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draft

hannaford

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

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

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

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

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

to
JKK
#1

to
JKK
#2

to
JKK
#3

RL

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

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

~~During the years since we have been keeping~~

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Khachigian)

POSSIBLE OPENING

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

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

Hannaford
1

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

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

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

Hannaford
2

Hannaford
3

(Khachigian)

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

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

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

President Jefferson declared in his First Inaugural Address: "...a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government...."

Perhaps, indeed, to Jefferson's calculation some things can be added. But from this "sum of good government" nothing can be deleted. No government whose laws are harrying or slipshod, where enterprising effort is choked by legalistic nuisances, where labors are taxed on regular time, taxed higher on overtime, and taxed again at savings time, can long enjoy the affections of a free people.

For they know that rapidly-changing laws punch a ticket for the wily that is paid for by the populous. They believe in reward for those willing to risk, to innovate, to try. They believe in a country where regulations and taxes leave room for dreams to breath -- because they know that aspiration precedes invention, and ambition lays the surest claim to tomorrow.

What faith brought forth this epoch's dawning?
That with God's help, we shall prosper!

-- Never in history had there existed self-government
in a large and populous land. Americans said, "our size is
our strength." Americans said, "we shall prosper!"

-- Never had democracy survived the eternal clash
of class. Americans said, "where there is little, we will
make more." Americans said, "we shall prosper!"

-- Never had a nation made harmonious the discord of
strange tongues. Americans said, "Their voices are the music of
our cities' streets." Americans said, "we shall prosper!"

To the skeptics, to the critics, to the doubters and
analysts, to the head-shaking friends and the fist-waving
foes, our answer was, and is: With God's help, we shall prosper!

-- Others said, they cannot feed themselves. Our
farmers filled our fields with grain, to answer "we shall prosper."

-- Others said, they cannot house themselves. Our builders
hammered their reply: "we shall prosper!"

-- Others said, they cannot clothe themselves, or heat their
homes. Their trucks will sit empty, their factories close.
Their resources will run out, their spirit will falter.

To all the litanies of doubt and fright, an echo from Jamestown
and Plymouth and Independence Hall, from the Alamo and
Appomattox, from times of war as well as peace, from eras of
hardship and eras of plenty, answers: "With God's help, we
shall prosper."

In the end, there is only one resource. It is the bearer of our horn of plenty. It can be dispirited, but it can never be exhausted. It is the ever-present resource of human ingenuity.

We drive to work in vehicles uninvented a century ago, propelled by the brainpower that put to work a never-before-utilized black slime. We fly from city to city in machines that were dreamers' dreams when the century began, when a brother crouched behind an odd contraption in Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. A million Archimedes could not calculate with the speed of computers we hold in the palms of our hands. Our televisions carry pictures from a satellite crossing Saturn's rings, and the news of our gathering here today criss-crosses the world, riding piggy-back on laser beams.

These are but a handful of our legacies, but a few of the countless gifts that proceed from the efforts of free people who strive and who believe. Wherever a gifted people is allowed to excel, there grows up a climate of confidence, and innovation, and genius. Wherever individuals benefit from improving the general welfare, there follows the wealth of nations. Where there is dedication and spirit and faith in free men and women, new tomorrows are ever dawning, ever more brightly.

OK I by
Adm. General of
Via phone 12101
24 Dec 81

Michael A. Scully

It is not as Republicans or Democrats, liberals or conservatives, it is not from party or cause that we assemble. Rather, it is to bear witness, on behalf of a world ravenous for liberty, a world starved for stability through fellowship, that we gather -- as one party, as one point of view -- and hail this peaceful transfer of authority, this evidence that the nation born of liberty endures.

All else pales this day before the testimony of our presence, before its loving whisper to those now gone, that we are here and that the nation they so loved lives on. It is their day, too: loved ones and friends departed, our countrymen generations gone, our soldiers who died defending just such days as this -- and Washington's, and Jefferson's, Hamilton's and Lincoln's, Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt's.

Even as they live today through us, so in time will their legacy and ours pass to those yet unborn. Thus nations, like the families which are their strength, are happiest when helping build the future. And so the greatness of our past
cheers great deeds yet undone.



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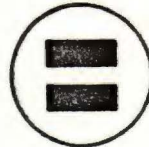
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500 East 62nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10021
Telephone: (212) 644-6500

DRAFT A

Our goal is a strong, prosperous America, at peace with itself and with the world. To reach that goal, we must enlist the efforts of every American. All of our citizens must have an equal opportunity to share in the productive work of making America great again. And all of our citizens must have an equal opportunity to share in the bounty of a revived economy.

In the common effort to build a strong, prosperous nation we must unlock the doors of opportunity for all of our people, and especially for those who face discrimination and economic disadvantage. By unlocking those doors of opportunity, we can harness the productive energies our nation needs; we can harness the idealism and sense of fair play that is the core of America's strength.

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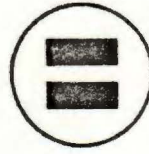
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DRAFT B

Our objective must be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans. For too long minorities and poor people have been forced to bear the heaviest burdens of our nation's economic problems. For too long, we have tolerated barriers to equal opportunity such as discrimination and economic disadvantage.

Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terrors of runaway prices. An economy that unleashes the productive energies of the American people is an economy that will also provide equal opportunity. The best anti-poverty program of all is a revived economy that ends the inflation and unemployment that hits poor people hardest.

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DRAFT C

A strong, united America is an America finally free from the racism and discrimination that robs so many of our citizens of their right to equal opportunity. I firmly believe in equal opportunity -- in the God-given right of each and every human being to develop himself or herself to the fullest. If some of us are chained to limited aspirations and victimized by discriminatory practices, then all of us are kept from realizing our full potential.

My Administration will be intolerant of discrimination and racial prejudice. It will be compassionate toward the victims of poverty. It will be committed to fostering racial harmony and equal opportunity. It will be an Administration devoted to progress for all Americans.

#

Bruce Herschensohn

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

To accomplish all of this, there is much to change.

good (But we must never strive for change in the pursuit of being different. We must only strive for change in the pursuit of being better.

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

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

Our tax system ~~should no longer be a penalty for those who strive to achieve.~~ It should be an equitable system that guarantees all citizens ~~the~~ receipt of their just reward for their hours of labor. *It should not be a penalty on successful achievement*

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

*nl:
economic
system
free
the
people*

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

We need not apologize for the property we have created, because we have never failed to share it w/ a hungry world.

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

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

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

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

To maintain friendship of our allies does not mean giving up our ideals. Pursuing our interests does not require relinquishing our principles.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

1100 Waterway Boulevard, Indianapolis, Indiana 46202

317-634-1100

ONE-LINE PHRASES

"Without victory," said Winston Churchill, "there is no survival"--and without peace, no one will survive.

The best way to ensure war is for the United States to be militarily weak. The best way to ensure peace is for the United States to be militarily strong.

To meet the crises of the 1980s, to recapture our economic and spiritual lift, we will need new courage--courage to change, courage to challenge, courage to lead once again.

"There are only two lasting bequests," Henry Ward Beecher once said, "we can hope to give our children. One of these is roots...the other, wings."

America has long been a haven for the talented, and the enterprising, and all those who know that progress comes not from government giving more to people--but through people giving more of themselves.

(((My only special interest is America's.

As we seek to fulfill our nation's promise, we must declare that the American Dream cannot be exclusively a white, or suburban, or upper-class domain.

The time has come for the federal government to stop telling people how to conduct their lives.

The time has come for working men and women to stop being bulldozed by those who profess to be the self-anointed jury of all that transpires in American life.

If our leaders are respected, our country will be respected. What we need are leaders to match the courage of our people.

Americans have made this the richest, most compassionate, most caring nation in the history of mankind. Today, as two hundred years ago, they deserve the right to chart their ongoing lives.

I want the Federal Government out of our nation's schools--and I want the Faith of our Fathers back in.

No job is trivial if it places bread on the table. No job is menial if it provides for one's children. No job is demeaning if it leads to self-reliance and self-respect.

What Americans have always shown is courage--and from her leaders, we rightfully expect courage, too.

I want a nation where we speak less of shortages and more of supply--less of 'Washington Knows Best' and more of individual pride.

I want a nation in which government is given back to the people--and in which citizens at the community level are involved directly in the decisions which influence their lives.

Together we can make America the last, best hope of freedom, the last, shining light of mankind.

Times change--but idealism does not. Times change--but principles do not.

Political values without moral values cannot sustain a nation. There is no state religion in America--nor should there ever be--but spiritual principles were rooted in our nation's origins and always must be.

The time has come for government to assist those people who deserve help--the millions of Americans who go quietly about their daily endeavors; who work and save and pay their taxes; who lend steel to the fiber of America; who lend thrust to the American Dream.

Everyone speaks of rights--but few speak of responsibilities. What we must realize--and what too many of our leaders ignore--is that America cannot remain a splintered society of many conflicting parts.

We must prove again that moral identity is the rock upon which our greatness rests.

(To protect our environment, we do not have to bankrupt America economically. The worst environment of all is to be cold, hungry, and unemployed.

Our's will not be a free world for any of us to live in until it becomes a free world for all of us to live in.

What must America's legacy be?

A code of life and pride in achievement; a belief that America has tasks that need meeting, waiting for hands to meet them; a conviction that as we follow our principles, we can be lifted by our dreams.

Writing once about this country's past and future, Carl Sandburg spoke much about each in three simple words that became the title for one of his most eloquent poems.

"The People, Yes."

The People, Yes. They are high school teachers, general druggists, retired workers, and men who own their farms. They live on the mountains of New Hampshire, in the flatlands of South Carolina, and in the teeming steel towns of Ohio.

The People, Yes. They come from the ranks of those who are truly our best and brightest--Americans who believe in family life and religious fiber, in the values and convictions which have made this country great.

The People, Yes. These Americans do uphold the law. They share its precepts and underscore its ideals, and cherish the decent stability that makes progress possible and life worthwhile.

To make our government more responsive, to reaffirm our lost identity and pride, we must remember that this nation exists for its people--not the other way around.

Our goal is an uplifted democracy--one in which equality and opportunity co-exist, and where freedom can prevail.

(If we do not stand up to our enemies, soon our enemies will be standing over us.

(If we betray our allies, soon we won't have any allies left to betray.

We must befriend our allies--and give them the respect they deserve. We must treat our adversaries as such--and demand from them the respect we deserve.

Our's is a chance to enrich America, and by so doing, to help America enrich the world.

(KOCH)

Suggested Remarks for Inaugural Address

Openings

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

begin anew

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

We have survived. We shall prevail.

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

* * * * *

Historical Perspectives

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

It has cost subsequent generations dearly.

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

Domestic

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

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

no. suit. good.

* * * * *

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

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

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

We must reawaken them, and reward them.

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

That is false.

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

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

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

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

the builders
shape
build
produce
work
mold
create

7

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

R.R.



* * * * *

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

Good
line



* * * * *

International

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

If is a weapon our adversaris in today's world do not have.

* * * * *

We have differences with those powers which hold the future of

✓ (We have gone to the ends of the earth to bring peace; And we can still. But we have never paid any price for peace, and we never will.

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

But finally, our course will be set by that point upon which we and our adversaries agree irrevocably, definitively and beyond polemic, that point which is the guide to our dealings with the world, and the touchstone of our national existence. It is this -- and our adversaries while denying all else, will not deny this, but insist upon it with obstinate conviction: in the communist world,

man is the servant of the government -- which they exalt by calling it the state; and in the world's oldest republic, the leader of the free world, government is the servant of man.

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

We too are the product of a revolution.

Ken,

I will forward additional material, including endings by mail.

Merry Christmas and warm regards,

Noel

January 1, 1981

For 180 years, these historic ~~hall~~ halls ~~were~~ ~~of~~
behind me
~~have~~ have borne witness to the peaceful passage of
executive authority in America. Thus, /what is for me a momentous
personal

~~/occasion~~ ~~is, in the history of our republic, a seemingly commonplace~~
in the history of our republic, a seemingly commonplace
a recreation of a simply ~~recreates~~ ^{restates} a miracle out of our

past. ~~It symbolizes a triumph of our constitution that~~
~~so dramatic a change can be marked by such order and dignity~~
By this ceremony
what is almost the routine of order and dignity.

~~is a symbol of our civilization~~
This act truly ~~represents~~ ^{symbolizes} the triumph of our civilization and
governing ~~our~~ ^{chosenly} founders chose to govern our nation. Here, we reassert
system ~~the~~ right of free men and women to govern themselves, to
determine their own future and to shape their children's
destiny.

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

Symbolically, we gather not in a closed room, but in
the bright outdoors. Our meeting is not conducted in
the secrecy of night, but in the openness of midday.

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

As I embark on my term of stewardship, I find comfort in knowing that the ~~people of~~ American people will support me with their commitment.

You

Your ~~support~~ ^{helped give} showed a watching world that we remain united, and it gave our countrymen reassurance in the integrity of our policultural ~~process~~ processes.

Now, the buessiness of America goes forward, and the spirit of accord we have found here underscores the fact that continuity is an essential hallmark of ~~the~~ our democratic process.

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

In peacetime, Americans ^{have} upheld ^{this} that solemn duty by the quality of their personal commitment. In time of conflict, they have upheld it with their courage and, so many of them, with their lives.

The exercise of this duty to guard our constitution is what holds our society together. It is the ultimate civic ~~duty~~ obligation of every individual. With it, we can do anything. Without it, we could no longer be at one and in our national purpose, /our nation could not long survive.

Today, we ~~are tested~~ are tested once again. Across the land we are confronted by an economic ^{affliction} ~~crisis~~ of major proportions. True, we are not faced with questions of literal human survival, nor are we confronted with imminent financial disaster.

But by every reasonable standard we are up against ~~an~~

a national economic challenge demanding our most urgent attention. The problems today are great, but the problems of future years will be even greater if we fail to act. We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow, and act we will.

I did not take this solemn oath today to preside
steady
over the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~/dissolution of the strongest economy
in the world.

We are faced with a peacetime inflation which is extraordinary in the history of the United States. It has ~~XX~~ distorted economic decisions ~~in the American economy~~ for every American; ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ penalized thrift; shattered the lives of those on fixed incomes and threatens now to poison our future economic wellbeing.

If this trend continues uninterrupted, ~~XX~~ more than our economic institutions will suffer. We will see social and cultural upheavals ~~that~~ ~~will~~ of major proportions.

We are faced with a system of taxation that places on the American people enormous financial burdens that are as unfair as they are unwise. Our tax system should be an equitable system that guarantees all citizens receipt of their just reward for their hours of labor. It should not be a penalty on successful achievement.

Across this nation, our economic problems have taken on human dimensions which presses us ~~XX~~ on to find solutions. The indignity of unemployment; the ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ family misery and suffering; these have already damaged too many lives.

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We will need to do our work together because this nation is now confronted with an economic affliction of major proportions. ~~There is much expert opinion on what faces us, much dispute over the terms we apply.~~ There is much expert opinion on what faces us, much dispute ~~and speak the truth.~~ over the terms we apply. But let us quit kidding ourselves and speak the truth. We should be the last ones to deceive our selves.

This joint commitment is needed now as much as ever before because our nation is confronted with an economic affliction of major proportions. There may be disputes over ~~how to define our troubles~~ but common sense tells us that ~~this great problem needs no definition.~~ ^{faces you and your families?} It pervades the life ~~of every citizen every day.~~ ^{each.} It pervades the life of ~~every American citizen~~ in one form or the other

We suffer ~~the worst~~ the worst sustained peacetime inflation in our history. This extraordinary ~~problem is~~ ^{our} dramatically distorting the economic decisions ~~that are made every day.~~ that are made every day. It penalizes thrift. It crushes the struggling young as well as the fixed-income elderly. It threatens, no less, to shatter the lives of millions of our citizens and poison our future economic wellbeing.

True, this and measures of the economy do not bring us face to face with literal human survival or imminent financial disasters. But we must not deceive ~~ourselves,~~ ourselves, to continue down the path we do now offers ~~social,~~ social, curutlura and politial upheavals of otentially tragic porportions.

to next page

We have a system of taxation which punishes extra production and is out of all proportion with our current needs. Our tax system should be an equitable system that guarantees all citizens receipt of their just reward for their hours of labor. It should not be a penalty on successful achievement.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

If you measure where we are in purely human terms, ~~XXXXXXXX~~

Today America does not enjoy the full use of every ~~XXXX~~ possible producer because our idled industries have cast millions into unemployment. This is ~~XXXXXXXX~~ the most sadly human/^{dimension}of our economic adversity-- ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and ~~XXX XXX~~ causing human misery/ promoting ~~XXXXXX~~ personal indignity. ~~XXX~~

And let's be honest with ourselves, don't we now see how we pay the piper for the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ decades of living beyond our means -- piling deficit upon deficit; ignoring budgetary realities, and mortgaging our future for the temporary convenience of the present.

The problems today are great, but they are only warning signals because if we fail to act the problems of the future will dwarf those of today.

My fellow Americans, we must act today in order to preserve tomorrow.

I did not take this solemn oath today to ~~xxx~~ preside over the steady dissolution of the strongest economy in the world.

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we didn't talk our way into this critical situation, and we won't talk our way out. Success will not come from watching what our neighbors does but by ~~showing~~ each of us showing our neighbors what must be done.

These unprecedented economic problems will not disappear. They were ~~not~~ long in coming, and they will not be quick in leaving. There will be no miracles. Progress will come by inches and feet, not by miles. ~~But~~ But there will be progress, because there has to be progress.

I will not have all the answers today, but I know that we will have to seek answers in places that we have not before.

~~XX~~

Let us begin with the ~~most~~ honest realization that many of the problems created in our economy ~~are~~ came about not because of decisions people ~~made~~ made as ~~to~~ to how to spend their resources but ~~because~~ because of decisions the government made to tell them what to do with their resources.

I begin with the proposition that we must not turn to the government for every answer to our problems. ~~We~~ We must turn to ourselves. ~~XX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

I have faith whenever our nation faces great problems, *I place faith in* of turning to the first principles which founded ~~this~~ *our* ~~nation~~ country. They were simple truths -- and in the words of that great document "self-evident truths" -- *among these* ~~among them~~ that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

My fellow Americans, join me in a national renewal

I begin with the principle that the
~~In this republic, government is the servant of the~~

people. ~~That is the truth we must begin with.~~ Today, because the government has grown so much and the people's power has accordingly diminished, the critical question of our time is: who is the servant and who the master?

The founders of the American experiment ~~was~~ clearly understood the perils of power invested so heavily in the state. And so in the plan for our fledgling nation, they assigned ~~it~~ to government ;
And today, their wisdom should be of even greater meaning to us.

*The negative government
It has absorbed their energy & sapped their productivity. It would be such; prohibitions, lectures, censorship etc.*

For the era of the complex society, of advanced technology and mass communications, has given to government a sweeping new dimension of power and even greater capacity for mischief. As it ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ absorbs more and more the power of the people and takes from them the ^{right} ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ to make decisions, it enhances its own ability to destroy other vehicles of social change.

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

~~The xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

We must reverse the growth of the ~~state~~ state before the growth of the state reverses the course of America. The goal of my administration is going to be to reduce the size and influence ~~of~~ of government in the United States in order to reduce its ability to further drain the

energies of the greatest resource we have -- the people.

We must re-examine the institutional arrangements that have grown up piecemeal over the years. Does anyone think it is a coincidence that the greatest of our economic problems have grown in tandem with the massive growth of government in our lives?

As the power of local decision-making has diminished, we can plot the increased dislocation in the lives of all Americans. Centralization and concentration of power have depersonalized the government.

I therefore
In the discharge of my duties, I shall be guided by a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the states or to the people. There is a need for all of us to be reminded that the states created the federal government; the federal government did not create the states.

We'll work toward the goal of ensuring that the the government exists to expand the choices of the people instead of limiting them. The government must find opportunity not deter it. The ~~XXXXX~~ government must ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ foster productivity in our society and not stifle it.

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

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

We have to rid ourselves of the notion that the government is all-knowing and all-able. It cannot and should not make our decisions for us. It cannot be the arbiter of excellence and the great equalizer.

We don't want to do away with ~~the~~ government; we just want to make it work. ~~THE FUTURE OF AMERICA DEPENDS ON THE GOVERNMENT WE HAVE~~ We want to hve it work with us and not over us; To have it stand at our side, not on our back. ~~And to restore our relationships to the point intended by our founders, then the government must hold out a hand of support in sea~~

The government exists to guarantee our freedoms. Unless we as individuals are free, we cannot have a nation that is free.

Our answer

We seek to revitalize the propoer functions of government and ~~once again set loose the energy and ingenuity of the American people.~~ We must breath ^e life ~~into~~ into those social and concomic institutions which serve as both buffer and bridge between the individual and the state.

So today we issue no empthy promises or easy rhetoric. It is enough to speak the truth and to have quiet confidence in what is ~~is~~ known so well -- tjat the government must exist to guarantee our freedoms. And unless we as individulas are free, we ~~can~~ ~~will~~ cannot have a nation that is free. When we rest ^{ore} that freedom, I am confident that in good time sustained proprosperity and economic vitality will be ours again.

Our goal is to make the government work, not do away w/ it.

To fulfill our promise

~~But to do as we wish and to do as we need, my~~ I call upon you, my fellow citizens, to embark with me on a ~~great~~ ~~national renewal~~ determined era of renewal. Our strength, our spirit, our faith, our determination and our courage ~~are the foundation~~ must be a part of this renewal. ~~In renewing ourselves, we will find ourselves again.~~

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

Everything we ever needed to become great and stay ~~great~~ great is right within our grasp. It is the people of America who have the power to do all things.

We are too great a nation to be confined to little dreams. And in renewing ourselves, we will ~~bring~~ ^{give life} ~~alive~~ ^{to} each of those dreams.

Those who I know ~~are~~ ^{do} not ~~afraid~~ ^{fear} of direct action ~~and~~ are the builders of America, ~~and the laborer~~ the unsung heroes of our daily existence -- the ~~the~~ laborer ~~upon~~ upon whose back a rich nation rose up; the farmer whose struggles with nature feed this nation and much of the world beyond; the entrepreneur whose vision and initiative and courage create new jobs, new goods, new wealth and new opportunities

for a richer life for more people; ~~XX~~ the artist, ~~XXX~~ the artisan and the craftsman who interpret and re-interpret and ~~XXX~~ enrich our culture. / ^{These are} the makers, creators and producers of America. ~~WE~~

Indeed, at the heart of our ~~XXXXXXXX~~ great national renewal are those individuals and families whose work keeps us strong and whose sacrifices keep us free, whose fuel the government ~~XXX~~ and whose taxes/~~XXX~~ voluntary donations perform the works of charity and mercy, whose values sustain our national life, whose patriotism is ~~WE~~ quiet but deep.

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

Your time has come.

Your ~~X~~ values have a home in Washington.

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

No longer shall you be the ~~XXX~~ indivisible men and women of this nation. No longer shall your values and your sacrifices be taken for granted. You are not alone, wherever you are.

There can be no
No ~~national~~ great national renewal ~~will be possible~~
those
without/who have not always had the opportunity to be a part of what we do.

Thus, putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the crushing burden of impossible prices. When we have an economy which unleashes the productive energies of

our nation, then we will also open our doors to give equal opportunity to everyone. The best anti-povdrty program of all is a revived economy that ~~provides~~ provides a bigger pie instead of cutting the existing pie into smaller pieces.

To the men and women who have not gained full participation in Ameican society, I say today:

^{national}
Our ~~renewal~~/renewal ~~calls~~ ~~us~~ ~~to~~ ~~renew~~ the quality of our compassion.

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

Renewal at home must be a foundation which ~~strengthens~~ strengthens us to face a restless world outside our borders.

We ~~must~~ ^{will} face ^{the} this world with no illusions. We are at peace, ~~there~~ but there ~~are~~ are too many foreces at work ~~which~~ to threaten the peace. And freedom's sweet music does not play for hundreds of millions of human beings on

~~the~~ this earth. *It's time again for America to be the beaca of home & exemplar of freedom across the globe*

From her beginning, the United States of America has sought friendship and alliance with ~~many~~ nations that share our dream of freedom. When they have sought our help, we have given it freely, and we continue to do so. We have no wish to buy their sovereignty with our help because our own sovereignty is not for sale.


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To our neighbors, we extend an invitation to strengthen our historic ties. We will look to mutually beneficial relations and not impose on ~~their~~^{your} sovereignty nor intervene in ~~their~~^{your} internal affairs. But to those who pose as neighbors ~~but~~ while seeking to export terrorism, ~~we~~^{you} will have neither our support nor our goodwill.

To our historical allies, I say you will ~~find~~^{reliable} find that once again the word of America will be ~~reliable~~. Our support will be steady. Our commitment will be firm. We will match loyalty with loyalty, and in so doing, we will never abandon the ideals we have set for ourselves.

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Let us remember that
~~To maintain friendship with our allies does not mean giving up our ideals. Pursuing our interests does not require relinquishing our principles.~~

And as long as we see our principle as intact, our national interest should always
To the vast world on the outside of the realm of ~~our strength~~ material wellbeing, I say that we will seek to have you know us for our compassion as well as our strength. We ask that you look at us for the example we provide and to be assured that we will always be able to share ~~the fruits of our labor~~^{our bounty} blessings with those still ~~but~~ fighting the most basic elements of survival.

determine the course of your policy.

But all the world should also know that we will not apologize for our system of free enterprise and the free market place of ideas and ~~our~~ products -- especially to those who condemn us while benefiting from our advances.

~~We will not~~
Let the world worry less about the redistribution of old wealth and more about creating massive new opportunities ~~for~~ for producing new wealth for everyone.

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

~~We will not be taken advantage of in any agreement.~~

We are only jealous of ~~our~~ human freedom. We are only antagonistic when liberty is ~~our~~ threatened.

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

We will be realistic

- I call on all Americans to join me in this pledge: we will always wish the world to be better than it is, but we must always see the world as it is and not as we wish it to be.

America's part in this era of renewal is to find ~~in~~ its confidence ~~again~~ again in ~~the~~ its world role and to be committed in seeking ~~to~~ to restore the margin of safety for herself and her~~er~~ friends.

Above all, ~~the~~ the world must know that America will renew its fiber to conduct ~~it~~ itself in a way which always commands respect. We will do so however we need to, for as long as we need to, in whatever way we need to. We ~~have~~

earlier copy RS

were conceived in liberty and we ~~have~~ have lived for more than two centuries as the very pillar of freedom, defending the rights and security of all others and fighting against every ~~form~~ form of tyranny ~~is~~ known to mankind. How ~~can we cease now?~~

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misinterpreted 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.

^{not} I do ~~have~~ have a definition for how strong we shall be -- I shall leave it for others to define. But let me simply outline what our principles of defense shall be. We will make ~~ourselves~~ ourselves strong enough to be ^{national} ^{will} ^{simple.} triumphant against any adversary who threatens us, in any quarter, and at any time. We will be prepared to honor ~~all~~ of our sacred obligations. ~~grounded in the~~ And we will always ^{seek} make ourselves strong for the purposes of deterring and not for the purposes of destroying.

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

I welcome this time of challenge and renewal. I know that the world will believe in us because we are going to begin believing in our selves. We will extend hope to the corners of the globe because we hold hope high in America.

> to next page

~~Hamilton~~

~~Thursday, January 19, 1790~~

The fire of our spirit ~~will infuse~~ ^{can} infuse an entire world with our ~~new~~ renewed sense of ~~honor~~ ^{hope.} A generation steeled by harsh wars and brittle peaces does not easily forsake ~~honor~~ honor at the moment of the struggle for the human spirit. We remember the ~~the~~ lesson for our time and ~~for~~ for any age: evil is powerless if the good are unafraid.

My fellow Americans

This is a good country -- ~~our~~ for us and for all our children. ~~Good heads and good hearts, wisdom and~~ ~~virtue, working together have been the bedrock upon which we have built our nation.~~

My fellow Americans, there is nothing wrong with us that we can't fix. ~~I believe that because~~ ^{Why? Because} from our very beginning, ~~our~~ ^{the American} people have not aspired to great titles or great riches, but they have -- especially in our darkest moments -- aspired to great deeds. *This is a time for great deed.*

~~Today, we are going to engage the spirit of renewal to reach down into that reservoir belonging to every citizen. It is the stuff we have claled upon when the crisis is great. It makes us reach higher, stand taller and never lets us quit. We are n ot going to plod toward our destiny to the rhytehm of a dirge; we are going to get there ~~with~~ in a high-stepping march, heads high, bolding striding forward. That will be the spirit of this adminstration as it leads this nation on the path of renewal.~~

I belive Americans, now as in thepast, have been called

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 shopkeepers who were pitted against their brothers at Gettysburg; the fresh-faced young men crossing an ocean to fight at Verdun or to bleed into the sands of the Pacific and European beachheads; and the unheralded 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 human liberty and then dare to say that we cannot once again be great?

When I began these remarks I noted that this ~~xxxx~~ peaceful passage of power have ~~xxxxxxxx~~ paid tribute to our system by ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the ~~xxxx~~ very routineness of their occurrence. But there is one striking difference this year.

For the first time in the history of the United States, these ceremonies are being held on the west front of the Capitol building. Behind you, and in front of me, opens up one of the most magnificent panoramas that man ~~wh~~ has ever created. From the moment I ~~xxxxxx~~ entered this ~~xxx~~ ceremony, I could not help but be inspired to my awesome new duties by the sight spread out before me. How fitting that at this moment a ~~Rxx~~ President should take this historic oath within sight of the people's memorials to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. Their spiritual presence fills me with inspiration second only to the prayerful spirit I seek from God Almighty.

As I look west, symbolically across our entire nation, my ~~gxe~~ breath is taken by this scene. Let me reaffirm before all who watch this ceremony today that my fervent hope is to learn from the ~~xxx~~ strength and character represented by our first President. Leading America into nationhood after leading her in revolutionary victory, he gave greatly of himself to his country.

Thomas Jefferson represented wisdom and an abiding faith in the people as well as celebrating the ~~indivm~~ freedom of all individuals to excel. In Lincoln, ~~we~~ I will seek his lessons of compassion, personal courage and hope to emulate the notions of unity of country and dignity of all men and women ~~shpshkz~~ which he embodied.

Fellow citizens, I ask ~~God~~ God, and ask you to ask God, to help me find ~~an~~ those reserves of spirit and strength to carry us through in the years ahead. His vision shall light our way.

I know that ~~xxxxxx~~ not a day ~~will~~ will pass that I don't look ~~them~~ to their memories for reserves of ~~spirit~~ strength. Their vision shall light our way. Their love of country will ~~renew~~ renew our own spirits. Their timeless legacies will spur us to our very best.

Fellow citizens, I pray that God watches and guides us as we begin our time of renewal.

We have much work to do. We need all the energies at our command to do it. But do it we will.

We are, after all, Americans.

As I stand here looking toward Amicca it is symbolic of our history. Where the seas ended and ~~on~~ our shores began there started a new ~~in~~ epoch.

~~XXXX~~

This is the first time in our history that these ceremonies have been held on the west front of the Capitol Building. ~~Behind you and~~ In front of me ^{as spread me} ~~opens up~~ among the most magnificent panoramas ~~that~~ man has ever created. ~~From the moment I entered the site of this ceremony I have look beyond the capitol mall and-~~ Past the open Capitol Mall the eye is riveted ~~on~~ upon those shrines to the giants upon whose ~~on~~ shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument of a monumental man. /George Washington, Father of ~~the~~ the Country.

He came to greatness reluctantly, ~~believing in the~~ ~~leading~~ leading America first in revolutionary victory and then into ~~an~~ infant nationhood. He believed in the people more than himself and out of that humility rose to their greatness.

Off slightly to my left, familiar memorial to Jefferson. A man of wisdom beyond his years. ~~He~~ He fervently believed in the ^{liberty} ~~freedom~~ of all people and ~~in~~ in their freedom to excel.

Behind the ~~the~~ reflecting pool, ^{those} ~~the~~ ~~dignified~~ dignified columns wherein the Great Emancipator is enshrined. However long God sees fit to bless our adventure in self-government, however deeply ~~we~~ we range in exploring the meanings of our democracy, whoever would

understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

And, finally, beyond the river are those lovely rolling hills whose beauty and quiet belie, ^{harsh} the/echoing noises of the battles they memorialize -- it is Arlington Cemetery. The symmetrical lines of those simple white cross add into infinity the cost of our liberty.

Fellow citizens, the spiritual presence of these memorials fills me with inspiration second only to the nourishment of the soul that I seek from God Almighty. Our nationhood ~~is~~ and inheritance are distilled in them. Every lesson we ever learn ~~xxx~~ stands out in their imposing ~~xxxxx~~ example.

As God watches over us and guides us in our time of renewal, I will find ~~xxxxxxx~~ prayerful sustinence from my memories of this day and this sight. May we have their vision to light our way. May their loveof couuntry feed our own spirits. May their timeless legacies spur us to our very best.

We have great ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ deeds to do. We shall call upon all of our energies to do them. But do them we will.

We are, after all, Americans.

1-2-81

Dave Owen

Action on budget side early to
make tax things acceptable -

Try to get handle on national
debt - debt ceiling

Don't want to go over further dollar
debt

Keep down debt - to cut down
deficit spending to keep down borrowing

1.) Cut budget = cuts will be deep.

2.) Cut taxes

3.) regulatory initiatives

Maybe s/g on monetary policy

Hiring freeze right off the bat.

1.) Hell of a mess he's indenting -
worst economic mess in 50 years
allude to that

2.) Economist did a great cover story
on the "Reagan Inheritance" - take a
look at that.

3.) The McCans - 1952 Ike's
people to get out on Bang
day a foreign news translation in
20 languages.

January 4, 1981

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

FROM: Ken Khachigian *Ken*

SUBJECT: First Draft of Inaugural Address

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

Some guiding observations:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(9) Some housekeeping chores:

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

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

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

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

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

nunity is an essential hallmark of our democracy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of us showing our neighbor what must be done.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Your time has come.

Your values have a home in my home.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

great deeds. This is a time for great deeds.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and this panorama.

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

We are, after all, Americans.

#

(202) 785-0708 ^{KEN KHACHIGIAN:} With the hope this
may be helpful now or later

HOWARD G. KURTZ

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

January 8, 1981

Howard G. Kurtz
CHECKPOINT
Box 19127
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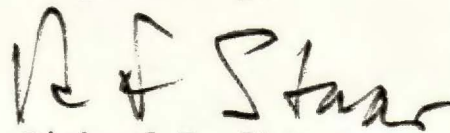
Dear Mr. Kurtz:

Your letter to Darrell Trent, dated December 15, 1980, has been forwarded to me, together with enclosures.

After close scrutiny of your material, I am sending it to the appropriate individuals qualified to act upon it, soon after the new Reagan Administration takes office.

In the meantime, please accept my congratulations for your learned work.

Respectfully,


Richard F. Staar

RFS/mlc

cc: Darrell M. Trent