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Reagan inaugural outline

TO: ( KEN KHACHIGIAN

FROM: S. CROSEY, FORTUNE MAGAZINE

I. The political meaning of an inauguration

A. the orderly transition of power

1. different from regimes past and present

B. the solution to one of the oldest of political problems and

C. proof of the vitality and durability of our political institutions and therefore, cause for hope

II. The other age-old political problem

A. distribution of wealth

1. something which every society must reckon with

2. something the two economic systems differ fundamentally about: free enterprise v. state-run economy

B. the founders chose the first because

1. they thought that liberty was the best thing a government could provide for its people

2. they believed that what most people want to do with liberty is better their lot in life

C. the economic system which resulted from this freedom is based on the simple premise that what some people want others will supply-- to the benefit of both.

III. The political ideas of the founders and the economic system it encouraged

A. produced a society more tolerant, open, and considerate of the individual than any which has existed

B. unimagined prosperity and a higher standard of living than any nation ever achieved

IV. What happened? (We have forgotten what made us great)

A. the growing perception following World War II that prosperity and opportunity were not shared by all

1. increasing awareness by the country of the problems of the poor and minorities

2. the efforts of the government to correct these problems

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3. the success of those efforts  
and the decency of a nation so dedicated

B. The well-intentioned programs of the 60s encouraged people:

1. to forget that they take the greatest pride on what they accomplish on their own
2. to lose the self-reliance which has been responsible in large measure for our national greatness

C. Equally important, those programs focussed attention not on how to widen prosperity but how to divide it up to pay for more schemes

D. The government's need for revenue reduced the will of both those who received its money as assistance and those who paid it in taxes. Between heavy marginal tax rates and the inevitable cutoff point for all forms of government help there was less and less to be gained for working harder.

E. By no coincidence the idea that people could not manage without government direction was applied to business. Again with good intentions.

1. concern for environment has turned into a straitjacket

2. overregulation  
3. disincentive to production and experimentation

F. The current economic problem worse than when FDR took office because:

1. we have no sense of the urgency of 1932 since our problem has taken 30 years to develop
2. easing into the problem slowly has made us readjust our sights and expectations downwards gradually
3. we have come to accept inflation and sluggish growth as a way of life

V. What to do? Reagan economic recovery plan

VI. The other side of our forgetfulness. (Defense and Foreign Affairs)

A. The Soviets' influence in the world has risen proportionately to their increasing military prominence

B. That trend has led to the current state of affairs where the United States position as the leader of the free world is being challenged. What happened?

- 1. Vietnam
- 2. retreat from military position which followed resulting in present unpreparedness
- 3. failure to challenge the Soviet and Soviet-sponsored initiatives in Africa and Central America
- 4. Afghanistan
- 5. Iran and general instability in the Gulf

VII. What to do?

A. Distinguish between friends and adversaries

- 1. recognize the fact that the Soviets and us have certain utterly irreconcilable aims
- 2. help friends
- 3. make it plain to adversaries that we will protect our interests and friends as keenly as they make it necessary to

B. rebuild military

- 1. more pay for the military
- 2. more money for ammunition, training, and spare parts
- 3. MX
- 4. negotiate real cutbacks in strategic aims

VIII. The most important point is that we can do as a nation whatever we set our minds and abilities to.

A. Political and economic freedoms are inseparable

- 1. if someone can tell you how to spend your money he can tell you how to run your life.
- 2. At the same time, political freedoms have always suffered when an economic situation becomes hopeless

IX. Conclusion

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A. The result of continued economic stagnation or downturn is a crippling loss of faith that anything can be done at all.

B. The worst thing that could happen today is for us to think that nothing can be done about our economic situation. That situation has been in the making for at least 15 years and cannot be turned around in a month. But we must try and we will succeed.

C. What we have to do today is remember the spirit of the United States and rededicate ourselves to the idea that the most worthwhile things and those from which people take the greatest sense of personal esteem are those they accomplish themselves. It is not a new idea but it is one which has served us well in the past and can work again if we give it a chance.

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December 17, 1980

Ken --

Here is another late starter, but I send it on for your review.

Bob Garrick

December 16, 1980

MEMORANDUM FOR: ED MEESE  
FROM: ANNE ARMSTRONG *ala*  
SUBJECT: THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS

LENGTH:

After skimming the nearly 6000 words of William Howard Taft's 1909 speech, I am convinced that the length of an Inaugural Address should be no longer than 20 to 30 minutes. Lincoln's second, T. Roosevelt's, Wilson's first, FDR's first and Kennedy's are good examples of comparative brevity. The fewer words the President speaks, the more eloquent he must be -- and the more general.

SYMBOLISM:

The act performed on January 20th symbolizes one of the most important features of American government: the transfer of political power is peaceful. The significance of an act so much taken for granted should be emphasized.

The site of the address also offers opportunities for comment. The President will face the monuments of three of our greatest Presidents. Some brief remembrance of each might be useful.

For the first time, the President will also look west toward all the rest of the country.

THEME:

The American people have suffered numerous "New" offerings from new governments during this century. Some have caught on; some have not. Whether or not to introduce another one like "A New Beginning" is a difficult judgment to make. There is sufficient cause to argue that people generally are tired of these themes and deservedly cynical.

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We need only recall the quick subsidence of "The New Foundation". And certainly, the press will probably lead the cynics. At the same time, the President's unique ability to generate optimism and enthusiasm can possibly overcome this negativism. However, rather than relying on the oft-used gimmicks of the past, he has all the theme he needs in the "community of values": "family, work, neighborhood, peace and freedom".

STYLE:

For lean but eloquent English, nothing beats Lincoln's second Inaugural Address.

A writing style which no longer has its former impact is best exemplified in Kennedy's speech: "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." The best course to follow is that of simple and sinewy English, typical of the President-elect.

In a short speech for TV, too much applause can interrupt the flow and the feeling of inspiration which this speech should generate. The speech should be written so that there are just a few potent applause lines.

MOOD:

Ronald Reagan's mood or, better yet, his spirit is the best guideline for his speech. He is upbeat, optimistic, positive and inspiring. If his address captures his spirit and unerring sense of leadership of and relationship with his constituents, it will be in the right spirit.

CONTENT:

I question whether the American people fully appreciate the seriousness of our country's problems. Certainly inflation is a constant presence, but the broader ramifications of the country's strategic position have not yet fully registered.

Therefore, prior to the inspirational portion of the speech, the President should paint a realistic and, necessarily, stark picture of the tremendous problems we face. He should emphasize that they have been building for years and that it will take time to solve them. Nevertheless, he should note that the American people have faced even more serious problems in the past and have always solved them once the facts were fully understood and the need for sacrifices made clear.

I noted above that the President will be facing the monuments of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln during his address. Perhaps, in this "difficult times" portion of his remarks, an allusion could be made to the trying and ultimately triumphal times of these three leaders.

This is the occasion for a great leader. In this, his first act as President, he must reach for all the support he can muster. He should not use this occasion to cite a program of specific actions he intends to pursue. The effect of specific recommendations can be electric but also divisive. This first act should be a celebration of unity after the harshness and disharmony of the campaign battles.

I am not recommending a string of platitudes. But the eloquent expression of a basic theme articulating the President's vision for the country and his basic optimism and faith in the people will evoke the desired response of unity and confidence.

The President should take care not to promote unreasonable expectations. However, if this advice is to be transformed into a faint-hearted or overly cautious approach, this Administration will have gotten off on the wrong foot. The President must be realistic, as I have mentioned above. However, his greatest strength lies in generating confidence and optimism. This strength should be exploited to its fullest. A leader should lead and should express his vision and his own expectations as he sees them.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

12/18/80

TOM EVANS  
DELAWARE

Bob -

attached are some  
suggestions for inclusion  
in the Inaugural address  
on Jan. 20, 1981.

Have a Merry Christmas!

Best regards,  
Tom

19 December 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian  
FR: Bob Garrick

Attached are suggestions from Tom Evans re: Inaugural address.

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## OUTLINE

### I. Prologue

- A. Expression of Gratitude to Carters and Staff
- B. Oath of Office - humbly accept responsibility
- C. State of the World - comparison of late 1930's with today
  - 1. Material Dangers
    - a. Soviet Aggressiveness
    - b. West's Military Unpreparedness
  - 2. America as Stalwart of Free World
    - a. America's Need to Be Economically Strong
    - b. America's Need to Be Spiritually Vital
- D. Transition - Churchill quotation

### II. Body

#### A. Vision

- 1. New American Creed - personal freedom
  - a. Freedom of Opportunity
  - b. Spiritual revival and renewal of family, neighborhood, community
- 2. Corollary - personal responsibility
  - a. Accountability - courts, schools, workplace, streets, voting booth
  - b. Service - consideration for others and doing more than the bare minimum
- 3. Challenge - work a new economic miracle

#### B. Plan

- 1. Rebirth of cities: eliminate dependency and generate growth
- 2. Reawakening of Rural America - farms, energy, environment
- 3. Renaissance of Government
  - a. Relationship between President and Congress
  - b. Increased responsiveness
  - c. Practical approach to programs
  - d. Bipartisanship
- 4. Rejuvenation of Foreign Policy
  - a. Alliances
  - b. Soviet Union - our commitment to Peace and strength
  - c. SALT
  - d. Terrorism
  - e. Third World

### III. Conclusion

- A. America Still Land of Liberty
- B. Inauguration Symbol of Faith in Future

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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 dynamos 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 day's work for an honest day's 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.

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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 brethren. 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.

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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.

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MEMO

December 23, 1980

TO: KEN

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

Here are F. Clifton White's ideas for address:

1. In the 1770's we won our independence but it was the 80's in which we drew up the document that framed our government. This is the spirit of the 80's, the spirit of a renewed federalism.
2. We must rededicate ourselves to government of by and for the people -- our government actually is the people -- we seek a rebirth of the spirit and faith that led us to conquer a continent, achieve the highest standard of living in history, make the greatest advances in science and technology even know to man. It is government that provides the framework for these advances.
3. Our objective now is to stop the intrusions of government into our lives while we rededicate ourselves to the original purposes of that government. And with the American people freed -- they will defeat inflation, increase productivity, and find the paths of peace. "As the elected leader of the American people, I have faith in us."

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MEMORANDUM

TO: Bob Garrick  
FROM: Richard S. Beal  
DATE: December 22, 1980  
RE: Inaugural Address Follow-Up

The enclosed is a follow-up to what we have already submitted regarding the Inaugural Address. We thought these first few pages of our Post-Election Political Mandate study might be helpful to Ken and should be routed to him through you.

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United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20512

December 1, 1980

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

Dear Mr. President:

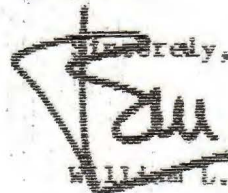
As you and your staff begin to prepare your Inaugural Address, I urge you to include an acknowledgment of the huge nationwide effort to support your Administration in prayer.

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

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

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

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

Sincerely,  


William L. Armstrong

WLA:al

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Enclosures

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

ATT: Joe Holmes  
Reagan Bush Committee

memorandum

23 December 1980

TO: Operations

Jeanne

Mitch

FROM: Robert M. Garrick

Thursday, 24 December I can be reached at my office 213/380-5430 or the Pasadena house 213/792-5425.

Friday, 25 Dec. I'll be at my ranch 714/758-0814.

Sat. 26 Dec. through until 9 a.m.

PST Sat. 3 Jan. I'll be at the Pasadena telephone number or at my Los Angeles office. I'll be departing LAX at 9 a.m. Sat. 3 Jan. for Washington D.C. (Dulles) and then to my apartment in Falls Church.

Merry Christmas.

X X X

LOG

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c/o The Public Interest  
10 East 53 Street  
New York, New York 10022  
212-593-7123

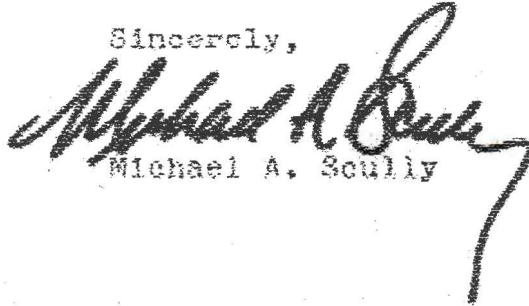
Mr. Robert Garrick  
Office of the President-Elect  
1726 M Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Garrick:

I am sending along my suggestions for the  
inaugural address. I hope you will find them  
useful.

If I can be of any further assistance, please  
feel free to call on me.

Sincerely,



Michael A. Scully

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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.

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.

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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."

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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.

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

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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.

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PRESERVATION COPY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PRESERVATION COPY

265

OK'd by  
John [unclear]  
10/10/12  
2000

17 [unclear]

Michael A. Scully

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

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

\*\*\*

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

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PRESERVATION COPY



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

12/18/80

TOM EVANS  
DELAWARE

Bob -

Attached are some  
suggestions for inclusion  
in the Inaugural address  
on Jan. 20, 1981.

Have a Merry Christmas!

Best regards,  
Tom

19 December 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian  
FR: Bob Garrick

Attached are suggestions from Tom Evans re: Inaugural address.

## OUTLINE

### I. Prologue

- A. Expression of Gratitude to Carters and Staff
- B. Oath of Office - humbly accept responsibility
- C. State of the World - comparison of late 1930's with today
  - 1. Material Dangers
    - a. Soviet Aggressiveness
    - b. West's Military Unpreparedness
  - 2. America as Stalwart of Free World
    - a. America's Need to Be Economically Strong
    - b. America's Need to Be Spiritually Vital
- D. Transition - Churchill quotation

### II. Body

#### A. Vision

- 1. New American Creed - personal freedom
  - a. Freedom of Opportunity
  - b. Spiritual revival and renewal of family, neighborhood, community
- 2. Corollary - personal responsibility
  - a. Accountability - courts, schools, workplace, streets, voting booth
  - b. Service - consideration for others and doing more than the bare minimum
- 3. Challenge - work a new economic miracle

#### B. Plan

- 1. Rebirth of cities; eliminate dependency and generate growth
- 2. Reawakening of Rural America - farms, energy, environment
- 3. Renaissance of Government
  - a. Relationship between President and Congress
  - b. Increased responsiveness
  - c. Practical approach to programs
  - d. Bipartisanship
- 4. Rejuvenation of Foreign Policy
  - a. Alliances
  - b. Soviet Union - our commitment to Peace and strength
  - c. SALT
  - d. Terrorism
  - e. Third World

### III. Conclusion

- A. America Still Land of Liberty
- B. Inauguration Symbol of Faith in Future

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 brethren. 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.

December 24, 1980

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Dick Moore

SUBJECT: Invoking the Deity: God's Grace

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

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

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

accent. Pope John Paul II closed with these words:

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

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

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

PRESERVATION COPY

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Khashigian

From: Dick Moore

Subject: The Monuments on the Mall

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

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

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

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

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

PRESERVATION COPY

**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.")

PRESERVATION COPY

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 alipshod, so loose-joined, so puerile in literary construction in its ideas, its grasp . . . By the side of it, mediocrity is superb. Let us trust in heaven that it is not typical of our national degeneracy."

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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.

PRESERVATION COPY

December 23, 1980

To: Ken Khachigian

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 Noby Dick, or created the automobile.

PRESERVATION COPY

1  
Sun. that good, Mr. Agnew, Mr. President  
To a year or so here today this is an <sup>SPLendid</sup>  
~~and most momentous occasion.~~ ~~place.~~ And yet  
in the history of our nation it is a common  
place occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority,  
as called for in the const., takes place as it has  
for almost 2 centuries and fear of no step to think  
how unique we really are. In the eyes of many  
in the world this very 4 year <sup>careless</sup> ~~changing~~ ~~is~~ ~~nothing~~  
less than a miracle.

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

The business of our Nation goes forward. These  
United States are committed and on an aggressive  
of great proportion. We begin from the west and  
longest sustained migration in our Nations history and  
the distant our decisions, knowledge, insight and  
wisdom the ~~the~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~great~~ ~~is~~ ~~some~~  
along with. It threatens to shut - 1 line  
miles, of our people. Also industries are  
under a state commitment causing business and  
personal indignity. These rules do work and do work  
a gain return for their labor by a very system which  
penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from  
maintaining our productivity.

But great as our Tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit mortgaging our future & our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee <sup>the members</sup> social, cultural, pol. & ec. upheavals.

You & as individuals <sup>BY FORGIVING</sup> can live beyond our means ~~to~~, for only a limited period of time. Why should we think this collectively as a Nation we are not bound by that same limitation? We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding - We are going to act beginning today.

The ec. ill we suffer here came upon us over several decades, they will not go away in days, weeks or months but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now as we have had in the past to do what even needs to be done to preserve this last & greatest bastion of freedom. In this present crisis govt. is not the solution it is ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~problem~~ <sup>problem</sup>. Time to time we have chosen to believe

that neither become to compare to be managed by all rules that govt. by an elite group is superior to govt., of, by & for the people. Well if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern some one else?

All of us together - in & out of govt. must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable with no one group singled out to pay a higher price. Our conviction must be for an special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no racial boundaries, cross ethnic & social divisions & feel fairly loved.

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

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

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

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

So there <sup>will be</sup> no misunderstanding; it is not my intention to do away with govt. It is rather to

make it work. We only wish we just saw us; to stand by our side not ride on our backs. How? can't we must provide opportunity not invention it; faster productivity not skills it.

As we look for the answer as to why ~~we~~ for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no <sup>other</sup> people on earth, it was because there in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than had ever been done before. ~~It was~~ ~~freedom~~. Freedom is the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on earth. The price for this <sup>freedom</sup> at this level high — but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel the intervention ~~of~~ and ~~the~~ intervention in our lives that have resulted from ~~the~~ unnecessary & excessive growth of govt.

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

So, with all the vestal energy at our command, let us begin a new era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, our strength, our faith & our hope. ~~We have every right to~~ dream heroic dreams. There is no day we are in a line when there are no heroes.

~~Some people~~ ~~are~~ ~~looking~~ ~~for~~ ~~answers~~ ~~to~~ ~~our~~ ~~problems~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~past~~ ~~when~~ ~~to~~ ~~look~~. You can see ~~them~~ every day going in & out of factory gates. Others, a hard good number, producing food enough to feed all

5

of us & much of the world beyond. You meet  
 heroes across a counter — on both sides. There are  
 entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and an idea  
 who create new jobs, new wealth & opportunity.  
 They are individuals and families whose taxes  
 support the govt, and whose voluntary gifts support  
 church, charity, <sup>(culture, art)</sup> and education. Their patriotism  
 is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national  
 life.

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

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

Can we solve the problems confronting us? The  
 answer is an unequivocal & emphatic yes. To paraphrase  
 a great Prime Minister of Eng. I did not take the oath  
~~of office~~ <sup>just taken</sup> with the intention of presiding over the  
 dissolution of the worlds strongest economy. In the  
 days ahead I will propose removing <sup>a number of</sup> ~~some~~ the  
 road blocks that have slowed our economy, & reduced  
 productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring  
 the balance between the various levels of govt. Progress  
 will be ~~slow~~ <sup>slow</sup> measured in inches & not miles but  
 will progress. It is time to reawaken this nation's

I have

will be

grant, time to lighten our punitive tax <sup>burden</sup> ~~burden~~.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man whose historians say might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers of the United States gave his life <sup>in</sup> ~~for~~ Bunker Hill, Dr. Joseph Warren, Treasurer of the Mass. Army <sup>TO HIS FOLLOWERS</sup>, Our country is in danger but not to be despaired of. Can you depend on the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions on which rests the ~~future~~ happiness & liberty of millions yet unborn. Act <sup>for</sup> ~~for~~ <sup>YOURSELF</sup>. I believe we the Americans of today are ready to act <sup>with</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>our</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>own</sup> ~~own~~ <sup>convictions</sup>, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness & liberty for our selves, our children & our children's children.

And as we renew ourselves here ~~in~~ <sup>on</sup> our own land we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors & allies who share our ideal of freedom we will strengthen our historic ties; assure them of our support & firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty and strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use ~~our~~ our ~~help~~ friendship to impose on their sovereignty for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

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

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to



preserve our national security we will act,  
 We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail  
 if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the  
 best chance of not having to use that strength.  
 Above all we must realize no weapon in the  
 arsenals of the world is so formidable as the  
 will & moral courage of free men & women, it is  
 a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not  
 have. It is a weapon <sup>that</sup> ~~we~~ <sup>as Americans</sup> ~~do~~ have. Let that be  
 understood by those who practise terrorism and prey upon  
 their neighbors.

I am told that a million prayer meetings are being  
 held on this day and for that I am deeply grateful. We are  
 a nation under God and I believe God intended for us  
 to be free. It would be fitting & good if each inaugural day  
 should be a day of prayer.

This is the 1<sup>st</sup> time in our history that this ceremony has been held on the West Front of the Capitol Bldg. Leaving here we face out toward a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty & history. At the end of this open mall are three shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand, Directly in front of me, the monument for a monumental man; George Washington, Father of our country. A man of humility <sup>who</sup> came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into a free nationhood.

Off to one side <sup>of</sup> the totally magnificent Thomas Jefferson ~~the~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~liberty~~. The Monument of Independence glances with his eloquence.

And then beyond the reflecting pond, the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Where would Lincoln be in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond these monuments to heroism ~~the~~ ~~highest~~ ~~is~~ the river and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington Mt, Cemetery with its rows upon rows of state single white crosses and stars of David, adding up to only <sup>the</sup> fraction of the graves that ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~land~~ ~~for~~ ~~freedom~~. ~~There are other monuments~~

~~There are other monuments to the west~~  
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Such ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~monuments~~ a monument to the kind of man. Symbol of justice. This line carved in granite called B. Stearns Wood, The Lygure, Carver's design. Below on our left ~~the~~ ~~very~~ ~~road~~ ~~the~~ ~~road~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ ~~mountain~~, ~~Forest~~, ~~Point~~ ~~Elbert~~ ~~Hill~~, The Edwin Rossini center monument. Next ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~park~~ ~~is~~ a place called ~~the~~ ~~Lincoln~~.

Under one of these white markers lies, William T. G. ~~the~~ ~~Winn~~ ~~left~~ ~~a~~ ~~marker~~ ~~for~~ ~~in~~ ~~a~~ ~~small~~ ~~town~~ ~~near~~ ~~the~~ ~~city~~

in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There on the Western front he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

On his body was found a diary. Written on the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," were these words; "America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

The crisis we are facing today does not require the kind of sacrifice that Martin Trepton & so many thousands of others ~~made~~ were called upon to make. It does however require our best effort, our work and our willingness to ~~sacrifice~~ <sup>believe in</sup> ~~ourselves~~ <sup>ourselves</sup>.

~~Our problems can be solved. They can be solved because we have the ability to perform great deeds & we have great deeds to do. But do them we will. After all - we are Americans.~~

and in our capacity to perform great deeds; ~~together~~ that together and with God's help we can & will resolve the problems ~~to~~ which confront us.

Why shouldn't we believe that? After all - we are Americans.