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Folder Title:
Inaugural Weekend, January 20-22, 1989: Friday, January 20, 1989

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	12	11	1	1

INAUGURAL SPEECH THEME

Very important for the President to stay away from I - must be we, not personal.

Central metaphor - "A new breeze blowing"

Central theme (from St. Augustine) -

"In crutial things, UNITY - in important things,
DIVERSITY - in all things, GENEROSITY."

Key words -

Continuity
New breeze
Open doors
Offered hand

'HEAVENLY FATHER, WE BOW OUR HEADS AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR LOVE. ACCEPT OUR THANKS FOR THE PEACE THAT YIELDS THIS DAY AND THE SHARED FAITH THAT MAKES ITS CONTINUANCE LIKELY. MAKE US STRONG TO DO YOUR WORK, WILLING TO HEAR AND HEED YOUR WILL, AND WRITE ON OUR HEARTS THESE WORDS: "USE POWER TO HELP PEOPLE." FOR WE ARE GIVEN POWER NOT TO ADVANCE OUR OWN PURPOSES, NOR TO MAKE A GREAT SHOW IN THE WORLD, NOR A NAME. THERE IS BUT ONE JUST USE OF POWER, AND IT IS TO SERVE PEOPLE. HELP US REMEMBER, LORD. AMEN.'

PROPOSED REMARKS
FOR
PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
FRIDAY
JANUARY 20, 1989

MR. CHIEF

JUSTICE, MR.

PRESIDENT, VICE

PRESIDENT QUAYLE,

SENATOR MITCHELL,

SPEAKER WRIGHT,

SENATOR DOLE,

CONGRESSMAN MICHEL,

FELLOW CITIZENS,

NEIGHBORS AND

FRIENDS.

PRESIDENT

REAGAN, ON BEHALF OF

OUR NATION I THANK

YOU FOR THE

WONDERFUL THINGS YOU

HAVE DONE FOR

AMERICA. YOU HAVE

TRULY EARNED A

LASTING PLACE IN OUR
HEARTS.

I HAVE JUST
REPEATED
WORD-FOR-WORD THE
OATH TAKEN BY GEORGE
WASHINGTON 200 YEARS
AGO; AND THE BIBLE
ON WHICH I PLACED MY
HAND IS THE BIBLE ON
WHICH HE PLACED HIS.

IT IS RIGHT
THAT THE MEMORY OF
WASHINGTON BE WITH
US TODAY, NOT ONLY
BECAUSE THIS IS OUR
BICENTENNIAL
INAUGURATION, BUT
BECAUSE WASHINGTON
REMAINS THE FATHER
OF OUR COUNTRY. HE
WOULD, I THINK, BE
GLADDENED BY THIS
DAY. . FOR TODAY IS
THE CONCRETE
EXPRESSION OF A
STUNNING FACT: OUR
CONTINUITY THESE 200

2

YEARS SINCE OUR
GOVERNMENT BEGAN.

WE MEET ON
DEMOCRACY'S FRONT
PORCH, A GOOD PLACE
TO TALK AS
NEIGHBORS, AND AS
FRIENDS. FOR THIS
IS A DAY WHEN OUR
NATION IS MADE
WHOLE, WHEN OUR
DIFFERENCES ARE, FOR
A MOMENT, SUSPENDED.
IT IS ALSO A DAY FOR
DECLARATIONS EQUAL
TO THE MOMENT; BUT
MY HOPE IS TO SIMPLY
TAKE THE STILLNESS
AND TALK AS WE HAVE
IN A MILLION
UNRECORDED MEETINGS.

MY FIRST ACT AS
PRESIDENT IS A
PRAYER:

"HEAVENLY
FATHER, WE BOW OUR
HEADS AND THANK YOU
FOR YOUR LOVE.
ACCEPT OUR THANKS

3

PRAYER
PUT ON
A CARD

4

FOR THE PEACE THAT
YIELDS THIS DAY AND
THE SHARED FAITH
THAT MAKES ITS
CONTINUANCE LIKELY,
MAKE US STRONG TO DO
YOUR WORK, WILLING
TO HEAR AND HEED
YOUR WILL, AND WRITE
ON OUR HEARTS THESE
WORDS: "USE POWER
TO HELP PEOPLE."
FOR WE ARE GIVEN
POWER NOT TO ADVANCE
OUR OWN PURPOSES,
NOR TO MAKE A GREAT
SHOW IN THE WORLD,
NOR A NAME. THERE
IS BUT ONE JUST USE
OF POWER, AND IT IS
TO SERVE PEOPLE.
HELP US REMEMBER,
LORD; WRITE IT IN
OUR HEARTS. AMEN."

I COME BEFORE
YOU AND ASSUME THE
PRESIDENCY AT A
MOMENT RICH WITH
PROMISE. WE LIVE IN

A PEACEFUL,
PROSPEROUS TIME, BUT
WE CAN MAKE IT
BETTER.

FOR A NEW
BREEZE IS BLOWING,
AND A WORLD
REFRESHED BY FREEDOM
SEEMS REBORN; FOR IN
MAN'S HEART, IF NOT
IN FACT, THE DAY OF
THE DICTATOR IS
OVER. THE
TOTALITARIAN ERA IS
PASSING, ITS OLD
IDEAS BLOWN AWAY
LIKE LEAVES FROM AN
ANCIENT LIFELESS
TREE.

A NEW BREEZE IS
BLOWING -- AND A
NATION REFRESHED BY
FREEDOM STANDS READY
TO PUSH ON: THERE
IS NEW GROUND TO BE
BROKEN. A NEW
BREEZE IS BLOWING
AND IT ASKS FOR NEW
ACTION, NEW

5

THINKING, AND A NEW
ENGAGEMENT IN THE
LIVES OF OTHERS.

THERE ARE TIMES
WHEN THE FUTURE
SEEMS THICK AS A
FOG; YOU SIT AND
WAIT, HOPING THE
MISTS WILL LIFT AND
REVEAL THE RIGHT
PATH.

THIS
BUT ~~THERE~~ IS A
TIME WHEN THE FUTURE
SEEMS A DOOR YOU CAN
WALK RIGHT THROUGH
-- INTO A ROOM
CALLED TOMORROW.

GREAT NATIONS
OF THE WORLD ARE
MOVING TOWARD
DEMOCRACY -- THROUGH
THE DOOR TO FREEDOM.

MEN AND WOMEN
OF THE WORLD MOVE
TOWARD FREE MARKETS
-- THROUGH THE DOOR
TO PROSPERITY.

THE PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD AGITATE

6

FOR FREE EXPRESSION
AND FREE THOUGHT --
THROUGH THE DOOR TO
THE MORAL AND
INTELLECTUAL
SATISFACTIONS ONLY
LIBERTY ALLOWS.

(pause)

WE KNOW WHAT
WORKS: FREEDOM
WORKS. WE KNOW
WHAT'S RIGHT:
FREEDOM IS RIGHT.
WE KNOW HOW TO
SECURE A MORE JUST
AND PROSPEROUS LIFE
FOR MAN ON EARTH:
THROUGH FREE
MARKETS, FREE
SPEECH, FREE
ELECTIONS, AND THE
EXERCISE OF FREE
WILL UNHAMPERED BY
THE STATE.

WE ARE
FORTUNATE. FOR THE
FIRST TIME IN THIS
CENTURY -- FOR THE
FIRST TIME PERHAPS
IN ALL HISTORY --

MAN DOES NOT HAVE TO
INVENT A SYSTEM BY
WHICH TO LIVE. WE
DON'T HAVE TO TALK
LATE INTO THE NIGHT
ABOUT WHICH FORM OF
GOVERNMENT IS BETTER
-- WE KNOW WHICH IS
BETTER. WE DON'T
HAVE TO WREST
JUSTICE FROM KINGS
-- WE ONLY HAVE TO
SUMMON IT FROM
WITHIN OURSELVES.

WE MUST ACT ON
WHAT WE KNOW. I
TAKE AS MY GUIDE THE
WORDS OF A SAINT:
"IN CRUCIAL THINGS,
UNITY -- IN
IMPORTANT THINGS,
DIVERSITY -- IN ALL
THINGS, GENEROSITY."

AMERICA TODAY
IS A PROUD, FREE
NATION, DECENT AND
CIVIL -- A PLACE WE
CANNOT HELP BUT
LOVE. WE KNOW IN

8

OUR HEARTS, NOT
LOUDLY AND PROUDLY,
BUT AS A SIMPLE
FACT, THAT THIS
COUNTRY HAS MEANING
BEYOND WHAT WE SEE,
AND THAT OUR
STRENGTH IS A FORCE
FOR GOOD.

BUT HAVE WE
CHANGED AS A NATION
EVEN IN OUR TIME?
ARE WE ENTHRALLED
WITH MATERIAL
THINGS, LESS
APPRECIATIVE OF THE
NOBILITY OF WORK AND
SACRIFICE?

MY FRIENDS, WE
ARE NOT THE SUM OF
OUR POSSESSIONS.
THEY ARE NOT THE
MEASURE OF OUR
LIVES. IN OUR
HEARTS WE KNOW WHAT
MATTERS. WE CANNOT
HOPE ONLY TO LEAVE
OUR CHILDREN A
BIGGER CAR, A BIGGER

9

BANK ACCOUNT. WE
MUST HOPE TO GIVE
THEM A SENSE OF WHAT
IT MEANS TO BE A
LOYAL FRIEND, A
LOVING FATHER, A
CITIZEN WHO LEAVES
HIS HOME, HIS
NEIGHBORHOOD AND
TOWN BETTER THAN HE
FOUND IT.

WHAT DO WE WANT
THE MEN AND WOMEN
WHO WORK WITH US TO
SAY ~~OF~~ WHEN WE
ARE NO LONGER THERE?
THAT WE WERE MORE
DRIVEN TO SUCCEED
THAN ANYONE AROUND
US? OR THAT WE
STOPPED TO ASK IF A
SICK CHILD HAD
GOTTEN BETTER AND
STAYED A MOMENT TO
TRADE A WORD OR TWO
OF FRIENDSHIP.

NO PRESIDENT,
NO GOVERNMENT, CAN
TEACH US TO REMEMBER

10

WHAT IS BEST IN WHAT
WE ARE. BUT IF ~~THE~~
MAN YOU HAVE CHOSEN
TO LEAD THIS
GOVERNMENT CAN HELP
TO MAKE A
DIFFERENCE; IF HE
CAN CELEBRATE THE
QUIETER, DEEPER
SUCCESSSES THAT ARE
MADE NOT OF GOLD AND
SILK, BUT OF BETTER
HEARTS AND FINER
SOULS; IF HE CAN DO
THESE THINGS, THEN
HE MUST.

AMERICA IS
NEVER WHOLLY HERSELF
UNLESS SHE IS
ENGAGED IN HIGH
MORAL PURPOSE. WE
AS A PEOPLE HAVE
SUCH A PURPOSE
TODAY. IT IS TO
MAKE KINDER THE FACE ~~E~~
OF THE NATION AND
GENTLER THE FACE ~~F~~ OF
THE WORLD.

11

MY FRIENDS, WE
HAVE WORK TO DO.
THERE ARE HOMELESS
PEOPLE, LOST AND
ROAMING, WHO NEED
OUR GUIDANCE AND
SUPPORT. [MANY ARE
NOT ABLE TO CARE FOR
THEMSELVES; THEY
SLEEP ON THE GRATES
IN THE WINTER.
CIVIL LIBERTARIANS
SAY THAT NOW THEY
HAVE THEIR LIBERTY,
BUT THAT IS NOT
FREEDOM RESTORED, IT
IS RESPONSIBILITY
IGNORED.] THERE ARE
CHILDREN IN THE
CITIES AND ELSEWHERE
WHO HAVE NOTHING --
NO LOVE AND NO
NORMALCY. THERE ARE
MEN AND WOMEN WHO
CANNOT TAKE A
HEALTHY PART IN OUR
SOCIETY BECAUSE THEY
CANNOT FREE
THEMSELVES OF

12

ENSLAVEMENT TO
WHATEVER ADDICTION
-- DRUGS, WELFARE,
THE DEMORALIZATION
THAT RULES THE
SLUMS.

WE MUST REACH
INTO THE HEART OF
THE HORROR AND HELP
THE PERMANENT POOR.
WE MUST SUMMON THIS
NATION'S ENERGY,
TALENT AND WILL TO
PUSH BACK THAT
FORGOTTEN FRONTIER.

THE OLD
SOLUTION, THE OLD
WAY, WAS TO THINK
THAT PUBLIC MONEY
ALONE COULD END
POVERTY. BUT WE
HAVE LEARNED THAT
DOES NOT WORK. AND
IN ANY CASE, OUR
FUNDS ARE LOW. WE
HAVE A DEFICIT TO
BRING DOWN. WE HAVE
MORE WILL THAN
WALLET; BUT WILL IS
WHAT WE NEED.

13

WE WILL MAKE
THE HARD CHOICES,
LOOKING AT WHAT WE
HAVE AND PERHAPS
ALLOCATING IT
DIFFERENTLY, MAKING
OUR DECISIONS BASED
ON HONEST NEED AND
PRUDENT SAFETY.

AND THEN WE
WILL DO THE WISEST
THING OF ALL: WE
WILL TURN TO THE
ONLY RESOURCE WE
HAVE THAT IN TIMES
OF NEED ALWAYS
GROWS: THE GOODNESS
AND COURAGE OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I AM SPEAKING
OF A NEW ENGAGEMENT
IN THE LIVES OF
OTHERS -- A NEW
ACTIVISM, HANDS-ON
AND INVOLVED, THAT
GETS THE JOB DONE.
WE MUST BRING IN THE
GENERATIONS,
HARNESSING THE

14

UNUSED TALENT OF THE
ELDERLY AND THE
UNFOCUSED ENERGY OF
THE YOUNG. FOR NOT
ONLY LEADERSHIP IS
PASSED ON FROM
GENERATION TO
GENERATION, BUT SO
IS STEWARDSHIP. AND
THE GENERATION BORN
AFTER THE SECOND
WORLD WAR HAS COME
OF AGE.

I HAVE SPOKEN
OF A THOUSAND POINTS
OF LIGHT -- OF THE
THOUSAND AND TENS OF
THOUSANDS OF LOCAL,
COMMUNITY, FRATERNAL
AND RELIGIOUS
ORGANIZATIONS THAT
ARE SPREAD LIKE
STARS THROUGHOUT OUR
COUNTRY, DOING GOOD.

MY
ADMINISTRATION WILL
WORK HAND IN HAND,
ENCOURAGING,
SOMETIMES LEADING,

15

SOMETIMES BEING LED,
REWARDING. WE WILL
WORK ON THIS IN THE
WHITE HOUSE; IN THE
CABINET AGENCIES. I
WILL GO TO THE

PEOPLE AND PROGRAMS
THAT ARE THE
BRIGHTER POINTS OF
LIGHT, AND I WILL
ASK EVERY MEMBER OF
MY GOVERNMENT TO
BECOME INVOLVED.

THE "OLD IDEAS"
ARE NEW AGAIN
BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT
OLD, BUT TIMELESS:
DUTY, SACRIFICE,
COMMITMENT, AND A
PATRIOTISM THAT
FINDS ITS EXPRESSION
IN TAKING PART AND
PITCHING IN.

WE NEED A NEW
ENGAGEMENT, TOO,
BETWEEN THE
EXECUTIVE AND THE
CONGRESS.

16



THE CHALLENGES
BEFORE US WILL BE
THRASHED OUT WITH
THE HOUSE AND
SENATE. WE MUST
BRING THE FEDERAL
BUDGET INTO BALANCE.
WE MUST ENSURE THAT
AMERICA STANDS
BEFORE THE WORLD
UNITED: STRONG, AT
PEACE, AND FISCALLY
SOUND. BUT THINGS
MAY BE DIFFICULT.

WE NEED
COMPROMISE; WE HAVE
HAD DISSENSION. WE
NEED HARMONY; WE
HAVE HAD A CHORUS OF
DISCORDANT VOICES.

FOR CONGRESS,
TOO, HAS CHANGED IN
OUR TIME. THERE HAS
GROWN ~~A~~ ^{Certain} DIVISIVENESS
HERE. WE HAVE SEEN
THE WITHERING LOOKS
AND HEARD THE
STATEMENTS IN WHICH
NOT EACH OTHER'S

IDEAS ARE
CHALLENGED, BUT EACH
OTHER'S MOTIVES.
OUR GREAT PARTIES
HAVE TOO OFTEN BEEN
FAR APART AND
UNTRUSTING OF EACH
OTHER.

IT HAS BEEN
THIS WAY SINCE
VIETNAM. THAT WAR
CLEAVES US STILL.
BUT, FRIENDS, THAT
WAR BEGAN IN EARNEST
A QUARTER CENTURY
AGO; AND SURELY THE
STATUTE OF
LIMITATIONS HAS BEEN
REACHED. THIS IS A
FACT: THE FINAL
LESSON OF VIETNAM IS
THAT NO GREAT NATION
CAN LONG AFFORD TO
BE SUNDERED BY A
MEMORY.

A NEW BREEZE IS
BLOWING -- AND THE
OLD BIPARTISANSHIP

MUST BE MADE NEW
AGAIN.

TO MY FRIENDS
-- AND YES, I MEAN
FRIENDS -- IN THE
LOYAL OPPOSITION --
AND YES, I MEAN
LOYAL: I PUT OUT MY
HAND.

I AM PUTTING
OUT MY HAND TO YOU,
MR. SPEAKER.

I AM PUTTING
OUT MY HAND TO YOU,
MR. MAJORITY LEADER.

FOR THIS IS THE
THING: THIS IS THE
AGE OF THE OFFERED
HAND.

WE CAN'T TURN
BACK CLOCKS, AND I
DON'T WANT TO. BUT
WHEN OUR FATHERS
WERE YOUNG, MR.
SPEAKER, OUR
DIFFERENCES ENDED AT
THE WATER'S EDGE.
WE DON'T WISH TO
TURN BACK TIME, BUT

WHEN OUR MOTHERS
WERE YOUNG, MR.
MAJORITY LEADER, THE
CONGRESS AND THE
EXECUTIVE WERE
CAPABLE OF WORKING
TOGETHER TO PRODUCE
A BUDGET ON WHICH
THE NATION COULD
LIVE. LET US
NEGOTIATE SOON --
AND HARD. BUT IN
THE END, LET US
PRODUCE!

THE PEOPLE
AWAIT ACTION. THEY
DID NOT SEND US HERE
TO BICKER. THEY ASK
US TO RISE ABOVE THE
MERELY PARTISAN.

IN THE PAST, WE
HAVE SHARED BLAME.
NOW, LET US RIGHTLY
SHARE CREDIT. "IN
CRUCIAL THINGS,
UNITY" -- AND THIS,
MY FRIENDS, IS
CRUCIAL.

TO THE WORLD,
TOO, WE OFFER NEW
ENGAGEMENT AND A
RENEWED VOW: WE
WILL STAY STRONG TO
PROTECT THE PEACE.
THE "OFFERED HAND"
IS A RELUCTANT FIST;
BUT THE FIST, ONCE
MADE, IS STRONG AND
CAN BE USED WITH
GREAT EFFECT.

THERE ARE TODAY
AMERICANS WHO ARE
HELD AGAINST THEIR
WILL IN FOREIGN
LANDS, AND AMERICANS
WHO ARE UNACCOUNTED
FOR. ASSISTANCE CAN
BE SHOWN HERE, AND
WILL BE LONG
REMEMBERED. GOOD
WILL BEGETS GOOD
WILL. GOOD FAITH
CAN BE A SPIRAL THAT
ENDLESSLY MOVES ON.

"GREAT NATIONS
LIKE GREAT MEN MUST
KEEP THEIR WORD."

WHEN AMERICA SAYS
SOMETHING, AMERICA
MEANS IT, WHETHER A
TREATY OR AN
AGREEMENT OR A VOW
MADE ON MARBLE
STEPS. WE WILL
ALWAYS TRY TO SPEAK
CLEARLY, FOR CANDOR
IS A COMPLIMENT.
BUT DELICACY, TOO,
IS GOOD AND HAS ITS
PLACE.

WE WILL
CONTINUE THE NEW
CLOSENESS WITH THE
SOVIET UNION,
CONSISTENT BOTH WITH
OUR SECURITY AND
WITH PROGRESS. ONE
MIGHT SAY THAT OUR
NEW RELATIONSHIP IN
PART REFLECTS THE
TRIUMPH OF HOPE AND
STRENGTH OVER
EXPERIENCE. BUT
HOPE IS GOOD. AND
SO IS STRENGTH. AND
VIGILANCE.

HERE TODAY ARE
TENS OF THOUSANDS OF
OUR CITIZENS WHO
FEEL THE
UNDERSTANDABLE
SATISFACTION OF
THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN
PART IN DEMOCRACY
AND SEEN THEIR HOPES
FULFILLED.

BUT MY THOUGHTS
HAVE BEEN TURNING
THE PAST FEW DAYS TO
THOSE WHO WOULD BE
WATCHING AT HOME --

TO AN OLDER
FELLOW WHO'LL THROW
A SALUTE BY HIMSELF
WHEN THE FLAG GOES
BY, AND THE WOMAN
WHO'LL TELL HER SONS
THE WORDS OF THE
BATTLE HYMNS. I DO
NOT MEAN THIS TO BE
SENTIMENTAL. I MEAN
THAT ON DAYS LIKE
THIS, WE REMEMBER
THAT WE ARE ALL PART
OF A CONTINUUM,

INESCAPABLY
CONNECTED BY TIES
THAT BIND --

OUR CHILDREN
ARE WATCHING IN
SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT
OUR NATION. AND TO
THEM I SAY, THANK
YOU FOR WATCHING
DEMOCRACY'S BIG DAY.
FOR DEMOCRACY
BELONGS TO ALL OF
US, AND FREEDOM IS
LIKE A BEAUTIFUL
KITE THAT CAN GO
HIGHER AND HIGHER
WITH THE BREEZE...

AND TO ALL I
SAY: NO MATTER WHAT
YOUR CIRCUMSTANCES
OR WHERE YOU ARE,
YOU ARE PART OF THIS
DAY, YOU ARE PART OF
THE LIFE OF THE
NATION.

A PRESIDENT IS
NEITHER THE PRINCE
NOR POPE, AND I DO
NOT SEEK "A WINDOW

Draft
4

ON MEN'S SOULS." IN
FACT, I YEARN FOR A
GREATER TOLERANCE,
AN EASY-GOINGNESS
ABOUT EACH OTHER'S
ATTITUDES AND WAY OF
LIFE.

THERE ARE FEW
CLEAR AREAS IN WHICH
WE AS A SOCIETY MUST
RISE UP UNITED AND
EXPRESS OUR
INTOLERANCE. THE
MOST OBVIOUS NOW IS
DRUGS. WHEN THE
FIRST COCAINE WAS
SMUGGLED IN ON A
SHIP, IT MAY AS WELL
HAVE BEEN A DEADLY
BACTERIA IN A
BOTTLE, SO MUCH HAS
IT HURT THE BODY OF
THIS COUNTRY. THERE
IS MUCH TO BE DONE
AND TO BE SAID, BUT
TAKE MY WORD: THIS
SCOURGE WILL STOP.

AND SO, THERE
IS SO MUCH TO DO;

AND TOMORROW THE
WORK BEGINS.

I DO NOT
MISTRUST THE FUTURE;
I DO NOT FEAR WHAT
IS AHEAD. FOR OUR
PROBLEMS ARE LARGE,
BUT OUR HEART IS
LARGER. OUR
CHALLENGES ARE
GREAT, BUT OUR WILL
IS GREATER. AND IF
OUR FLAWS ARE
ENDLESS, GOD'S LOVE
IS ENDLESS SQUARED.

IN SOME WAYS,
AS A LEADER, I MAY
NOT BE THE MOST
DRAMATIC. I SEE
HISTORY NOT AS HIGH
ROMANCE, BUT AS A
BOOK WITH MANY PAGES
-- AND EACH DAY WE
WILL FILL A PAGE
WITH ACTS OF
HOPEFULNESS AND
MEANING.

THE NEW BREEZE
BLOWS, A PAGE TURNS,

THE STORY UNFOLDS --
AND SO, A CHAPTER
BEGINS: A SMALL AND
STATELY STORY OF
UNITY, DIVERSITY,
AND GENEROSITY --
SHARED, AND WRITTEN,
TOGETHER.

THANK YOU.

GOD BLESS YOU.

GOD BLESS AMERICA.

####

VP FINAL BACK UP
1/19 -- 8:00 p.m.

1

PROPOSED REMARKS
FOR
PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
FRIDAY
JANUARY 20, 1989

MR. CHIEF

JUSTICE, MR.

PRESIDENT, VICE

PRESIDENT QUAYLE,

SENATOR MITCHELL,

SPEAKER WRIGHT,

SENATOR DOLE,

CONGRESSMAN MICHEL,

FELLOW CITIZENS,

NEIGHBORS AND

FRIENDS.

THERE IS A MAN
HERE WHO HAS EARNED
A LASTING PLACE IN
OUR HEARTS -- AND IN
OUR HISTORY,
PRESIDENT REAGAN, ON
BEHALF OF OUR NATION
I THANK YOU FOR THE

WONDERFUL THINGS YOU
HAVE DONE FOR
AMERICA.

I HAVE JUST
REPEATED
WORD-FOR-WORD THE
OATH TAKEN BY GEORGE
WASHINGTON 200 YEARS
AGO; AND THE BIBLE
ON WHICH I PLACED MY
HAND IS THE BIBLE ON
WHICH HE PLACED HIS.

IT IS RIGHT
THAT THE MEMORY OF
WASHINGTON BE WITH
US TODAY, NOT ONLY
BECAUSE THIS IS OUR
BICENTENNIAL
INAUGURATION, BUT
BECAUSE WASHINGTON
REMAINS THE FATHER
OF OUR COUNTRY. HE
WOULD, I THINK, BE
GLADDENED BY THIS
DAY. FOR TODAY IS
THE CONCRETE
EXPRESSION OF A
STUNNING FACT: OUR
CONTINUITY THESE 200

2

YEARS SINCE OUR
GOVERNMENT BEGAN.

WE MEET ON
DEMOCRACY'S FRONT
PORCH. A GOOD PLACE
TO TALK AS
NEIGHBORS, AND AS
FRIENDS. FOR THIS
IS A DAY WHEN OUR
NATION IS MADE
WHOLE, WHEN OUR
DIFFERENCES ARE, FOR
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MY FIRST ACT AS
PRESIDENT IS A
PRAYER:

'HEAVENLY
FATHER, WE BOW OUR
HEADS AND THANK YOU
FOR YOUR LOVE.
ACCEPT OUR THANKS
FOR THE PEACE THAT
YIELDS THIS DAY AND
THE SHARED FAITH
THAT MAKES ITS
CONTINUANCE LIKELY.
MAKE US STRONG TO DO
YOUR WORK, WILLING
TO HEAR AND HEED



YOUR WILL, AND WRITE
ON OUR HEARTS THESE
WORDS: "USE POWER
TO HELP PEOPLE."
FOR WE ARE GIVEN
POWER NOT TO ADVANCE
OUR OWN PURPOSES,
NOR TO MAKE A GREAT
SHOW IN THE WORLD,
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IS BUT ONE JUST USE
OF POWER, AND IT IS
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HELP US REMEMBER,
LORD. AMEN.'

I COME BEFORE
YOU AND ASSUME THE
PRESIDENCY AT A
MOMENT RICH WITH
PROMISE. WE LIVE IN
A PEACEFUL,
PROSPEROUS TIME, BUT
WE CAN MAKE IT
BETTER.

FOR A NEW
BREEZE IS BLOWING,
AND A WORLD
REFRESHED BY FREEDOM
SEEMS REBORN; FOR IN

A large, bold, handwritten number '4' is positioned on the right side of the page, below the page number. It is drawn with thick black ink.

MAN'S HEART, IF NOT
IN FACT, THE DAY OF
THE DICTATOR IS
OVER. THE
TOTALITARIAN ERA IS
PASSING, ITS OLD
IDEAS BLOWN AWAY
LIKE LEAVES FROM AN
ANCIENT LIFELESS
TREE.

A NEW BREEZE IS
BLOWING -- AND A
NATION REFRESHED BY
FREEDOM STANDS READY
TO PUSH ON; THERE
IS NEW GROUND TO BE
BROKEN, AND NEW
ACTION TO BE TAKEN.

THERE ARE TIMES
WHEN THE FUTURE
SEEMS THICK AS A
FOG; YOU SIT AND
WAIT, HOPING THE
MISTS WILL LIFT AND
REVEAL THE RIGHT
PATH.

BUT THIS IS A
TIME WHEN THE FUTURE
SEEMS A DOOR YOU CAN

5

WALK RIGHT THROUGH
-- INTO A ROOM
CALLED TOMORROW.

GREAT NATIONS
OF THE WORLD ARE
MOVING TOWARD
DEMOCRACY -- THROUGH
THE DOOR TO FREEDOM.

MEN AND WOMEN
OF THE WORLD MOVE
TOWARD FREE MARKETS
-- THROUGH THE DOOR
TO PROSPERITY.

THE PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD AGITATE
FOR FREE EXPRESSION
AND FREE THOUGHT --
THROUGH THE DOOR TO
THE MORAL AND
INTELLECTUAL
SATISFACTIONS ONLY
LIBERTY ALLOWS.

WE KNOW WHAT
WORKS: FREEDOM
WORKS. WE KNOW
WHAT'S RIGHT:
FREEDOM IS RIGHT.
WE KNOW HOW TO
SECURE A MORE JUST

A large, bold, handwritten number '6' is positioned to the right of the text. It is drawn with a single continuous stroke, starting from the top, curving around to the left, and then looping back to the right to complete the figure.

AND PROSPEROUS LIFE
FOR MAN ON EARTH:
THROUGH FREE
MARKETS, FREE
SPEECH, FREE
ELECTIONS, AND THE
EXERCISE OF FREE
WILL UNHAMPERED BY
THE STATE.

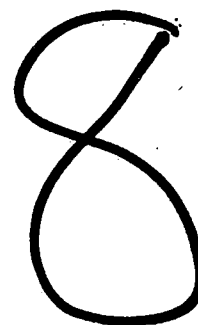
FOR THE FIRST
TIME IN THIS CENTURY
-- FOR THE FIRST
TIME PERHAPS IN ALL
HISTORY -- MAN DOES
NOT HAVE TO INVENT A
SYSTEM BY WHICH TO
LIVE. WE DON'T HAVE
TO TALK LATE INTO
THE NIGHT ABOUT
WHICH FORM OF
GOVERNMENT IS BETTER
-- WE KNOW WHICH IS
BETTER. WE DON'T
HAVE TO WREST
JUSTICE FROM KINGS
-- WE ONLY HAVE TO
SUMMON IT FROM
WITHIN OURSELVES.



WE MUST ACT ON
WHAT WE KNOW. I
TAKE AS MY GUIDE THE
HOPE OF A SAINT: IN
CRUCIAL THINGS,
UNITY -- IN
IMPORTANT THINGS,
DIVERSITY -- IN ALL
THINGS, GENEROSITY.

AMERICA TODAY
IS A PROUD, FREE
NATION, DECENT AND
CIVIL -- A PLACE WE
CANNOT HELP BUT
LOVE. WE KNOW IN
OUR HEARTS, NOT
LOUDLY AND PROUDLY,
BUT AS A SIMPLE
FACT, THAT THIS
COUNTRY HAS MEANING
BEYOND WHAT WE SEE,
AND THAT OUR
STRENGTH IS A FORCE
FOR GOOD.

BUT HAVE WE
CHANGED AS A NATION
EVEN IN OUR TIME?
ARE WE ENTHRALLED
WITH MATERIAL



THINGS, LESS
APPRECIATIVE OF THE
NOBILITY OF WORK AND
SACRIFICE?

MY FRIENDS, WE
ARE NOT THE SUM OF
OUR POSSESSIONS.
THEY ARE NOT THE
MEASURE OF OUR
LIVES. IN OUR
HEARTS WE KNOW WHAT
MATTERS. WE CANNOT
HOPE ONLY TO LEAVE
OUR CHILDREN A
BIGGER CAR, A BIGGER
BANK ACCOUNT. WE
MUST HOPE TO GIVE
THEM A SENSE OF WHAT
IT MEANS TO BE A
LOYAL FRIEND, A
LOVING PARENT, A
CITIZEN WHO LEAVES
HIS HOME, HIS
NEIGHBORHOOD AND
TOWN BETTER THAN HE
FOUND IT.

WHAT DO WE WANT
THE MEN AND WOMEN
WHO WORK WITH US TO

9

SAY WHEN WE ARE NO
LONGER THERE? THAT
WE WERE MORE DRIVEN
TO SUCCEED THAN
ANYONE AROUND US?
OR THAT WE STOPPED
TO ASK IF A SICK
CHILD HAD GOTTEN
BETTER, AND STAYED A
MOMENT TO TRADE A
WORD OF FRIENDSHIP.

NO PRESIDENT,
NO GOVERNMENT, CAN
TEACH US TO REMEMBER
WHAT IS BEST IN WHAT
WE ARE. BUT IF THE
MAN YOU HAVE CHOSEN
TO LEAD THIS
GOVERNMENT CAN HELP
TO MAKE A
DIFFERENCE; IF HE
CAN CELEBRATE THE
QUIETER, DEEPER
SUCCESSSES THAT ARE
MADE NOT OF GOLD AND
SILK, BUT OF BETTER
HEARTS AND FINER
SOULS; IF HE CAN DO

10

THESE THINGS, THEN
HE MUST.

AMERICA IS
NEVER WHOLLY HERSELF
UNLESS SHE IS
ENGAGED IN HIGH
MORAL PURPOSE. WE
AS A PEOPLE HAVE
SUCH A PURPOSE
TODAY. IT IS TO
MAKE KINDER THE FACE
OF THE NATION AND
GENTLER THE FACE OF
THE WORLD.

MY FRIENDS, WE
HAVE WORK TO DO.
THERE ARE THE
HOMELESS, LOST AND
ROAMING, -- THERE
ARE CHILDREN WHO
HAVE NOTHING, NO
LOVE AND NO NORMALCY
-- THERE ARE THOSE
WHO CANNOT FREE
THEMSELVES OF
ENSLAVEMENT TO
WHATEVER ADDICTION
-- DRUGS, WELFARE,
THE DEMORALIZATION

||

THAT RULES THE
SLUMS. THERE IS
CRIME TO BE
CONQUERED, THE ROUGH
CRIME OF THE
STREETS. THERE ARE
YOUNG WOMEN TO BE
HELPED WHO ARE ABOUT
TO BECOME MOTHERS OF
CHILDREN THEY CANNOT
CARE FOR AND MIGHT
NOT LOVE. THEY NEED
OUR CARE, OUR
GUIDANCE, AND
EDUCATION; THOUGH WE
BLESS THEM FOR
CHOOSING LIFE.

THE OLD
SOLUTION, THE OLD
WAY, WAS TO THINK
THAT PUBLIC MONEY
ALONE COULD END
THESE PROBLEMS. BUT
WE HAVE LEARNED THAT
IS NOT SO. AND IN
ANY CASE, OUR FUNDS
ARE LOW. WE HAVE A
DEFICIT TO BRING
DOWN. WE HAVE MORE

12

WILL THAN WALLET;
BUT WILL IS WHAT WE
NEED.

WE WILL MAKE
THE HARD CHOICES,
LOOKING AT WHAT WE
HAVE AND PERHAPS
ALLOCATING IT
DIFFERENTLY, MAKING
OUR DECISIONS BASED
ON HONEST NEED AND
PRUDENT SAFETY.

AND THEN WE
WILL DO THE WISEST
THING OF ALL: WE
WILL TURN TO THE
ONLY RESOURCE WE
HAVE THAT IN TIMES
OF NEED ALWAYS
GROWS: THE GOODNESS
AND COURAGE OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I AM SPEAKING
OF A NEW ENGAGEMENT
IN THE LIVES OF
OTHERS -- A NEW
ACTIVISM, HANDS-ON
AND INVOLVED, THAT
GETS THE JOB DONE.

13

WE MUST BRING IN THE
GENERATIONS,
HARNESSING THE
UNUSED TALENT OF THE
ELDERLY AND THE
UNFOCUSED ENERGY OF
THE YOUNG. FOR NOT
ONLY LEADERSHIP IS
PASSED FROM
GENERATION TO
GENERATION, BUT SO
IS STEWARDSHIP. AND
THE GENERATION BORN
AFTER THE SECOND
WORLD WAR HAS COME
OF AGE.

I HAVE SPOKEN
OF A THOUSAND POINTS
OF LIGHT -- OF ALL
THE COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATIONS THAT
ARE SPREAD LIKE
STARS THROUGHOUT THE
NATION, DOING GOOD.

WE WILL WORK
HAND IN HAND,
ENCOURAGING,
SOMETIMES LEADING,
SOMETIMES BEING LED,

14

REWARDING. WE WILL
WORK ON THIS IN THE
WHITE HOUSE, IN THE
CABINET AGENCIES. I
WILL GO TO THE
PEOPLE AND PROGRAMS
THAT ARE THE
BRIGHTER POINTS OF
LIGHT, AND I WILL
ASK EVERY MEMBER OF
MY GOVERNMENT TO
BECOME INVOLVED.

THE OLD IDEAS
ARE NEW AGAIN
BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT
OLD, THEY'RE
TIMELESS: DUTY,
SACRIFICE,
COMMITMENT, AND A
PATRIOTISM THAT
FINDS ITS EXPRESSION
IN TAKING PART AND
PITCHING IN.

WE NEED A NEW
ENGAGEMENT, TOO,
BETWEEN THE
EXECUTIVE AND THE
CONGRESS.

15

THE CHALLENGES

BEFORE US WILL BE
THRASHED OUT WITH
THE HOUSE AND
SENATE. WE MUST
BRING THE FEDERAL
BUDGET INTO BALANCE.
WE MUST ENSURE THAT
AMERICA STANDS
BEFORE THE WORLD
UNITED: STRONG, AT
PEACE, AND FISCALLY
SOUND. BUT THINGS
MAY BE DIFFICULT.

WE NEED
COMPROMISE; WE HAVE
HAD DISSENSION. WE
NEED HARMONY; WE
HAVE HAD A CHORUS OF
DISCORDANT VOICES.

FOR CONGRESS,
TOO, HAS CHANGED IN
OUR TIME. THERE HAS
GROWN A CERTAIN
DIVISIVENESS. WE
HAVE SEEN THE HARD
LOOKS AND HEARD THE
STATEMENTS IN WHICH
NOT EACH OTHER'S

16

IDEAS ARE
CHALLENGED, BUT EACH
OTHER'S MOTIVES.
OUR GREAT PARTIES
HAVE TOO OFTEN BEEN
FAR APART AND
UNTRUSTING OF EACH
OTHER.

IT HAS BEEN
THIS WAY SINCE
VIETNAM. THAT WAR
CLEAVES US STILL.
BUT, FRIENDS, THAT
WAR BEGAN IN EARNEST
A QUARTER CENTURY
AGO; AND SURELY THE
STATUTE OF
LIMITATIONS HAS BEEN
REACHED. THIS IS A
FACT: THE FINAL
LESSON OF VIETNAM IS
THAT NO GREAT NATION
CAN LONG AFFORD TO
BE SUNDERED BY A
MEMORY.

A NEW BREEZE IS
BLOWING -- AND THE
OLD BIPARTISANSHIP

17

MUST BE MADE NEW
AGAIN.

TO MY FRIENDS
-- AND YES, I MEAN
FRIENDS -- IN THE
LOYAL OPPOSITION --
AND YES, I MEAN
LOYAL: I PUT OUT MY
HAND.

I AM PUTTING
OUT MY HAND TO YOU,
MR. SPEAKER.

I AM PUTTING
OUT MY HAND TO YOU,
MR. MAJORITY LEADER.

FOR THIS IS THE
THING: THIS IS THE
AGE OF THE OFFERED
HAND.

WE CAN'T TURN
BACK CLOCKS, AND I
DON'T WANT TO, BUT
WHEN OUR FATHERS
WERE YOUNG, MR.
SPEAKER, OUR
DIFFERENCES ENDED AT
THE WATER'S EDGE.
WE DON'T WISH TO
TURN BACK TIME, BUT

18

WHEN OUR MOTHERS
WERE YOUNG, MR.
MAJORITY LEADER, THE
CONGRESS AND THE
EXECUTIVE WERE
CAPABLE OF WORKING
TOGETHER TO PRODUCE
A BUDGET ON WHICH
THE NATION COULD
LIVE. LET US
NEGOTIATE SOON --
AND HARD. BUT IN
THE END, LET US
PRODUCE.

THE PEOPLE
AWAIT ACTION. THEY
DID NOT SEND US HERE
TO BICKER. THEY ASK
US TO RISE ABOVE THE
MERELY PARTISAN.
'IN CRUCIAL THINGS,
UNITY' -- AND THIS,
MY FRIENDS, IS
CRUCIAL.

TO THE WORLD,
TOO, WE OFFER NEW
ENGAGEMENT AND A
RENEWED VOW: WE
WILL STAY STRONG TO

19

PROTECT THE PEACE.
THE 'OFFERED HAND'
IS A RELUCTANT FIST;
BUT THE FIST, ONCE
MADE, IS STRONG AND
CAN BE USED WITH
GREAT EFFECT.

THERE ARE TODAY
AMERICANS WHO ARE
HELD AGAINST THEIR
WILL IN FOREIGN
LANDS, AND AMERICANS
WHO ARE UNACCOUNTED
FOR. ASSISTANCE CAN
BE SHOWN HERE, AND
WILL BE LONG
REMEMBERED. GOOD
WILL BEGETS GOOD
WILL. GOOD FAITH
CAN BE A SPIRAL THAT
ENDLESSLY MOVES ON.

"GREAT NATIONS
LIKE GREAT MEN MUST
KEEP THEIR WORD."
WHEN AMERICA SAYS
SOMETHING, AMERICA
MEANS IT, WHETHER A
TREATY OR AN
AGREEMENT OR A VOW

20

MADE ON MARBLE
STEPS. WE WILL
ALWAYS TRY TO SPEAK
CLEARLY, FOR CANDOR
IS A COMPLIMENT,
BUT SUBTLETY, TOO,
IS GOOD AND HAS ITS
PLACE.

WHILE KEEPING
OUR ALLIANCES AND
FRIENDSHIPS STRONG,
EVER STRONG, WE WILL
CONTINUE THE NEW
CLOSENESS WITH THE
SOVIET UNION,
CONSISTENT BOTH WITH
OUR SECURITY AND
WITH PROGRESS. ONE
MIGHT SAY THAT OUR
NEW RELATIONSHIP IN
PART REFLECTS THE
TRIUMPH OF HOPE AND
STRENGTH OVER
EXPERIENCE. BUT
HOPE IS GOOD, AND
SO IS STRENGTH. AND
VIGILANCE.

HERE TODAY ARE
TENS OF THOUSANDS OF

21

OUR CITIZENS WHO
FEEL THE
UNDERSTANDABLE
SATISFACTION OF
THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN
PART IN DEMOCRACY
AND SEEN THEIR HOPES
FULFILLED.

BUT MY THOUGHTS
HAVE BEEN TURNING
THE PAST FEW DAYS TO
THOSE WHO WOULD BE
WATCHING AT HOME --

TO AN OLDER
FELLOW WHO'LL THROW
A SALUTE BY HIMSELF
WHEN THE FLAG GOES
BY, AND THE WOMAN
WHO'LL TELL HER SONS
THE WORDS OF THE
BATTLE HYMNS. I DO
NOT MEAN THIS TO BE
SENTIMENTAL. I MEAN
THAT ON DAYS LIKE
THIS, WE REMEMBER
THAT WE ARE ALL PART
OF A CONTINUUM,
INESCAPABLY

22

CONNECTED BY TIES
THAT BIND --

OUR CHILDREN
ARE WATCHING IN
SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT
OUR NATION, AND TO
THEM I SAY, THANK
YOU FOR WATCHING
DEMOCRACY'S BIG DAY,
FOR DEMOCRACY
BELONGS TO ALL OF
US, AND FREEDOM IS
LIKE A BEAUTIFUL
KITE THAT CAN GO
HIGHER AND HIGHER
WITH THE BREEZE...

AND TO ALL I
SAY: NO MATTER WHAT
YOUR CIRCUMSTANCES
OR WHERE YOU ARE,
YOU ARE PART OF THIS
DAY, YOU ARE PART OF
THE LIFE OF THE
NATION.

A PRESIDENT IS
NEITHER PRINCE NOR
POPE, AND I DO NOT
SEEK 'A WINDOW ON
MEN'S SOULS,' IN

23

FACT, I YEARN FOR A
GREATER TOLERANCE,
AN EASY-GOINGNESS
ABOUT EACH OTHER'S
ATTITUDES AND WAY OF
LIFE.

THERE ARE FEW
CLEAR AREAS IN WHICH
WE AS A SOCIETY MUST
RISE UP UNITED AND
EXPRESS OUR
INTOLERANCE. THE
MOST OBVIOUS NOW IS
DRUGS. WHEN THE
FIRST COCAINE WAS
SMUGGLED IN ON A
SHIP, IT MAY AS WELL
HAVE BEEN A DEADLY
BACTERIA, SO MUCH
HAS IT HURT THE BODY
OF THIS COUNTRY.
THERE IS MUCH TO BE
DONE AND TO BE SAID,
BUT TAKE MY WORD:
THIS SCOURGE WILL
STOP.

AND SO, THERE
IS MUCH TO DO; AND

24

SCOURGE

TOMORROW THE WORK
BEGINS.

I DO NOT
MISTRUST THE FUTURE;
I DO NOT FEAR WHAT
IS AHEAD. FOR OUR
PROBLEMS ARE LARGE,
BUT OUR HEART IS
LARGER. OUR
CHALLENGES ARE
GREAT, BUT OUR WILL
IS GREATER. AND IF
OUR FLAWS ARE
ENDLESS, GOD'S LOVE
IS TRULY BOUNDLESS.

SOME SEE
LEADERSHIP AS HIGH
DRAMA, AND THE SOUND
OF TRUMPETS CALLING.
AND SOMETIMES IT IS
THAT. BUT I SEE
HISTORY AS A BOOK
WITH MANY PAGES --
AND EACH DAY WE FILL
A PAGE WITH ACTS OF
HOPEFULNESS AND
MEANING.

THE NEW BREEZE
BLOWS, A PAGE TURNS,

25

THE STORY UNFOLDS --

AND SO TODAY, A

CHAPTER BEGINS: A

SMALL AND STATELY

STORY OF UNITY,

DIVERSITY, AND

GENEROSITY --

SHARED, AND WRITTEN,

TOGETHER.

THANK YOU.

GOD BLESS YOU.

GOD BLESS AMERICA.

####

26

PEGGY NOONAN

Feb 7, 1989

Stuie,

This is the President's

edited copy of the second

draft of his inaugural

address.

Hope to see you soon —

Love,

Peggy

PS - Please tell Patty &
Sony this too k so
long.

teased me about a cover memo minutes later. - PN

This was second draft. I didn't have
to wait long for a response as he
was on the other end of the line, reading
each page as it was sent! He called and
residence on Monday 1/16 in the p.m. (7pm.)
this version to the VP's

files: I faxed
the President's
Some history, for

↑

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michael, fellow citizens, neighbors and friends: family President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for all you have done, and so successfully, to help our nation.

I have just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the bible on which I placed my hand is the bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. Once, in a poem, the thirteen early states were called a strong house with walls as solid as Plymouth Rock and a door of seasoned New England stock, with the hearth "a corner where sages sit -- and Washington's heart lies under it."

That hearth is still warm and that heart is still there, and it would be gladdened I think by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity in peace these 200 years since our government began.

If America is a house, this is our front porch. A good place to talk as neighbors, and friends. For this is a when our nation is made whole, when our differences are, a moment, suspended. (It is also a day for ringing statements, and declarations equal to the moment.)

Americans
Held is
their will
Free
them!

what
power

The peaceful
passing of
power this
200 years

onset
all up to
next page

2

High eloquence is a beautiful thing, but I am a plain spoken man and these words will not soar. My hope today is simply to take the stillness and talk as we have in a million unrecorded meetings.

And so my friends, as much as you can be in the cold, be at your ease. My remarks will be brief. Government is action as well as words, and ultimately you will know me by what I do.

My first act as President is a prayer:

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to hear and heed your will, and write in our hearts these words: 'Use power to help people'. For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord; write it on our hearts. Amen.'

Is it for
me or
should it
be "a
prayer for
those who
serve
people"

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment that is rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better --

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree;

A new breeze is blowing -- and a nation refreshed by

260

freedom stands ready to push on: there is new ground to be broken. A new breeze is blowing and it asks for new action, new thinking, and a new engagement in the lives of others.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through, into a room called Tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom;

Men and women of the world move toward free markets -- through the door to prosperity;

The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions only liberty allows.

We know what works: freedom works. We know what's right: freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. ✓ 77

We are fortunate. For the first time in this century -- for the first time perhaps in all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better -- we know which is better. We don't have to wrest justice from kings -- we only have to summon it from within ourselves.

4
show it
don't say
show it.

We must act on what we know. (~~And as we begin, I will share my dream for my country.~~) I take as my guide the words of a saint: 'In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.'

America today is a proud free nation, rich in technology, gifted in science and art. A good nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.

But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we more enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work, and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot only hope to leave our children a bigger car, a fatter bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving father, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood, his town better than he found it.

ys
/

What do we want the men and women who work with us to say of us when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, [and stayed a moment to trade a word or two of friendship.]

No President, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen

to lead this government can help to make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must. ^{will try hard} I mean to do these things.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral purpose. We, as a people, have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. There are homeless people, lost and roaming, who need our guidance and support. Many are not able to care for themselves; they sleep on the grates in the winter. Civil libertarians say that now they have their liberty. But that is not freedom restored, it is responsibility ignored. There are children in the cities and elsewhere who have nothing, no love and no normalcy. There are men and women who cannot take a healthy part in our society because they cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums.

We must reach into the heart of the horror and help the permanent poor. We must summon this nation's energy, talent and will to push back that forgotten frontier.

The old solution, the old way was to use public money to end poverty; but we have learned that does not work. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet; but will is what we

is this too narrow a concept

what does this mean we do??

6
need.

We will make the hard decisions, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all: We will turn to the only resource we have which in times of need always grows: the goodness ^{generosity} and courage of the American people.

I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, a muscular altruism, hands on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young; for not only leadership is passed on from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the second world war has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of the thousand and tens of thousands local, community, fraternal and religious organizations that are spread like stars throughout our country, doing good for people.

My administration will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and programs that are the brighter points of light, and I will ask every member of my government to become involved.

What I'm talking about is not pretty words and pretty

ideas. It will require sacrifice and commitment.

But I will ask nothing of the American people that I } I
will not ask of myself.

II

We need a new engagement too between the executive and Congress.

The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and Senate. We must bring the federal budget into balance. We must ensure that America stands before the world united: strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But things will be difficult.

We need compromise; we have had dissension. We need harmony; we have had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress too has changed in our time. (There has grown a sourness there.) ^{we've all} I have seen the withering looks and heard statements in which we challenged not eachother's ideas but eachother's motives. Our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of eachother.

It it has been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But friends, that war began in earnest a quarter century ago; and surely the statute of limitations has been reached.

I say to you Today that the final lesson of Vietnam is that a great nation cannot long afford to be sundered by a memory. (~~We must never forget~~) - but we must move on. For a new breeze is blowing -- and we must make new the old bipartisanship. ~~on things domestic - foreign alike~~

8

To my friends -- and yes, I mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and yes, I mean loyal; I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered hand.

We can't turn back clocks; and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. We don't wish to turn back time; (I don't have to.) But when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which our nation could live. Let us negotiate soon -- and hard. But in the end, let us produce!

The people await action. They did not send us here to bicker. They do not want us to spend our time pursuing partisan gain. They ask us to rise above mere politics.

In the past we have rightly shared blame. Now let us rightly share credit. I approach you in good faith -- and my hopes are as open as this hand.

To the world too we offer new engagement, and a renewed vow: We will stay strong to protect the peace. Our peaceableness is not to be confused with pacificism. The 'offered hand' is a reluctant fist; but the fist, once made, is strong; and can be used with great effect.

Our attitude to all: 'Good will begets good will'. Good faith is a spiral that once begun can roll on to unexpected

9

places.

It is said that great nations like great men must keep their word. So let me state: When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps.

We will speak clearly, knowing candor is a compliment and bluntness assumes strength on the part of the listener; (?)

We will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, as long as we can consistent both with safety and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good. And so is strength. And vigilance.

Here today, ^{we stand} ~~gathered before me~~, are tens of thousands of our citizens; and ^{we} ~~you~~ are mostly happy, with the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes come true.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home --

To an older fellow who'll stand by himself when the flag goes by, and the woman who'll tell her sons the words to the battle hymns. I do not mean this as mere sentimentality. I mean that we are all, together, part of a continuum --

And someone is watching who is recovering from drug addiction -- and to you we give thanks as a nation;

And someone is watching who suffers from a grave disease; and to you we give friendship;

And there are new immigrants watching; and to you I say

10

Thank you for reminding us who we are -- for freedom is not alive unless it is new, and you make it new for us.

And the children of our nation are watching together at schools across our country. And to you I say: Thank you for watching ^{this out} ~~my~~ ^{it} big day, which is also your big day. Democracy belongs to all of us, [and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go anywhere in the breeze...]

And to all I say, no matter what your circumstances, or where you are: You are part of this day; you are part of the life of the nation.

[I am neither prince nor pope and I do not seek 'a window on men's souls'.] In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easygoingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up and, united, express our intolerance. The most obvious now is the taking or selling of drugs. ~~Understand~~ ~~our nation and realize that~~ when the first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship it may as well have been a deadly bacteria in a bottle, so much has it hurt the body of this country. It is no longer a domestic concern; it is, in my view, a national security matter, for it is making us weak and sick.

There is much to be done, to be said, but take as my word this vow: This scourge will stop. We as a society will stop it.

And so, there is so much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

11

I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. The challenges are great, but our will is greater. What threatens us is huge, but what holds us together is huger. And if ^{our} flaws are endless, God's love is endless squared.

omit [In some ways, as a leader, I will not be the most moving. My nature is not dramatic ^{and} my leadership will not be a trumpet call.]

I see history not as a romance but as a book with many pages; and each day we turn a page, and try to fill it up with acts of helpfulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds -- and so to us today a chapter begins. A small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity --

Come -- join me in our great collaboration, our history -- shared, and written, together.

Thank you.

God bless you.

God bless America.

From: Noonan // To: The Vice President // 4 30 P

Dear Mr. Vice President,

Here is the first draft, in which I hope you find some merit. Sorry it took so long but revisions on the President's speech took til Tuesday night. I hit this hard Wednesday morning.

The central metaphor is 'A new breeze is blowing...'. Aimed at communicating the dynamism and newness of your administration.

The central tone is in the quote from St Augustine: 'In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.'

Here is my central problem: I need help. A newly chastened Noonan, a kinder gentler Noonan, a Noonan who would never hit a presidential aide with a shovel to make a strong impression on his mind...needs help.

Richard Darman's helpfulness, which once I rejected when I was young and foolish, I now need. Bob Teeter, my best friend, is also needed. I still don't need Roger.

I need Sununu toonoo.

Will you tell them? Tell them not to rub my nose in it.

Thank you.

I want to work on this straight through til Wednesday & then I guess by Wednesday night it should go to prompter.

You looked great out fishing.

Mrs. Bush's interview with the New York Times in today's paper was a smash. A big hit with all who saw it.

-- 16 pages follow --

Best,
Peggy

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, fellow citizens, neighbors and friends:

I have just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the bible on which I placed my hand is the bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains what we always called him: The father of our country. Once, in a poem, the thirteen early states were called a strong house with walls as solid as Plymouth Rock and a door of seasoned New England stock, with the hearth "a corner where sages sit --and Washington's heart lies under it."

That hearth is still warm and that heart is still there, and it would be gladdened I think by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: the fact of our continuity in peace these 200 years since our government began.

If America is a house, this is our front ^{porch} stoop. A good place to talk as neighbors, and friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences are, for a moment, suspended. (It is also a day for ringing statements, and declarations equal to the moment.)

High eloquence IS a beautiful thing, but I am a plain spoken man and these words will not soar. My hope today is

to simply take the stillness and talk as we did in a million unrecorded meetings throughout the recent campaign.

And so my friends, as much as you can be in the cold, be at your ease. My remarks will be brief: Government is action as well as words, and ultimately you will know me not by what I say but by what I do.

I go today from the Vice Presidency, which a former Vice President named Jefferson called 'honorable and easy', to the presidency, which a President named Jefferson called 'a splendid misery'. You must wonder why I'm happy.

It may be misery, but it was splendid to serve under a President named Reagan. Ronald Reagan is a gentleman who loves his country; and you have earned, Mr. President, all the respect and warm affection your countrymen feel for you.

My first act as President is a prayer:

'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to hear and heed your will, and write in our hearts these words: 'Use power to help people'. For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord; write it on our hearts. Amen.'

(~~I come before you and assume the presidency, at an~~ unprecedented time.) There is much peace in the world, and prosperity. Eight years of effort, eight years in which

3

spoke for freedom from the gulags to the ghettos, has produced the amazing fact of a more prosperous America in a more prosperous world; and a peaceful America in a more peaceful world. To look at the long history of man on earth is to acknowledge that we have been blessed: we live in a bright and happy era. But we ~~can~~^{must} make it better --

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart if not in fact the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is past, its old ideas blown away like the leaves of an ancient lifeless tree;

A new breeze is blowing -- and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on: there is ground to be broken and new ~~worlds to conquer~~^{action to be taken}. A new breeze is blowing and it promises new ~~action~~, new thinking, and a new engagement in the lives of others.

whose opponent

II

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through, into a room called Tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democratic aspirations -- through the door to freedom;

More and more of the men and women of the world move toward free market -- through the door to prosperity;

The people of the world agitate for free expression and

4
free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions only liberty allows.

We know what works: freedom works. We know what's right: freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on earth: through free markets, free speech, ~~free thought~~, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state. 7/5

We are fortunate. For the first time in this century -- for the first time perhaps in all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live; we know how to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better -- we know which is better. We don't have to wrest justice from kings -- we only have to summon it from within ourselves.

We have work to do. And as we begin it, let me share my dream for my country. I take as my guide the words of a saint: "In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity." 4/5

America today is a proud free nation, rich in technology, gifted in science and art. A good nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. I know in my heart, not loudly and proudly but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good in the world. 4/5

We are a good people. We believe that there are things in life worth striving for, continents to be won. It is in our nature to move on. And art is honored here, and inquiry,

and painting and poetry are judged worthy endeavors for the human heart. 5

But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we not more enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work, and sacrifice?

My friends,
But we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We don't hope to leave our children a bigger car, a fatter bank account. We hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving father, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood, his town better than he found it. 15

What do we want the men and women who work with us to say of us when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment to trade a word or two of friendship.

And when we contemplate the meaning of our lives, when we look back at who we were and what we did, which of us believes in his heart that he will say, "I wish I'd spent more time on business." *making money?*

No President, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help to make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk but of kinder hearts and gentler souls; if he can do these things, then he must. I mean to do these

Not "I"

with your help, we must do things

things.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral purpose. We have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

Eighty-four years ago Teddy Roosevelt stood on these steps and addressed a jostling nation. "We are the heirs to the ages", he said. "Much has been given us, and much will rightfully be expected... We have duties to others and duties to ourselves, and we can shirk neither."

I was taught as Roosevelt was taught: that to us much has been given, and 'us' is ALL of us, for to be an American is to be handed a bounty at birth. And we must help each other.

My friends, there is work to do. There are homeless people, lost and roaming, who need our guidance and support. There are children in the cities and elsewhere who have nothing. There are men and women who cannot take a healthy part in our society because they cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums.

We must reach into the heart of the horror and help the permanent poor. We must summon this nation's energy, talent and will to push back that forgotten frontier.

The old solution, the old way was to use public money to end poverty; but we have learned that does not work. And in any case, our funds are low.

7

In eight years we rebuilt our military and bolstered a defense that had been sorely abused. It produced the current peace: it cost money. In eight years we continued and often increased the safety net programs for the disadvantaged. It was right: it cost money.

We have little 'discretionary income'. We have little to spend on any but the essentials. And we have a deficit to bring down.

We have more will than wallet -- but will is all we ever needed.

We will make the hard decisions, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety. We will cut where we can.

~~We will not raise taxes on the people --~~ for that could end the expansion that creates the jobs that give opportunity meaning.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all: We will turn to the only resource we have which in times of need always grows: the goodness and courage of the American people.

I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others; I am speaking of the old taking their unused energy and helping those who are younger; and the educated helping those who are poorer; and the wealthy helping those who've had no advantages. I am speaking of a new activism, a muscular altruism, hands on and involved, that gets the job

Too
late
??
negative

done.

((A new activism born of need, fueled by love and driven by the knowledge that America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral purpose.))

A president's most important resource is his time. I will dedicate much of the first year of my presidency to developing private institutions that will in turn create a 'kinder, gentler' America.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of the thousand and tens of thousands local, community, fraternal and religious organizations that are spread like stars throughout our country, doing good for the people.

You must become accustomed to references to light, because as I reached the presidency it became the symbol in my mind of what the presidency is.

For in a way, a president is a light -- and where he goes the light is, where he walks the light is shed, and people turn and see for the first time.

This is my vow: I am going to use the force of that light.

My administration will work hand in hand encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and programs that are the brighter points of light, I will ask every member of my government to become involved -- personally.

What I'm talking about is not pretty words and pretty

ideas. It will require sacrifice and commitment. Many of the homeless who live on the streets are ill and should not rightly be expected to be responsible for themselves; Shall we let them sleep on the grates in the cold because a civil libertarian calls that freedom?

I lost that → That isn't freedom restored, it's responsibility ignored.

We must open our minds to new possibilities. Why not ask that young state-licensed psychiatrists devote a minimum number of hours per month to treat the homeless mentally ill? Our young doctors are the most gifted, the best educated in the world; who has benefited more from freedom? Who owes it more?

That is just one idea. There will be many ideas. The air will fairly crackle with ideas, if I have my way.

And there is another part of the new engagement: I will personally move to bring about the small liberations that aren't so small, the things that bring more liberty to lives, from allowing tenants to own public housing, to liberating high unemployment zones from taxes so that we can lure new businesses in. We can improve our school system through magnet schools and vouchers. I am speaking of more choice, more freedom, more autonomy for the people.

I will ask nothing of the American people that I will not ask of myself. We need a new engagement of good will between the executive and Congress.

The challenges before us will be thrashed out in the

House and Senate. I ~~will lead~~ ^{we must} the effort to bring the federal budget into balance. And I will work with Congress to ensure that America stands before the world strong, at peace, and united. But things will be difficult. *good things!*

We need compromise; we have, these days, dissension. We need harmony; we have instead a chorus of discordant voices. *maybe!!*

For Congress too has changed on our time. There is a sourness there, a suspicion. I have seen the withering looks and heard the statements in which we challenge not each other's ideas but each other's motives. Our two great parties are far apart and untrusting of each other. ?

It has been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But friends, that war began in earnest a quarter century ago; and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. ?

I say to you today that the final lesson of Vietnam is that a great nation cannot long afford to be sundered by a memory. A strong nation cannot be held by the past, its foreign policy the last prisoner of war.

Can we not make new the old bipartisanship? The old closeness?

To my friends -- and yes, I mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and yes, I mean loyal:

I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Jim Wright.

I am putting out my hand to you, George Mitchell. *Joint session*

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered

Resending

House and Senate. I will lead the effort to bring the federal budget into balance. And I will work with Congress to ensure that America stands before the world strong, at peace, and united. But things will be difficult. 10

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hand.

I don't turn back clocks; I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. I don't wish to turn back time; I don't have to. But when our mothers were girls, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the executive were capable each year of working out a budget on which our nation could live.

The people await action! They did not send us here to bicker. They do not want us to spend our time here pursuing partisan gain. They ask us to rise above mere politics and help the people.

We must be bigger with each other -- more generous in our assumptions, more trusting of each other's motives.

I approach you in good faith -- and my hopes are as open as this hand.

To the world we offer new friendship, and a renewed vow to remain strong to protect the peace we share. The 'offered hand' is a reluctant fist; but the fist, once made, is strong; and can be used with great effect.

Our attitude to all: 'Good will begets good will'. Good good faith is a spiral that can roll on to many unexpected places. 'Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations', is what Thomas Jefferson asked for at his inaugural. I long for the same.

I mean to achieve it through a foreign policy that is clear, credible, and commanding of respect; a policy backed by shrewd diplomacy conducted by seasoned diplomats.

12

Nine
cubits

Great nations like great men must keep their word. So let me state: When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps.

We will speak clearly, knowing candor is a compliment and bluntness assumes strength on the part of the listener;

To those who are our friends, we give our thanks and a vow of continued closeness. We sometimes make mistakes. Sometimes our sense of our own specialness may seem gauling, but have patience: there is a kind of innocence to our robust self-regard, and our respect for ourselves does not suggest a lack of respect for you.

To those who are not yet our friends, again: the open hand. The place where we talk with other nations has a big table, and the table has many chairs. I have told my staff: heat the room, and light it; make it ready.

To the Soviet Union, let me say: We respect you and are heartened by what appears to be the progress made so far. But I will be frank: the new closeness between us reflects, in part, the triumph of hope over experience. Hope is good. And so is strength.

11th B
NY
??

Here today, gathered before me, are tens of thousands of our citizens; and you are mostly happy, with the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes come true. I thank you for coming. You are my friends.

But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to

13

those who would be watching at home, or in a hospital or school --

YES
To the old fellow who'll be watching alone, and who'll stand by himself when the flag goes by, and to the woman who'll explain to her sons the words to the old songs --

And someone is watching who is recovering from drug addiction -- and to you we give thanks as a nation;

And someone is watching who suffers from AIDS or another grave disease; and to you we give friendship;

There are young people watching who have physical disabilities and who are living and growing in spite of it; and to you I say, 'Good, keep going, we need you.'

And there are new immigrants watching; and to you I say Thank you for reminding us who we are -- for freedom is not alive unless it is new, and you make it new for us

And the children of our nation are watching together at schools across our country. And to those young people I say: Thank you for watching my big day, which is also your big day. Democracy belongs to all of us, and freedom is like a kite you can fly, a beautiful kite that can go anywhere, free and travelling in the breeze. As you grow older take part in democracy, and feel freedom.

In this modern age you can feel somewhat apart, whether because of the room and space affluence gives us, or the sheer bigness of things.

And you can forget that we're all part of the continuum, we all share the same patrimony, inherited the

14

same wealth of tradition and history, and no one is better than anyone else, and no one is more needed, and to all I say: Don't feel different, don't feel apart. You are part of this day; you are part of the life of the nation.

Yes I
I am neither prince nor pope and I do not seek 'a window on men's souls'. *the west needs* In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easygoingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.

Human nature is an prickly, ornery thing, and our society has always been pulled I think by two competing forces: the schoolmarm, the moralist of the breakfast table who knows right from wrong and doesn't mind telling you, and the crusty independent person whose personal anthem is 'Leave me alone and don't be bothering me with your book learning and psalm singing'.

to America
Perhaps this is the difference between those who came ~~here~~ to escape man, and those who came here to find God. At any rate, perhaps each of us is the descendent of one type or another, and the two strains sometimes clash.

It seems to me there are only a few clear specific areas where we as a society must rise up and together show not only our disapproval but our abhorrence of an act.

And the most obvious now is the taking or selling of drugs. Drugs are the holocaust that kills our minorities, the child abuser that kills children. When the first cocaine was smuggled into this country on a ship it may as well have been a deadly bacteria in a bottle, so much has it hurt the body of this country. It is no longer a domestic concern; it

15
is, in my view, a national security matter, for it has made us weak and sick.

7
There is much to be done, to be said, but take as my word this vow: This scourge will stop. We as a society will stop it. I am committing my presidency to this.

There is the larger environment, and again we can no longer afford the blase' attitude that has marked much of the past, the attitude that says 'Someone will clean it up, they'll take care of it'. Friends, WE must take care of it. It has to start now. From here on let the national attitude be that refuse thrown in the ocean is an insult hurled at the people -- that poison buried in clean ground is a provocation; it must be stopped.

And so, there is so much to do; and tomorrow the work begins.

✓ *But there is no reason to no reason to*
~~I do not~~ mistrust the future; I ~~do not~~ fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. The challenges are great, but our will is greater. What threatens us is huge, but what holds us together is huger. And our flaws are endless, but God's love is endless squared.

In some ways, as a leader, I will not be the most moving. My nature is not dramatic, and my leadership will not be a trumpet call. *Too much*

I see history not as a romance but as a book with many pages; and each day we turn a page, and try to fill it up with acts of helpfulness and meaning.

The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds.

16
And so today a chapter begins. And who knows, but we may look back some day, thumb through the pages and find for ourselves an epic, a majestic story of unity, diversity, and generosity.

And so it begins, our great collaboration, our history --

shared, and written, together.

Thank you.

God bless you.

God bless America.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, DC

1-16-89

To/ Peggy From/
Bob inauguration
on

Some great stuff
here.

I would like fewer
"I's" in it -

"We" must do it !! etc.

Also do we need
issues (deficit). Aren't
they just left
to Feb. 9th

I like 1000 p.s. stuff

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, DC

I worry if we
use 'kind-gentle'
those exact words
since it just gives
Congress a chance
to shag harder after
our budget.

Like ^{the} prayer

Length = see attached
Brevity is a key - it
might snow -

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, DC

We can do it -

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, DC

Length - words

69	Nixon	2399
73	Nixon	2020
81	RR	2460
85	RR	2645
77	Carter	1274
53	DDC	2850
57	"	1824
61	TRK	1416
65	LIBT	1596
89	OUR DRAFT	<u><u>4025</u></u>

L



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Vice President,

I rewrote the short reference to abortion, and I think it takes your concerns (which are the right ones, conceded) ~~into account~~.

It would now read (and has been changed in the prompter to read)

~~and~~ ~~the~~ teenagers ~~who need help and education~~ ^{to be helped and educated ~~who~~ so they}
~~are about to~~ bear children they cannot care for; but bless them ^{for}
~~and might not lose.~~ ^{Choosing}
^{life."}

These are the arguments -- all political -- for keeping this reference:

1. It gives social conservatives something -- we will be knocked for giving them nothing;
2. It takes some guts to say it;
3. And yet it's a gentle thing to say;
4. It went over big in the convention when you mentioned 'God bless those who choose life'
5. The abortion reference balances out -- and at the same time gives backbone to -- your later references to tolerance and easygoingness.
6. Finally, it adds a compassionate moral equation to the speech. Without condoning teen pregnancies.

You will not get snakebit on this, I promise. If I am wrong I will personally commit hari kari in the reviewing stand, which will be very messy and probably get me in Chuck Conconi's column as an "Inaugural First -- Dead Speechwriter!!"

PS - You must make this decision by the afternoon so Collamore can do the Press Text. ~~Signature~~ X Posen

((VP BACK UP -- REVISED))
1/19/89 -- 10:00am

PROPOSED REMARKS
FOR
PRESIDENT
GEORGE BUSH
INAUGURAL ADDRESS
FRIDAY
JANUARY 20, 1989

MR. CHIEF

JUSTICE, MR.

PRESIDENT, VICE

PRESIDENT QUAYLE,

SENATOR MITCHELL,

SPEAKER WRIGHT,

SENATOR DOLE,

CONGRESSMAN MICHEL,

FELLOW CITIZENS,

NEIGHBORS AND

FRIENDS.

THERE IS A MAN
HERE WHO HAS EARNED
A LASTING PLACE IN
OUR HEARTS -- AND IN
OUR HISTORY.

PRESIDENT REAGAN, ON
BEHALF OF OUR NATION
I THANK YOU FOR THE

WONDERFUL THINGS YOU
HAVE DONE FOR
AMERICA.

I HAVE JUST
REPEATED
WORD-FOR-WORD THE
OATH TAKEN BY GEORGE
WASHINGTON 200 YEARS
AGO; AND THE BIBLE
ON WHICH I PLACED MY
HAND IS THE BIBLE ON
WHICH HE PLACED HIS.

IT IS RIGHT
THAT THE MEMORY OF
WASHINGTON BE WITH
US TODAY, NOT ONLY
BECAUSE THIS IS OUR
BICENTENNIAL
INAUGURATION, BUT
BECAUSE WASHINGTON
REMAINS THE FATHER
OF OUR COUNTRY. HE
WOULD, I THINK, BE
GLADDENED BY THIS
DAY. FOR TODAY IS
THE CONCRETE
EXPRESSION OF A
STUNNING FACT: OUR
CONTINUITY THESE 200

YEARS SINCE OUR
GOVERNMENT BEGAN.

WE MEET ON
DEMOCRACY'S FRONT
PORCH, A GOOD PLACE
TO TALK AS
NEIGHBORS, AND AS
FRIENDS. FOR THIS
IS A DAY WHEN OUR
NATION IS MADE
WHOLE, WHEN OUR
DIFFERENCES ARE, FOR
A MOMENT, SUSPENDED.

MY FIRST ACT AS
PRESIDENT IS A
PRAYER:

'HEAVENLY
FATHER, WE BOW OUR
HEADS AND THANK YOU
FOR YOUR LOVE.
ACCEPT OUR THANKS
FOR THE PEACE THAT
YIELDS THIS DAY AND
THE SHARED FAITH
THAT MAKES ITS
CONTINUANCE LIKELY.
MAKE US STRONG TO DO
YOUR WORK, WILLING
TO HEAR AND HEED

YOUR WILL, AND WRITE
ON OUR HEARTS THESE
WORDS: "USE POWER
TO HELP PEOPLE."
FOR WE ARE GIVEN
POWER NOT TO ADVANCE
OUR OWN PURPOSES,
NOR TO MAKE A GREAT
SHOW IN THE WORLD,
NOR A NAME. THERE
IS BUT ONE JUST USE
OF POWER, AND IT IS
TO SERVE PEOPLE.
HELP US REMEMBER,
LORD, AMEN.'

I COME BEFORE
YOU AND ASSUME THE
PRESIDENCY AT A
MOMENT RICH WITH
PROMISE. WE LIVE IN
A PEACEFUL,
PROSPEROUS TIME, BUT
WE CAN MAKE IT
BETTER.

FOR A NEW
BREEZE IS BLOWING,
AND A WORLD
REFRESHED BY FREEDOM
SEEMS REBORN; FOR IN

MAN'S HEART, IF NOT
IN FACT, THE DAY OF
THE DICTATOR IS
OVER. THE
TOTALITARIAN ERA IS
PASSING, ITS OLD
IDEAS BLOWN AWAY
LIKE LEAVES FROM AN
ANCIENT LIFELESS
TREE.

A NEW BREEZE IS
BLOWING -- AND A
NATION REFRESHED BY
FREEDOM STANDS READY
TO PUSH ON: THERE
IS NEW GROUND TO BE
BROKEN, AND NEW
ACTION TO BE TAKEN.

THERE ARE TIMES
WHEN THE FUTURE
SEEMS THICK AS A
FOG; YOU SIT AND
WAIT, HOPING THE
MISTS WILL LIFT AND
REVEAL THE RIGHT
PATH.

BUT THIS IS A
TIME WHEN THE FUTURE
SEEMS A DOOR YOU CAN

WALK RIGHT THROUGH
-- INTO A ROOM
CALLED TOMORROW.

GREAT NATIONS
OF THE WORLD ARE
MOVING TOWARD
DEMOCRACY -- THROUGH
THE DOOR TO FREEDOM.

MEN AND WOMEN
OF THE WORLD MOVE
TOWARD FREE MARKETS
-- THROUGH THE DOOR
TO PROSPERITY.

THE PEOPLE OF
THE WORLD AGITATE
FOR FREE EXPRESSION
AND FREE THOUGHT --
THROUGH THE DOOR TO
THE MORAL AND
INTELLECTUAL
SATISFACTIONS ONLY
LIBERTY ALLOWS.

WE KNOW WHAT
WORKS: FREEDOM
WORKS. WE KNOW
WHAT'S RIGHT:
FREEDOM IS RIGHT.
WE KNOW HOW TO
SECURE A MORE JUST

AND PROSPEROUS LIFE
FOR MAN ON EARTH:
THROUGH FREE
MARKETS, FREE
SPEECH, FREE
ELECTIONS, AND THE
EXERCISE OF FREE
WILL UNHAMPERED BY
THE STATE.

FOR THE FIRST
TIME IN THIS CENTURY
-- FOR THE FIRST
TIME PERHAPS IN ALL
HISTORY -- MAN DOES
NOT HAVE TO INVENT A
SYSTEM BY WHICH TO
LIVE. WE DON'T HAVE
TO TALK LATE INTO
THE NIGHT ABOUT
WHICH FORM OF
GOVERNMENT IS BETTER
-- WE KNOW WHICH IS
BETTER. WE DON'T
HAVE TO WREST
JUSTICE FROM KINGS
-- WE ONLY HAVE TO
SUMMON IT FROM
WITHIN OURSELVES.

WE MUST ACT ON
WHAT WE KNOW. I
TAKE AS MY GUIDE THE
HOPE OF A SAINT: IN
CRUCIAL THINGS,
UNITY -- IN
IMPORTANT THINGS,
DIVERSITY -- IN ALL
THINGS, GENEROSITY.

AMERICA TODAY
IS A PROUD, FREE
NATION, DECENT AND
CIVIL -- A PLACE WE
CANNOT HELP BUT
LOVE. WE KNOW IN
OUR HEARTS, NOT
LOUDLY AND PROUDLY,
BUT AS A SIMPLE
FACT, THAT THIS
COUNTRY HAS MEANING
BEYOND WHAT WE SEE,
AND THAT OUR
STRENGTH IS A FORCE
FOR GOOD.

BUT HAVE WE
CHANGED AS A NATION
EVEN IN OUR TIME?
ARE WE ENTHRALLED
WITH MATERIAL

THINGS, LESS
APPRECIATIVE OF THE
NOBILITY OF WORK AND
SACRIFICE?

MY FRIENDS, WE
ARE NOT THE SUM OF
OUR POSSESSIONS.
THEY ARE NOT THE
MEASURE OF OUR
LIVES. IN OUR
HEARTS WE KNOW WHAT
MATTERS. WE CANNOT
HOPE ONLY TO LEAVE
OUR CHILDREN A
BIGGER CAR, A BIGGER
BANK ACCOUNT. WE
MUST HOPE TO GIVE
THEM A SENSE OF WHAT
IT MEANS TO BE A
LOYAL FRIEND, A
LOVING FATHER, A
CITIZEN WHO LEAVES
HIS HOME, HIS
NEIGHBORHOOD AND
TOWN BETTER THAN HE
FOUND IT.

WHAT DO WE WANT
THE MEN AND WOMEN
WHO WORK WITH US TO

PARENT

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SAY WHEN WE ARE NO
LONGER THERE? THAT
WE WERE MORE DRIVEN
TO SUCCEED THAN
ANYONE AROUND US?
OR THAT WE STOPPED
TO ASK IF A SICK
CHILD HAD GOTTEN
BETTER AND STAYED A
MOMENT TO TRADE A
WORD OF FRIENDSHIP.

NO PRESIDENT,
NO GOVERNMENT, CAN
TEACH US TO REMEMBER
WHAT IS BEST IN WHAT
WE ARE. BUT IF THE
MAN YOU HAVE CHOSEN
TO LEAD THIS
GOVERNMENT CAN HELP
TO MAKE A
DIFFERENCE; IF HE
CAN CELEBRATE THE
QUIETER, DEEPER
SUCCESES THAT ARE
MADE NOT OF GOLD AND
SILK, BUT OF BETTER
HEARTS AND FINER
SOULS; IF HE CAN DO

THESE THINGS, THEN
HE MUST.



AMERICA IS
NEVER WHOLLY HERSELF
UNLESS SHE IS
ENGAGED IN HIGH
MORAL PURPOSE. WE
AS A PEOPLE HAVE
SUCH A PURPOSE
TODAY. IT IS TO
MAKE KINDER THE
FACET OF THE NATION
AND GENTLER THE
FACET OF THE WORLD.

MY FRIENDS, WE
HAVE WORK TO DO.
THERE ARE THE
HOMELESS, LOST AND
ROAMING, -- THERE
ARE CHILDREN WHO
HAVE NOTHING, NO
LOVE AND NO NORMALCY
-- THERE ARE THOSE
WHO CANNOT FREE
THEMSELVES OF
ENSLAVEMENT TO
WHATEVER ADDICTION
-- DRUGS, WELFARE,
THE DEMORALIZATION

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THAT RULES THE
SLUMS, THERE IS
CRIME TO BE
CONQUERED, THE ROUGH
CRIME OF THE STREETS
-- AND CHILDREN TO
BE SHELTERED WHO ARE
THEMSELVES BEARING
CHILDREN THEY CANNOT
CARE FOR; BUT BLESS
THEM FOR CHOOSING
LIFE.

THE OLD
SOLUTION, THE OLD
WAY, WAS TO THINK
THAT PUBLIC MONEY
ALONE COULD END
THESE PROBLEMS. BUT
WE HAVE LEARNED THAT
IS NOT SO. AND IN
ANY CASE, OUR FUNDS
ARE LOW. WE HAVE A
DEFICIT TO BRING
DOWN. WE HAVE MORE
WILL THAN WALLET;
BUT WILL IS WHAT WE
NEED.

WE WILL MAKE
THE HARD CHOICES,

and teenagers
to be helped and
educated so they will
not bear children
they cannot care
for and might not
love -- though I
bless them for
choosing love.

LOOKING AT WHAT WE
HAVE AND PERHAPS
ALLOCATING IT
DIFFERENTLY, MAKING
OUR DECISIONS BASED
ON HONEST NEED AND
PRUDENT SAFETY.

AND THEN WE
WILL DO THE WISEST
THING OF ALL: WE
WILL TURN TO THE
ONLY RESOURCE WE
HAVE THAT IN TIMES
OF NEED ALWAYS
GROWS: THE GOODNESS
AND COURAGE OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE.

I AM SPEAKING
OF A NEW ENGAGEMENT
IN THE LIVES OF
OTHERS -- A NEW
ACTIVISM, HANDS-ON
AND INVOLVED, THAT
GETS THE JOB DONE.
WE MUST BRING IN THE
GENERATIONS,
HARNESSING THE
UNUSED TALENT OF THE
ELDERLY AND THE

UNFOCUSED ENERGY OF
THE YOUNG. FOR NOT
ONLY LEADERSHIP IS
PASSED FROM
GENERATION TO
GENERATION, BUT SO
IS STEWARDSHIP. AND
THE GENERATION BORN
AFTER THE SECOND
WORLD WAR HAS COME
OF AGE.

I HAVE SPOKEN
OF A THOUSAND POINTS
OF LIGHT -- OF ALL
THE COMMUNITY
ORGANIZATIONS THAT
ARE SPREAD LIKE
STARS THROUGHOUT THE
NATION, DOING GOOD.

WE WILL WORK
HAND IN HAND,
ENCOURAGING,
SOMETIMES LEADING,
SOMETIMES BEING LED,
REWARDING. WE WILL
WORK ON THIS IN THE
WHITE HOUSE, IN THE
CABINET AGENCIES. I
WILL GO TO THE

PEOPLE AND PROGRAMS
THAT ARE THE
BRIGHTER POINTS OF
LIGHT, AND I WILL
ASK EVERY MEMBER OF
MY GOVERNMENT TO
BECOME INVOLVED.

THE OLD IDEAS
ARE NEW AGAIN
BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT
OLD, THEY'RE
TIMELESS: DUTY,
SACRIFICE,
COMMITMENT, AND A
PATRIOTISM THAT
FINDS ITS EXPRESSION
IN TAKING PART AND
PITCHING IN.

WE NEED A NEW
ENGAGEMENT, TOO,
BETWEEN THE
EXECUTIVE AND THE
CONGRESS.

THE CHALLENGES
BEFORE US WILL BE
THRASHED OUT WITH
THE HOUSE AND
SENATE. WE MUST
BRING THE FEDERAL

BUDGET INTO BALANCE.
WE MUST ENSURE THAT
AMERICA STANDS
BEFORE THE WORLD
UNITED: STRONG, AT
PEACE, AND FISCALLY
SOUND. BUT THINGS
MAY BE DIFFICULT.

WE NEED
COMPROMISE; WE HAVE
HAD DISSENSION. WE
NEED HARMONY; WE
HAVE HAD A CHORUS OF
DISCORDANT VOICES.

FOR CONGRESS,
TOO, HAS CHANGED IN
OUR TIME. THERE HAS
GROWN A CERTAIN
DIVISIVENESS. WE
HAVE SEEN THE HARD
LOOKS AND HEARD THE
STATEMENTS IN WHICH
NOT EACH OTHER'S
IDEAS ARE
CHALLENGED, BUT EACH
OTHER'S MOTIVES.
OUR GREAT PARTIES
HAVE TOO OFTEN BEEN
FAR APART AND

UNTRUSTING OF EACH
OTHER.

IT HAS BEEN
THIS WAY SINCE
VIETNAM. THAT WAR
CLEAVES US STILL.
BUT, FRIENDS, THAT
WAR BEGAN IN EARNEST
A QUARTER CENTURY
AGO; AND SURELY THE
STATUTE OF
LIMITATIONS HAS BEEN
REACHED. THIS IS A
FACT: THE FINAL
LESSON OF VIETNAM IS
THAT NO GREAT NATION
CAN LONG AFFORD TO
BE SUNDERED BY A
MEMORY.

A NEW BREEZE IS
BLOWING -- AND THE
OLD BIPARTISANSHIP
MUST BE MADE NEW
AGAIN.

TO MY FRIENDS
-- AND YES, I MEAN
FRIENDS -- IN THE
LOYAL OPPOSITION --
AND YES, I MEAN

LOYAL: I PUT OUT MY
HAND.

I AM PUTTING
OUT MY HAND TO YOU,
MR. SPEAKER.

I AM PUTTING
OUT MY HAND TO YOU,
MR. MAJORITY LEADER.

FOR THIS IS THE
THING: THIS IS THE
AGE OF THE OFFERED
HAND.

WE CAN'T TURN
BACK CLOCKS, AND I
DON'T WANT TO. BUT
WHEN OUR FATHERS
WERE YOUNG, MR.
SPEAKER, OUR
DIFFERENCES ENDED AT
THE WATER'S EDGE.
WE DON'T WISH TO
TURN BACK TIME, BUT
WHEN OUR MOTHERS
WERE YOUNG, MR.
MAJORITY LEADER, THE
CONGRESS AND THE
EXECUTIVE WERE
CAPABLE OF WORKING
TOGETHER TO PRODUCE

A BUDGET ON WHICH
THE NATION COULD
LIVE. LET US
NEGOTIATE SOON --
AND HARD. BUT IN
THE END, LET US
PRODUCE.

THE PEOPLE
AWAIT ACTION. THEY
DID NOT SEND US HERE
TO BICKER. THEY ASK
US TO RISE ABOVE THE
MERELY PARTISAN.

'IN CRUCIAL THINGS,
UNITY' -- AND THIS,
MY FRIENDS, IS
CRUCIAL.

TO THE WORLD,
TOO, WE OFFER NEW
ENGAGEMENT AND A
RENEWED VOW: WE
WILL STAY STRONG TO
PROTECT THE PEACE.
THE 'OFFERED HAND'
IS A RELUCTANT FIST;
BUT THE FIST, ONCE
MADE, IS STRONG AND
CAN BE USED WITH
GREAT EFFECT.

THERE ARE TODAY
AMERICANS WHO ARE
HELD AGAINST THEIR
WILL IN FOREIGN
LANDS, AND AMERICANS
WHO ARE UNACCOUNTED
FOR. ASSISTANCE CAN
BE SHOWN HERE, AND
WILL BE LONG
REMEMBERED. GOOD
WILL BEGETS GOOD
WILL. GOOD FAITH
CAN BE A SPIRAL THAT
ENDLESSLY MOVES ON.

"GREAT NATIONS
LIKE GREAT MEN MUST
KEEP THEIR WORD."
WHEN AMERICA SAYS
SOMETHING, AMERICA
MEANS IT, WHETHER A
TREATY OR AN
AGREEMENT OR A VOW
MADE ON MARBLE
STEPS. WE WILL
ALWAYS TRY TO SPEAK
CLEARLY, FOR CANDOR
IS A COMPLIMENT,
BUT DELICACY, TOO,

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IS GOOD AND HAS ITS
PLACE.

WHILE KEEPING
OUR ALLIANCES AND
FRIENDSHIPS STRONG,
EVER STRONG, WE WILL
CONTINUE THE NEW
CLOSENESS WITH THE
SOVIET UNION,
CONSISTENT BOTH WITH
OUR SECURITY AND
WITH PROGRESS. ONE
MIGHT SAY THAT OUR
NEW RELATIONSHIP IN
PART REFLECTS THE
TRIUMPH OF HOPE AND
STRENGTH OVER
EXPERIENCE, BUT
HOPE IS GOOD, AND
SO IS STRENGTH, AND
VIGILANCE.

HERE TODAY ARE
TENS OF THOUSANDS OF
OUR CITIZENS WHO
FEEL THE
UNDERSTANDABLE
SATISFACTION OF
THOSE WHO HAVE TAKEN
PART IN DEMOCRACY

AND SEEN THEIR HOPES
FULFILLED.

BUT MY THOUGHTS
HAVE BEEN TURNING
THE PAST FEW DAYS TO
THOSE WHO WOULD BE
WATCHING AT HOME --

TO AN OLDER
FELLOW WHO'LL THROW
A SALUTE BY HIMSELF
WHEN THE FLAG GOES
BY, AND THE WOMAN
WHO'LL TELL HER SONS
THE WORDS OF THE
BATTLE HYMNS. I DO
NOT MEAN THIS TO BE
SENTIMENTAL. I MEAN
THAT ON DAYS LIKE
THIS, WE REMEMBER
THAT WE ARE ALL PART
OF A CONTINUUM,
INESCAPABLY
CONNECTED BY TIES
THAT BIND --

OUR CHILDREN
ARE WATCHING IN
SCHOOLS THROUGHOUT
OUR NATION. AND TO
THEM I SAY, THANK

YOU FOR WATCHING
DEMOCRACY'S BIG DAY.
FOR DEMOCRACY
BELONGS TO ALL OF
US, AND FREEDOM IS
LIKE A BEAUTIFUL
KITE THAT CAN GO
HIGHER AND HIGHER
WITH THE BREEZE...

AND TO ALL I
SAY: NO MATTER WHAT
YOUR CIRCUMSTANCES
OR WHERE YOU ARE,
YOU ARE PART OF THIS
DAY, YOU ARE PART OF
THE LIFE OF THE
NATION,

A PRESIDENT IS
NEITHER PRINCE NOR
POPE, AND I DO NOT
SEEK 'A WINDOW ON
MEN'S SOULS.' IN
FACT, I YEARN FOR A
GREATER TOLERANCE,
AN EASY-GOINGNESS
ABOUT EACH OTHER'S
ATTITUDES AND WAY OF
LIFE.

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THERE ARE FEW
CLEAR AREAS IN WHICH
WE AS A SOCIETY MUST
RISE UP UNITED AND
EXPRESS OUR
INTOLERANCE. THE
MOST OBVIOUS NOW IS
DRUGS. WHEN THE
FIRST COCAINE WAS
SMUGGLED IN ON A
SHIP, IT MAY AS WELL
HAVE BEEN A DEADLY
BACTERIA, SO MUCH
HAS IT HURT THE BODY
OF THIS COUNTRY.
THERE IS MUCH TO BE
DONE AND TO BE SAID,
BUT TAKE MY WORD:
THIS SCOURGE WILL
STOP.

AND SO, THERE
IS MUCH TO DO; AND
TOMORROW THE WORK
BEGINS.

I DO NOT
MISTRUST THE FUTURE;
I DO NOT FEAR WHAT
IS AHEAD. FOR OUR
PROBLEMS ARE LARGE,

BUT OUR HEART IS
LARGER. OUR
CHALLENGES ARE
GREAT, BUT OUR WILL
IS GREATER. AND IF
OUR FLAWS ARE
ENDLESS, GOD'S LOVE
IS TRULY BOUNDLESS.

SOME SEE
LEADERSHIP AS HIGH
DRAMA, AND THE SOUND
OF TRUMPETS CALLING.
AND SOMETIMES IT IS
THAT, BUT I SEE
HISTORY AS A BOOK
WITH MANY PAGES --
AND EACH DAY WE FILL
A PAGE WITH ACTS OF
HOPEFULNESS AND
MEANING.

THE NEW BREEZE
BLOWS, A PAGE TURNS,
THE STORY UNFOLDS --
AND SO TODAY, A
CHAPTER BEGINS: A
SMALL AND STATELY
STORY OF UNITY,
DIVERSITY, AND
GENEROSITY --

SHARED, AND WRITTEN,
TOGETHER.

THANK YOU.

GOD BLESS YOU.

GOD BLESS AMERICA.

####

change rate of speed
at times.

take full pauses
at times.

Control of
time and space.

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start briskly.
walk slowly
attitude - President
speak the ideas
gestures strong graceful
make it sound
important.

forget time.
You are the President.
Let others worry about
time.

In all things take as
much time as you need.

PRAYER INSERT

'HEAVENLY FATHER, WE BOW OUR HEADS AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR LOVE. ACCEPT OUR THANKS FOR THE PEACE THAT YIELDS THIS DAY AND THE SHARED FAITH THAT MAKES ITS CONTINUANCE LIKELY. MAKE US STRONG TO DO YOUR WORK, WILLING TO HEAR AND HEED YOUR WILL, AND WRITE ON OUR HEARTS THESE WORDS: "USE POWER TO HELP PEOPLE." FOR WE ARE GIVEN POWER NOT TO ADVANCE OUR OWN PURPOSES, NOR TO MAKE A GREAT SHOW IN THE WORLD, NOR A NAME. THERE IS BUT ONE JUST USE OF POWER, AND IT IS TO SERVE PEOPLE. HELP US REMEMBER, LORD. AMEN.'

'HEAVENLY

FATHER, WE BOW OUR
HEADS AND THANK YOU
FOR YOUR LOVE,
ACCEPT OUR THANKS
FOR THE PEACE THAT
YIELDS THIS DAY AND
THE SHARED FAITH
THAT MAKES ITS
CONTINUANCE LIKELY,
MAKE US STRONG TO DO
YOUR WORK, WILLING
TO HEAR AND HEED
YOUR WILL, AND WRITE
ON OUR HEARTS THESE
WORDS: "USE POWER
TO HELP PEOPLE."
FOR WE ARE GIVEN
POWER NOT TO ADVANCE
OUR OWN PURPOSES,
NOR TO MAKE A GREAT
SHOW IN THE WORLD,
NOR A NAME. THERE
IS BUT ONE JUST USE
OF POWER, AND IT IS
TO SERVE PEOPLE.
HELP US REMEMBER,
LORD. AMEN.'

SHARED, AND WRITTEN, _____
TOGETHER.

THANK YOU.

GOD BLESS YOU.

GOD BLESS AMERICA.

####

Caitlin

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Draft V.P.
3

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michael, fellow citizens, neighbors and friends:

President Reagan, on behalf of our nation I thank you for the wonderful things you have done for America. You have truly earned a lasting place in our hearts.

I have just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago; and the bible on which I placed my hand is the bible on which he placed his.

It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the father of our country. He would, I think, be gladdened by this day. For today is the concrete expression of a stunning fact: Our continuity these 200 years since our government began.

We meet on 'democracy's front porch'. A good place to talk as neighbors, and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences are, for a moment, suspended. It is also a day for declarations equal to the moment; but my hope is to simply take the stillness and talk as we have in a million unrecorded meetings.

My first act as President is a prayer:

✕
'Heavenly Father, we bow our heads and thank you for your love. Accept our thanks for the peace that yields this day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. Make us strong to do your work, willing to hear and heed your

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will, and write on our hearts these words: 'Use power to help people'. For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power and it is to serve people. Help us remember, Lord; write it on our hearts. Amen.'

I come before you and assume the presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better --

For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient lifeless tree;

A new breeze is blowing -- and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on: there is new ground to be broken. A new breeze is blowing and it asks for new action, new thinking, and a new engagement in the lives of others.

There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.

But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through, into a room called Tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy -- through the door to freedom;

Men and women of the world move toward free markets -- through the door to prosperity;

The people of the world agitate for free expression and

free thought -- through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions only liberty allows.

We know what works: freedom works. We know what's right: freedom is right. We know how to secure a more just and prosperous life for man on earth: through free markets, free speech, free elections, and the exercise of free will unhampered by the state.

We are fortunate. For the first time in this century -- for the first time perhaps in all history -- man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better -- we know which is better. We don't have to wrest justice from kings -- we only have to summon it from within ourselves.

We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the words of a saint: 'In crucial things, unity -- in important things, diversity -- in all things, generosity.'

Augustine

America today is a proud free nation, rich in technology, gifted in science and art. A good nation, decent and civil -- a place we cannot help but love. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good.

But have we changed as a nation, even in our time? Are we more enthralled with material things, less appreciative of the nobility of work, and sacrifice?

Fanny

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They

are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving father, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.

What do we want the men and women who work with us to say of us when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment to trade a word or two of friendship.

family
No President, no government, can teach us to remember what is best in what we are. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help to make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper successes that are made not of gold and silk but of better hearts and finer souls; if he can do these things, then he must.

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral purpose. We, as a people, have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the nation and gentler the face of the world.

My friends, we have work to do. There are homeless people, lost and roaming, who need our guidance and support. Many are not able to care for themselves; they sleep on the grates in the winter. Civil libertarians say that now they have their liberty. But that is not freedom restored, it is responsibility ignored. There are children in the cities and

elsewhere who have nothing, no love and no normalcy. There are men and women who cannot take a healthy part in our society because they cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction -- drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums.

We must reach into the heart of the horror and help the permanent poor. We must summon this nation's energy, talent and will to push back that forgotten frontier.

The old solution, the old way was to ^{think that} ~~use~~ public money ^{about} ~~to~~ ^{could} end poverty; but we have learned that does not work. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet; but will is what we need.

We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety.

And then we will do the wisest thing of all: We will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and courage of the American people.

I am speaking of a new engagement in the lives of others -- a new activism, ~~a muscular altruism~~, hands on and involved, that gets the job done. We must bring in the generations, harnessing the unused talent of the elderly and the unfocused energy of the young; for not only leadership is passed on from generation to generation, but so is stewardship. And the generation born after the second world

war has come of age.

I have spoken of a thousand points of light -- of the thousand and tens of thousands of local, community, fraternal and religious organizations that are spread like stars throughout our country, doing good.

My administration will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and programs that are the brighter points of light, and I will ask every member of my government to become involved.

The 'old ideas' are new again because they are not old but timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.

We need a new engagement too between the Executive and Congress.

The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and Senate. We must bring the federal budget into balance. We must ensure that America stands before the world united: strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But things will be difficult.

We need compromise; we have had dissension. We need harmony; we have had a chorus of discordant voices.

For Congress too has changed in our time. There has grown a divisiveness ^{here} ~~there~~. We have seen the withering looks and heard the statements in which not eachother's ideas are challenged but eachother's motives. Our great parties have

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too often been far apart and untrusting of each other.

It has been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter century ago; and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: the final lesson of Vietnam is that a great nation cannot long afford to be sundered by a memory.

A new breeze is blowing -- and the old bipartisanship must be made new again.

To my friends -- and yes, I mean friends -- in the loyal opposition -- and yes, I mean loyal: I put out my hand.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker.

I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader.

For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered hand.

We can't turn back clocks; and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. We don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which the nation could live. Let us negotiate soon -- and hard. But in the end, let us produce!

The people await action. They did not send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan.

In the past we have shared blame. Now let us rightly share credit. 'In crucial things, unity' -- and this, my friends, is crucial.

To the world too we offer new engagement, and a renewed

Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair.

On the basis of these four major courses of action we hope to help create the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind.

If we are to be successful in carrying out these policies, it is clear that we must have continued prosperity in this country and we must keep ourselves strong.

Slowly but surely we are weaving a world fabric of international security and growing prosperity.

We are aided by all who wish to live in freedom from fear—even by those who live today in fear under their own governments.

We are aided by all who want relief from the lies of propaganda—who desire truth and sincerity.

We are aided by all who desire self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs.

We are aided by all who long for economic security—for the security and abundance that men in free societies can enjoy.

We are aided by all who desire freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom to live their own lives for useful ends.

Our allies are the millions who hunger and thirst after righteousness.

In due time, as our stability becomes manifest, as more and more nations come to know the benefits of democracy and to participate in growing abundance, I believe that those countries which now oppose us will abandon their delusions and join with the free nations of the world in a just settlement of international differences.

Events have brought our American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities. They will test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty.

But I say to all men, what we have achieved in liberty, we will surpass in greater liberty.

Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is secure.

To that end we will devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve. With God's help, the future of mankind will be assured in a world of justice, harmony, and peace.



Dwight D. Eisenhower

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1953

My friends, before I begin the expression of those thoughts that I deem appropriate to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And I ask that you bow your heads.

Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the executive branch of government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere.

Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of this land. Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race, or calling.

May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, hold to differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and Thy glory. Amen.

My fellow citizens:

The world and we have passed the midway point of a century of continuing challenge. We sense with all our faculties that forces of

good and evil are massed and armed and opposed as rarely before in history.

This fact defines the meaning of this day. We are summoned by this honored and historic ceremony to witness more than the act of one citizen swearing his oath of service, in the presence of God. We are called as a people to give testimony in the sight of the world to our faith that the future shall belong to the free.

Since this century's beginning, a time of tempest has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth. Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past. Great nations of Europe have fought their bloodiest wars. Thrones have toppled and their vast empires, have disappeared. New nations have been born.

For our own country, it has been a time of recurring trial. We have grown in power and in responsibility. We have passed through the anxieties of depression and of war to a summit unmatched in man's history. Seeking to secure peace in the world, we have had to fight, through the forests of the Argonne, to the shores of Iwo Jima, and to the cold mountains of Korea.

In the swift rush of great events, we find ourselves groping to know the full sense and meaning of these times in which we live. In our quest of understanding, we beseech God's guidance. We summon all our knowledge of the past and we scan all signs of the future. We bring all our wit and all our will to meet the question:

How far have we come in man's long pilgrimage from darkness toward light? Are we nearing the light—a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us?

Great as are the preoccupations absorbing us at home, concerned as we are with matters that deeply affect our livelihood today and our vision of the future, each of these domestic problems is dwarfed by, and often even created by, this question that involves all human kind.

This trial comes at a moment when man's power to achieve good or to inflict evil surpasses the brightest hopes and the sharpest fears of all ages. We can turn rivers in their courses, level mountains to the plains. Oceans and land and sky are avenues for our colossal commerce. Disease diminishes and life lengthens.

Yet the promise of this life is imperiled by the very genius that has made it possible. Nations amass wealth. Labor sweats to create—and turns out devices to level not only mountains but also cities. Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet.

At such a time in history, we who are free must proclaim anew our faith.

This faith is the abiding creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the deathless dignity of man, governed by eternal moral and natural laws.

This faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, beyond debate, those gifts of the Creator that are man's inalienable rights, and that make all men equal in His sight.

In the light of this equality, we know that the virtues most cherished by free people—love of truth, pride of work, devotion to country—all are treasures equally precious in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted. The men who mine coal and fire furnaces and balance ledgers and turn lathes and pick cotton and heal the sick and plant corn—all serve as proudly, and as profitably, for America as the statesmen who draft treaties and the legislators who enact laws.

This faith rules our whole way of life. It decrees that we, the people, elect leaders not to rule but to serve. It asserts that we have the right to choice of our own work and to the reward of our own toil. It inspires the initiative that makes our productivity the wonder of the world. And it warns that any man who seeks to deny equality among all his brothers betrays the spirit of the free and invites the mockery of the tyrant.

It is because we, all of us, hold to these principles that the political changes accomplished this day do not imply turbulence, upheaval or disorder. Rather this change expresses a purpose of strengthening our dedication and devotion to the precepts of our founding documents, a conscious renewal of faith in our country and in the watchfulness of a Divine Providence.

The enemies of this faith know no god but force, no devotion but its use. They tutor men in treason. They feed upon the hunger of others. Whatever defies them, they torture, especially the truth.

Here, then, is joined no argument between slightly differing philosophies. This conflict strikes directly at the faith of our fathers and the lives of our sons. No principle or treasure that we hold, from the spiritual knowledge of our free schools and churches to the creative magic of free labor and capital, nothing lies safely beyond the reach of this struggle.

Freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark.

The faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the free of all the world. This common bond binds the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes. It confers a common dignity upon the French soldier who dies in Indo-China, the British soldier killed in Malaya, the American life given in Korea.

We know, beyond this, that we are linked to all free peoples not merely by a noble idea but by a simple need. No free people can for long cling to any privilege or enjoy any safety in economic solitude. For all our own material might, even we need markets in the world for the surpluses of our farms and our factories. Equally, we need for these same farms and factories vital materials and products of distant lands. This basic

law of interdependence, so manifest in the commerce of peace, applies with thousand-fold intensity in the event of war.

So we are persuaded by necessity and by belief that the strength of all free peoples lies in unity; their danger, in discord.

To produce this unity, to meet the challenge of our time, destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership.

So it is proper that we assure our friends once again that, in the discharge of this responsibility, we Americans know and we observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughtfully calculated goal and spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies.

We wish our friends the world over to know this above all: we face the threat—not with dread and confusion—but with confidence and conviction.

We feel this moral strength because we know that we are not helpless prisoners of history. We are free men. We shall remain free, never to be proven guilty of the one capital offense against freedom, a lack of staunch faith.

In pleading our just cause before the bar of history and in pressing our labor for world peace, we shall be guided by certain fixed principles.

These principles are:

(1) Abhorring war as a chosen way to balk the purposes of those who threaten us, we hold it to be the first task of statesmanship to develop the strength that will deter the forces of aggression and promote the conditions of peace. For, as it must be the supreme purpose of all free men, so it must be the dedication of their leaders, to save humanity from preying upon itself.

In the light of this principle, we stand ready to engage with any and all others in joint effort to remove the causes of mutual fear and distrust among nations, so as to make possible drastic reduction of armaments. The sole requisites for undertaking such effort are that—in their purpose—they be aimed logically and honestly toward secure peace for all; and that—in their result—they provide methods by which every participating nation will prove good faith in carrying out its pledge.

(2) Realizing that common sense and common decency alike dictate the futility of appeasement, we shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of trading honor for security. Americans, indeed all free men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains.

(3) Knowing that only a United States that is strong and immensely productive can help defend freedom in our world, we view our Nation's strength and security as a trust upon which rests the hope of free men everywhere. It is the firm duty of each of our free citizens and of every

free citizen everywhere to place the cause of his country before the comfort, the convenience of himself.

(4) Honoring the identity and the special heritage of each nation in the world, we shall never use our strength to try to impress upon another people our own cherished political and economic institutions.

(5) Assessing realistically the needs and capacities of proven friends of freedom, we shall strive to help them to achieve their own security and well-being. Likewise, we shall count upon them to assume, within the limits of their resources, their full and just burdens in the common defense of freedom.

(6) Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace, we shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade. For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples.

(7) Appreciating that economic need, military security and political wisdom combine to suggest regional groupings of free peoples, we hope, within the framework of the United Nations, to help strengthen such special bonds the world over. The nature of these ties must vary with the different problems of different areas.

In the Western Hemisphere, we enthusiastically join with all our neighbors in the work of perfecting a community of fraternal trust and common purpose.

In Europe, we ask that enlightened and inspired leaders of the Western nations strive with renewed vigor to make the unity of their peoples a reality. Only as free Europe unitedly marshals its strength can it effectively safeguard, even with our help, its spiritual and cultural heritage.

(8) Conceiving the defense of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and indivisible, we hold all continents and peoples in equal regard and honor. We reject any insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable.

(9) Respecting the United Nations as the living sign of all people's hope for peace, we shall strive to make it not merely an eloquent symbol but an effective force. And in our quest for an honorable peace, we shall neither compromise, nor tire, nor ever cease.

By these rules of conduct, we hope to be known to all peoples.

By their observance, an earth of peace may become not a vision but a fact.

This hope—this supreme aspiration—must rule the way we live.

We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose.

We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both.

These basic precepts are not lofty abstractions, far removed from matters of daily living. They are laws of spiritual strength that generate and define our material strength. Patriotism means equipped, forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy, and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible—from the sanctity of our families and the wealth of our soil to the genius of our scientists.

And so each citizen plays an indispensable role. The productivity of our heads, our hands, and our hearts is the source of all the strength we can command, for both the enrichment of our lives and the winning of the peace.

No person, no home, no community can be beyond the reach of this call. We are summoned to act in wisdom and in conscience, to work with industry, to teach with persuasion, to preach with conviction, to weigh our every deed with care and with compassion. For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America.

The peace we seek, then, is nothing less than the practice and fulfillment of our whole faith among ourselves and in our dealings with others. This signifies more than the stilling of guns, easing the sorrow of war. More than escape from death, it is a way of life. More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave.

This is the hope that beckons us onward in this century of trial. This is the work that awaits us all, to be done with bravery, with charity, and with prayer to Almighty God.

SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 21, 1957

The Price of Peace

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Speaker, members of my family and friends, my countrymen, and the friends of my country, wherever they may be, we meet again, as upon a like moment 4 years ago, and again you have witnessed my solemn oath of service to you.

I, too, am a witness, today testifying in your name to the principles and purposes to which we, as a people, are pledged.

Before all else, we seek, upon our common labor as a nation, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people.

May we pursue the right without self-righteousness.

May we know unity without conformity.

May we grow in strength without pride in self.

May we, in our dealings with all peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice.

And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.

We live in a land of plenty, but rarely has this earth known such peril as today.

In our Nation work and wealth abound. Our population grows. Commerce crowds our rivers and rails, our skies, harbors, and highways. Our soil is fertile, our agriculture productive. The air rings with the song of our industry—rolling mills and blast furnaces, dynamos, dams, and assembly lines—the chorus of America the bountiful.

This is our home—yet this is not the whole of our world. For our world is where our full destiny lies—with men, of all people, and all nations, who are or would be free. And for them—and so for us—this is no time of ease or of rest.

In too much of the earth there is want, discord, danger. New forces and new nations stir and strive across the earth, with power to bring, by their fate, great good or great evil to the free world's future. From the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific one-third

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APPENDIX

of all mankind has entered upon a historic struggle for a new freedom; freedom from grinding poverty. Across all continents, nearly a billion people seek, sometimes almost in desperation, for the skills and knowledge and assistance by which they may satisfy from their own resources, the material wants common to all mankind.

No nation, however old or great, escapes this tempest of change and turmoil. Some, impoverished by the recent World War, seek to restore their means of livelihood. In the heart of Europe, Germany still stands tragically divided. So is the whole Continent divided. And so, too, is all the world.

The divisive force is international communism and the power that it controls.

The designs of that power, dark in purpose, are clear in practice. It strives to seal forever the fate of those it has enslaved. It strives to break the ties that unite the free. And it strives to capture—to exploit for its own greater power—all forces of change in the world, especially the needs of the hungry and the hopes of the oppressed.

Yet the world of international communism has itself been shaken by a fierce and mighty force: the readiness of men who love freedom to pledge their lives to that love. Through the night of their bondage, the unconquerable will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning. Budapest is no longer merely the name of a city; henceforth it is a new and shining symbol of man's yearning to be free. [Applause.]

Thus across all the globe there harshly blow the winds of change. And, we—though fortunate be our lot—know that we can never turn our back to them.

We look upon this shaken earth, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose—the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails.

The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. To proclaim it is easy. To serve it will be hard. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning—and ready to pay its full price:

We know clearly what we seek, and why.

We seek peace, knowing that peace is the climate of freedom. And now, as in no other age, we seek it because we have been warned, by the power of modern weapons, that peace may be the only climate possible for human life itself.

Yet this peace we seek cannot be born of fear alone: it must be rooted in the lives of nations. There must be justice, sensed and shared by all peoples, for, without justice the world can know only a tense and unstable truce. There must be law, steadily invoked and respected by all nations, for without law, the world promises only such meager justice as the pity of the strong upon the weak. But the law,

of which we speak, comprehending the values of freedom, affirms the equality of all nations, great and small.

Splendid as can be the blessings of such a peace, high will be its cost, in toil patiently sustained, in help honorably given, in sacrifice calmly borne.

We are called to meet the price of this peace.

To counter the threat of those who seek to rule by force, we must pay the costs of our own needed military strength, and help to build the security of others.

We must use our skills and knowledge and, at times, our substance, to help others rise from misery, however far the scene of suffering may be from our shores. For wherever in the world a people knows desperate want, there must appear at least the spark of hope, the hope of progress—or there will surely rise at last the flames of conflict.

We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. We are accordingly pledged to honor, and to strive to fortify, the authority of the United Nations. For in that body rests the best hope of our age for the assertion of that law by which all nations may live in dignity.

And, beyond this general resolve, we are called to act a responsible role in the world's great concerns or conflicts—whether they touch upon the affairs of a vast region, the fate of an island in the Pacific, or the use of a canal in the Middle East. Only in respecting the hopes and cultures of others will we practice the equality of all nations. Only as we show willingness and wisdom in giving counsel, in receiving counsel, and in sharing burdens, will we wisely perform the work of peace.

For one truth must rule all we think and all we do. No people can live to itself alone. The unity of all who dwell in freedom is their only sure defense. The economic need of all nations—in mutual dependence—makes isolation an impossibility; not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not prosper. No nation can longer be a fortress, lone and strong and safe. And any people, seeking such shelter for themselves, can now build only their own prison.

Our pledge to these principles is constant, because we believe in their rightness.

We do not fear this world of change. America is no stranger to much of its spirit. Everywhere we see the seeds of the same growth that America itself has known. The American experiment has, for generations, fired the passion and the courage of millions elsewhere seeking freedom, equality, and opportunity. And the American story of material progress has helped excite the longing of all needy peoples for some satisfaction of their human wants. These hopes that we have helped to inspire, we can help to fulfill.

In this confidence, we speak plainly to all peoples.

We cherish our friendship with all nations that are or would be free. We respect, no less, their independence. And when, in time of want or peril, they ask our help, they may honorably receive it; for we no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own. Sovereignty is never bartered among freemen.

We honor the aspirations of those nations which, now captive, long for freedom. We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society. And they can know the warmth of the welcome that awaits them when, as must be, they join again the ranks of freedom.

We honor, no less in this divided world than in a less tormented time, the people of Russia. We do not dread, rather do we welcome, their progress in education and industry. We wish them success in their demands for more intellectual freedom, greater security before their own laws, fuller enjoyment of the rewards of their own toil. For as such things come to pass, the more certain will be the coming of that day when our peoples may freely meet in friendship.

So we voice our hope and our belief that we can help to heal this divided world. Thus may the nations cease to live in trembling before the menace of force. Thus may the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind.

This, nothing less, is the labor to which we are called and our strength dedicated.

And so the prayer of our people carries far beyond our own frontiers, to the wide world of our duty and our destiny.

May the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly—until at last the darkness is no more.

May the turbulence of our age yield to a true time of peace, when men and nations shall share a life that honors the dignity of each, the brotherhood of all.



John F. Kennedy

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1961

Mr. Chief Justice, President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, President Truman, reverend clergy, fellow citizens, we observe today not a victory of party, but a celebration of freedom—symbolizing an end, as well as a beginning—signifying renewal, as well as change. For I have sworn before you and Almighty God the same solemn oath our forebears prescribed nearly a century and three quarters ago.

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world.

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

This much we pledge—and more.

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder.

To those new States whom we welcome to the ranks of the free, we pledge our words that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far greater iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside.

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek their votes, but because it is right. If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds, in a new alliance for progress, to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty. But this peaceful revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers. Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas. And let every other power know that this hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house.

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run.

Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction.

We dare not tempt them with weakness. For only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed.

But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom,

yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war.

So let us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. *Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.*

Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of laboring those problems which divide us.

Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations.

Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce.

Let both sides unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah—to “undo the heavy burdens and to let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, let both sides join in creating a new endeavor, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved.

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty. The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe.

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are; but a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle, year in, and year out, “rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation”—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.

And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country.

My fellow citizens of the world: Ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessing and His help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own.



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Lyndon Baines Johnson

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1965

My fellow countrymen, on this occasion, the oath I have taken before you and before God is not mine alone, but ours together. We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen, but upon all citizens.

This is the majesty and the meaning of this moment.

For every generation, there is a destiny. For some, history decides. For this generation, the choice must be our own.

Even now, a rocket moves toward Mars. It reminds us that the world will not be the same for our children, or even for ourselves, in a short span of years. The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because ours is a time of change—rapid and fantastic change—baring the secrets of nature, multiplying the nations, placing in uncertain hands new weapons for mastery and destruction, shaking old values, and uprooting old ways.

Our destiny in the midst of change will rest on the unchanged character of our people, and on their faith.

They came here—the exile and the stranger, brave but frightened—to find a place where a man could be his own man. They made a covenant with this land. Conceived in justice, written in liberty, bound in union, it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind; and it binds us still. If we keep its terms, we shall flourish.

First, justice was the promise that all who made the journey would share in the fruits of the land.

In a land of great wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty.

In a land rich in harvest, children just must not go hungry.

In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die unattended.

In a great land of learning and scholars, young people must be taught to read and write.

For the more than 30 years that I have served this Nation, I have believed that this injustice to our people, this waste of our resources, was our real enemy. For 30 years or more, with the resources I have had, I have vigilantly fought against it. I have learned, and I know, that it will not surrender easily.

But change has given us new weapons. Before this generation of Americans is finished, this enemy will not only retreat—it will be conquered.

Justice requires us to remember that when any citizen denies his fellow, saying, "His color is not mine," or "His beliefs are strange and different," in that moment he betrays America, though his forebears created this Nation.

Liberty was the second article of our covenant. It was self-government. It was our Bill of Rights. But it was more. America would be a place where each man could be proud to be himself: stretching his talents, rejoicing in his work, important in the life of his neighbors and his nation.

This has become more difficult in a world where change and growth seem to tower beyond the control, and even the judgment, of men. We must work to provide the knowledge and the surroundings which can enlarge the possibilities of every citizen.

The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal. Thus, if as a nation there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope.

Change has brought new meaning to that old mission. We can never again stand aside, prideful in isolation. Terrific dangers and troubles that we once called "foreign" now constantly live among us. If American lives must end and American treasure be spilled, in countries we barely know, that is the price that change has demanded of conviction and of our enduring Government.

Think of our world as it looks from the rocket that is heading toward Mars. It is like a child's globe, hanging in space, the continents stuck to its side like colored maps. We are all fellow passengers on a dot of earth. And each of us, in the span of time, has really only a moment among his companions.

How incredible it is that in this fragile existence, we should hate and destroy one another. There are possibilities enough for all who will abandon mastery over others to pursue mastery over nature. There is world enough for all to seek their happiness in their own way.

Our Nation's course is abundantly clear. We aspire to nothing that belongs to others. We seek no dominion over our fellow man, but man's dominion over tyranny and misery.

But more is required. Men want to be a part of a common enterprise—a cause greater than themselves. Each of us must find a way to advance the purpose of the Nation, thus finding new purpose for ourselves. Without this, we shall become a nation of strangers.

The third article was union. To those who were small and few against the wilderness, the success of liberty demanded the strength of union. Two centuries of change have made this true again.

No longer need capitalist and worker, farmer and clerk, city and countryside, struggle to divide our bounty. By working shoulder to shoulder, together we can increase the bounty of all.

We have discovered that every child who learns, every man who finds work, every sick body that is made whole—like a candle added to an altar—brightens the hope of all the faithful.

So let us reject any among us who seek to reopen old wounds and to rekindle old hatreds. They stand in the way of a seeking nation.

Let us now join reason to faith and action to experience, to transform our unity of interest into a unity of purpose. For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred—not without difference of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the union for generations.

Under this covenant—of justice, liberty, and union—we have become a nation—prosperous, great, and mighty. And we have kept our freedom.

But we have no promise from God that our greatness will endure.

We have been allowed by Him to seek greatness with the sweat of our hands and the strength of our spirit.

I do not believe that the Great Society is the ordered, changeless, and sterile battalion of the ants.

It is the excitement of becoming—always becoming, trying, probing, falling, resting, and trying again—but always trying and always gaining.

In each generation—with toil and tears—we have had to earn our heritage again.

If we fail now, we shall have forgotten in abundance what we learned in hardship: that democracy rests on faith, that freedom asks more than it gives, and that the judgment of God is harshest on those who are most favored.

If we succeed, it will not be because of what we have, but it will be because of what we are; not because of what we own, but, rather, because of what we believe.

For we are a nation of believers. Underneath the clamor of building and the rush of our day's pursuits, we are believers in justice and liberty and union, and in our own Union. We believe that every man must someday be free. And we believe in ourselves.

Our enemies have always made the same mistake. In my lifetime—in depression and in war—they have awaited our defeat. Each time,

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defense systems we will need 10 years from now.

Higher R&D Spending Urged

This same approach was reflected last year in my recommendations for the federal government's basic research and development programs. In spite of the financial pressures on the federal budget, I recommended real growth. I am again proposing real growth for basic research and development programs this year because I am convinced that we must maintain our world leadership in science and technology in order to increase our national productivity and attain the better life we want for our people and the rest of the world.

I am also calling again for an end to the proliferation of new federal programs and for consolidation of many of the programs we now have. At last count there are 1,044 programs identified in the Catalog of Federal Domestic Assistance. While our nation has many needs, there is no rational justification for the maze that has been created.

Overlap and duplication are not the only defects of these programs; nor are they the most serious. More importantly the current programs too often fail to aid the intended beneficiaries as much as expected, rewarding instead those who have learned how to work the Washington system. Some of these programs fail to pinpoint responsibility and accountability for performance and too many impose a managerial and operating burden on the federal government, diverting attention from the functions that must be performed at the federal level and at the same time usurping the proper roles of state and local governments and the private sector.

Program Reforms Needed

If we could ever afford the "luxury" of this inefficiency and ineptitude, we can no longer. Federal programs for health services, elementary and secondary education, child nutrition and welfare, for example, are areas that desperately need reform. I called for action last year and prepared detailed legislative proposals. Those who truly care about the needs of our people will not let another year go by without reform.

There is no excuse, for example, for the federal government to have 15 different child nutrition programs spending over \$3-billion per year and still have 700,000 children from families below the poverty line who receive no aid. Nor is there any reason to take the money out of the taxpayers' pocket to subsidize their own children's school lunch.

It will take real courage to correct these problems and the others I have identified for congressional action without following the all too familiar pattern of the past—simply adding more programs. But, increasingly, courage is not a choice; it is an absolute requirement if we are to avoid ever larger, less responsive government.

The task ahead will not be easy because it will require some fundamental changes in our expectations for government. As a start, we need to understand that income and wealth are not produced in Washington, they are only redistributed there. As a corollary, we need to overcome the idea that members of the Congress are elected to bring home federal projects for their district or state. Until this idea is totally rejected, higher funding levels for old programs and more new programs will be enacted each year as members of the Congress seek to insure their re-election. We also need to overcome the prevalent attitude that only new programs with multibillion dollar price tags are worthy of media attention and public discussion and worthy of being judged bold and innovative. The multitude of programs already in a budget of more than \$400-billion and initiatives to do something about them are worthy of intense public scrutiny, discussion and judgment in their own right.

These changes in attitude will require leadership not only by the executive branch, but, at least equally important, on the part of each member of the Congress. Members of the Congress must begin to share the burden of the President in saying no to special interest groups—even those in their own districts or states.

The changes that have occurred in the congressional budget-making process in recent years provide some basis for optimism for the future. The new budget committees have begun to provide a counterbalance to the spending and taxing committees, offering hope that the total effect of the

splinter
will be
gression.

Special

But more progress is needed. Just as the budget process cannot do the whole job in the executive branch, it cannot in the Congress either. No matter how streamlined and properly organized the departments and agencies of the executive branch or the committees and subcommittees of the Congress become—and there is surely room for substantial improvement in this respect at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue—the executive branch must continue to refine and the Congress must adopt processes whereby recommendations to the President or to the House or Senate, as the case may be, on major issues are developed by task force groups representing the competing priorities of various departments and agencies and of the various congressional committees and subcommittees. The reason is simply that most major issues cut across jurisdictional lines, no matter how well drawn—energy, international affairs, and welfare reform, to name but a few examples. I urge the new Administration to build on what has been accomplished in this regard in the executive branch. I urge the Congress promptly to put into place the necessary counterpart mechanisms. Such improvements in process, coupled with further progress in the development of the budget process, will help substantially in addressing and meeting our problems and attaining the goals we have set for our Nation.

The last thirty budgets record a turbulent period in our history; wars, domestic strife, and serious economic problems. In the last two years, we have laid the foundation for a positive future. We have stabilized international relationships and created the framework for global progress. At home, we have restored confidence in government while reversing the trends of inflation and unemployment. Building on this solid base, the policies and programs contained in this budget can help us to fulfill the promise of America.

GERALD R. FORD

January 17, 1977.

Inaugural Address of Jimmy Carter

Following is the inaugural address of James Earl Carter, the 39th President of the United States, as it was delivered on Jan. 20:

For myself and for our nation, I want to thank my predecessor for all he has done to heal our land.

In this outward and physical ceremony we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our nation.

As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman, used to say, "We must adjust to changing times and still hold to unchanging principles."

Here before me is the Bible used in the inauguration of our first President in 1789, and I have just taken the oath of office on the Bible my mother gave me just a few years ago, opened to a timeless admonition from the ancient prophet Micah:

"He hath showed thee, o man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of

thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (Micah 6:8)

New Spirit

This inauguration ceremony marks a new beginning, a new dedication within our government, and a new spirit among us all. A President may sense and proclaim that new spirit, but only a people can provide it.

Two centuries ago our nation's birth was a milestone in the long quest for

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freedom, but the bold and brilliant dream which excited the founders of this nation still awaits its consummation. I have no new dream to set forth today, but rather urge a fresh faith in the old dream.

Ours was the first society openly to define itself in terms of both spirituality and human liberty. It is that unique self-definition which has given us an exceptional appeal—but it also imposes on us a special obligation—to take on those moral duties which, when assumed, seem invariably to be in our own best interests.

You have given me a great responsibility—to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes.

Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right.

The American dream endures. We must once again have full faith in our country—and in one another. I believe America can be better. We can be even stronger than before.

Let our recent mistakes bring a resurgent commitment to the basic principles of our nation, for we know that if we despise our own government we have no future. We recall in special times when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united; in those times no prize was beyond our grasp.

But we cannot dwell upon remembered glory. We cannot afford to drift. We reject the prospect of failure or mediocrity or an inferior quality of life for any person.

Our government must at the same time be both competent and compassionate.

We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now struggling to enhance equality of opportunity. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute, our laws fair, our natural beauty preserved; the powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced.

We have learned that "more" is not necessarily "better," that even our great nation has its recognized limits, and that we can neither answer all questions nor solve all problems. We cannot afford to do everything, nor can we afford to lack boldness as we meet the future. So together, in a spirit of individual sacrifice for the common good, we must simply do our best.

Example to Others

Our nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home, and we know that the best way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is worthy of emulation.

To be true to ourselves, we must be true to others. We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that the trust which our nation earns is essential to our strength.

The world itself is now dominated by a new spirit. Peoples more numerous and more politically aware are craving and now demanding their place in the sun—not just for the benefit of their own physical condition, but for basic human rights.

The passion for freedom is on the rise. Tapping this new spirit, there can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America to undertake on this day of a new beginning than to help shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane.

We are a strong nation and we will maintain strength so sufficient that it need not be proven in combat—a quiet strength based not merely on the size of an arsenal, but on the nobility of ideas.

We will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable, and we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance and injustice, for those are the enemies against which our forces can be honorably marshalled.

We are a proudly idealistic nation, but let no one confuse our idealism with weakness.

Because we are free we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. Our moral sense dictates a clearcut preference for those societies which share with us an abiding respect for individual human rights. We do not seek to intimidate, but it is clear that a world which others can dominate with impunity would be inhospitable to decency and a threat to the well-being of all people.

Arms Race

The world is still engaged in a massive armaments race designed to insure continuing equivalent strength among potential adversaries. We pledge perseverance and wisdom in our efforts to limit the world's armaments to those necessary for each nation's own domestic safety. And we will move this year a step toward our ultimate goal—the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this earth.

We urge all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death.

Within us, the people of the United States, there is evident a serious and purposeful rekindling of confidence, and I join in the hope that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our nation:

That we had remembered the words of Micah and renewed our search for humility, mercy and justice;

That we had torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion, and where there had been mistrust, built unity, with a respect for diversity;

That we had found productive work for those able to perform it;

That we had strengthened the American family, which is the basis of our society;

That we had ensured respect for the law, and equal treatment under the law, for the weak and the powerful, for the rich and the poor;

And that we had enabled our people to be proud of their own government once again.

I would hope that the nations of the world might say that we had built a lasting peace, based not on weapons of war but on international policies which reflect our own most precious values.

These are not just my goals. And they will not be my accomplishments, but the affirmation of our nation's continuing moral strength and our belief in an undiminished, ever-expanding American dream.

Carter Pardon

Following are the texts of President Carter's Jan. 21 proclamation and executive order granting pardons to draft evaders from the Vietnam War era.

Proclamation

Granting Pardon for Violations of the Selective Service Act, August 4, 1964, to March 28, 1973

Acting pursuant to the grant of authority in Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States, I, Jimmy Carter, President of the United States, do hereby grant a full, complete and unconditional pardon to: (1) all persons who may have committed any offense between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973 in violation of the Military Selective Service Act or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder; and (2) all persons heretofore convicted, irrespective of the date of conviction, of any offense committed between August 4, 1964 and March 28, 1973 in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, restoring to them full political, civil and other rights.

This pardon does not apply to the following who are specifically excluded therefrom:

(1) All persons convicted of or who may have committed any offense in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, involving force or violence; and

(2) All persons convicted of or who may have committed any offense in violation of the Military Selective Service Act, or any rule or regulation promulgated thereunder, in connection with duties or responsibilities arising out of employment as agents, officers or employees of the Military Selective Service system.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this 21st day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-seven, and of the

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President Reagan's 2nd Inaugural Address

Following is the Congressional Record text of President Reagan's inaugural address as delivered Jan. 21.

Senator Mathias, Chief Justice Burger, Vice President Bush, Speaker O'Neill, Senator Dole, Reverend Clergy, members of my family and friends, and my fellow citizens:

This day has been made brighter with the presence here of one who, for a time, has been absent — Senator John Stennis. God bless you and welcome back.

There is, however, one who is not with us today: Representative Gillis Long of Louisiana left us last night. I wonder if we could all join in a moment of silent prayer:*

[Moment of silent prayer.]

Amen.

There are no words adequate to express my thanks for the great honor that you have bestowed on me. I will do my utmost to be deserving of your trust.

This is, as Senator Mathias told us, the 50th time that we the people have celebrated this historic occasion. When the first President, George Washington, placed his hand upon the Bible, he stood less than a single day's journey by horseback from raw, untamed wilderness.

There were 4 million Americans in a union of 13 States. Today we are 60 times as many in a union of 50 States. We have lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of mankind wherever in the world there was a cry for help, journeyed to the Moon and safely returned.

So much has changed. And yet we stand together as we did two centuries ago.

When I took this oath 4 years ago, I did so in a time of economic stress. Voices were raised saying we had to look to our past for the greatness and glory. But we, the present-day Americans, are not given to looking backward. In this blessed land, there is always a better tomorrow.

Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago when, for the first time in history, government, the people said, was not our master, it is our servant; its only power that which we the people allow it to have.

That system has never failed us, but, for a time, we failed the system. We asked things of government that government was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to the National Government that properly belonged to States or to local governments or to the people themselves. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings

* The president referred to Sen. John C. Stennis, D-Miss., who had his leg amputated Nov. 30, 1984, because of cancer, and Rep. Gillis W. Long, D-La., who died Jan. 20.

and savings and watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow down and the number of unemployed increase.

By 1980, we knew it was time to renew our faith, to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and now: There are no limits to growth and human progress when men and women are free to follow their dreams. And we were right.

And we were right to believe that. Tax rates have been reduced, inflation cut dramatically, and more people are employed than ever before in our history.

We are creating a nation once again vibrant, robust, and alive. But there are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity, as our birthright. It is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic.

And, if we meet this challenge, these will be years when Americans have restored their confidence and tradition of progress; when our values of faith, family, work, and neighborhood were restated for a modern age; when our economy was finally freed from government's grip; when we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reduction, rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies, and helped preserve peace in a troubled world; when Americans courageously supported the struggle for liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

My fellow citizens, our Nation is poised for greatness. We must do what we know is right and do it with all our might. Let history say of us, these were golden years — when the American Revolution was reborn, when freedom gained new life, when America reached for her best.

Our two-party system has served us well over the years, but never better than in those times of great challenge when we came together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans united in a common cause.

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become political rivals in the Presidential election of 1800. Then years later, when both were retired, and age had softened their anger, they began to speak to each other again through letters. A bond was reestablished between those two who had helped create this Government of ours.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both

died. They died on the same day, within a few hours of each other, and that day was the Fourth of July.

In one of those letters exchanged in the sunset of their lives, Jefferson wrote:

It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right to self-government. Laboring always at the same oar, with some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless ... we rode through the storm with heart and hand.

Well, with heart and hand, let us stand as one today: One people under God determined that our future shall be worthy of our past. As we do, we must not repeat the well-intentioned errors of our past. We must never again abuse the trust of working men and women, by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the spiraling demands of a bloated Federal establishment. You elected us in 1980 to end this prescription for disaster, and I don't believe you reelected us in 1984 to reverse course.

At the heart of our efforts is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth: Freedom and incentives unleash the drive and entrepreneurial genius that are the core of human progress. We have begun to increase the rewards for work, savings, and investment, reduce the increase in the cost and size of government and its interference in people's lives.

We must simplify our tax system, make it more fair, and bring the rates down for all who work and earn. We must think anew and move with a new boldness, so every American who seeks work can find work; so the least among us shall have an equal chance to achieve the greatest things — to be heroes who heal our sick, feed the hungry, protect peace among nations, and leave this world a better place.

The time has come for a new American Emancipation — a great national drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most distressed areas of our country. My friends, together we can do this, and do it we must, so help me God.

From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth, a more productive, fulfilled and united people, and a stronger America — an America that will lead the technological revolution, and also open its mind and heart and soul to the treasures of literature, music and poetry, and the values of faith, courage, and love.

A dynamic economy, with more citizens working and paying taxes, will be our strongest tool to bring down budget deficits. But an almost unbroken 50 years of deficit spending has finally brought us to a time of reckoning.

Presidential Messages

We have come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions. I have asked the Cabinet and my staff a question, and now I put the same question to all of you: If not us, who? And if not now, when? It must be done by all of us going forward with a program aimed at reaching a balanced budget. We can then begin reducing the national debt.

I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at freezing Government program spending for the next year. Beyond that, we must take further steps to permanently control Government's power to tax and spend.

We must act now to protect future generations from Government's desire to spend its citizens' money and tax them into servitude when the bills come due. Let us make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to spend more than the Federal Government takes in.

We have already started returning to the people and to State and local governments responsibilities better handled by them. Now, there is a place for the Federal Government in matters of social compassion. But our fundamental goals must be to reduce dependency and upgrade the dignity of those who are infirm or disadvantaged. And here a growing economy and support from family and community offer our best chance for a society where compassion is a way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self-sufficient.

And there is another area where the Federal Government can play a part. As an older American, I remember a time when people of different race, creed, or ethnic origin in our land found hatred and prejudice installed in social custom and, yes, in law. There is no story more heartening in our history than the progress that we have made toward the "brotherhood of man" that God intended for us. Let us resolve there will be no turning back or hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens.

Let us resolve that we the people will build an American opportunity society in which all of us — white and black, rich and poor, young and old — will go forward together arm in arm. Again, let us remember that though our heritage is one of blood lines from every corner of the Earth, we are all Americans pledged to carry on this last, best hope of man on Earth.

National Security

I have spoken of our domestic goals and the limitations which we should put on our National Government. Now let me turn to a task which is the primary responsibility of National Government — the safety and security of our people.

Today we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on Earth. Yet history has shown that peace will not come nor will our freedom be preserved by good will alone. There are those

in the world who scorn our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted the greatest military buildup in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome offensive weapons.

We have made progress in restoring our defense capability. But much remains to be done. There must be no wavering by us, nor any doubts by others, that America will meet her responsibilities to remain free, secure, and at peace.

There is only one way safely and legitimately to reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. And this we are trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are not just discussing limits on a further increase of nuclear weapons. We seek, instead, to reduce their number. We seek the total elimination one day of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

Now, for decades, we and the Soviets have lived under the threat of mutual assured destruction; if either resorted to the use of nuclear weapons, the other could retaliate and destroy the one who had started it. Is there either logic or morality in believing that if one side threatens to kill tens of millions of our people, our only recourse is to threaten killing tens of millions of theirs?

I have approved a research program to find, if we can, a security shield that would destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their target. It wouldn't kill people, it would destroy weapons. It wouldn't militarize space, it would help demilitarize the arsenals of Earth. It would render nuclear weapons obsolete. We will meet with the Soviets, hoping that we can agree on a way to rid the world of the threat of nuclear destruction.

We strive for peace and security, heartened by the changes all around us. Since the turn of the century, the number of democracies in the world has grown fourfold. Human freedom is on the march, and nowhere more so than in our own hemisphere. Freedom is one of the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit. People worldwide hunger for the right of self-determination, for those inalienable rights that make for human dignity and progress.

America must remain freedom's

staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally —

And it is the world's only hope, to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

So we go forward today, a Nation still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose. With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we look forward to a world rich in possibilities. And all this because we have worked and acted together, not as members of political parties, but as Americans.

My friends, we live in a world that is lit by lightning. So much is changing and will change, but so much endures, and transcends time.

History is a ribbon, always unfurling; history is a journey. And as we continue our journey, we think of those who traveled before us. We stand together again at the steps of this symbol of our democracy — or we would have been standing at the steps if it hadn't gotten so cold. Now we are standing inside this symbol of our democracy. Now we hear again the echoes of our past.

A General falls to his knees in the hard snow of Valley Forge; a lonely President paces the darkened halls, and ponders his struggle to preserve the Union; the men of the Alamo call out encouragement to each other; a settler pushes west and sings a song, and the song echoes out forever and fills the unknowing air.

It is the American sound. It is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair. That's our heritage; that is our song. We sing it still. For all our problems, our differences, we are together as of old, as we raise our voices to the God who is the Author of this most tender music. And may He continue to hold us close as we fill the world with our sound — sound in unity, affection, and love. One people under God, dedicated to the dream of freedom that He has placed in the human heart, called upon now to pass that dream on to a waiting and hopeful world.

God bless you and may God bless America.

President's Budget Message

Following is the text of President Reagan's Feb. 4 budget message to Congress.

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

In the past 2 years we have experienced one of the strongest economic recoveries of the post-war period. The prospect of a substantially brighter future for America lies before us. As 1985 begins, the economy is growing robustly and shows consid-

erable upward momentum. Favorable financial conditions presage a continuation of the expansion. Production, productivity, and employment gains have been impressive, and inflation remains well under control. I am proud of the state of our economy. Let me highlight a few points:

- The economy expanded at a 6.8% rate in 1984 and at a 6% annual rate over the 2 years since the recession trough at the end of 1982 — faster than any other upturn since 1951.

SPEECHES OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTS

Edited by

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Ronald Wilson Reagan

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Washington, D.C., January 20, 1981

REAGAN'S twenty-minute inaugural address was held, contrary to tradition, on the West Front of the Capitol rather than on the East Front to honor Reagan's western connections. The president signalled with this speech that he intended to undertake revolutionary changes in the nation's economic policies. In the address can be found the basic tenets of Reaganomics, drawn from the "supply-side" economic theories of Arthur Laffer: decrease the size and expense of government by trimming social spending; cut taxes; return fiscal responsibilities to the states; reduce the trade deficit and national debt. One of the president's first official acts was to enact a freeze on all government hiring.

Inauguration Day also marked the end of the Iranian hostage affair, a matter of deliberate timing by the Iranian government. As Reagan concluded his address, the hostages were finally allowed to leave Iran after 444 days of captivity.

To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion, and yet in the history of our nation it is a commonplace occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place, as it has for almost two centuries, and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-four-year-ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process, you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the bulwark of our republic.

The business of our nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. We suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations in our national history. It distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment, human misery, and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full 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 and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.

You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, we're 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 begin to act, beginning today.

The economic ills we suffer have come 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've had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom.

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem. From time to time we've been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden.

Speeches of the American Presidents

The solutions we seek must be equitable, with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

We hear much of special interest groups. Well, our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries or ethnic and racial divisions, and it crosses political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we're sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truck-drivers. They are, in short, "We the people," this breed called Americans.

Well, this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans; with no barriers born of bigotry or 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," and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America, at peace with itself and the world.

So, as we begin, let us 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 government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government, which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It is my intention to curb the size and influence of the federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the federal government and those reserved to the states or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the federal government did not create the states; the states created the federal government.

Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it's not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work—work with us, not over us; to stand by our side, not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

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

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government. It is time for us to realize that we're too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We're not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope.

We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we're in a time when there are not heroes, they just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter, and they're on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They're individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet, but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

Now, I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your," because I'm addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so

much a part of your makeup of our country and not love our loving them, reach out a hand to heal them when they're sick, opportunity to make them self-will be equal in fact and no

Can we solve the problem? Well, the answer is an unphatic "yes." To paraphrase a chill, I did not take the oath of the intention of presiding over the world's strongest economy

In the days ahead I will remove the roadblocks that have slowed and reduced productivity. Strained aimed at restoring the balance of our levels of government. Slow, measured in inches and slow, but we will progress. It is this industrial giant, to get within its means, and to lighten the tax burden. And these will be the principles, and on these principles compromise.

On the eve of our struggle, a man who might have been the greatest among the Founding Fathers, John Adams, said to his fellow countrymen, "The country is in danger, but not of the kind you think. . . . On you depend the future of the country. You are to decide the issue upon which rests the happiness of millions yet unborn. It is up to yourselves."

Well, I believe we, the Americans, are ready to act worthy of our heritage. We will do what must be done to ensure liberty for ourselves, our children's children. And as we stand here in our own land, as having greater strength in the world. We will again be the beacon of hope and freedom and a beacon of hope for not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who value freedom, we will strengthen our ties and assure them of our support and commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our freedom as a pose on their sovereignty, sovereignty is not for sale.

much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen; and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they're sick, and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic "yes." To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I've just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy.

In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow, measured in inches and feet, not miles, but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles there will be no compromise.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. . . . On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves."

Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children, and our children's children. And as we renew ourselves here in 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 and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

As for the enemies of freedom, 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 never having to use that strength.

Above all, we must realize that no arsenal or no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I'm told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I'm deeply grateful. We are a nation under God, and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inaugural Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer.

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held, as you've been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man, George Washington, father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence. And then, beyond the Reflecting Pool, the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery,

with its row upon row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, the Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno, and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

Under one such marker lies a young man, Martin Treptow, who left his job in a small town barbershop 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.

We're told that on his body was found a dia-

ry. On the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," he had written 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 of us the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds, to believe that together with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us.

And after all, why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans.

God bless you, and thank you.

THE NEW FEDERALISM

*First State of the Union Address
Washington, D.C., January 26, 1982*

THE THEME of this address was the effort by the Reagan Administration to transfer many federal responsibilities—notably welfare, education, and health-care payments—to the states. This was part of Reagan's overall plan to reduce the size of the federal government by shrinking or eliminating most Great Society social programs. Unlike the tax cuts of Reagan's first year, which Congress endorsed, there were few supporters for the New Federalism in Congress or the state capitols. The states feared that they would be unable to make up the shortfall if federal funds were withdrawn or restructured as "block grants." Nor was Reagan's call for private charities to make up for the cuts in federal services taken seriously. Many organizations made good-faith efforts, but it was obvious that charity alone could not close the gap and take care of the burgeoning numbers of unemployed, hungry, and homeless people.

Reagan's failure to match the lost revenue from the tax cuts of his first year with spending cuts in his second resulted in the most massive debt ever accumulated by the United States. By 1983 Reagan was forced to enact billions of dollars in new taxes—although the administration never called them that—to reduce the threatening deficit, which reached nearly \$200 billion by the following year.

Today marks my first State of the Union address to you, a constitutional duty as old as our republic itself.

President Washington began this tradition in 1790 after reminding the nation that the destiny of self-government and the "preserva-

tion of the sacred fire of liberty" is "finally staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people." For our friends in the press, who place a high premium on accuracy, let me say: I did not actually hear George Washington say that. But it is a matter of historic record.

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SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1973

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Senator Cook, Mrs. Eisenhower, and my fellow citizens of this great and good country we share together:

When we met here 4 years ago, America was bleak in spirit, depressed by the prospect of seemingly endless war abroad and of destructive conflict at home.

As we meet here today, we stand on the threshold of a new era of peace in the world. [Applause.]

The central question before us is: How shall we use that peace?

Let us resolve that this era we are about to enter will not be what other postwar periods have so often been: a time of retreat and isolation that leads to stagnation at home and invites new danger abroad.

Let us resolve that this will be what it can become: a time of great responsibilities greatly borne, in which we renew the spirit and the promise of America as we enter our third century as a nation.

This past year saw far-reaching results from our new policies for peace. By continuing to revitalize our traditional friendships, and by our missions to Peking and to Moscow, we were able to establish the base for a new and more durable pattern of relationships among the nations of the world. Because of America's bold initiatives, 1972 will be long remembered as the year of the greatest progress since the end of World War II toward a lasting peace in the world. [Applause.]

The peace we seek in the world is not the flimsy peace which is merely an interlude between wars, but a peace which can endure for generations to come.

It is important that we understand both the necessity and the limitations of America's role in maintaining that peace.

Unless we in America work to preserve the peace, there will be no peace.

Unless we in America work to preserve freedom, there will be no freedom.

But let us clearly understand the new nature of America's role, as a result of the new policies we have adopted over these past 4 years.

We shall respect our treaty commitments.

We shall support vigorously the principle that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force.

We shall continue, in this era of negotiation, to work for the limitation of nuclear arms, and to reduce the danger of confrontation between the great powers.

We shall do our share in defending peace and freedom in the world. But we shall expect others to do their share. [Applause.]

The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflict our own, or make every other nation's future our responsibility, or presume to tell the people of other nations how to manage their own affairs. [Applause.]

Just as we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future.

Just as America's role is indispensable in preserving the world's peace, so is each nation's role indispensable in preserving its own peace.

Together with the rest of the world, let us resolve to move forward from the beginnings we have made. Let us continue to bring down the walls of hostility which have divided the world for too long, and to build in their place bridges of understanding—so that despite profound differences between systems of government, the people of the world can be friends. [Applause.]

Let us build a structure of peace in the world in which the weak are as safe as the strong—in which each respects the right of the other to live by a different system—in which those who would influence others will do so by the strength of their ideas, and not by the force of their arms.

Let us accept that high responsibility not as a burden, but gladly—gladly because the chance to build such a peace is the noblest endeavor in which a nation can engage; gladly, also, because only if we act greatly in meeting our responsibilities abroad will we remain a great Nation, and only if we remain a great Nation will we act greatly in meeting our challenges at home.

We have the chance today to do more than ever before in our history to make life better in America—to insure better education, better health, better housing, better transportation, a cleaner environment—to restore respect for law, to make our communities more livable—and to insure the God-given right of every American to full and equal opportunity. [Applause.]

Because the range of our needs is so great—because the reach of our opportunities is so great—let us be bold in our determination to meet those needs in new ways.

Just as building a structure of peace abroad has required turning away from old policies that failed, so building a new era of progress at home requires turning away from old policies that have failed.

Abroad, the shift from old policies to new has not been a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to peace.

And at home, the shift from old policies to new will not be a retreat from our responsibilities, but a better way to progress.

Abroad and at home, the key to those new responsibilities lies in the placing and the division of responsibility. We have lived too long with the consequences of attempting to gather all power and responsibility in Washington.

Abroad and at home, the time has come to turn away from the condescending policies of paternalism—of “Washington knows best.” [Applause.]

A person can be expected to act responsibly only if he has responsibility. This is human nature. So let us encourage individuals at home and nations abroad to do more for themselves, to decide more for themselves. Let us locate responsibility in more places. Let us measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves. [Applause.]

That is why today I offer no promise of a purely governmental solution for every problem. We have lived too long with that false promise. In trusting too much in government, we have asked of it more than it can deliver. This leads only to inflated expectations, to reduced individual effort, and to a disappointment and frustration that erode confidence both in what government can do and in what people can do.

Government must learn to take less from people so that people can do more for themselves. [Applause.]

Let us remember that America was built not by government, but by people—not by welfare, but by work—not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility. [Applause.]

In our own lives, let each of us ask—not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself?

In the challenges we face together, let each of us ask—not just how can government help, but how can I help?

Your national government has a great and vital role to play. And I pledge to you that where this government should act, we will act boldly and we will lead boldly. But just as important is the role that each and every one of us must play, as an individual and as a member of his own community.

From this day forward, let each of us make a solemn commitment in his own heart: To bear his responsibility, to do his part, to live his ideals—so that together, we can see the dawn of a new age of progress for America, and together, as we celebrate our 200th anniversary as a nation, we can do so proud in the fulfillment of our promise to ourselves and to the world.

As America's longest and most difficult war comes to an end, let us again learn to debate our differences with civility and decency. [Applause.] And let each of us reach out for that one precious quality

government cannot provide—a new level of respect for the rights and feelings of one another, a new level of respect for the individual human dignity which is the cherished birthright of every American. [Applause.]

Above all else, the time has come for us to renew our faith in ourselves and in America.

In recent years, that faith has been challenged.

Our children have been taught to be ashamed of their country, ashamed of their parents, ashamed of America's record at home and of its role in the world.

At every turn, we have been beset by those who find everything wrong with America and little that is right. But I am confident that this will not be the judgment of history on these remarkable times in which we are privileged to live. [Applause.]

America's record in this century has been unparalleled in the world's history for its responsibility, for its generosity, for its creativity and for its progress.

Let us be proud that our system has produced and provided more freedom and more abundance, more widely shared, than any other system in the history of the world.

Let us be proud that in each of the four wars in which we have been engaged in this century, including the one we are now bringing to an end, we have fought not for our selfish advantage, but to help others resist aggression. [Applause.]

Let us be proud that by our bold, new initiatives, and by our steadfastness for peace with honor, we have made a break-through toward creating in the world what the world has not known before—a structure of peace that can last, not merely for our time, but for generations to come.

We are embarking here today on an era that presents challenges as great as those any nation, or any generation, has ever faced.

We shall answer to God, to history, and to our conscience for the way in which we use these years.

As I stand in this place, so hallowed by history, I think of others who have stood here before me. I think of the dreams they had for America, and I think of how each recognized that he needed help far beyond himself in order to make those dreams come true.

Today, I ask your prayers that in the years ahead I may have God's help in making decisions that are right for America, and I pray for your help so that together we may be worthy of our challenge.

Let us pledge together to make these next 4 years the best 4 years in America's history, so that on its 200th birthday America will be as young and as vital as when it began, and as bright a beacon of hope for all the world.

Let us go forward from here confident in hope, strong in our faith in one another, sustained by our faith in God who created us, and striving always to serve His purpose.

from the secret places of the American heart, came forth the faith could not see or that they could not even imagine. It brought us vic And it will again.

For this is what America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not reached and the ha sleeping in the unplowed ground.

Is our world gone? We say "Farewell." Is a new world cor We welcome it—and we will bend it to the hopes of man.

To these trusted public servants and to my family and those friends of mine who have followed me down a long, winding road, to all the people of this Union and the world, I will repeat today w said on that sorrowful day in November 1963: "I will lead and I do the best I can."

But you must look within your own hearts to the old promises ar the old dream. They will lead you best of all.

For myself, I ask only, in the words of an ancient leader: "Give now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out and come in before people: for who can judge this, thy people, that is so great?"



Richard Milhous Nixon

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

JANUARY 20, 1969

Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans—and my fellow citizens of the world community:

I ask you to share with me today the majesty of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we celebrate the unity that keeps us free.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries.

This can be such a moment.

Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest aspirations can at last be realized.

The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.

For the first time, because the people of the world want peace and the leaders of the world are afraid of war, the times are on the side of peace.

Eight years from now America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will celebrate that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years—the beginning of the Third Millennium.

What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.

The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has dreamed of since the dawn of civilization.

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind.

This is our summons to greatness.

I believe the American people are ready to answer this call.

The second third of this century has been a time of proud achievement. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth.

We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white.

We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I believe in them. We can be proud that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history.

No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it.

Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a Nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles:

"They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our crisis today is the reverse.

We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth.

We are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity. We see around us empty lives, wanting fulfillment. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

To find that answer, we need only look within ourselves.

When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.

Greatness comes in simple trappings:

The simple things are the ones most needed today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us.

To lower our voices would be a simple thing.

In these difficult years, America has suffered from a fever of words: from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices.

For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways—to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart—to the injured voices, the anxious voices, the voices that have despaired of being heard.

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.

Those left behind, we will help to catch up.

For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure.

As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before—not turning away from the old; but turning toward the new.

In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history.

In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life—in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward.

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home.

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do.

Our greatest need now is to reach beyond government, and to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed.

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of past agony is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything.

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit—each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I ask you to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself, and as exciting as the times we live in.

The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny.

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole.

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents; we achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use.

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals we shall be lifted by our dreams.

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together.

This means black and white together, as one Nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law; to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.

As we learn to go forward together at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind.

Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.

After a period of confrontation, we are entering an era of negotiation.

Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open.

We seek an open world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people, a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.

Those who would be our adversaries, we invite to a peaceful competition—not in conquering territory or extending dominion, but in enriching the life of man.

As we explore the reaches of space, let us go to the new worlds together—not as new worlds to be conquered, but as a new adventure to be shared.

With those who are willing to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

But to all those who would be tempted by weakness, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be for as long as we need to be.

Over the past twenty years, since I first came to this Capitol as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the nations of the world.

I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the great hatreds, the fears that divide the world.

I know that peace does not come through wishing for it—that there is no substitute for days and even years of patient and prolonged diplomacy.

I also know the people of the world.

I have seen the hunger of a homeless child, the pain of a man wounded in battle, the grief of a mother who has lost her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.

I know America. I know the heart of America is good.

I speak from my own heart, and the heart of my country, the deep concern we have for those who suffer, and those who sorrow.

I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the wisdom I can summon, to the cause of peace among nations.

Let this message be heard by strong and weak alike:

The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of earth—and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write:

"To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold—brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity—seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands and our own hearts.

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.

Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it, not in fear, but in gladness—and, "riders on the earth together," let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of the dangers; but sustained by our confidence in the will of God and the promise of man.