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THE LEADERSHIP IMPLICATIONS OF THE
1980 VOTE FOR REAGAN PRESIDENCY

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INTRODUCTION

Expectations fuel the fires of political change. Clearly they conditioned the 1980 election. Specifically the Reagan campaign generated the expectation that Ronald Reagan and not Jimmy Carter could more effectively deal with the problems of the economy and our international challenges.

Political mandates, which should be viewed as "expressions of a collective will" rather than a "blank check" to achieve some designated end, generate their form and force from expectations. Similarly they also condition strongly Presidential successes and failures. After the election, Carter noted that "One of the anomalies of this election is that the things on which I worked hardest were the ones that were politically counter productive." He cited the Panama Canal, the Mid-East peace talks, and Human Rights policy as particularly damaging to him politically. More to the point may be the fact that four years ago when Mr. Carter arrived in Washington, he committed to a sweeping consolidation of many federal agencies into a few. Instead he ended up adding the Departments of Energy and Education to the Cabinet. He was going to save millions with "zero based budgeting." He was going to reform a tax system that was "a disgrace to the human race." He hoped in his Inaugural Address that "nuclear weapons could be eliminated from the face of the earth." Thus, Jimmy Carter established in the first few months the base for the shearing comparisons between his promises and his performance by the way he uniquely shaped and created expectations which fueled the antagonisms that helped us defeat him.

The Reagan Administration four years hence will be judged both on the basis of what it accomplishes and as well the expectations we generate in the early months of the Administration.

Specifically we must clearly identify as the Reagan Administration begins to govern the expectations that need to be created in order to keep our mandate alive and our grassroots support green.

A retrospective view of our victory gives strong support of our focusing coalitionally on the South, blue collar workers, and Hispanics. While Ronald Reagan will be the President of all the people, nevertheless, to govern a second term and/or to create the conditions for the possibility of taking advantage of a Republican realignment in 1982 and 1984, policies should be fashioned to strengthen our 1980 coalition. Coalitions, not consensus government, build political power. To do this effectively, we must understand precisely what the nature of the 1980 Presidential election turned out to be and then more specifically deal with the expectations of leadership that that Presidential election generated. That is the purpose of this analysis.

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OVERVIEW

Ronald Reagan won the 1980 Presidential election because a majority of voting Americans ultimately came to believe that the Governor had the leadership qualities necessary to deal more effectively with the country's economic and international problems. Specifically, during the course of the campaign the Governor created the expectation that he was the best hope to reduce inflation and restore America to a position of predominance in the world.

The campaign was run as a referendum on leadership especially in terms of the economy. A final Reagan vote corresponds directly with the sense of reliance on and need for strong national leaders, the expectation that Mr. Reagan could do something about the economy, and the sense that Mr. Carter's record did not suggest he could handle the economy.

The Governor's strongly committed vote was building throughout the campaign though 45% of the voters decided before September who they would support, and of them, 55% favored the Governor. In the last few days before the election, when another 14% made the vote decision, the Governor received 48% of the vote compared against Carter's 40%. Mr. Reagan's largest gains came, however, during the last 15 days of October when 24% made their selection. Fifty-eight percent (58%) of them supported Governor Reagan.

Thirty-nine percent (39%) of the Reagan vote was determined by the candidate's attributes. Another 25% of Reagan's vote was due to his stand on the issues.

Anderson's bid for the Presidency ultimately proved to be quite weak, certainly weaker than Wallace's in 1968. From September until November, Anderson's 12% fell off to 6% with the largest declines coming among Independents and his decline among New England voters. Anderson's candidacy was totally personal, and was carried by the electronic media without organization or partisan support.

The election was won in precisely those areas and among those voter groups the campaign targeted. The solid Reagan states are primarily western, with Texas and Florida bracketing the south, the wedge into the South including Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, and the industrial or Great Lakes strategy of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan.

The Governor did well among blue collar, labor union, and middle-income voters. Jews and Catholics voted for the Governor in proportions considerably higher than is usually the case for Republicans. The male vote for Reagan is unusually high and, while the female vote is 7 points below male's, it still runs 1.2 points ahead of the "normal" vote given Republican Presidential candidates by women.

Several critical questions are raised in association with this election that the data help to answer:

- First, was the vote confined to a negative anti-Carter vote? There is an element of anti-voting, but it is not abnormally high for a Presidential race. It was sufficient to erode much of the incumbency's advantage of Mr. Carter.
- Second, was Reagan's vote unusually conservative? The differential proportion of conservatives voting for Mr. Reagan is only one point higher than the differential rate Mr. Ford had over Carter in 1976. The larger differences between Mr. Reagan's rates and Mr. Ford's are among Democrats, ticket splitters, and liberals. It is, however, true that 47% of Governor Reagan's vote is somewhat conservative, but that rate does not appear to be unusually high for a Republican, and
- Third, does the election represent a major party realignment? There are slight changes in the composition of the Republican Party, but the election does not appear to be associated with fairly standard stereotypical views of the Republican Party.

Just as the 1980 election turned out to be a referendum on a Presidency that failed because its performance in the end countered the expectations it created in the beginning, so the constraints and challenges of establishing a successful Reagan Presidency hinge to a large part on the same set of forces--preference and perceptions.

Perceptions cut two ways for a President. On the one hand an effective President must know how far he can go given a specific perceptual climate and the direction he wants to take the country. On the other hand, the President as the chief spokesman for the Nation can build and change expectations (within limits) more effectively and directly than anyone else. This fine balance between reacting to public expectations and creating conditions that will change them will as much as anything else determine how well he can accomplish his goals and change things for the better. Ronald Reagan's strength as a

A STEWARDSHIP OPPORTUNITY FOR A NEW PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY

The implications of the Reagan victory on November 4, 1980 are critical and far-reaching. Ronald Reagan's electoral landslide, his ten-point margin over an incumbent Democratic president, and the senatorial defeat of five previously unbeatable liberals, have spurred conjectures about the possibility of a political realignment, the end of a political era, and the rise of the "New Right." It is possible, during the flurry of the debate over the scope and nature of the victories this fall, for the conservatives, in their enthusiasm, to overstate the implications of the vote, and for the liberals, in their arrogance, to under-estimate it. From the point of view of the Presidency, however, the greatest risk and most costly mistake would be for President-elect Reagan, to whom the mantle of opportunity has passed, not to seize this moment in history to advance a new approach to public policy.

The basic premise of this analysis is that the 1980 presidential election is an axial event demarking a major political opportunity for re-drafting the political agenda of this country. The election is not a bestowal of political power, but a stewardship opportunity to reconsider and restructure the political agenda for the next two decades. The public has sanctioned the search for and articulation of, a new public philosophy to govern America.

Governor Reagan won because he, not Carter or Anderson, has an approach to governance, an awareness of the role of leadership in motivating masses of individual citizens, and a sense of vision about America's direction. Leaders reduce uncertainty about the future not because they have ready-made solutions for all problems but because they have essential tenets of an overall approach to public policy and governance. The central features of Reagan's approach are well known. They are:

- Trust the values of American society that are largely responsible for sustaining its growth;

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

Leadership in the White House

The most unfulfilled expectation of the 1976 Presidential election was that a leader had emerged who could "supplement disarray with order, mismanagement with management, and malaise with confidence." (Reagan for President Campaign Plan, June 1980, p.31.) The public yearned for a national leader, but the disheartening evidence of the Carter term was that he was unable to satisfy the national desire for leadership which could restore the country to its proper bearings. In that sense, 1980 was a replay of the 1976 election: it was a referendum on national leadership focusing particularly on the economy. This was precisely the theme of the campaign, precisely the attraction of Governor Reagan as the candidate, then precisely the reason for the vote.

Ronald Reagan was elected because he, more than any other national candidate, projected the image of a leader with the attributes they most wanted in the President of the United States.

- . 61% believe Mr. Reagan has the strong leadership qualities this country needs.
- . 45% think Governor Reagan would bring honest and moral leadership to government.
- . 71% of the voters think Ronald Reagan offers the best hope to reduce inflation.

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- 66% of the voters who think strong leadership is salient voted for Mr. Reagan. Voters for whom leadership was a critical attribute influencing their vote tended to prefer Reagan to Carter in a majority of instances.
- On all of the candidate attributes which are leadership-related, Reagan out-polls Carter. Further, there was an increasing tendency for the voters to prefer Reagan to Carter on these leadership attributes over the period from June to November, 1980.

An Action Agenda

Elections are times when voters identify preferences and develop expectations. This election was no exception; it was a call upon Mr. Reagan and the others who were elected to develop an action agenda and take the necessary leadership initiatives to get the country back on track.

- 55% of the people feel America has gotten off on the wrong track, while 55% strongly believe that it does matter who is elected President, because leaders make a difference. In fact, seven out of every ten voters think the President can make a difference. Registered voters genuinely believe that the direction and policies of the country can be beneficially altered under the proper leadership.
- Americans are divided over whether the government is currently organized to cope with the crucial problems facing the country, but they have the expectation that a Reagan Presidency will reduce inflation (27%), improve the economy (15%), effect a tax cut (15%), reduce unemployment (8%), and improve America's image (6%).
- 53% of the people in this country think it is time for a change, a factor which significantly influenced their vote for the presidency. Voters defending the status quo tended to vote for Carter (75%), while those who feel that a new course in American policies should be adopted voted for Reagan (80%).
- 59% of the Reagan vote feels the country is going in the wrong direction, and 68% of the Reagan vote expressed the belief that the President makes a difference. Compared against Carter, 48% of the voters are confident Mr. Reagan is competent to handle the job of President.

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Candidacies create expectations: President-Elect Reagan's candidacy gave hope to millions of Americans that he could improve circumstances in America generally and in the economy and national security specifically.

- In September 1980, 11% of the people thought Reagan would be able to improve the economy, 10% anticipated he could reduce inflation, 7% reduce government spending, 5% reduce taxes, and another 5% reduce unemployment.
- In November, the rates of people expecting Mr. Reagan could cope with the economy had all increased: 27% anticipated the President-Elect could reduce inflation, 15% expected he could improve the economy, 15% reduce taxes, and 8% reduce unemployment.
- A majority (57%) of Americans are confident the President-Elect will do a good job. The rate increased from 9% in September to 26% in the November post-election survey saying no bad thing would occur with Reagan as President.
- Voters are, therefore, generally optimistic about a Reagan Presidency, but compared against the optimism four years ago when Carter was elected, the optimism is somewhat more guarded and tempered (ABC News, Harris Survey, Vol. II, No. 145).
- The general sense many Americans had about the campaign was that things would get better as a result of a Reagan Presidency.
- The ratio of good to bad expectations improved over the course of the campaign.

<u>Month</u>	<u>Reagan Good:Bad Ratio</u>
June	93:1
July	82:1
August	1.03:1
September	99:1
November Post-Election	1.44:1

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- . The thematic appeal for 50% of the electorate had something to do with the economy. There is a strong association between voters who remembered the campaign's economic themes and a tendency to vote for Reagan.
- . The second major area of Mr. Reagan's voter appeal is his approach to national security. Six percent (6%) of the voters feel confident Mr. Reagan will improve the United States' image around the world. Ten percent (10%) remember improving national security as the central theme of the campaign.
- . Seventy-two percent (72%) of the people think President-Elect Reagan will strengthen U.S. defense capabilities vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Sixty percent (60%) think he will regain respect for American among our allies again. (ABC News, Harris Survey, Vol. II, No. 145).

The generic elements in the action agenda are simple and few: (a) reduce inflation and improve the economy, and (b) restore America to a position of pride and strength in the world. The appeals made during the campaign were in terms of the poor showing of the Carter Administration on the economy. In the closing statement of the Reagan-Carter debate, the President-Elect asked millions of Americans, "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?" There is the sense that today Americans feel less secure -- financially, physically, and personally -- than they did four years ago.

The time for a change, the pressing economic and international problems, the lack of a credible performance by the Carter Administration, the growing dissatisfaction with the scope and efficacy of government services, the candidacy of Mr. Reagan -- his personal attributes and public philosophy -- combined to cause the election of Mr. Reagan.

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

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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 werve as both buffer and bridge between the individual and the state -- and which remain the real source of our progress as a people.

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

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

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

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

stone but of barbed wire and terror.

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

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

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

But if it asks these questions -- history answers them as well -- ~~in~~ 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 a vision of man with God, government for people and humanity at peace.

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

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

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

This year, we will celebrate ~~the~~ ^{the} victory two centuries ago at Yorktown -- /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.

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(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 ~~small~~ 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.

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(ROCH)—2

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.

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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.

(FOOT) —4

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 ²servant of the people. Today, when one-third of the average citizen's salary is taken from him or her by government, who is the ²servant 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

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(ROCK) —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} 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.

PRESERVATION COPY

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?

* * * * *

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

(KOOH) — 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

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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

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(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.

Merry Christmas and warm regards,

Noel

PRESERVATION COPY

Idea Paper

I. Prologue

- A. Gratitude
- B. "We are truly humbled by the awesomeness of our tasks"
- C. Stalwart of Free World must be economically strong and spiritually vital to keep respect of peers
- D. Churchill: "If we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future."

II. Body

A. Vision

- 1. Capture future by rediscovering basic values, subscribing to New American Creed: must have more freedom, not less - access to opportunity, pursuit of excellence, individual initiative, spiritual revival, family and community - government to aid not inhibit - stifle individual freedom
- 2. Corollary of freedom: responsibility - honest day's work for honest day's pay, justice in courts, etc. - also service, consideration for others
- 3. Challenge: "Together we can work an economic miracle" -

B. Plan

- 1. Rebirth of Cities - loss of hope and self-respect, dependency perpetuated by programs - rejuvenate urban industry to create jobs - topple barriers to opportunity - cities dynamo generating nation's economic recovery - We must take the best from the past
- 2. Reawakening in Rural America - farms feed world - harness genius to increase domestic energy production - responsible treatment of environment
- 3. Renaissance of Government - separation of powers maintained - make government more efficient, responsive - enlist support of cabinet member and custodian alike to cut spending
- 4. Rejuvenated foreign policy - globally based alliances - consult and cooperate with old friends - not world's policeman, but will protect vital interests - absolutely committed to arms control, but not if prejudices our security - will not tolerate terrorism - special opportunity in Third World: provide food in upcoming Age of Hunger - encouragement to peoples seeking liberty within rule of law - interdependency of Third World and U.S.

III. Conclusion

- A. America still land in which government will not come between people and their dreams
- B. Inauguration symbolic of rule of law, which gives us courage to face the future. We witness for the 40th time the orderly transfer of power because the law ordains it - not because men ordain it. Only in the rule of law do a people find freedom.

Amplification of Ideas

I. C. State of the Nation

Despite President Carter's efforts, the Free World is in greater danger today than at any time since World War II. Consider the similarities between today and the eve of World War II. A totalitarian regime has occupied one neighbor and has armies poised on another's borders. The Western democracies are unprepared for the worst. As the stalwart of the Free World, America must be economically strong and spiritually vital.

The simple rules of human relationships also apply to the community of nations. A nation must have faith in itself, compassion balanced by strength, if it is to maintain the respect of its peers.

I. D. Transition

We would do well to remember Winston Churchill's words during the dark days of the Second World War: "If we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future."

II. A.1. New American Creed - Personal Freedom

Today let us capture the future by rediscovering the values that built our nation. Let us together subscribe to the New American Creed that we must have more freedom, not less. Free Americans must have the God-given right to economic, educational and employment opportunities. Free Americans must have the God-given right to pursue excellence and develop their highest potential. Free Americans must have the right to be rewarded for their industry, initiative, invention and good ideas. But our people must have a revival of the spirit, based on our Judeo-Christian belief in a supreme being and the family as the historical cornerstone upon which all government is predicated. We must affirm and re-establish that the foundation of our government is the family, the neighborhood and the community. We believe that the right of the individual to grow and prosper is, and must be, superior to the right of government to regulate

II. A.2. The Corollary - Personal Responsibility

But we believe that if there is to be freedom, there must also be responsibility and each individual must be accountable for his or her actions. We must insist on an honest days work for an honest days pay. We must insist on speedy and equitable justice from our courts, discipline in our schools, safety in our streets and accountability from our government. If our system of government is to work, and work it must, then it must and it will protect the individual while at the same time serve the common good.

We are a free people and in return for the blessings of freedom we must be willing to invest in the future investing in our neighbors. We must use our talents to serve one another and to serve the most humble of our breathern. We must cleanse ourselves of the "me's" and the "I's", doing that which is the bare minimum for others and recall that in serving others we also serve ourselves.

II. A.3. Challenge

While we hope for the future, we must also be honest with ourselves. We are in difficult times. We are less free today and the world is less free today than a decade ago. Our economy is in trouble. There are too many Americans who are on hard times. But I challenge each and every American to join with me to do for ourselves now what we did for the rest of the world after World War II. I challenge you to work with me to work a new economic miracle.

II. B. Plan

1. Rebirth of Cities

A rebirth must take place in our cities. Kept down by lack of economic opportunity, and the very programs intended to help them, many able people have lost hope and self-respect. We will redesign programs so that they help people become self-sufficient rather than bondsmen to government in perpetuity. When a program clearly doesn't work, we have the courage to say so and redirect our resources to something that will work. Our destiny as a nation is not served by reducing people to some common standard or by relegating them to total dependence on the government, but rather by providing every American the opportunity to reach their highest potential. We will provide essential services for people truly in need.

With incentives, we will rejuvenate our urban industries to increase private sector jobs. In helping people climb the economic ladder, we will leave no one behind. We must therefore increase the rate of economic growth so that there is enough for all. We will topple barriers which create second class citizenship and prevent some of our citizens from an opportunity to share fully in the growth we produce.

The cities will be the dynamos that generate the economic miracle.

2. Reawakening of Rural America

There will be a reawakening in rural America.

Our farmers will produce food for the world.

We will harness the genius of our people to produce more domestic energy and to develop new sources.

We will preserve our environment without stifling the creativity of our people. God gave us the land and the water to husband, not to abuse. But he also gave us the ingenuity with which to use them and their gifts responsibly.

3. Renaissance of Government

There will be a renaissance in government. The separation of powers must be maintained and strengthened. This administration will inform, advise, and urge upon the Congress its views, but will respect the right of the Congress to dispose of its business within the framework of its independent constitutional authority. We will look to the Congress for guidance, we will work with the Congress in all matters, big and small.

We will make government more efficient and more responsive to people. We will eliminate aspects of government that interfere with people's lives unnecessarily or that serve no purpose.

Federal programs will be reviewed and ineffective programs will be ended. I enlist the support of all federal workers - from custodians to cabinet members - to look for ways to cut spending.

We must take solutions which have worked and adjust them to the needs of a more complex and pluralistic society. The question should be not what new programs will serve our needs best, but what proven ideas can be adjusted to meet our current needs. We must take the best of what we have and better it, before we rush to new programs or new solutions.

4. Rejuvenation of Foreign Policy

We will rejuvenate our foreign policy.

(Here President Reagan may want to allow the need for a global strategy which includes globally based alliances. The Heritage Foundation has outlined a program for a tri-oceanic alliance which would fit such a global strategy.)

We will make every effort to consult and cooperate with our old friends in western Europe and Israel.

We must reach out to all men in peace, but we must seek that peace from a position of strength. We do not seek to be the world's policeman, but rather to be completely capable of defending our national interests wherever they may legitimately be found. Precisely because we are committed to peace, we will maintain peace.

We are absolutely committed to achieving an equitable arms control agreement with the Soviet Union, but we will not prejudice our security for the false security of a bad agreement.

Without referring to who is right or wrong, American lives and property have been abused, international law violated. We will not

tolerate terrorism. We will not countenance the violation of established international law. We will not be trampled upon and pushed around.

In the Third World, America seeks to improve old friendships and make new ones. We will provide encouragement, incentives, technical assistance, and food. As the twenty-first century will be the Age of Hunger, the United States of all nations must be prepared to help alleviate this suffering. This is an opportunity for America to put into practice its New Creed, to lead the world by serving it.

America desires not to control nations, but to see them grow in peace. We are committed, as always, to supporting peoples seeking liberty within the rule of law. It is in our interest to recognize the interdependency among nations. Trade relationships with Third World countries not only buttress friendships, but also create jobs at home.

III. Conclusion

America has always been "the last, best hope of man on earth."

As the Asian "boat people," the Cubans, and the Haitians have shown recently, America is a welcoming mother to displaced children. They knew instinctively what we are celebrating today: that America will keep faith with itself. We are still the land in which government will not come between the people and their dreams.

This inauguration is living proof of the strength of our constitutional system. The rule of law lives for the 40th time in our history. The mantle of this country's highest office, passes, not because men ordain it, but because the law ordains it. The law gives us the strength to face the future as a promise, not a threat. This inauguration is a rite of passage into limitless possibilities.

Let us rededicate ourselves to the tandem principles of freedom and responsibility. Let us find once again the proper balance between compassion and strength. As we look towards the twenty-first century, let the world know that America still loves liberty, and that we, all 220 million of us, love America.

Ken:

I just got a call from Jeanie Witik, Bob Garrick's secretary, and it would seem I have missed some sort of deadline. They are going to try to get someone up here to get my Inaugural stuff but, just in case, I'm sending it to you. I thought we had agreed on a later deadline. In any event, here it is.

One more thing: I may be a bit premature but in recent days I have been hearing some very welcome rumors that you have been or are about to be offered the White House speech writer-in-chief job. If so, I couldn't be more delighted. I know you and Meredith have to weigh a lot of things before moving back but I just want you to know you are my first (indeed, only) choice and if there is ~~any~~ anything I can do, let me know.

Having said this, if you do decide to take the job, please keep in mind the name of Karlyn Keene, Dave Keene's wife and now at AEI. Karlyn is an absolutely superb person and could lend a special kind of cultural (and, of course, very good ideological and political) mix to the writers staff. I know this is a bit early to be piling names on you but if all of this is true, just keep her name in mind and, if you get a chance, talk to her.

Bill Gavin



KEN - NOTE THE CHANGE.
ADAMS WAS INAUGURATED IN 1797 — Bill

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.

CORRECT

One hundred eighty ~~thirty~~ *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, ~~we~~ 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 and have always been 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!

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November 14, 1980

To: Governor Reagan
From: Dodie Livingston
Re: Material for Your Inaugural Address

The attached material is from Mr. Lorrin L. Morrison, an older gentleman who has been in to see me twice about getting it to you.

He is an historian and had some ideas for your Inaugural Address. With your love and sense of history, I thought, you might find them interesting.

Mr. Morrison is a great fan of yours. I think he wanted to help you score a great triumph in your Inaugural.

(I have forwarded Mr. Casey's copy on to him.)

Lorrin L. Morrison

6411 West Eighty-Fifth Street, Los Angeles, California 90045 - (213) 641-5963

November 12, 1980

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
9841 Airport Boulevard
Los Angeles, California 90045

Dear Mr. President-Elect:

For only the second time in my life have I been able to congratulate the man that I selected as the champion in a Presidential election. The first man for whom I voted was the Honorable Herbert Hoover in 1932.

As a historian, I have formed the habit of always looking backward before I look forward to more clearly see the uncharted road which lies ahead. Therefore, through the good offices of Dodie Livingston, I am sending you (on a separate sheet) some suggestions that might otherwise have been overlooked for your inaugural address. I do not mean to attempt to put words in your mouth but merely to remind you of a correlation of historical facts with your forthcoming term as President of the United States.

Mrs. Morrison joins me in wishing you and Mrs. Reagan the very best of success in your joint undertaking to lead this great Nation of ours back to the dignity it once held, not so long ago, as the greatest nation on Earth.

If I can be any service whatever to assist you in your great effort, I am at your command.

Sincerely yours,


Lorrin L. Morrison

cc: William G. Casey,
Dodie Livingston

MEMO FROM: Lorrin L. Morrison (213) 641-5963
6411 W. 85th St., Los Angeles, Ca. 90045
TO: Ronald Reagan

SUGGESTIONS FOR INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Two hundred years ago in 1781, The United States of America after five great, but terrible, years of fighting and winning the Revolutionary War was at last free -- free from the overlordship of the British King; free to begin the building of a nation of free people as set forth boldly in the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

It would take another six years of hard, tedious work and practice before our basic law of the land, The United States Constitution, could be framed and adopted on September 17, 1787. And it would require another four years for the final adoption of the first ten admendments -- The Bill of Rights. That event occurred on December 15, 1791.

General George Washington was inaugurated President of the United States on April 30, 1789, in New York City. That was just about mid-way between the adoption of the Consti-tution and the Bill of Rights. But the two hundredth anniversary which all Americans can celebrate with a sacred pride of a free people is the adoption of the Articles of Confederation on March 1, 1781. Those articles were the ties that bound our thirteen colonies, who had sometimes separately and sometimes collectively, fought to win the

war for our independence. Those articles became effective on March 1, 1781. Today, January 20, 1981, that anniversary is just thirty-nine days away. It will be followed this year on October 19th in celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis to end the fighting of the Revolutionary War.

President Washington was charged with building a free and independent nation of some three million people. Your President today has, as his sacred duty, the task of leading this nation of more than 200,000,000 people.

President Washington had to treat with the first, second, third, and fourth Congresses, which worked to establish and enact the necessary laws to implement the Constitution. The members of those Congresses, by necessity, formed the basic operating laws of our nation. Those laws and codes have now become so vast and cumbersome, that it is doubtful if any one person can understand them and enforce all of them so that every citizen can have just and equal protection and justice under all the laws of the land.

Your President today must undertake this task with all the assistance which is rightfully due him by our vast judiciary and the individual and collective efforts of the 97th and 98th Congresses which will sit during the next four years.

As President Washington, in action with his Congresses, laid the solid foundation on which this nation was built, so your President today, with his Congresses, has the task

of rebuilding the nation. What he immediately needs is a Congress of "Bad-Law Breakers" and "Good-Law Makers".

These actions must be taken promptly. Your President, as Chief Executive Officer of the Nation, whole-heartedly pledges his cooperation in reestablishing the honor, dignity, and an unparalleled predominance in the world nations and this nation of people.

What we most need today, as mentioned before, is a Congress of "Bad-Law Breakers" and a Presidential "firing squad" to bring this nation back to business-like and sound economic and social justice.