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29 December 1981

MEMO FOR: The President-Elect
FROM: Ray Price *RP*
SUBJ: Inaugural address (Memo #2)

My apologies for missing the pre-Christmas batch of materials. What I had last Monday wasn't worth sending; but over Christmas weekend I've had a chance to spend more time on it. This will include some thoughts about content, in memo form, and also a collection of "scratchings" -- disconnected bits and pieces of the sort that might themselves fill a few holes in the speech, or else that might spark thoughts leading to alternative ideas.

You might, somewhere in the speech, tick off six or eight or ten or whatever "principles," "guidelines," "touchstones" -- something that can be taken out as a capsule (like Fourteen Points, Four Freedoms, etc.). Nobody knows what Wilson's 14 Points were, but everyone knows that he had 14 of them, and that therefore he was a Good Thing. This illustrates my own thesis that reporters may not be able to think, but they can usually count. Number your sentences, and they'll report it as a "five-point program." Leave them unnumbered, and they'll report that you didn't say anything.

The attached scratchings will include an example or two of how this might be done.

It's important to include something that catches the crest of a current mood; if possible, something that articulates an unspoken yearning that much of the public shares; that gives voice to the listener's own gut reaction to some of the ills he sees around him, or to the rhetoric to which he senses he's been over-exposed. The plea to "lower our voices" did this in 1969. Among the attached scratchings are a few fragments aimed at speaking to what may be some of the festering discontents of 1981:

-- The "common sense" theme. I think a lot of people are beginning to realize that they've been snookered by the academic unrealists, the abstractionists; and I think they intuitively perceive common sense to be one of your own strengths. Using this theme has the added virtue of conferring presidential recognition on the basic wisdom of the ordinary American. It may be no accident that in the Truman revival, "plain speaking" was what he was principally lauded for.

-more-

PRESERVATION COPY

-- The "let's stop playing games" theme. This is related to the "common sense" theme. I think there may be -- and there certainly should be -- a gathering resentment of the extent to which the public has been trifled and toyed with, not only by politicians but by all those vying for celebrity, ratings, or secular sainthood. Serious questions of public policy are lost in the moral posturing and hyped-up drama; the Carter presidency becomes a four-year media event, and the evening news becomes the Six O'Clock Soap Opera. The public deserves better. The country needs better.

-- A gentle shot across the bow of the courts, and also of the news media. These happen to be pet hobby-horses of my own, and therefore my judgment should be discounted accordingly. But I do feel that, substantively, it's going to be vital in the 1980s to pull in on the reins of judicial imperialism, and also that we need a much sharper public debate on the corrosive effects of soap-opera journalism. These are both delicate matters to handle in a context such as that of an Inaugural, and perhaps -- probably -- out of place. But I've included some bits on them anyway. Done in the right way, one or both might strike a sufficiently responsive chord to be worthwhile.

-- The "we won't be pushed around any more" theme. This of course has to be handled with discretion, in view of our diminished capacity to resist being pushed around. But it's useful to send a clear signal that other countries will attempt to do so at their own risk; and the notion that we're at least not going to sit passively by and take it any longer should strike a very responsive chord.

-- A determination to regain control of events. Part of the public anxiety is the sense (which has more than a grain of validity) that "events are in the saddle, and ride mankind."

The address can soar a bit at the end, but my own feeling is that the rhetoric should be fairly lean in the beginning and middle: lean, that is, in the sense of avoiding the too-flowery or the overstated -- building a sense of realism that can then sustain the hope, of credibility that bolsters the confidence.

It's true that there are very few simple answers to the complex problems we confront. But there are a few simple principles that will guide this administration as we search for answers. Let me spell out for you ___ of those simple principles:

- Less government interference is better than more government interference.
- Less inflation is better than more inflation.
- Lower taxes are better than higher taxes.
- Less regulation is better than more regulation.
- Fewer laws are better than more laws.
- Smaller government is better than bigger government.
- Faster growth is better than slower growth.
- More productivity is better than less productivity.
- More jobs are better than fewer jobs.
- More freedom is better than less freedom.

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For more than 200 years, this country has been a beacon of freedom -- even through the darkest nights of tyranny, war and oppression in other parts of the world. We will keep that beacon shining.

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America was born in crisis; it has never faced a crisis that it hasn't overcome. We can do it again.

Nearly 80 years ago, Theodore Roosevelt warned, "It is difficult to make our material condition better by the best laws, but it is easy enough to ruin it by bad laws." Of the thousands of laws passed since then, a good many bad ones have come close to fulfilling his prophecy.

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We are in what may be a long, gray, time of testing -- testing our resolution as a nation, testing our perseverance as a people, testing our commitment to freedom and our faith in our ideals.

When I took that sacred oath just a few moments ago, it meant to me that I will do everything in my power to ensure that we meet that test -- so that whatever dark days there may be in the years ahead will be the dark before the dawn.

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America is an idea. It is also an experience.

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Sometimes, as I watch the Pacific Ocean lapping the shores of California, I think of the vastness of it all, and of how far it is to the other side. And then I think of the daring of those who set out across the oceans in their wooden sailing ships, now knowing what they were going to find -- but driven by a hope, a dream, an ambition, a curiosity -- knowing the dangers but defying those dangers, daring to dream, daring to do.

We need the world. The world needs us. We depend on the world. The world depends on us.

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Any government that trifles with us must know that it does so at its own peril. Any government that tests us must expect that we will meet that test.

We will not be belligerent, but we will be firm. Firm for the right, as we see the right. Firm in defending America's vital interests. Firm in honoring our commitments. Firm in our friendship with those who choose to be our friends. Firm in our response to those who threaten the peace, who commit aggression, who abuse our citizens or who challenge our honor.

Other nations will find us a steadfast ally, or a determined adversary -- depending on their own respect for the rules of international conduct, for the independence of their neighbors, and for the sovereign rights of the United States.

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We have fought wars to defend liberty, to repel aggression, to ensure peace. Liberty is still incomplete, aggression still threatens, the peace is still fragile. The world is still imperfect. Our own country, like every other one on earth, is still imperfect -- though far better than most.

But we are proud of our record, and we are not going to apologize for that record. We are not going to be turned away from the defense of liberty.

PRESERVATION COPY

It's been nearly half a century since the start of the New Deal. Then, a desperate nation turned to the Federal government to lead it out of crisis. But what began then 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 now, half a century later, we face a different kind of crisis. In this crisis, government isn't the solution. Government is the problem.

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Instead of always looking first to government as part of the solution, we will start looking at government as part of the problem.

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We will pursue a forward strategy in the world, neither belligerent nor acquiescent.

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We seek no confrontation, but neither will we flinch if others seek to confront us.

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We will do whatever is necessary. If peace is secure enough so that we can turn swords into plowshares, we will do so. But if peace is so threatened that we must turn plowshares into swords, that too we shall do.

It may seem crass on such an occasion to talk about money. But you know, I know, we all know, that what has been happening to the value of money threatens us all -- as a nation, and individually.

I view the government's currency as a sort of sacred compact between government and people. It represents a standard of value we all have a right to rely on. In recent years, that standard has collapsed. Instead of talking about dollars, we talk about 1981 dollars or 1979 dollars or 1970 dollars. We've got to return to a situation in which a dollar is a dollar, not a hyphenated dollar; in which it holds its value, rather than having that value eroded at an accelerating rate, month by month and year by year.

This will not be easy. It may at times be painful. But so is the surgery that saves a patient's life.

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We will not sit passively by and watch our currency collapse.

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I pledge a return to common sense.

It's fashionable in some quarters to disparage common sense, because common sense belongs to the common people.

But too often when America has gone wrong in the past, it has been because we refused to believe what we saw with our eyes or to listen to the voice of our common sense.

This nation was built by people determined to shape their own destinies, who had faith that they could.

The question today is whether we shape events, or let events shape our lives.

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We can get so consumed by running from our fears that we neglect to pursue our hopes.

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The world may forget, and some of our young people may not remember, but America is no stranger to adversity. This nation was born on the rocky edge of an untamed continent, with 3000 miles of ocean on one side and 3000 miles of wilderness on the other.

Those of us who have lived through two world wars and the great depression know the costs of diplomatic failure, and the costs of economic failure.

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One of the first requirements of government is to establish and maintain priorities. No matter how much we may desire each of a dozen different goals, when they come into conflict we have to place one ahead of another.

The first domestic priority of this new administration will be to bring inflation under control.

Unless we control inflation, in the long run we will not be able to maintain our defenses, to provide jobs for our workers, to provide security for the elderly or hope for the young.

The dollar represents a compact between the government and the people. When the government fails to maintain its value, it breaks faith with the people.

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No one institution -- not the presidency, not the Congress, not the courts, not the news media, not business or labor or the academy -- has an exclusive charter to define our agenda or to pass judgment on our performance. We are a diverse, pluralistic nation. Each of us has something to give, something to receive; each of us must expect to win some and to lose some. Each of us must learn to be forbearing, and to respect the role of the other.

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In the 1980s we will confront serious issues, close choices, difficult decisions. There has been a tendency in the United States in recent years to treat politics as a sporting event, to measure the importance of issues according to their entertainment value, to personalize debates and to keep a sort of public scorecard of wins and losses.

It's time to stop playing games with the American people. And it's time to stop treating these serious issues as if they were a game.

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Each of us is equal before the law. Each is equal before God. Each is equal in the eyes of our government.

I happen to have spent most of my own working life in the entertainment industry. As a result of that experience, I have a special, very personal respect for that industry, and for the importance of entertainment in American life. But I also believe that it has its place. As we move through the 1980s, it is going to be vital that we -- all of us -- learn better to distinguish clearly between entertainment and news, between serious issues and soap opera, between political contests and sporting events.

To the leaders of the Soviet Union, I would say this: We in the United States want to live at peace with you, as we do with all nations. We do not want to build ever larger arsenals of ever more powerful weapons. But we will do what we have to do -- whatever that proves to be -- to ensure our own security. We will not let any other nation arm itself into a position to dictate to us the terms of our own future existence.

Together with our allies, we will work toward a stable peace resting on the firmest of all foundations: a situation in which those who might be tempted to break it will not have the power to do so, and those with the power will not be tempted.

We will not be belligerent. But there will be limits beyond which no nation can press with impunity.

PRESERVATION COPY

12/29/80

We will seek to weave tighter the fabric of peace,
and to weave it so that no one thread will unravel it.

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We will restore America's strength to defend itself,
and to defend peace and freedom in the world.

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Re the hostages: The United States does not buy
and sell human beings at slave auctions.

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Woodrow Wilson: "I believe in democracy because
it releases the energy of every human being."

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Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1790 that "one insult
pocketed soon produces another."

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We seek no territorial expansion, we seek no
unfair advantage, we have no desire to dominate other nations
or dictate to other peoples. We do seek to build a stable
world in which all nations are secure, in which those peoples
that have freedom can keep it and those that want freedom
can seek it.

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If there be any in the world that wish us ill, and
that choose to test our determination, let them know that we
can also turn plowshares into swords.

PRESERVATION COPY

The oath that I have just taken is a sacred commitment.

In making that commitment, I intend to do my very best to be true to the trust that you have placed in me.

I also intend to place a great deal of trust in you.

I give you my hand in the spirit of common purpose, and I ask for yours in that same spirit.

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Lincoln spoke of government of the people by the people and for the people. But he never imagined that government would get as big as it has, or that it would attempt to do as much as it does, or that it would rule our individual lives to the extent that it does.

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For the close: Thank you -- and now, together, let's get on with the job.

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Let the word go out, clearly, precisely, and unambiguously, that this nation's honor is not for sale.

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Emerson wrote that "governments have their origin in the moral identity of men."

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If each of us, in his own life, pledges to turn his portion of the world over to his successors in better condition than he found it, then America will be true to its destiny.

Time and again, we have seen the power of belief -- whether it be religious faith or political passion or simply the power of an idea. America has the physical resources, it has the human resources, it has the demonstrated capacity to use those for the benefit of our own people and of all mankind. What we need is to harness that capacity to a renewal of belief; belief in the inherent strength of America, belief in the goodness of America, belief in the rightness of our purposes at home and abroad -- and belief that, yes, we can do what we need to do.

PRESERVATION COPY

I am grateful that the Inaugural Committee saw fit that this occasion should be consecrated on the West Front of the Capitol building.

As we stand here today, we stand conscious of all the history in which we are rooted peering over our shoulders.

It is a history of ideas and philosophies, of struggle and human exertion, yes. But above all, it is a history of visions and dreams, and hopes, of individual human beings. In the main, we did not spring from this soil, but rather came to it.

We came from the shtettles of Russia, driven by pogrom; from the towns and villages of Poland, from the farms and fiords of Scandanavia; from Germany with our genius, from France with our ideals, from Italy with our vitality; we came naked from Armenia, victims of genocide; we came from the shores of Ireland, victims of hunger; we came from England, and made two great nations out of one, out of strife which resolved itself down the years into a richer unity with the English-speaking nations.

We came from the Mediterranean and the Middle East, leavening and sweetening the mix of America.

Today we feel the ardent breath of those millions on our necks, holding us to their faith.

Remembering all this, we have still remembered only so far as our own shores. And having reached our own shores, a new epoch begins.

Shining over our shoulders are the gleaming memories of Plymouth Rock, of Boston where men fell before those shots which echo still around the world; of two national capitals, Philadelphia and New York, one the birthplace of a new nation, the other, gateway to a new life.

And what lies before us? Before the mind's eye, the beautiful land stretches almost forever through time and distance, across river and plain and mountain to a shining sea, sister of that upon which we were borne here.

Immediately, within our sight, our nationhood is distilled in those shrines to the giants upon whose shoulders we stand.

Before me, the monument to a monumental man: George Washington, Father of His Country. He came to greatness reluctantly, believing in the people more than in himself, and out of that humility rose to their greatness. He defined a nation and instructed future generations on their obligations toward others and toward themselves.

To my left, the memorial to Thomas Jefferson, whose genius shaped our form of government, its inspiration summed up in a single sentence: "The republic~~ans~~ is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind."

In the middle distance stands a temple in which the memory of the Great Emancipator is enshrined. However long God sees fit to bless our adventure in self-government, however deeply or far the mind of man may 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.

Finally, beyond the Lincoln Memorial, we see long green acres covered with white crosses adding into infinity the cost of our liberty.

The weight of our history and our liberty rests upon our shoulders. And yet how lightly it lies when we judge it against the weight of government oppression, of despotism, tyranny and slavery. Then do we see our burdens as blessings, and bear them with shining pride, with courage and dignity.

The difficulties which beset us are great, but never so great as our

capacities. The challenges before us are great, but not so great as those by which we have been tested in the past, and by which we have confined our claim to our inheritance as free men and women.

22222!

December 24, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

FROM: Ken Khachigian

SUBJECT: Suggested Remarks: Inaugural Address

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Khachigian)

POSSIBLE OPENING

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

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

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

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

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

(Khachigian)


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

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

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

December 24, 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Pete Hannaford 

SUBJECT: Inaugural address

Here is about six minutes' worth of material on the subjects we discussed. I didn't go further because I wasn't sure how far into policy formulation you wanted to go. Let me know if I can be of any further assistance. I'll be in the office till 3 pm today (477-8231), then home (577-0533) till Sunday when I leave for New York. Don't hesitate to call.

draft

hannaford

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

~~During the years when some of the people~~

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

~~But~~ Late last year, you, the men and women of America, gave your reply. You told the world ~~you~~ that you ^{do} want to solve ~~the~~ ^{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.

We ~~have~~ ^{have always sought} new frontiers. ~~First~~ Today the frontiers are not of land, but of space, of science, of industry, of the mind. When we see problems, we are restless. We ~~want to get about the business~~ ^{are itching to solve} ~~of solving them.~~ That quality of restlessness; ~~and the~~ ^{and the individual initiative} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~itch to solve problems 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} 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 progress will be made, ^{and purposefully} 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~~ ^{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 ~~ex~~ 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.

December 12, 1980

Memo to : Ken Khachigian

From: Bill Gavin

Bill

Re: Inaugural Speech

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

Let us get on with it, together!

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

December 22, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

From: Bill Gavin 

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

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

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

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

We have too great a heritage to limit our horizons.

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

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

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

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

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

Your time has come.

Your values have a home in Washington.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

stone but of barbed wire and terror.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

in the monuments to the memory of our great leaders.

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

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

(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 ~~full~~ prayer of my own asking God's blessing on the purposes which bring us to this place.

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

We have survived. We shall prevail.

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

* * * * *

Historical Perspectives

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

It has cost subsequent generations dearly.

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

Domestic

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

The first is that in this republic, government is the servant^a 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^a and who the master? The answer to that question can be read in the record of this nation's economic decline, in factories stilled, in businesses bankrupt, in people without work, in dreams destroyed.

* * * * *

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

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

(Koch)—5

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 horny-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 ^{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.

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

International

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

* * * * *

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

(KOCH)—8

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

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

* * * * *

We have differences with those powers which hold the future of

(Koch) --10

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

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

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

We too are the product of a revolution.

Ken,

I will forward additional material, including endings by mail.

Happy Christmas and warm regards,

Roel


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."

Michael A. Scully

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'd by
Adm. General
12/10/81
12101

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.

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Dick Moore

DATE: December 24, 1980

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

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

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

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

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

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

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

From: Dick Moore

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

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

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

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

General Tone (con't) - 2 -

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

RAM:mc.

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Knachigian

From: Dick Moore

Subject: Contributions from Kate Moore

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

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

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

2. Regarding the role of government:

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

Bruce Herschensohn

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

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

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

We live under no illusion of guarantee that the possible is imminent, but the road is in front of us, the course is set, and asking God to light our way, the journey 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 rewards for their hours of labor.

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

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

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

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

With our citizens having come from so many countries with such varied cultures, the secret of America's oneness comes from America's openness. The secret of America's unity comes from America's diversity. The secret of America's independence comes from America's interdependence. Having received the heritage of all the great peoples of the world, this nation ~~doe~~s 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.

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.

national urban league

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 23, 1980

Dear Ken:

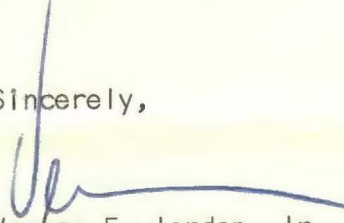
Pursuant to our conversation today and in furtherance of my conversation with Governor Reagan at Kay Graham's dinner party in Washington, please find enclosed three drafts of suggested inserts for the inaugural address. I trust that these will be helpful to you in drafting that portion of the inaugural address dealing with equal opportunity. As I said to you on the telephone, we have no pride of authorship, nor any expectation that you will use these drafts verbatim. Hopefully these drafts suggest both the idea and the framework in which it should be presented.

It was a pleasure to meet with you on the telephone and I look forward at some point to meet in person. If we can be of any further help, please call on us.

Merry Christmas to you and best wishes for the holiday season -- and to extend the same to President Elect and Mrs. Reagan.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,



Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
President

Mr. Ken Khachigian
2245 Salvador
San Clemente, California 92672



National Urban League, Inc.

The Equal Opportunity Building
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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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.

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Bruce Herschensohn

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

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

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

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