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Checkpoint

Harriet B. Kurtz (1915-1977) Founding Editor
Howard G. Kurtz — Editor

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NEWSLETTER FROM THE FRONTIERS
OF A FUTURE CIVILIZED WORLD ORDER
A Project of War Control Planners, Inc.
Box 19127, Washington, D.C. 20036
Phone (202) 785-0708

Editorial - August 22, 1980

DRAFT of an INAUGURAL ADDRESS for JANUARY 20, 1981

Is there a President with political and moral courage to deliver it?

The cycles of WAR-PEACE-WAR-PEACE-WAR-PEACE-WAR have plagued all human history. Neither the pacifists or the militarists, neither the softliners or the hardliners, have ever broken the alternating pattern of war and the interval of preparation for the next war. Today there is one new factor:- when the next epidemic breaks out (as it is showing signs of doing) this may rupture world civilization for a thousand years.

Neither President Carter, Governor Reagan or Congressman Anderson shows signs of knowing what to do to lead America, and the people of the world, out of danger, rather than ever-deeper into the nightmare of approaching tragedy and chaos. Only a "miracle" before Inauguration Day 1981 may avert disaster.

In search for public debate on a New American Purpose, we offer

Draft of a Proposed Speech by the President of the United States

A practical unilateral move to turn back the Arms Race
by War Control Planners, Inc.

Illustrations by Tom Parker

I AM addressing mankind tonight. I will use every means at my command to have this message brought home to every man, woman and child in every country on Earth. What I have to say may be a matter of life or death for every human being. I hope they listen carefully. This is a message of hope.

In 1945 when the United Nations was chartered in San Francisco, many people believed that war had ended and mankind had entered a new era of peace. This was a tragic delusion. History's endless parade of war after war has continued. The potential horror of war has grown worse, not better. We are living in a new historic age of anxiety.

In 1945, that same year, the first atomic bomb was exploded. This signalled the dawn of an era of exploding research and development and escalating progress in science and technology, in hundreds or thousands of new and different fields. Civilization has been projected into the Nuclear Age, and then into the Space Age, and now into even newer technological ages.

As a result, the strategic power under the command of the Head of State of a modern major nation is beyond easy vision or description. There hardly are words to explain. But I can tell you this: It used to be thought that only God could command the power to destroy mankind in the twinkling of an eye. But today the leaders of several nations command the power to launch the war that could annihilate world civilizations.

Yet the great rivers of new knowledge coming from the research and development centers cannot be dammed up within the boundaries of any one nation. Within ten years perhaps thirty nations will command this power of death for mankind. By that time the weapons of total annihilation will be so cheap that criminal elements may obtain this power to hold mankind for ransom. Breakthroughs in chemical and biological and nuclear warfare will magnify and compound the forces of destruction.

This is a new historic time of dread. In this new age no nation ever again will find positive national secur-

ity and political independence by use of its power to destroy human life. In this new age an attempt to destroy an enemy can destroy mankind. All nations have moved into a common chamber of danger. The world is like a room filled with gas, in which men who strike matches endanger the lives of everyone in the room.

WE MUST CREATE NEW HISTORY

We must create new history. It no longer is safe to merely relive old history.

From all we can learn from old history there will always be an impulse toward war and aggression between nations. The challenge of the future is to remove the danger from that impulse . . . to prevent this impulse of hostility from expressing itself in war . . . to make war impossible between nations.

There will always be war and aggression between nations until there is created a global safety authority of some kind, with the strength and the authority to maintain the common good of national security and political independence for all nations.

Historians and political scientists find no precedent for such a Global Safety Authority. But before 1940 there was no precedent for atomic bombs . . . and before recent times there was no precedent for many of the miracles of modern medical science.

We live in an age that breaks precedents. We need not be enslaved by historical precedents of war and catastrophe.

Scientists and engineers tell us that we have within reach the means to produce the food, clothing, housing, warmth, health, education and welfare for more than the six billion human beings predicted as world population by the year 2000. But nations are not producing to meet these human needs, because today the world spends nearly \$200 billion a year on an escalating arms race, producing anti-human forces of destruction.

Nations have learned the secrets of the Power of Death for mankind because they have invested their human and natural resources in massive mobilizations for the specific purpose of learning these secrets.

I say to every man, woman and child in every nation, that the time has now come for a massive mobilization of human and natural resources for the purpose of learning the secrets of the power of safety and well-being for the people of all nations. If we believe that the intention of creation is toward greater life for the family of mankind, then let us begin to direct the forward march of science and technology toward such a greater purpose. I believe in the future of mankind.

The Heads of State of more than one hundred and twenty sovereign nations on earth now have it within their power to begin to create a Global Safety Authority, within a revised and more effective United Nations. The function of this Authority will be to guard the national security and political independence of all nations, freeing the productivity of nations to meet the human needs of their citizens.

I hold before the world the long range vision of a stronger United Nations. At the base of this future United Nations will be a Global Safety Authority. The purpose of this Authority will be to maintain positive control over all power of destruction. It will have power to maintain public inventory of all war material and personnel. It will have authority to act to stop unauthorized war production. It will have power to maintain public inventory of all movement toward mobilization for war. It will have authority to stop such mobilization. It will have power and authority to prevent violation of one nation's borders by the forces of any other nation, large or small. It will have authority to divert any inter-nation conflict to proper courts of inter-nation conflict law.

I hold before the world the long-range vision of a stronger United Nations in which man will maintain dominion over the forces of destruction. Instead of living in ever-increasing fear of the anti-human force of advancing science and technology, man's increasing knowledge will be redirected to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, heal the sick, educate the illiterate, and free the patriotic people of every nation to work toward their own national goal in their own national way, free from the dread of war or domination by any foreign power.

THE SEARCH FOR ANSWERS

Will it ever be possible to trust the national security and political independence of the United States to a stronger United Nations with monopoly control over global armed forces management? Will it ever be possible for all nations to trust their national security and political independence to such a remodeled United Nations? Will the American people ever find reason to believe that this global United Nations power will not come under the control of communists, or any other group with intentions to dominate the world? Will the people of all other countries ever find reason to believe that this global United Nations power will not come under the control of American political power?

I do not know the answer to these questions. I am proposing that a long period of serious research and exploration begin today, in search for the answers to these questions of the future safety and well-being of mankind.

To the rising generation of young men and women in every nation we declare open for exploration and pioneering a new generation of creativity and invention to dwarf any era in past history.

This will be the most complex and difficult problem governments ever have faced and determined to master. Making the Earth safe from war will be a far more challenging task than making outer space safe for human transit. I hereby make a personal commitment, and a commitment of my administration, to the task of providing world leadership toward the long-range goal of developing the global safety systems, and the new political checks and balances and restraints required to transform the present United Nations into a more effective instrument of safety

and prosperity for all nations.

We propose an initial ten-year program to develop and operate a demonstration model, or prototype experiment of a Global Safety Authority, so that all governments can begin to learn the real problems of defending their citizens from enemy threat or attack in the new historic age of total danger.

I say, let the national security leadership of all nations begin thinking and experimenting beyond the strategy of defense, and beyond the strategy of deterrence, to explore a new future strategy of prevention more appropriate to the age of global danger. Let us create new history more in keeping with the danger man has created.

WHAT WE CAN DO

We propose a long-range program of development and experiment and testing to find the ways that such a protective war prevention system can be made to work.

Black and terrifying, the escalating danger of global war today looms above mankind like a thunderstorm of death. But beyond that dark horror, I see a white light of hope. I believe that man can create global safety systems in time.

I propose four giant strides forward on the road to the permanent end of war between nations. I propose four giant strides forward on the road to lasting peace and prosperity. I propose four giant strides forward in the creation of a demonstration model of a Global Safety Authority. These will be four giant strides forward toward a stronger, more effective, and greater United Nations of the future. One day, when and if our efforts succeed, the present United Nations will evolve into a world security organization capable of guarding the national security and political independence of every nation.

I am preparing to issue directives to the appropriate departments of my government, and preparing to seek the full support of the Congress and of the American people, for four large-scale development projects:

FIRST

First Stride: All-Nation Space Stations. I propose construction of a new series of reconnaissance satellites. The use of these surveillance space stations will be made available to all nations. All nations will be invited to develop surveillance systems for experimental installation in these orbiting laboratories. All nations will be given full access to all information inputs and outputs from these global surveillance systems, that all national defense establishments, all regional defense establishments, and the United Nations Military Staff Committee can gain protracted experience in working together to test the effectiveness, and to establish the future requirements for a Global Safety Authority intelligence capability. Through these satellites we may begin to find answers to the question: Can a future United Nations Safety Force be made dependable and effective?

SECOND

Second Stride: All-Nation War Alarm System. I propose the construction of an advanced global command and control headquarters, near the United Nations Headquarters, with duplicate synchronous display centers in the capitals of all cooperating nations, and in the headquarters of all regional defense organizations. This center will be open to the public of all nations and to the governments of all nations. The large illuminated display walls in this prototype global command center will be connected by direct communications lines to the national command center in the Pentagon in Washington. The people of the world can begin to see the global surveillance and intelligence capabilities the United States already possesses, to be able to exert command and control today over military forces spread across more than half the earth. No information which would be detrimental to the security of the United States will be passed to these public exhibitions, but the world can begin to see the emerging reality of global command and control systems to bring armed forces management for the world eventually to the new United Nations Global Safety Authority. Every other nation will be invited to connect its national command center to this world display. No other nation will be expected to divulge information to jeopardize its own security. But all nations will gain practical experience in the interface problems of the successful operation of a future war safety control system of world dimension. The people of all nations will begin to see the open experiments which may one day lead to the development of the systems of security which will mean no more war for mankind.

THIRD

Third Stride: War Prevention Conferences. I propose a continuing series of multinational War Prevention Conferences. Military and political leaders of all participating nations can begin to hammer out the requirements and force structures for the future Global Safety Authority. They can analyze and experiment with unprecedented new political checks and balances which will be required to make certain that this all-nation safety constabulary cannot become a tyrant over the minds of men, or the governments of independent nations, and that it cannot be captured by any one political power clique to be used to conquer the world. These War Prevention Conferences will be held on many levels, outside of official channels of the United Nations. They will be held with individual nations, or with groups of individual nations, or with regional defense organizations. Free discussion will be encouraged from every source where new ideas may emerge to help solve this problem which has been insoluble throughout the ages. Can a Global Safety Authority be made effective, and safe to the point that the people of all nations will trust their national safety to this mobilization for the prevention of war? The world will be waiting for answers to this question.

FOURTH

Fourth Stride: All-Nation War Prevention Games. I propose a continuing series of multinational war prevention games. Where war games are used to develop military proficiency in waging war, these war prevention games will be utilized to develop and test the increasing proficiency in preventing war throughout the world in the new historic era. A purpose of these games will be to allow the public and press of all nations to see that nations are making serious efforts to solve the problem of war, and what progress is being made toward this great and grave objective.

I repeat that all nations are invited to cooperate in these four giant strides forward toward peace and prosperity for all nations.

But the United States offers to lead in this ten year demonstration model experiment no matter what nation or nations hold back at this point. We expect nations to be suspicious of our motives. We invite nations to work with us to satisfy these suspicions. We will earn their confidence.

We will use every means at our command to see that the people of all nations are kept fully informed as to the progress being made toward the global protective systems which one day will bring peace and prosperity to all nations.

No nation will be expected to weaken its present defense force or posture during these experiments. No patriotic people will be asked to give up their pride in their own native land, or swear allegiance to a massive single world government. National governments once again will concentrate on the prosperity of their citizens, instead of on preparations to kill and be killed in war with their neighbors. There will be a common defense force for all.

TOWARD DEVELOPMENT AND RENEWAL

Man now has gained the knowledge and skill to feed the hungry of the world, to heal the diseased of the world, to educate the illiterate of the world, to provide housing for those with inadequate shelter, if only he can learn how to bring the plague of war under positive control.

These four giant strides forward toward a more effective United Nations will allow the people of the world to hope once again. There will be hope that history's endless parade of wars eventually will be brought under control. There will be hope that the world's resources today committed to production of anti-human power of death, can be redirected toward production of pro-human goods and services. There will be hope that increasing nuclear power will be controlled and harnessed to peaceful purposes, instead of to the chain-reaction of terror. There will be hope for peace in the space age instead of dread of war.

I believe that man can gain dominion over the man-made dangers of modern technology, and that man does not have to live in fear of the new products of science and technology.

I believe that every people on earth can find security and prosperity in a revised and strengthened United Nations, in time. I believe man now has the inventiveness and creativity to begin to transform the United Nations into an effective world security organization, bringing safe prosperity within reach of all nations.

Each nation can work out its own independent path toward its own independent vision of a Great Society. This can become a Great Planet. I hope that every man, woman and child around the world who hears this message will tell his neighbors, and his friends, that the time now has come to take giant strides forward toward peace and prosperity for all nations. ■

BACKGROUND: This presidential speech was drafted in 1966, with the help of several hundred thought leaders in many professions. It was hoped that President Johnson would deliver it to provide American leadership in a new direction, different from the escalation of the Vietnam War. This same draft has been kept from reaching Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter by their national security and other close advisors.

The draft entered the public dialogue when it was published by Stewart Brand, editor of CO-EVOLUTION QUARTERLY.

Chairman George E. Brown, Jr. of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Science, Research and Technology has placed the draft speech in the Congressional Record, and also has disseminated it widely for public comment and suggestions.

*CREATIVE ACTION: Send your pro or con or creative reactions, or your own improved draft, directly to
Congressman George E. Brown, Jr.
2342 House Office Building
Washington D.C. 20515*

H.G.K.

Air Force Times SEPTEMBER 22, 1980

COMMENTARY Bruce Callander

Peace 'Inaugural'

WHOEVER wins the presidential election this fall need not bother to write an inaugural address if he doesn't want to.

Howard Kurtz will be happy to make one available to any president "with the political and moral courage to deliver it." In fact, he has offered it to every president who has come to office since he and his late wife, Harriet, wrote the speech in 1966. So far, no takers.

Kurtz, as some readers will remember, is a former AF pilot and airlines engineer who was married to a minister and with her, formed a peace group called War Control Planners. Harriet Kurtz died in 1977, but Howard continues to look for a president who will deliver their speech — on inauguration day or whenever.

It's about the right length for an inaugural address.

The language is pitched at about the right level — scholarly but not beyond the reach of the average television viewer.

The tone is suitable for the beginning of a new administration or a second term: "We are living in a new historic age of anxiety . . . Today, the leaders of several nations command the power to launch the war which could annihilate world civilizations . . . We must create new history . . . We cannot be enslaved by historical precedents of war and catastrophe . . . (But) this is a message of hope."

The speech includes what politicians like most, something for everybody — assurances that the U.S. will not weaken its defenses, prospects for peaceful solutions to world problems, suggestions for expanding the development of the earth's resources, programs for feeding the hungry masses, and proposals for improving education, housing and employment.

What may give prospective presidents

second thoughts about the address, however, is Kurtz' proposed means of accomplishing all these good things.

Readers who remember previous pieces on the pair will recall that their approach is to use technology to turn nuclear swords into electronic plow shares.

The plan, in over-simplified terms, would be to pool the world's expertise in space exploration, nuclear power and resources, prevention of war and the improvement of the human lot: more efficient farming, disaster control, flood control, energy exploration, etc.

Those are the aims, and they aren't too different from those expressed in the stock, off-the-shelf inaugural speech. It's the means by which the Kurtzes proposed to meet these worthy ends that might send the next president-elect in search of a less imaginative speech writer.

The Kurtz speech would have the new president propose "four giant strides forward on the road to the permanent end of war between nations . . . four giant strides forward in the creation of a demonstration model of a Global Safety Authority."

The proposed steps would:

1. Set up a new series of reconnaissance satellites — "All-Nation Space Stations." Any nation would be allowed to supply surveillance systems to be carried by the orbiting laboratories and all would have access to the information gathered. This would give the world's defense establishments practice at working together and show what kind of intelligence-gathering capability would be needed in the Global Safety Authority.

2. Set up an advanced global command and control headquarters near the UN headquarters — an "All-Nations War Alarm System." Duplicate displays would

be set up in each nation's defense forces and other displays would be visible to the public. No nation would have to pass information to the public that might endanger its security. But the public would see the potential capabilities of such surveillance systems.

3. Hold a series of multinational "War Prevention Conferences." These would give military and political leaders the means to work out the requirements, force structures and safeguards for the Global Safety Authority.

4. Stage "All-Nation War-Prevention Games." Unlike traditional military games that test war skills, these would practice the means and test the systems from preventing conflicts.

If he followed the Kurtz script, the new president would propose an initial 10-year program to develop and operate "a demonstration model" of the Global Safety Authority. He also would volunteer that the U.S. take the lead in setting up the experiment. No nation, he would say, would have to weaken its present defense forces during the trial decade. Nor would the citizens of any nation have to shift their allegiance to any massive world government.

That, boiled down considerably, is what Kurtz would like the next president to say after taking the oath of office. To a point, the message is not unlike that delivered years ago by the scientific community when satellite technology was in its infancy. Space stations, it was said then, could monitor and control the world arms race and, at the same time, discover new resources, improve weather predictions, help farmers improve crop yields, spot forest fires and do all manner of other helpful things.

Earlier, the same humanitarian role was

Continued

seen for the nuclear technology growing from the development of the atomic bomb.

Still earlier, the Wright Brothers offered their flying machine to several of the world's armies, including those in Britain and Germany. They saw it not as a potential weapon but as the observation platform that would give each side such a clear view of the other's operations that war would become impossible. As technology changed the airplane from peacemaker into combatant, some in the scientific community continued to predict what a boon it would be in its civilian role, and to a point, they have been proved right.

In the Kurtz' approach, however, the "giant strides" that would lead mankind away from war and into permanent peace include one mammoth step that nations always have feared to take. Like small boys, each holding a stone in hurling position, the nations must be persuaded

eventually to put down their weapons and work for the common good. Little boys will drop their stones on the count of three if someone convinces them that everybody else will play fair too. None really wants to be hurt in a rock fight.

Nations may be just as willing to disarm, but convincing them that it is safe to do so is infinitely more difficult. There is nothing new about the dream for world peace. The tricky part is developing the mutual trust to bring it about.

The Kurtz plan would allow 10 years for developing and demonstrating the practicality of his Global Safety Authority. In time, however, the nations would have to turn over the responsibility for their national security to this joint peace-keeping authority, which Kurtz sees as a part of a remodeled and stronger United Nations organization.

His problem, then, is not to con-

vince nations that peace is a good thing, but to assure them that they can trust a central authority to maintain peace and not, itself, be controlled by a single nation or group of nations.

Kurtz insists that he is not asking any leaders to embrace his idea as is. He hopes only to get them talking about it, he says, to stimulate a "creative debate" on the subject. And he would like to them to consider the alternative — a continuing race toward destruction of much of the world.

So far, Kurtz has had little encouragement for his hope that the next president will deliver his speech at the inauguration. None of the three leading contenders, he says, "shows the slightest sign of knowing how to command American national power to regain the sinking national security in a runaway world crisis."

Still, Kurtz says, if the winner of the elections is caught without a speech on Jan. 20, he will be happy to supply one.

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(202) 785-0708

HOWARD G. KURTZ

President,

WAR CONTROL PLANNERS, INC.

Box 19127

Washington, D. C. 20036

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22-A — Wednesday, May 17, 1978

Can a satellite point the way to peace?

By J. F. terHORST
News National Columnist

WASHINGTON—The mark of genius, it has been said, is not perfection but originality, the opening of new frontiers. By that definition, Howard Kurtz must be elevated from the ranks of utopian schemers and assigned to the company of pioneers for peace.

For more than a quarter-century, Kurtz and his late wife nurtured a simple idea for enhancing global security. It is so ingenious it takes your breath away. Yet it is so morally attuned to the nuclear age and so technically practical that some people in high places are beginning to listen.

WHAT IT WILL NEED, eventually, is a decision by a president, this one or the next, a decision on the magnitude of John Kennedy's resolve to make America the No. 1 nation in space exploration.

To understand Kurtz's idea, it is first necessary to leap beyond all the conventional arguments and proposals for achieving security, and thus peace, between the superpowers and among other nations.

Can peace be achieved through the ongoing arms race, the doctrine of more and "better" nuclear weapons so destructive the United States and the USSR would be mutually deterred from using them? Kurtz thinks not. So long as both sides continue to distrust each other, he reasons, not even a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) will stop the superpowers from secretly improving their arsenals.

Can a peaceful world be achieved through disarmament? Kurtz is too cynical about human nature to think it can be achieved on a global scale any time soon. And unilateral disarmament, he says, would be foolhardy.

As for notions of voluntary one-world government, Kurtz finds that to be an illusion. The earth's people are too different

and the regions too complex to make it workable.

So what, then, does Kurtz have in mind? Would you believe: "security by satellite"?

Kurtz proposes that existing space technology be employed to achieve what he calls "an open world." He argues the United States could initiate a global information service through which a system of orbiting satellites would provide all nations with instant intelligence about everyone else: military, economic, environmental.

The data collected by a greatly expanded, earth-scanning network of satellites would keep all nations aware of the war capabilities of all others. Such a body of knowledge, kept current by daily satellite sweeps across the sky, would be the basic security blanket for every country.

We already are doing some of that. So are the Russians. Spy satellites keep track of missile sites and troop movements and follow submarines under the seas. The spies in the sky have made possible a series of American-Soviet weapons practices, since they overcome Russian objections to on-site inspections of nuclear bases.

One existing "Landsat" in orbit already scans the earth to distinguish, using infrared light, 17 different kinds of crops, plus soil conditions, rainfall and potential crop yields. Satellite prospectors can plot new mineral deposits on land or under water. But 98 percent of "Landsat" data, obtained over other countries, is held secretly by the United States for intelligence purposes.

Kurtz contends that the United States, without sacrificing its own security, could brake the momentum toward nuclear Armageddon by establishing a "global information cooperative." It would use techniques already available to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

Kurtz is an Air Force officer turned management consultant. He and his wife Harriet, an ordained minister who died last year, fostered the concept of security by

satellite since the dawn of the space age. They had formed a small nonprofit organization called War Control Planners, Inc.

Lately, some influential persons have paid attention: Chairman Olin E. Teague of the House Science Committee; Sen. Adlai Stevenson, who chairs subcommittees on space science and intelligence collection; Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, who heads the congressional Office of Technology Assessment, and presidential science adviser Frank Press.

Kurtz's articles have appeared in various military journals and scientific periodicals. Dr. Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb, endorsed the global satellite information system as "a first step toward a peaceful world." NASA administrator Robert A. Frosch says Kurtz "is on the right track."

"The technologies available today for gathering worldwide information and for its redistribution are certainly enough advanced to warrant consideration of an operational global environment and resource system," Frosch said. "In its earliest configuration, such a national system for world use need not, in my opinion, have a major budgetary impact."

THE SPACE AGENCY, incidentally, has begun work on a "conceptual design" of such a system. The mood of the country and perhaps the globe, Frosch thinks, "would be receptive to a dramatic political and practical initiative along these lines. The long-range implications for civilization can only be positive."

If President Carter is casting about for a way to back the world off the nuclear brink, if he is looking for a means of enhancing every nation's security without eroding America's, he ought to talk to Kurtz and Frosch's team at NASA. He may find there an idea whose time has come.

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(202) 785-0708

HOWARD G. KURTZ

President
WAR CONTROL PLANNERS, INC.
Box 19127
Washington, D. C. 20036

RR INSTRUCTIONS

-- Start speech with opening that for many of us this is a momentous occasion because it is our first, but to the halls of history behind me, first witness to Thomas Jefferson's inauguration, this ceremony is routine. It is commonplace to history and to the nation. We are participating in the orderly transfer etc.

-- Don't be too harsh on J.C. -- "I don't want people in the audience looking at one another for reactions as if to say 'can you believe what he's saying?'"

-- THEME

The system: everything we need is here. It is the people. This ceremony itself is evidence that government belongs to the people.

Under that system: our nation went from peace to war on a single morning. we had the depression, etc.

We showed that in our system they, the people, have all the power to solve things.

-- Want optimism and hope, but not "goody-goody" -- i.e., not pollyannish.

-- There's no reason for America not to believe that we have the answers to things ~~xxx~~ that are ~~xx~~ wrong.

RZY KOJINSKI - QUOTE - BORN POLAND '33 - TO US '57

AFTER 20 YRS. MY AM. XISTNCE
PRECEDED "JUST ABT. MNY. YRS."
SURVIVING UNDR "NAZI-SOVIET
DICTATORSHP. STILL XPERNCE THT.
SHOCK EVRY MORNING

HERE "AM
"MERE SPECK - HUMANITY - STILL
FREE - LV. MY DAY AS "CHOOSE,
FREE" TK. SOLE RESPONSIBTY FOR"
ACTS "MY LF. SUCH JOY " 2ND

ONLY "JOY" BEING ALIVE - & YET
"WLD. RATHER DIE THN. ONCE AGN.
LV. WTH OUT SUCH FRDM." IT IS TM.

"US" MK. UP "MINDS THT. NONE "OUR
NEW AMs. WL. EVR HV. "FLEE THS.
CO. SRCH. "FRDM. "DESPERATE YRS.
AFTER WWII WTH OUR STRENGTH STOOD

OUR PST. SVRL. MOs... HD. U
"UNIQUE EXP. ONE "WS. BOTH
INSPIRING & HUMBLING. AS "JOB

HUNTR "MET" FELLOW AMs... VIRTUALLY
EVRY ST. "U. LRNING ONCE AGN.
HOW REALLY GRT. "PEOP. ARE. PERHAPS

"ND. SEE "SLVs. "OTHRs SEE US NOW &
THN. "FEW YRS. AGO "P.M. AUSTRALIA
SD. "WONDR IF ANYBODY "THOT WHT.
SIT. "COMPARIVLY SML. NATs. "WRLD.

WLD. BE IF THR. WR. NOT "XISTNCE. "US
IF "WR. NOT THS. GIANT COUNTRY
PREPARED "MK. SO MNY SACRIFICES"

AND YET TODAY "ARE DISTURB
ABT. "PLC. "WRLD" THR. "AN UNEASE
- TM. TESTD MORAL GUIDE LINES

RONALD REAGAN

Jerry Kormanik (memoist)
Born Poland '33 Came to U.S. '57
Naturalized '65 - Won Nat. Book
Award for Fict. in 1969.

The United States draws so many Eastern European émigrés because it is still the land of freedom.

These newcomers are offspring of the Nazi or Soviet-inspired totalitarianism: a society in which a person is a mere tool of the party. Any attempt at personal, spiritual, political or professional self-definition, any quest for a job or career change without the official approval is a crime to be punished. In this country, the émigrés experience the shock of freedom. Here each is free to become what one wants to become, free to say what must be said, free to live where, how and with whom one wants to live.

After 20 years of my American existence, preceded by just about as many years of surviving under the Nazi-Soviet dictatorships, I still experience that shock every morning. Here I am, a mere speck of humanity—still free to live my day as I choose, free to take sole responsibility for the acts of my life. Such joy is second only to the joy of being alive—and yet I would rather die than once again live without such freedom.

On Solzhenitsyn's criticism of the U.S.

WE'VE HRD MUCH THS PAST 23
MO. SPL. INT. GROUPS SEEKING
SPECIAC ATTN. FRM. GOVT. LET. CALL
"ATTN. " ONE SP. INT. GROUP " HS.
NOT HD. ENDF. ATTN. " GOVT. OR
ENDF. REP. " GOVT. " TOO LATE " TRY,
" IS HD. UP " CROSS SEC. " ATN. -
" ERY POL. PERSUASN, ERY ETHNIC
BKG. GRAD. FARRMS. CITY FOLK - SHOP
KPR. & WRKRS. - GRT. HOST " VRY
UNCOMFY PEOPLE UNSTAB. HEROS
" GET UP " MORNING - GO " WRK. - SND "
KID. " SCHOOL - PAY " BILLS - SUPPORT
" CHURCH & CHARITY & ASK NOTHING
" FROM BUT FRDM " SLF. ~~FRM~~

INTO BANKRUPTCY } REFLECTING... 119

FRUSTRATED... OUR P... MOST COMMON QUES.
ASKS IS CN. ANYONE TURN "WASH.
LEVIATHAN ARND.? CN. "BUREC." REDUCO?

"ANS. IS - YOU BET... LF + R... GOING
"DO IT. } WERE GOING "RESTORE"

BALANCE BTWN "LEVELS" GOVT. } DECISIONS
AFFECTING "LVs. + WRK." NO LONGER
MD. "LEVELS" GOVT. CLOSE "HANDS" EASILY
ACSSBLE "US AS" WR. INTND. "BE."

WHEN "NAT." ONLY TO YRS. OLD "WR."
ALRDY "MIRACLE" PROSP. } "ENG. MN" "TM."
SD. "GENIUS" "CONST. WS. IN "PRIN." FEEL

THAT BCUS "IT" HD. PRODUCD "COMMON
MORE POWERFUL, MORE PROSP., MORE INTEL. &
MORE FR. "ANY OTHER" WRLD. "EVR SN."

"SPRING SPECIFIC, "10TH ART. "BILL" RTS.

THAT "ART." "SAYS" "FED. GOVT." PERFORM
ONLY "FUNCS. CALD" "CONST. + ALL OTHERS"

BTWN "WORLD" & "RETURN" DARK 12
AGES - POPE PIUS "12TH SD." "ART. P."
"GENIUS" "GRT. + GENRS DEEDS" - INTO
"HANDS" "AM. GOD" "PLCD." "AFFLICTD"
"MANKIND" }

"THINK" "AM. P." "CAPABLE"
"FULFILLING" "THAT TRUST." }

"BLV."
"AM. P." "CONFIDENT" "KP." "PC." "WRLD"
BCUS "KNOW" "THAT" "NO ONE ELSE TO
DO IT" }

"IT" "TM" "SAY" "THS." "PRGH."
SMALL "BEAUTIFUL" "WHL" "GOVT. GROWD"
BIGGR - WE REJECT "NO GROWTH
POLICY" }

WE REPUDIATE THS "SAY" "BST"
"PAST" - "THAT" "FRM." "NOW ON" "MUST
SHARE IN" "INCRSNG SCARCITY"

LET "TELL" "SONS" & "DAUGHTRS" "BST."
"YET" "CN." - "THAT" "THY" "WL." "OPP."
BYND ANYTHING "EVR KNEW"

THS. "NEVR" "SD." "BETTER" "WS." "MRS MARGT"

MILS. LIVES SAVED -- FOR AIDS
PROG. THAT WAS MAINLY VOL.
EFFORT PT. OF AM. PEOPLE.

END. WWII -- SEC. COMM.
JESSE JONES ALARMED
BY PLANS -- SAW ON BUREAU
DRAWING B.D.S. -- WASH. --
REALIZING WOULD BE TREMEND.
PRESSURE FOR GOVT. CONTROL
TRANSITION -- WAR TO PEACE
-- CALLED IN NAT'S. BUS. LDERS.

HE CHALLNGD. THEM -- ACCEPT
LDR SHP. + EVOLVE -- PLAN,
TOP CORP. LDERS. CREATED
COMM. FOR EC. DEVELOPMENT

50,000 BUS. MEN ACTING 26
THRU 2000 LOC. COMM.
DID -- POST WAR PLANNING.

THE PROPHETS OF ECON.
DOOM WERE WRONG -- THE
MASSIVE TRANS. FROM WAR TO
PEACE WAS GUIDED BY
-- INDEPEND. EFFORT BECAUSE
ONE MAN KNEW -- AM'S. HUMAN
RESOURCES -- FAR GRTR. THAN
POWR -- GOVT. FOR 200 YRS

THIS COUNTRY -- FIGHTING
SUCCESSFUL WAR ON POV.
IN -- RECORDED HIST. MAN.

①

~~Were we to fail that heritage now, the haunting memories of the American spirit would rise up to remind us how we got where we are today. That spirit issued from the sons and daughters of America -- those who left their plows to fight at Lexington; those called to be pitted against their brothers at Gettysburg; artisans who ~~gave~~ exchanged their tools for ~~xxx~~ weapons and ~~xxxxx~~ crossed ~~the sea~~ an ocean to ~~fight~~ fight at Verdun; the fresh-faced young men ~~who~~ who bled ~~into~~ into the sands of the South Pacific; and the unheralded ~~young~~ patriots who~~

Were we to fail that heritage now, the haunting memories of the American spirit would rise up to remind us how we got where we are today. That spirit ~~is~~ issued from the sons and daughters of America -- those who left their plows to fight at Lexington; those pitted against their brothers at Gettysburg; the fresh-faced young men who bled into the sands of Pacific and European beaches; and the unheralded ~~young~~ patriots who sacrificed on the plains and in the jungles of Southeast Asia.

Can we look at what they did for their country and for the cause of liberty ~~and then~~ ^{and then} ~~and then even~~ dare to say that we cannot once again be great?

There's nothing wrong w/ us that we can't fix. We have it with ourselves to do the job, but we have to pick ourselves up, grab hold of our destiny and go to it. (I will 11-7)

Were we to fail that heritage now, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the
haunting memories of past valor would spring up to remind us
where we came from. They are the sons and daughts of
America -- those who left their plows to fight at Lexington;
~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ boys

Were we to fail that heritage now, the haunting memories
of the American spirit would spring up to remind us where
we came from. That spirit issued from the sons and
daughters of America -- those who left their plows to
fight at Lexington; ^{youngsters from} the city ~~xxxx~~ called forth to be
pitted against their brothers at Gettysburg; they were
the artisans forsaking their workbench to cross an ocean
to fight at Verdun and the

that heritage *haunting memory of*

past comrades

Were we to fail them now, the ~~ghosts of millions would~~
rise up to remind us ~~of whence we came~~ *where* *from* *you are the* The ~~sons of America~~
and daughters of America -- those who left ~~their plows~~ *their hearts* to
fight at ~~Lexington~~ *left their plows* those who were called forth pitted
against their brothers at Gettysburg, the ~~artisans~~
who ~~crossed the sea~~ *left their workbenches* *an ocean* crossed the sea to fight at
Verdun, young boys bleeding into the sands of the South
Pacific, and unheralded men and women battling on the
plains and in the jungles of Southeast Asia. Can we look
at what they did for us and for the cause of liberty and
then dare say to ourselves that we ~~are unable to~~ *cannot* once
again be great?

*freshing
their*

No, there is nothing wrong with us that we can't
~~fix~~ fix.

My fellow Americans, down deep in each of us there
is something which makes us try harder. It's something
in us which doesn't quit, which reaches higher, and stands
taller whenever crisis stands in our path. And that's
what we reach for today. ~~My fellow Americans~~
~~My fellow Americans~~

* * *

Men and women who aspired not to ~~the~~ ~~the~~ great titles
and riches but to great deeds.

Were we to fail that heritage now, the haunting memories of the American spirit would spring up to remind us where we came from. That spirit issued from the sons and daughters of America -- those who left their plows to fight at Lexington; the ones called to be pitted against their brothers at Gettysburg; the ~~fresh-faced~~ artisans who forsaked their workbench to cross an ocean to fight at Verdun; the fresh-faced young boys bleeding into the sands of the South Pacific; the ~~unheralded~~ unheralded men and women who held high the American flag on the frozen ground of Pusan and in the steamy jungles of Southeast Asia.

Can we look at ~~them~~ what they did for their country and for the cause of liberty in this world and then even dare say to ourselves that we cannot once again be great?

②

Who are these Americans $\frac{P}{3}$ selfish

We are made of men and women who aspired not to great titles and riches but to great deeds.

* * *

No, there is nothing wrong with us that we can't fix.

* * *

My fellow Americans, deep down in each of us there is something which ~~make~~ takes over when the crisis is great. - It makes us reach ~~higher~~ higher, stand taller, and stops us from qu itting.

3

We cannot forever spend what we don't have and mortgage our children's future as we ~~we~~ pile on program after program.

It is an indulgence to believe that our salvation will come from expanding the ~~xxxxxx~~ source of ~~fix~~ our problems -- just one more agency or one more department; just one more building and 10 more planners and 100 more studies.

I wonder what our frontier ~~didxxxxxxx~~ pioneers did without a ~~xxxxxxx~~

Of course our world has grown more complex and ~~xxx~~ complicated, but let us never forget that there are some simple truths in our life -- simple principles and simple guideposts. And when we confront problems, we would do much better turning to those fundamental lessons of life than giving up still one more notch of our freedom to the state.

4

As the dark night is lighted by ~~xxxx~~ the beacon, so does this union of states serve to illuminate the world by its example.

RR: Peace is the highest aspiration of the people of the United States. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it, but we will not surrender for it -- now or ever.

to B-1

Among the greatest is to renew our self confidence

How can we expect the world to believe in us if we dont believe in ourselves. How can we extend hope to the corners of the globe when we act as those things are hopeless. How will we ever expect anyone else to carry the burden for preserving freedom if we don't care our share?

Let me say to the world that is watching: we are going to build a nation ~~where~~ that all of you can believe in because today we start down the road to once again believe in ourselves. To the earth's poor (?), there will once again be hope because today ~~we~~ America puts away ~~xxxx~~ its notion that things are hopeless. And to all nations who value their freedom -- we expect you to help share the burden for its preservation because ~~xxxx~~ ~~we~~ the United States of America intends to carry that ~~xxxx~~ glorious burden with you.

5

We don't want to do away with government; we want to make it work. The government should work with us and not over us. It should stand there with a hand of support not a hand of admonition. . . .

The government exists only to guarantee freedom - never to guarantee success or prevent failure

Again we are being tested, along many fronts, and with many challenges. How will we meet the test?

why? We're Americans -

We want to be proud again.

freer, better fed, better clothed,
safer, healthier for America having
existed.

There is no easy way out. But then, there was no easy way getting here.

6

~~xxxx~~ NOTES

We must always see the world as it is not as we wish it to be; but we must always wish it to be better than it is. (transpose)

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

The government needs once again to be ~~xxx~~ on our side, not on our backs.

We can no longer hold out promises of miracles. What we make of success, we must largely make ourselves.

I take this oath not just as President but as an AMERICAN citizen --each of us, indivudally, swear to protect etc. thd consittuion of the Unioted States. I am among you.

re: states versus federal government

We must reexamine our institutional arrangements. Is it a coincidence that as the power fo the states has diminished and as governmnet and decisions which affect our lives have grown further in distance from the pople, that the dislocatin in our soicety has increased? Federal overgbearing and centralization also has the effect of further depersonailzinag the government. These are profoudn quetions of our modern society --we must confront them and restore balance to the federal system. Remember the fed. government did not create the states, the ~~ix~~ states created the federal government.

7

TAPE DICTATED -- in auto, Decmeber24, 1980

The job of the Federal Governmetn is not to tell people what to do but to establish an evniorment in which they are free to do it.

Too oftne the Fedrel Government takes upon itself to tell people what to do when what it should be doing is to let the people do it.

The Federa. Government should not tell people what to do; it should let the people act.

We've never failed when the people have been permitted to act; we have failed when the government has interfeereed with what they've done

✓ The government should not exist to limit the choices of the people; the government should exist to expand their choices, to expand opportunity, to find ways inwhcih they can be productive; . . .

We will seek to limit the way the government interferes with the economic choices which lie before us.

One of the great questions of our time is wherther or not we are going to permit the people to flourish or whether the government is going to prevent them from flourishing.

We will not not long exist, nor happily endure, if the freedom of men and women is limited by government which scolds, lectures, guides, insists, denies, prohibits, . .

I don't think we've ever failed when the people have been free to act and free to choose; free to succeed to excel, and, yes, even free to fail.

Let me say that this will not be a nation somber about it's obligations, it will not be a nation afriad of its challenges; it will not be a nation avoiding its responsibilities; it will not be a nation cowering from its duties; it will be a nation

8

birght, alert, active, committed, excited and energized about its duty. We are going to get the job done -- perhaps not today, or tomorrow, but it will get done. And it will get done becaue we havethe spirit.

America should not be plodding toward its destiny; it should be marching. It will get there with the vigorous application of our energies.

MUch of the problems we have created with our ~~EEEE~~ economy are not because of ~~the~~ deciscions pepole made as to what to do with their own resources but decisions government made to tell people what to do with their resources.

We must rid ourselves of the notion that the government is all knowing and all doing; that it can do no ~~worring~~ wrong, that it can make every decision for us; that it ~~make~~ judge every market; circulate ~~xxx~~ capital and make the greatdecisions that developed our economy to be the strongest in the entire history of mankind.

The kind of trust we need is trust of the people; not trust of one man, not trust of an entity in a distant capital, bu trust of people -- people in villaes, towns, on farms, young peple, all ages, races, creeds. They are the ~~the~~ repository of the power that was handed out in this great constitution, and they are the ones to which we shall turn -- it is they that in the darkest hours of America who have always been our salvation; it is they who will keep us continue on this path.

Economic

LEt us get right to the point.; Over the past year I saw too much despair, too much concern, too much lack of h ope, too much humiliation, to think there is anything less that a serious , profuund and a deep econom,ic problem in America. We are not goingto be blind to this problem, nor are we going to be r afraid to act, we're not going to ~~the~~ be

afraid to move. This transfer of authority conferred upon us by the people is an indication that the people are delegating their power to make decisions -- decisions that will remove their despair, enable us back to work, back on the job, back on top.

We are not here to attack on the government, but we are here to raise the question that if what the government does for everybody is so good, then why are we in so much trouble?

The fact is that we must not turn to the government for the answer, we must turn to ourselves for the answer. We must ~~not~~ depend on what they can do, but on what we can do.

Our goal is not to apologize for the progress we've made or wring our hands ~~in~~ ^{over the} the comforts we've brought to a rough-hewn world. Our answer is to make this available to more people, not to cut up the pie differently, but to make a bigger pie.

Why is it that people would want to cut back on what we do? Why is it that they want to restrict, trim? Instead, we should look out and look up -- and do what we've always done best and that is to produce plenty for America and the world.

Foreign Policy
Above everything else, the world must know that America will earn its respect. It will do so however it needs to for as long as it needs, in whatever way it needs to. We have survived too long as the pillar of freedom in this world, as a defender of liberty as a fighter against every form of tyranny known to man, to reduce our selves to the point where there is no longer respect. Our forbearance should not be misunderstood. A reluctance for conflict should not be read as a failure of will. We will be there when we are needed. We will act when the moment calls for action. We shall never shrink from our responsibilities.

To each of you my fellow Americans I pledge that this will not be a period of complacent watching. It will not be a time

10

page 4

of waiting; it will not be a time of resting. It will be a time of action. It will be a time of moement, determination. We will not stand by. We will go in. And to the world I say AMERICA ~~xxxxxxx~~ seek to find, America will restore its historic position in the world. We do so not in arrogance . . .

The economic problems that are upon us are simply not compatible with Ameican democracy . The inflation which has become a phenomonon ofthe past few ~~xx~~ years contradicts our way oflife. It is attacking us as insidiously as any enemy from without. It disrupts our family , it hurts everyone , it causes social instaibility. And each of us must be determined that this must come to an end. It cannot be done quickly because it did not come about quickly. But I understand what I have been charged to do, and that is to take action.

11

Spring

~~We began this ceremony today~~

We hold this ceremony today for the first time in our history on the west front of the United States capitol. For the millions of Amerians who visit our capital each year, they know this is one of the most magnificent vistas in the country. From this point, our vision takes us past the mall across this city of freedom and to the often brethaking sight of the ~~Jefferson~~ Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials.

Like the 38 men who came before me, I ~~have~~ seek prayerful inspiration as I embark upon the duties of this office. Today, looking out on this sight, I know ~~where~~ where I find that inspiration.

In those three Presidents honored by memorials, I take great ~~hope~~ hope. George Washington represented strength and character -- leading America into nationhood after leading her into revolutionary victory. Thomas Jefferson represented wisdom and an abiding belief in the people as well as the celebration of the indivudal's freedoms to excel. In Lincoln, America had a Presidnet of compassion, courage ~~and~~ -- one who embodied the notion of unity of country and dignity of ~~all~~ all men and women.

As God watches and guides us, how strongly do I feel that I seek to learn from those grat men.

It is symbolic that ~~we~~ we Americans look to our past to guide the path into the future. That is our call at

They seem like watchmen over us -

this moment. All of us -- let us reach ~~into~~ into the rich heritage of America and find anew those reserves of spirit and determination which will carry us through the challenging days ahead. Their vision shall light our way. Their love of country will give us strength. Their legacy will spur us to our very best.

Fellow citizens, with all the energies at my command and with your goodwill, I embark on this term of high office. , , , ,

12a

America was an idea in the heart of every person yearning to live free. That idea became a reality. The reality took on life. But even as our nation grows in years, we are, first and last, an idea come to change the world.

* * *

Now, as we begin our time of renewal, we have so much work to do. It will take special energies to achieve all that we want to.

We have it within us to do the job, and I have no doubts that we can get it done.

We are, ~~Americans~~ after all, Americans.

13

Our economic problems -- they are not ones of human survival in the next day. But they are problems of social and cultural survival over the course of history. We worry less about the impoverishment of the individual and more about the impoverishment of an entire nation. This is what we must guard against. this is the economic challenge which lies before us.

14
Today

There is special meaning i

I am moved

No other American Prdsident taking this oath of office has looked out on the vista that I ~~am~~ ~~xxx~~ oversee today. For the first time, the INAugural ceremonies arebeing held on the west front of the capitol.

In front of me lies one of the most majestic sights in the United States, as I ~~xx~~ look down the mall toward monuments to three revered American Presidnets.

(Dick Moore material)

There is another symbol today. Instead of ~~looking~~ ~~xxxx~~ facing past our shores, today I look in the direction of all of America. It reminds me that we nave much to do at home. It reminds me that we cannot be strong abroad if we are not first strong within our shores. If we do not first have our own house in order, we shall have trouble being the friend and ally we want to be.

I come before you today with a sense of urgency. Production is down. Ecoomy is down. PEople out of work. A relatively new phenomonon -- a tragically distorted economy that has entered the life of every single American.

We must face this adversary at home. We must confront it.)hd we must defeat it at home.

Never before in our nation's history has this ~~moment~~
~~been~~ ceremony t

Never before in ~~this~~ our history has this ceremony
taken

Never before in our history has a new President
taken his oath ~~on the west side of the~~ facing the west

For the first time in our history, this oath of
office has been executed while

Today, for the first time in American history

Today, for the first time

Noo

15

39 men before me have held custody of this sacred office

They don't own this office; the office belongs to the people and to ~~the~~ ~~our~~ ~~history~~.

By our constitution, the people exchange one steward for another. ~~The~~ Each of us ~~must~~ must guard this office and maintain it for the next person in whom the people repose their trust. This is the ~~xx~~ essence of our democratic system. The people never lose power; they only delegate it.

55 times before me in the history of our nation the words of this oath of office have been spoken by a man assuming its duties.

RR:

The oath I have taken today is not just an expression of a President's duty; it is ~~an oath that is a part of~~ ^{shared by} ~~every~~ ^{of} every American -- it ~~is the task of all of us to~~ ^{is a solemn obligation} preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. We all live this oath every day. It is what preserves our nation and maintains our society. In time of peace, our people ~~uphold~~ uphold this oath with ~~their~~ their commitment; in time of conflict, they have upheld it with their courage. This oath shows that we are one. To me it symbolizes how I have come from among you and it shows how strongly I identify with each of you.

(peculiar to the office of the President)

16

RR: There is a need for all of us to be reminded that the states created the Federal government . . . the federal government did not create the states."

or: The federal government did ~~not~~ not- create the states; the federal government was created by the states.

After all, etched on the ~~words of the~~ great seal of the United ~~States~~ States are the words: E Pluribus Unum: out of many, one.

The whole of America is only as good as its parts.

RR: In the discharge of my duties, I shall be guided by a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the states or to the people.



The ~~xxx~~ faith that we give up to the government is
lost to us forever.

Whatever energy we have invested in government, we
have taken from our own ~~xxx~~ capital. When we deplete the
energy of the ~~xxx~~ people, we weaken the basis of our
strength.

* * * *

We will trust our government, yes. We will rely ~~on~~
on our institutions and make them stronger. But most
important we will trust in ourselves.

* * * *

It is time not just for the government ~~to~~ to act
but for the people to act.

We are jealous onoy of our freedoms.

The government takes care of us with strings attached
to ~~xx~~ ~~xx~~ its outreached hand.

(17)

International

America will always be strong enough to protect herself. She will be prudent in use of her strength; steady in the exercise of her responsibility; . . .

strong enough to protect herself ~~and confident enough~~ but confident enough not to ~~promote~~ promote herself.

* * *

In the way we deal with each other, can't we be better stewards of our future?

History holds a lesson for all of us -- we cannot take lightly the obligations we bear to keep the peace.

per Dick Allen:

-- restore confidence in America

-- restore the margin of safety via a vigorous defense program.

(there are many ways of saying it and many ways in which ~~it~~ it has been ~~said~~ said -- euphemisms etc. But there is ~~only~~ only one realistic way to interpret it. America must always be strong enough to defend itself against any potential adversary, in any quarter and at any time. Whatever definition is used, she must also be prepared to honor obligations grounded ~~in~~ in the preservation of freedom. The strength to defend and the ability to ~~be~~ be an ally: that is the definition of what we will become whatever the language that is used.

I will leave it to others to give it a name - but . . .

17a

RR:

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

To our neighbors, we extend an invitatoin to stengthen historic affiliations. We will look to mutually beneficial arrangements. In the western hempihsphere, -- in the Americas -- we will do so without intervention in anyone's internal affairs or by imposing on their soveritnghty

We have always sought friendship and alliance with nations that share our dream of freedom. When they seek our help, ~~wh~~ help shold be freely given. ~~sw~~ We have no wish to buy their sovereignty with our help for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

* * * *

We intend to stand by our allies. They will find that our word is true, that our support is steady, that ~~our~~ our commitment is firm. America's role in the world has depended upon ~~ix~~ the realiability of her word. We will ~~always~~ work to see that America can be trusted for her word as well as envied for her ~~ix~~ riches (sterenth?) We ~~waxix~~ will seek for them to know our compasskon as well as our courage. But we shlal also very clearly seek to ensure that we are never misunderstood or mistaken in the extent to which we cherish our valües and the of freedom.

18

America came to change the world
She's never flagged in freedom's fight
She's been a pillar of
She's been genrous, open . . .

Her mission is to never cease changing the world -- this
imperfect earth

There is real despair which we must touch. Nothing will
be good for any of us if it isn't good for all of us.

Gavin/per RR: This is a good country -- too good to be burned down,
or ~~xx xx~~ destroyed by subversion. It is a good country
for all of us and for our children.

* * *

Gavin/per RR: For too long we have allowed others to do our thinking
for us. It is time we do some thinking of our own (for
ourselves). ~~xxxxxxxixxxxxx~~

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

Era of renewal

(19)

Community of values:

The ~~best~~ highest form of social welfare is a good job.

The most stabilizing influence in society is a strong family.

The thing which provides us continuity in our daily lives is the strong neighborhood in which we live.

The essence of our entire lives is ~~the~~ the freedom which gives us each choice to ~~we~~ make.

The the strength and purpose which becomes our national foundation is the surest road to peace.

Family
work
neighborhood
peace
freedom

note that RR is on west
front looking out at the
rest of the country -
not at east front looking
across the sea.

20

I ask you today, my fellow Americans, to join with me
~~xxxxxxx~~ to begin ^{a time of} ~~an era of~~ great renewal.

-- A flagging nation needs to renew its spirit

-- A faltering ally needs to renew its commitments

-- We ~~will~~ must renew the economic strength in which
we all rely to live

-- We will look for a ~~new~~ renewal of individual
energies

-- And we look for a nation still free enough for
each one who ~~xxxxx~~ chooses in the way he chooses to
drink from the cup of the one greater than us all and to
renew the spirit of the ~~xx~~ soul.

20.

We are free to excel and free to dream. We are free to reach high, achieve much, produce plenty, enrich our lives, and build a rich legacy to leave -- and yes, we are also free to fall short.

* * * *

Our problems are great indeed, but our resources ~~are~~ are greater still. The answer lies within us -- thank God -- within our resolve to take charge of our lives and master our own fate.

We must gain control of what is ours. It is a time, not for words, but for action.

But we must overcome any self-doubt.

Our timeless strength has been the courage to cross another mountain. We are not faint, not tired, not defeated nor discouraged. That is our salvation and our hope.

ad

The Government cannot be the arbiter of excellence. That is up to the individual. The government should only see that nothing gets in the way of achievement -- it should keep the track clear with only each person deciding for himself how high he will go; how far, how deep, how fast; and -- when he will do it.

* * *

Rd:

Unless we as individuals are free, we cannot have a nation that is free.

Our soul is filled with the sweet breath of freedom.
~~Individually~~ Inside us breaths the spirit of freedom

We are here today because ~~the~~ free elections are the ultimate triumph of people. First one, then five, then five hundred thousand, then five million and finally fifty million (more than 80 million)

Freedom's spirit is not a somber dirge, but a high-stepping march -- a liberation of ~~our~~ ~~most~~ ~~fundamental~~ our most fundamental human emotions -- an unleashing of the energy that God breathed into every one of us he ~~placed~~ placed on earth.

Thirty-eight men before me have sworn to the same oath I spoke just moments ago. But that oath is not peculiar to the office of the President. It is actually shared by every patriotic American -- a common duty to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States of America.

In peactime, Americans uphold it by the quality of their commitment. In time of conflict, they have upheld it with their courage and, many of them, with their lives. The daily exercise of that solemn duty is what keeps our society together. ~~xxxxxx~~ Without it, ~~xxxxxx~~/I fear our nation would not long survive because we would no longer be at one in our purpose.

Today, I ask each American quietly and privately to join me in this oath -- to be a part of this mission with me.

Thirty-eight men before me have sworn to the same oath I spoke just moments ago. But that oath is not peculiar to the office of the President. It is actually shared by every patriotic American -- a common duty to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States of America.

Living that oath every day is what maintains our society. If we did not do so, I fear our nation would not long survive because we would no longer be at one in our purpose.

sworn to
Thirty eight men before me have ~~spoken~~/the same oath
spoke
~~which~~ I ~~swore~~/just moments ago. But that oath is not
or limited to a handful of honored individuals.
peculiar to the office of the President/ It is actually
~~shared~~ shared by every patriotic American -- to preserve,
protect and defend the Consitution of the United States.

Living that oath ~~every~~ every day is what ~~preserves~~
our people uphold it
maintains our society. In time of peace,/~~which~~
their
~~upheld~~ by the quality of/commitment. In time of conflict,
it hsa been upheld with their courage.

Thirty-eight men before me have sworn to the same
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the Unites ~~States~~ States of AMERICA.

Living that oath every day is what maintains our
society. In time of peace, Americans uphold it by the
quality of their commitment. In time of conflict, they
and, of them,
have upheld it with their courage / many/ with their lives.

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

Today, once again, the spirit of our democracy endures through the peaceful transfer of authority. We gather not in a closed room, but in the outdoor air. We meet not secretly at night, but openly at midday. Instead of memorializing the accomplishment of one person we reaffirm that the people only delegate their power; they never lose it.

This ceremony, marked by order and dignity, causes us to appreciate anew the wonder of our system. What began as a bold experiment by men of extraordinary vision now gives us certainty in an unstable and complex world. It reminds us of the remarkable and symbolizes the triumph of our Constitution.

Today, once again, the spirit of our democracy endures through the peaceful transfer of authority. We gather not in a closed room, but in the outdoor air. We meet not secretly at night, but openly at midday. ~~in the~~

This ceremony, marked by ~~regularity~~ order and dignity, causes us to recognize anew the wonder of our system. Instead of memorializing the accomplishment of one person, it reaffirms that the people never lose their power; they only delegate it. This is the triumph of our constitution and ~~confirmation of~~ ~~our~~ a continuing vindication of the success of our bold national experiment.

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

Today, once again, the spirit of our democracy endures through the peaceful transfer of ~~the Presidency~~ ^{authority}. We gather not in a ~~darkened~~ ^{closed} room, but in the ~~open air~~ ^{light of outdoors light air}. We meet not secretly at night, but openly at midday. We ~~memorialize~~ ^{join here not to} ~~see~~ the accomplishment of one person, but we see instead ^{only} how the people of our nation never lose their power; rather, ~~they merely delegate it.~~ ^{we re-affirm that power is delegated by the people the people delegate their power; they never lose it.}

This quadrennial occurrence, marked by order and dignity should truly make us appreciate anew the wonder of our democracy. What began as a bold experiment by men of extraordinary vision now gives us certainty in an unstable and complex world. This is no ~~simple~~ detached celebration of our election process but the symbolic reminder of the continued triumph of ~~the~~ our Constitution.

President Carter . . . your gracious cooperation ~~and support~~ during this ~~period~~ transition has been of enormous help to me. But more importantly, your support enabled ~~the~~ a watching world to reassure itself and the American people to retain their respect for the integrity of our political processes.

President Carter, Mr. Chief Justice:

Today,
/ Once again, the spirit of our democracy endures
through the peaceful transfer of the Presidency. What
began as a bold experiment by men of extraordinary vision
and
is now a quadrennial occurrence marked by order/ predictability.
In this unstable world and in these complex times, we
need to appreciate anew the wonder of our democracy.
Today we celebrate not a single event but the ~~unwavering~~
~~continued~~ triumph of our constitution.
By this act we see how the people never lose their power;
they merely delegate it.

President Carter -- your support and ^{unwavering} cooperatoin
through this period has not only been a source of great
help to me but gives the people of America respect for
our political processes and citizens of the world assurances
that our country remains strong and stable.

President Carter, Mr. Chief Justice etc.

The ordered and peaceful transfer of stewardship
in America ~~underlies~~ underlays

Though we transfer anew the stewardship of
~~America's~~ America's presidency, the order and peaceful
change that takes place here today

Though we transfer anew the stewardship of America's
Presidency, the orderly and peaceful change that takes
place here today is ~~an~~ part of an unbroken chain
of democratic continuity.

Though each transfer of the Presidency ~~represents~~
~~and~~ represents change, ~~and~~ it also ~~produces~~
produces the democratic continuity that secures ~~America's~~
~~democratic~~ America's historical here in America or
democracy endures

Though each transfer of the Presidency represents
change, it also ~~maintains~~ maintains the continuity ~~by~~ by
our democracy endures.

December 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

FROM: Ken Khachigian

SUBJECT: Suggested Remarks: Inaugural Address

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

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

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

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

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

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

December 24, 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Dick Moore

SUBJECT: Invoking the Deity: God's Grace

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

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

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

accent, Pope John Paul II closed with these words:

"America, America, God shed His grace on thee.
And crown thy good with brotherhood from sea
to shining sea."

It would be at this point that the President could refer to what the American people can accomplish with God's grace

P.S. With all the references to God in Inaugural Addresses I don't think the term God's Grace has been used before, but I haven't been able to check it entirely.

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

From: Dick Moore

Subject: The Monuments on the Mall

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

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

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

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

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

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Dick Moore

DATE: December 24, 1980

RE: "...preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Curiously, the great oath is defensive rather than positive concerning the Constitution. Perhaps our new President should accentuate the positive: The best way to defend the Constitution is to take positive action to advance its affirmative purposes. A good offense is the best defense.

The positive aims of the Constitution are stated with great vision and specificity in the Preamble which begins, of course, with the great phrase, "We The People."

Clearly, if we have strong defense, reduction of crime, more economic freedom and the other objectives which Governor Reagan (and the Preamble) stands for, than the Constitution itself will indeed be stronger than ever.

Only economic, military, and spiritual weakness at home can undermine the Constitution of the United States -- and these are the real dangers against which President Reagan will indeed preserve, protect and defend this great instrument.

(On the 100th anniversary of the Constitution, Prime Minister Gladstone described it as "The most remarkable work produced by the human intellect in modern times.")

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

From: Dick Moore

Subject: A General Comment about the
Tone of an Inaugural Address

Governor Reagan certainly needs no advice from me as to what constitutes an effective speech. However, it occurs to me that many advisers might suggest that an Inaugural Address is somehow different from any other speech and that it should consist of lofty language dealing with great abstract ideas. This view may have some validity up to a point, but my view is that an Inaugural Address should be first of all "a good speech", i.e. one that holds the attention of the audience and contains language that anyone can readily understand. I believe that Governor Reagan understands this point every bit as well as FDR and Lincoln. Thus I hope he will not resist such virtues as brevity, simple language, homely examples or anecdotal references. These can be as helpful in an Inaugural Address as in any other speech.

If he needs any encouragement along this line, he might be interested and amused by the review of Lincoln's ~~Second~~ Inaugural by the editor of the Chicago Times who believed that an Inaugural Address should be "profound, exalted and elevated in literary style." As to the Lincoln address, he wrote:

"We would not conceive it possible that even Mr. Lincoln could produce a paper so alipshod, so loose-joined, so puerile in literary construction in its ideas, its grasp . . . By the side of it, mediocrity is superb. Let us trust in heaven that it is not typical of our national

General Tone (con't) - 2 -

Lincoln's Second Inaugural, of course, ranks with his
Gettysburg Address. In short, I hope that Governor Reagan will
resist any tendency to overly compromise his natural style because
of the likes of the Chicago Times. Clearly people like it the
way he tells it.

RAM:ms.

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Knachigian

From: Dick Moore

Subject: Contributions from Kate Moore

Kate has come up with a couple of lines which strike me as possible winners, and I am glad to pass them along. She was here when you and I talked on the phone tonight, and she asked me to return the Christmas greeting, as she remembers fondly the days working with you on the campaign.

1. Looking west presents the opportunity to refer to the frontier and the hardy Americans who pushed it back:

...a frontier once as narrow as the first footprint on the Virginia shore, now broader than a continent and as high as the moon.

2. Regarding the role of government:

note (It wasn't a government agency that invented the telephone, or wrote Moby Dick, or created the automobile.

or wrote "God Bless America"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*u:
Sov't.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

stone but of barbed wire and terror.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

in the monuments to the memory of our great leaders.

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

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

December 12, 1980

Memo to : Ken Khachigian

From: Bill Gavin *Bill*

Re: Inaugural Speech

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ne: gov't. We know that the true glory of our nation includes, but also transcends our governmental institutions. We are ^{and have always been} a nation that has a government and not the other way around--and that ~~is that~~ makes us special among the nations of the earth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Let us get on with it, together!

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

December 22, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

From: Bill Gavin ^B

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

is best.
good

~~Americans have never succumbed to the sickness of despair. Yet we~~
because of our current difficulties
hear it said that our nation is doomed to an inevitable decline because
well,
~~of our current difficulties. To this I say,~~ I do not believe in a fate
that will fall on the United States of America no matter what we do --
I do believe in a fate that will fall on the United States of America if
we do nothing. ~~We must and will~~ *If we* take direct action against our difficulties
and confront our problems, ~~if we so choose,~~ *we* will not simply endure -- *Fan/Kne*
we will prevail.

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

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

We have too great a heritage to limit our horizons.

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

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

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

renewal
~~renewal~~

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

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

Your time has come.

Your values have a home in Washington.

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

No longer shall you be the invisible men and women of this nation. No longer shall your values and your sacrifices be taken for granted.

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

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

At the (edge) of our revival are those who yearn to be a part of it. (Vernon Jordan)

Blindly word:

those who want to be part of the renewal but need the chance.