stephen A. Novick, M.D. Chief Cardiac and Prenatal Cardiac Clinics Mt. Sinai Medical Center

New York, New York

CARDIOLOGY

133 EAST 73rd STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 - UN 1-9000

45 LUDLOW STREET YONKERS, N. Y. 10705 914 - 423-7267

11 14

The United States of America stands at an historic crossroad. A scant four years ago we herald our 200th birthday. Yet, while the din of our bicentennial celebration still rings in our ears, we enter our third century in a turbulence of uncertainty.

- - Distrust still gnaws at the vitals of our government!
- - Unemployment robs millions of Americans of self-respect!
- - The cloud of inflation darkens the security of our future!
- - Poverty, disease and hunger abound in a land of plenty!
- - Our elderly are deprived of the dignity and grace that befits their years!
- - Our young are disillusioned and seek balm in the release of drugs and stimulants!
- - Our cities are in economic decay!
- - Daily violence and crime assault our personal freedom of movement and life style!

STEPHEN A. NOVICK, M. D. CARDIOLOGY

133 EAST 73rd STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 - UN 1-9000 45 LUDLOW STREET YONKERS, N. Y. 10705 914 - 423-7267

- - Foreign interests seek to infiltrate and control our business community and blackmail our foreign policy and conscience!
- - Our resolve was put to acid tests in Iran,
 Afghanistan, Cuba, Eastern Europe, and The
 Middle East!
- - We have sought to conquer and control outer space and squandered our efforts more on the man on the moon rather than the man on the street!

To this challenge, I summon the memory and inspiration of a George Washington, whose guidance and skill gave life to the seeds of democracy more than 200 years ago.

I summon the memory and inspiration of an Abraham Lincoln who gave his life to preserve our union and who began the long unfinished task of racial equality and nobility!

I summon the memory and inspiration of a Woodrow Wilson who awakened our international consciousness and accepted the mantel of freeworld leadership for the United States of America!

STEPHEN A. NOVICK, M. D. CARDIOLOGY

133 EAST 73rd STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 - UN 1-9000 45 LUDLOW STREET YONKERS, N. Y. 10705 914 - 423-7267

I summon the memory and inspiration of a

Franklin Delano Roosevelt who elevated us from the
depths of a world wide depression with the words

"You have nothing to fear but fear itself", and who
began the second great American Revolution dedicated
to social justice!

I summon the memory and inspiration of a John Fitzgerald Kennedy who called us to arms with the taunt "Ask not what your country can do for your, but what you can do for your country"!

I summon the memory and inspiration of a Martin Luther King whose dream of black and white equality I share!

I summon the memory and inspiration of a
Robert F. Kennedy when he said "Some men see things
as they are and say why. I dream of things that
never were and say why not"!

But most of all, I summon the memory and inspiration of you the American people and our unique American experience.

I reach out to the Americans of Valley Forge!

STEPHEN A. NOVICK, M. D. CARDIOLOGY

133 EAST 73rd STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 - UN 1-9000 45 LUDLOW STREET YONKERS, N. Y. 10705 914 - 423-7267

To the Americans who inhabited the trenches of the war to end all wars!

To the future Americans who streamed through Ellis Island and into the melting pots of our nation and who helped forge our destiny!

To the Americans who were cut off in the flower of their youth eradicating the Fascist menace and defending democracy in the far, God forsaken, outposts of the world!

And to the current generation of Americans, of all colors and creed, from all walks of lifethose from the North, the South, the East and the West.

The solution to our ills are as complex as the problems. Our course will not be straight!

Our task will not be easy!
Our path will not be smooth!

However, my faith in America is strong and tempered by the knowledge that it is only in this country that a man can scale the heights of his aspirations and yes even become president! 133 EAST 73rd STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 212 - UN 1-9000 45 LUDLOW STREET YONKERS, N. Y. 10705 914 - 423-7267

As your President, I pledge this resolution; that it is far better to fail in attempting the impossible than to succeed in preserving the status quo.

And to the prophets of doom who predict that in this third century begins our eclipse, retrenchment and twilight, I answer that shoulder to shoulder and fortified by God and history, we will enter a new horizon.

An horizon where all peoples will share the fruits of peace, prosperity and progress.

I am sure that together we will turn our collective dreams into reality.

Thank you and may God Bless America.

KK meeeting with Governor REagan -- 1/18/81 11:15 a.m. Bedroom in Blair House

RR had just gotten ack from church service and was sitting up in bed. He said:, "Come on in, Ken." He added that he was under the covers because he didn't have his pants on underneath. i.e., he had taken them off, I supposed, so they wouldn't get wrinkled. He had a shirt and tie on and had been brought a tray of toast and coffee (honey for the toast). "Now that I've got nourishment of the soul, it's time to take care of feeding the body."

We reviewed the speech, my going over teach of the changes I had and getting his map approval. It was in this process that he adeded Martin Treptow's name backin the speech. He said that the he didn't think there was any way to dispute that there was a diary (although RNR RR is quite sure there is one) but I cautioned him that the press could call Treptow's family.

But he still wanted to use the name.

On the secition about discrimination, he kad added -- "because there has been such a rise of anti-semitism" that there shouldn't be barriers born of "bigotry" either.

he wanted to mention the Iranian hostage situation in a praryer before the speech, but I think I conv inced him that it shouldn't be in the inaugural, but rather at the Joint Congressional luncehon in the afternoon.

After we finished our review, he said: "Well, are we done.?" And I said -- it's ready to go into productin and that I would get it into a reading copy for him. He thanked me for all the sax help in the xpex preparation process.

Then, he put his tray aside and said: "Ken, did you have a chance to get to that ceremony at the Lincoln Memorial last night?" I said, no sir, I was at the office. He said: "I don't think I've ever been to anything quite like it. That Lincoln Memorial and in those columns -- it's such a beautiful place. I've never been filled with such a surge of patritoism. Ixdinx It was so hard not to cry during the whole thing -- that choir (the morman Tabernacle choir), singing God Bless America, well, it was cold, but it was so moving -- I was crying frozen tears."

Even as he was telling me this story, his eyes filled up again. He looked at me and said it was going to be hard to keep his eyes dry.

I told him that I would be back after his lunch to get him his reading copy, and he said thatwould be fine. At that moment, Mrs. Reagan came in the door and I walked out.

* * * * *

At about 12:30 or 12:45, RR got ready to leave for his lunch and came in where Jim Baker, Jim Brady, Dick Allen, Larry Speakes, and I were in the sitting room just off his bedroom — tehy wanted to brief him on the hostage situation. RR came in as we were watching Steve Bell of ABC on the TV explalinging where we were in the negotiations for the hostages. We stood there as he noted that the money was going to be transferred into an ecrow account before the hostgaes were released. To that

Reagan purshed his lips and xxxxxxescowled at the TV and xxxx muttered "Shitheels" -- or at least I'm confident that was the word he used. The point being that we should have, in the negations, gotten the hostages back before transferring any money. Then, he sat down while Dick Allen breifed him on the **EXECUTE** situation, which appeared some hours from reosltuion (1:00 a.m. tomorrow) And Then RR lefet for his lunch deciding to tell thepress that thre would be no comment on this because it was too sensitive.

Ed Hickey floor 2/ is the W

Don Massey (-17-8/ Senator Halfield - Chamin Jent RR Jerge Bus all Syra Count



Presidential Inaugural Committee = 1981

January 15, 1981

Charles L. Wick Co-Chairman

President-Elect Ronald Reagan The Blair House 1651 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006

Dear President-Elect Reagan:

I am attaching a copy of a note to me from Mr. Marty Pasetta concerning your speech to the Satellite Ball cities around the country at approximately 11:05 p.m. at the Kennedy Center.

Marty refers here to a "major speech". I think possibly something around four or five minutes would be all that would be necessary unless you wish to do more.

Marty Pasetta is headquartered here at the Presidential Inaugural Committee headquarters where he is putting together this major closed-circuit effort (he is also the Director of the Academy Awards telecast).

If you wish to talk with Marty personally or have somebody contact him for further information, he may be reached here at 382-8657.

I am also attaching an information piece on the Satellite Balls.

STUCETETA

Charles Z. Wick

CZW:fd

cc: Marty Pasetta

January 15, 1981

y P ==== 1

TO: Charles Wick

FROM: Marty Pasetta

SUBJECT: Satellite Inaugural Balls

President-Elect Reagan's major speech to the Satellite Balls will be occurring at approximately 11:05PM at the Kennedy Center, and will be followed by a short dance with Mrs. Reagan.

The goodnight reference will be made from the Museum of American History, the last ball site, between 11:45PM and 11:50PM.

The Vice President will make his speech from the Air and Space Museum at 10:15PM to be followed by a short dance with Mrs. Bush.

We will be following this up with some information that might be helpful to President-Elect Reagan regarding the SATELLITE INAUGURAL BALLS.



Presidential Inaugural Committee - 1981

Second and T Streets, SW Washington, DC 20599 (202)382-8250

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE December 23, 1980 CONTACT: John Roberts (202) 382-8019

SATELLITE BALL PROGRAM RESOUNDING SUCCESS

WASHINGTON -- There are now 109 community satellite inaugural balls scheduled across the country as part of the plan to have the inaugural festivities of Governor Ronald Reagan shared as widely as possible.

This unprecedented program has met with spectacular success: 109 community inaugural balls are planned for 107 cities in 41 states.

"The success of this program demonstrates that we can, in keeping with the President-elect's wishes, make the inauguration a truly national celebration," said Charles Z. Wick and Robert K. Gray, cochairmen of the Presidential Inaugural Committee, in a statement.

On January 20, satellite technology will be used for the first time to project the sights and sounds of the presidential inaugural balls in Washington to inaugural celebrations throughout the country.

At each community satellite ball, televised pictures of the Les Brown, Glenn Miller and Harry James orchestras, and singers such as Wayne Newton, Tony Bennett, and prominent star emcees will appear with crystal clear clarity on one or more screens which could be as large as 2,400 square feet. The sound will be reproduced with perfect fidelity.

President Reagan will address the thousands of community ball guests via the satellite hookup. Film clips from past inaugural balls will also be shown.

Marty Pasetta, director of televising the Academy Awards and other major television network broadcasts, will direct the satellite show which will be a mix of the entertainment being presented at each of the Washington inaugural balls.

Admission, at a moderate cost, is on a first-come, first-serve basis for the community balls, with proceeds to be donated to charities designated by local sponsors.

In some cases charities are the direct sponsors of community satellite balls: Home for Crippled Children, Pittsburgh, Arthritis Foundation, Boise and Twin Falls, Idaho; American Cancer Society, Knoxville, Tenn.

TNT Communications Inc. is in charge of the satellite telecast.

"The enthusiastic response shows this is an idea whose time has come," said Charles Hagel, who is in charge of the satellite ball program for the Presidential Inaugural Committee.

Hagerstown, Md., and Washington, D.C., will each have two satellite balls. In Washington, the sites are the Madison Hotel and the Rayburn House Office Building.

The size and number of satellite television screens at each ball location will vary, depending on the size of the community ball room.

The list of satellite ball communities is attached.



Presidential Inaugural Committee - 1981

Second and T Streets, SW Washington, DC 20599 (202)382-8250

SATELLITE BALL SITES BY STATE

ALABAMA

Birmingham Mobile

ALASKA

Fairbanks

ARIZONA

Yuma

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs

CALIFORNIA

Anaheim Escondido Los Angeles Sacramento San Diego San Francisco

CONNECTICUT

Hartford Stamford

DELAWARE

Dover

FLORIDA

Cocoa

Fort Lauderdale Jacksonville Panama City Sarasota

GEORGIA

Columbus Dalton Rome Savannah Val dosta

HAWAII

Honolulu

IDAHO

Boise

Idaho Falls Lewiston Pocatello Sun Valley Twin Falls

ILLINOIS

Alton Dixon Quincy Rockford

INDIANA

LaPorte Terre Haute

KANSAS

Emporia Manhattan Wichita

KENTUCKY

Ashland

KENTUCKY (cont)

Covington Lexington Paducah

LOUISIANA

Lake Charles New Orleans

MARYLAND

Hagerstown (2 locations)

Baltimore

MASSACHUSETTS

Quincy MICHIGAN Ann Arbor Detroit Flint

MINNESOTA

Fergus Falls Minneapolis St. Cloud

MISSISSIPPI

Columbus Hattiesburg Jackson

MISSOURI

Kansas City St. Joseph

MONTANA

Billings

NEBRASKA

Grand Island Hastings Omaha

NEW JERSEY
Morristown

NEW MEXICO Santa Fe NEW YORK

New York Staten Island

Utica

White Plains

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville

OHIO

(

Cincinnati Cleveland Columbus Marietta OKLAHOMA

Enid Tulsa OREGON

Portland

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg Philadelphia Pittsburgh

York

RHODE ISLAND

Providence

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia

SOUTH DAKOTA

Pierre Rapid City

TENNESSEE

Knoxville Nashville

TEXAS Amarillo

Conroe Corpus Christi

El Paso Houston Midland Orange Port Arthur TEXAS (cont)

San Antonio

VIRGINIA

Richmond

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Two locations

WASHINGTON

Olympia Seattle Spokane Yaikma

WISCONSIN

Green Bay Neenah

WYOMING

Cheyenne

I will not be turned away from the commitments I have made.

I will not retreat from the action that must be taken.

And we fully intend to bring this government back within its means. On that principle there can be no compromise.

I will not be turned away from our task. We intend to

We will not be turned away from our task. We fully intend to do the job that we said we would do.

I will not be turned away from the commitments I have made.

I will not retreat from the dramatic action that must be taken.

And so there is no mistake about our commitment, I fully intend to

and time for us in government to do what we say we are going to do and that

It is time for

And we in government will also do our job by bringing government back within it

And we in government will also do our job by bringing

And we inxequence this government back within its means. On that principle
there can be no compromise.

We will not be turned away from our task. We will not shrink from kkexdekexmined our determination to do what we say we are going to do. As long as the course is kkk the right one, and our principle is sound, I do not intend to retreat

and we have no intention

and I have no intention of backing away from the firm and dramatic meaures that will be required to get the job done.

In this task, I can assure that I will not retreat from ** the the commitments I have made to the ** American people.

Govern Reafan 1-12-81 feleen 11:46 Kept the fore: In Washigh Some declaration: Trylor story Were not called you X make that Kind of souppo Do The last payof we have to do select for do see dame well from elp The thip we fact we wondo

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Chamber of Commerce of the United States

WARRETING SERVICES FIVE OF THE STATE OF THE

"LET'S REBUILD, AMERICA"

A program designed to guide the American public toward a concertor and conlessed effort to bring the nation back on track economically, militarily and politically.

This national program was stated by the U.S. Chamber's 1980/81 Chairman, Mr. C. William Verity, Jr., Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Armoo and will be continued by the 1981/62 chairman, Mr. Donald Keydall. Chairman and Chief Operating Officer of Populso.

"Let's Rebuild, America" focuses on four main issues: The nation's Gross National Product which has suffered declines replainment of the Treat Depression; the rising trend of taxes, bigger than ever before in our history; the new record setting budget deficit; and the Seclining purphasing power of the average American family which has taken its biggest plumas in more than 30 years.

All of this can be turned around by the Reagan Administration. The basic needs are pointed out in the "let's Rebuild, America" suggesty topklet. Throughout the nation, chambers of compares, associations and companies are joining this exciting, wibrant campaign. It is everying the country the very positive monner.

We believe, the inclusion of "Let's Rebuild. America" in the new President's Inaugural Speech will help set the stage for the repute of America's greatness here and abroad and is in accord with the hopes and plans for the future he has been expressing.

The following thoughts are offers for consideration:

"Together. let's remove the cancer of inflation dres our American sconney."

"Together, let's tegain international leadership by aggressively trading in world markets and increasing U.S. military readiness."

"Together, let's rekindle people's confidence in their institutions -- femily, church, school, community."

Together, Let's Beoutld, America.

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President

To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion. And, yet, in the history of our nation it is a common place occurrence.

The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the constitution takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every 4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than almost any other. Thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the hallmark of our Republic.

The business of our Nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the worst and longest sustained inflation in our National history which distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift and crushes the struggling young and the fixed income, elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people. Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment causing human misery and personal

indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political and economic upheavals.

You and I, as individuals, can by borrowing live beyond our means for only a limited period of time. Why should we think that collectively as a nation we are not bound by that same limitation? We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding - we are going to act beginning today.

The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks or months but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now as we have had in the past to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom. In this present crisis, government is not the solution - it is the problem.

From time to time we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government of, by and for the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?

All of us together - in and out of government must bear

the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable with no one group singled out to pay a higher price. Our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries, crosses ethnic and racial divisions and political party lines.

It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes and heal us when we're sick. They are professionals, industrialists, shop keepers, clerks, cabbies and truck drivers. They are, in short - "We the people."

Our objective must be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans with no barriers born of discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning" and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fairplay which the core of our strength, we can have a strong, prosperous America at peace with itself and the world.

In this new beginning let us first take inventory. We are a nation that has a government - not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the earth. Our government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It will be my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the states or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal government did not create the states — the states created the Federal government.

So there will be no misunderstanding, it is not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work. Work with us not over us; to stand by our side not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look for the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on earth, it is because here in this land we unleased the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than had ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on earth. The price for this freedom has at times been high - but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel the interpention and intrusion in our lives that have resulted from unnecessary and excessive growth of government.

We are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do - I do believe in a fate that that that will fall on us if we do nothing.

So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin a new era of national renewal. Let us renew our

determination, our courage, our strength, our faith and our hope. We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, producing food enough to feed allof us and much of the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter - on both sides. There are enterpreneurs with faith in themselves and an idea who created new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am addressing the heroes of whom I speak — the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your make up. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen? And loving them reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they are sick and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? The answer is an unequivecal and emphatic yes. To paraphrase a great Prime Minister of England. I did not take the oath I have just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution

of the worlds strongest economy. In the days ahead I will propose removing a number of the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progess will be slow measured in inches and feet, not miles but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, time to lighen our punitive tax burden.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who Histories say might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers if he hadn't given his life on Bunker Hill, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Assembly, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in dadger but not to be despaired of. On you depends the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourself." I believe we the Americans of today are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for our selves, our children and our children's children.

And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world.

We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our ideal of freedom we will strengthen our historic ties; assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty and strive for mutually beneficial relations.

We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty

for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

To the enemies of freedom, to those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it - we will not surrender for it - now or dever.

Our forebearance should never be misunderstood.

Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to