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Divider Title: 8

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W. Clinton

REMARKS BY:
GOVERNOR BILL CLINTON (D-ARKANSAS)

TITLE: A NEW COVENANT FOR AMERICAN SECURITY

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY INTERCULTURAL CENTER AUDITORIUM

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1991

GOV. BILL CLINTON: Thank you very much, Father O'Donovan (sp), Dean Krough. My friend, Mr. Landegger, I must thank him for two things, one for making in the space of a few minutes all the points I tried to make in these three speeches. (Laughter.) I am going to offer him a tidy sum for his type (?) remarks, and my staff will be glad to know that someone can get this message across and under 10 minutes. (Laughter.) I also want to thank him for saying I was the most serious candidate for President. I don't know whether to take that seriously.

The other day in New Hampshire, a wag said that I was the smartest of the candidates and that amounted to saying that Moe was the smartest of the Three Stooges. (Laughter.)

I also -- I also come here as a Democrat, and one of my friends told me a story this morning which reminded me of Will Rogers' famous remark that he did not belong to an organized party, he was a Democrat. (Laughter.) This friend of mine told me this morning that the reason that the Soviet Union was dissolving so fast into its component parts is that the President had appointed a Democrat Robert Strauss who had required them to play by the rules of the Democratic National Party. (Laughter.)

Having said that, I would like now to attempt to tell you what I believe we should do to build not a Democratic, but a bipartisan American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era. I was born nearly a half-century ago at the dawn of the Cold War. It was a time of great change, enormous opportunity and uncertain peril, a time when we Americans wanted nothing more than simply to come home and resume our lives of peace and quiet because our country was tired of war. But we had to summon the world for a new kind of war, containing an expansionist and hostile Soviet Union which vowed to bury us. We had to find ways to rebuild the economies of Europe and Asia, encourage worldwide movement toward independence and vindicate our nation's principles in the world against yet another totalitarian challenge, to liberal democracy. Thanks to the outstanding courage and sacrifice of the American people, we were able to win that Cold War. Now we've entered a new era, and we need a new vision of strength and security to meet a new set of opportunities and serious new threats. In a way, we face the same kind of challenge we did back in 1946, to build a world of security and freedom, a world of democracy and free markets and growth at a time of terrific change.

Anyone running for President, Democrat or Republican, is going to have to provide a vision for security in this new era, and that is what I am hoping to do today. Given the problems we face at home, we do have to take care of our own people and their needs first. We need to remember the central lesson of the collapse of the Soviet Union and of Communism itself, so we never defeated them on the field of battle. Instead, the Soviet Union collapsed from the inside out, from economic and political and ultimately from spiritual failure. But make no mistake, here, as in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, foreign and domestic policy are inseparable in today's world.

If you're not strong at home, we can't lead the world we've done so much to make. But if we try to withdraw from this world, it will hurt us economically at home, and we can't allow what my friend and eminent journalist, E.J. Dion (ph) has called another false choice, a false choice between domestic and foreign policy which could hurt our economy and hurt our country.

Our President has devoted his time and his energy to foreign concerns and has clearly ignored dire problems here at home. As a result, we're drifting in the longest economic decline since World War II, and in reaction to that, elements in both Republican and Democratic parties are urging America to respond to the collapse of Communism in a crippling recession at home by retreating from the world.

I've agreed with President Bush on a number of foreign policy questions. I've supported his efforts to kick Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait and believe he did a masterful job in pulling together the victorious multinational coalition through the United Nations. I support his desire to pursue peace talks in the Middle East. I agree with him that we can't afford just to turn our back and walk away from NATO, and I supported giving the administration fast track authority, to negotiate a sound and fair free trade agreement with Mexico. But because this President seems to favor political stability and personal relations with foreign leaders over a coherent policy of freedom, democracy, economic growth, he often does things that I disagree with.

For example, his close personal ties with foreign leaders clearly helped him to forge that coalition against Saddam Hussein, but it also let him side with China's Communist rulers after a democratic uprising of students. The President forced Iraq out of Kuwait, but as soon as the war was over, his concern for stability made him willing to lead the Kurds to an awful fate.

He's rightfully seeking Middle East peace, but is urged to personally broker a deal. It has led him to take public positions which may undermine the -- (inaudible) -- of the Israelis and the Arabs to negotiate an enduring peace.

In the aftermath of the Cold War, we need a President who recognizes that in this dynamic new era, our goal is not to resist change, but to shake it. The President must articulate a vision of where we are going. The President and his administration have yet to meet that test, to define a new United States national security policy after the Cold War.

Retreating from the world or discounting its dangers is wrong for our country and sets back everything we hope to accomplish as Democrats. The defense of freedom and a promotion of democracy and the world aren't merely a reflection of our deepest values. They are vital to our national interest. Global democracy means

tions at peace with one another, open to one another's ideas and the other's commerce. The stakes are high because the collapse of Communism is not an isolated event. It is part of a worldwide march toward democracy whose outcome will determine the next century. If individual liberty, political democracy and free enterprise can take root in Latin American and Eastern Europe and Central Europe and the Soviet Union and Africa, Asia, we can look forward to a great new era of reduced conflict, mutual understanding and economic growth for ourselves and for millions and millions of people who seek to live in freedom and prosperity. This revolution must not fail. And yet, even if the American dream is inspiring people around the world, our nation stands on the sidelines with so much changed, a militarist giant crippled by economic weakness and an uncertain vision.

I believe we face two great foreign policy challenges today. First, we must define a new national security policy that builds on freedom's victory in the Cold War. The Communist idea has completely lost its power, but the fate of people who live under it and the fate of the world will be in doubt until stable democracies rise from the debris of the Soviet empire.

And second, we must forge a new economic policy to serve ordinary Americans by launching a new era of global economic growth. We must tear down the wall in our thinking between domestic and foreign policy. We need a coherent strategy that enables us to lead the world we work hard to make and that supports our urgent efforts to take care of our own here at home. We cannot do one without the other.

I believe we need a new covenant for American security after Cold War, a set of rights and responsibilities that will challenge our people, our leaders and our allies, to work together to build a safer, more prosperous, more democratic world.

The strategy of American engagement, I propose, is based on four key assumptions about the requirements of our security in this new era. First, that the collapse of Communism does not mean the end of danger, a new set of threats and an even less stable world will force us even as we restructure our defenses to keep our guard up.

Second, American must regain its economic strength in order to maintain our position of global political leadership. While military power will continue to be vital to our national security, its utility is declining relative to economic power. We cannot afford to go on spending too much on fire power and too little on brain power. (Applause.)

Third, we live in an information age in which the irresistible power of ideas rule. (Audio break) -- gain its economic strength in order to maintain our position of global political leadership. While military power will continue to be vital to our national security, its utility is declining relative to economic power. We cannot afford to go on spending too much on fire power and too little on brain power. (Applause.)

Third, we live in an information age in which the irresistible power of ideas rule. Television, cassette tapes and the fax machine helped those ideas of freedom to pierce the Berlin Wall and eventually to bring it down.

And finally, our definition of security must include common interests to all the peoples of the globe. On the environment and on

On other global issues, our very survival depends on the United States taking the lead. Guided by these assumptions, it seems to me we must pursue three clear objectives. First, we must restructure our military forces for a new era. Second, we must work with our allies to encourage the spread and consolidation of democracy around the world, and third, we must reestablish our own economic leadership at home and abroad.

When Americans elect a President, they elect a Commander-in-Chief. They want someone they can trust to act when our country's interests are threatened. To protect our interests and our values, sometimes we have to stand and fight. That is why as President I pledge to maintain military forces, strong enough to deter and, when necessary, to defeat any threat to our vital interest.

Today's defense debate centers too narrowly on the size of the military budget. The real questions are: What threats do we face? What forces do we need to counter them, and how must we change to achieve those new objectives? We can and we must substantially reduce our military forces and spending, because the Soviet threat is decreasing, and our allies are able to and should shoulder more of their own defense burden. But we still must set the level of defense spending based on what we need to protect our interest around the globe. First, let's provide for a strong defense. Then we can talk about defense savings. At the outset of this discussion, I want to make one thing absolutely clear: the world is still rapidly changing, as we know when we pick up each new day's newspaper. The world we look out on today is not the same one we will see tomorrow and certainly not a year from now when I hope to be your President-elect. (Applause.)

Therefore, we must remain ready to adjust all of our defense positions to meet threats that either could be heightened or hopefully reduced down the road. Our defense needs were much clearer during the Cold War when it was widely accepted that we needed enough forces to deter a Soviet nuclear attack, to defend against a Soviet-led conventional offensive in Europe and to protect other American interests, especially in northeast Asia and the Persian Gulf.

The collapse of the Soviet Union shattered that consensus leaving us without a clear benchmark for determining the size or the mix of our armed forces. However, a new consensus is emerging on the nature of the post-Cold War and its secure era and its security needs. It assumes that the gravest threats are most likely to occur in the following areas. First, the spread of deprivation and disorder in the former Soviet Union, which could lead to armed conflict among the republics or the rise of a fervidly (?) nationalistic and aggressive regime in Russia, still in possession of thousands of long-range nuclear weapons. Second, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological as well as the means for delivering them. Third, and during tensions in various regions, especially the Korean Peninsula and the Middle East and the intended (?) risks of terrorist attacks on Americans traveling or working abroad. And finally, the growing intensity of ethnic rivalries and severe (?) this efforts and violence within national borders, such as we've seen in Yugoslavia, in India and elsewhere that could spill beyond those borders.

To deal with all these new threats, we need to replace our Cold War military structure, where the smaller more flexible mix of capabilities which include first nuclear deterrents. We can automatically reduce our nuclear arsenals through negotiations in other reciprocal actions, but as an irreducible minimum we must

tain a survivable nuclear force to deter any conceivable threat.

Second, rapid deployment. We need a force capable of projecting power quickly when and where it's needed. I don't think we'll ever have five and a half months to settle into an arena of conflict again as we did in the Gulf War. That means the army must develop a more mobile mix of mechanized and armored forces. The Air Force should emphasize practical air power and air lift, and the Navy and the Marine Corps must maintain sufficient carrier and amphibious forces as well as more sealift. We also need strong special operations forces to deal with terrorist threats.

Fourth, technology. The Gulf War proved that the superior training of our soldiers, tactical air power, advanced communication, space based surveillance and smart weaponry produced a shorter war with fewer casualties for America. We must maintain our technological age -- edge.

And finally, better intelligence. In an era of unpredictable threats, our intelligence have to shift their efforts from just military bean-counting to a far more sophisticated understanding of political, economic and cultural conditions that can spark conflicts around the world. To achieve these capabilities, I would restructure our forces in the following ways.

First, now that the nuclear arms race has finally reversed course, it's time for a prudent slow-down and strategic modernization. We should stop production of the B-2 Bomber. That alone would save \$20 billion by 1997. (Applause.)

Since President Reagan unveiled his Star Wars proposal in 1983, our nation has spent \$26 billion in the futile pursuit of a 1-proof defense against nuclear attack. Democrats in Congress have recommended a much more realistic entertainable goal: defending against very limited or accidental losses of ballistic missiles. This goal would allow us to proceed with research and development on missile defense within the framework of the ABM (sp) Treaty, a prudent step as more and more countries acquire missile technology. At the same time, we must do more to stop the threat of weapons of mass destruction from spreading. We must clamp down on countries and companies that sell those technologies, punish violators and work urgently with all other countries for tough, enforceable, international non-proliferation agreements. (Applause.)

Although President Bush's present plans for defense reductions do reduce our conventional force structure, I believe we can go further without undermining our core capabilities. We can meet our responsibilities in Europe, for example, with less than the 150,000 troops now proposed by the President, especially as the Soviet Republics withdraw their forcers from the Red Army. We can defense the sea lanes and project force with 10 carriers rather than 12. We should continue to keep some US forces in Northeast Asia as long as North Korea presents a threat to our South Korean ally. To upgrade our conventional forces we need to develop greater air and sealift capacity, including production of the C-17 transport aircraft, but we should end or reduce programs intended to meet the Soviet threat. Our conventional programs like new Air Force fighters and the Army's new armored systems should be redesigned to meet the regional threats we now face.

The administration has called for a 21-percent cut in military spending through 1995, based on the assumption now obsolete that the Soviet Union would remain intact. With the dwindling

Soviet threat, we can cut defense spending by over a third by 1997. Based on the calculations by the Congressional Budget Office, my plan would bring cumulative savings of about \$100 billion beyond the current Bush plan. If favorable political and military trends continue and we make progress on arms control, we may be able to scale down defense spending still more by the end of the decade. However, we should not commit ourselves now to specific cuts 10 years from now. The world is changing too quickly, and we must retain our ability to react to potential threats. Also, we must not forget about the real people whose lives will be turned upside down when the defense budget is deeply cut.

The government should look out for its defense workers and the communities they live in. We should insist on advanced notification and help for communities when the plan a transition from a defense to a domestic economy. Thirty-one percent of our engineers today work for the defense industry. They and other highly skilled workers and technicians are a vital national resource at a time when our technological age in a world economy must be sharper than ever before.

I have called for a new advanced research agency, a civilian version of DARPA, that could help to capture commercial work for the brilliance of the scientists and the engineers who have accomplished wonders on the battlefield. Likewise, those who served our country in uniform can't just be dumped on the job market. We've got to enlist them to help meet our needs here at home, too. By shifting people from active duty to the National Guard and Reserves, offering early retirement options, limiting reenlistment and slowing the pace of recruitment, we can build down our forces in a gradual way that doesn't abandon people of proven commitment and competence.

Our people in uniform are one of the most highly skilled in the areas we need most. We need to transfer their human resources and their energy into our work force here at home and even into our schools, perhaps in part by using Reserve centers and close bases for community-based education and training programs.

The defense policy that I have outlined keeps America strong and still yields substantial savings. The American people have earned this peace dividend through 40 years of unrelenting vigilance and sacrifice at an investment of trillions of dollars, and they are entitled to have that dividend reinvested in our future now. (Applause.)

Finally, our nation must reach an agreement with our allies for sharing the cost and the risks of maintaining peace. While Desert Storm set a very useful precedent for cost sharing, our forces still did most of the fighting and the dying. We need to shift the burden to a wider coalition of nations, of which our country will still be a leading part.

In the Persian Gulf, in Namibia, in Cambodia, and elsewhere in recent years, the United Nations has begun to play the role envisioned for it by Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. Now we must take the lead in making their vision real by expanding the Security Council and making Germany and Japan permanent members, by continuing to press for greater efficiency in the United States, and by exploring ways to institutionalize the UN's success in mobilizing international participation in Desert Storm.

One proposal worth exploring calls for a UN rapid deployment force that could be used for purposes beyond traditional peacekeeping, such as standing guard at the borders of countries

threatened by aggression, preventing attacks on civilians, providing humanitarian relief, and combating terrorism and drug trafficking.

In Europe, new security arrangements will evolve over the next decade. While insisting on a fairer sharing of the common defense burden, we must not turn our back on NATO. Until a more effective security system emerges, we have to give our allies no reason to doubt our constancy.

As we restructure our military forces, we must reinforce the powerful global movement toward democracy. United States foreign policy simply cannot be divorced from the moral principles we believe in. We can't disregard how other governments treat their own people, whether their domestic institutions are democratic or regressive, whether they encourage or check illegal conduct beyond their borders.

This doesn't mean that we can deal only with democracies or that we should seek to remake the world in our own image, but recent experience from Panama to Iran to Iraq shows the dangers of forging strategic relationships with despotic regimes. (Applause.) It should matter to us how other people govern themselves.

Democracies don't go to war with each other. The French and the British have nuclear weapons. We don't fear annihilation at their hands. Democracies don't sponsor terrorist acts against each other. They're more likely to be reliable trading partners, protect the global environment, and abide by international law.

Over time, democracy itself is a stabilizing force. It provides nonviolent means for resolving disputes. Democracies do a better job of resolving -- protecting ethnic and religious and other minorities. And elections can help to resolve civil wars.

Yet President Bush too often has hesitated when democratic forces all across the world needed our support in challenging the status quo. I believe the President erred when he secretly rushed envoys to resume cordial relations with China barely a month after the massacre in Tiananmen Square. (Applause.) I believe he erred when he spurned Yeltsin before the Moscow coup, when he poured cold water on the Baltic and Ukrainian aspirations for self-determination and independence, and when he initially refused to help the Kurds.

The administration continues to coddle China, despite its continuing crackdown on democratic reform, its brutal subjugation of Tibet, its irresponsible export of nuclear and missile technology, its support for the homicidal Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and its abusive trade practices. Such forbearance on our part might have made sense during the Cold War when China was the counterweight to Soviet power. It makes no sense to play the China card now when our opponents have thrown it in their hand. (Applause.)

In the Middle East, the administration deserves credit for bringing Israel and its Arab antagonists to the negotiating table. Yet I believe the President is wrong to use selective public pressure tactics against Israel, because in the process he's raised Arab expectations that he can deliver Israeli concessions, and he's fed Israeli fears that its interests will be sacrificed to an American-imposed solution. We must let the parties in the Middle East make peace. (Applause.)

And we must also remember that, even if -- even if -- the Israeli dispute were resolved tomorrow, there would still be the causes of conflict in that troubled part of the world:

ancient tribal, ethnic, and religious hatreds, fights over control of oil and water, the bitterness of the have-nots toward the haves, and the lack of democratic institutions to hold leaders accountable to their people and restrain their actions abroad, and finally the territorial ambitions of Iraq and Syria.

We paid a terrible price for this administration's earlier policies of deference to Saddam Hussein. Today, we must deal with Hafez Assad in Syria, but we must not overlook his tyrannical rule and his domination of Lebanon. We need a broader policy toward the Middle East that seeks to limit the flow of arms into the region as well as the materials needed to develop and deliver weapons of mass destruction, one which promotes democracy and human rights and preserves our strategic relationship with what is still the only democracy in the region -- Israel. (Applause.)

In Africa as well, we must align America with the forces of democracy. The administration has claimed credit for the historic opening of democracy now being negotiated in South Africa when, in fact, it resisted the sanctions that helped make this hopeful move possible. (Applause.)

Today, we should concentrate our attention on doing what we can to help end the violence that has ravaged the South African townships, by supporting with our aid the local structures that seek to mediate these disputes and by insisting that the South African government show the same zeal in prosecuting the perpetrators of this violence as it has in the past when pursuing the leaders of the anti-apartheid movement.

The administration in our states and cities should only relax the remaining sanctions as it becomes clearer that the day of democracy and guaranteed individual rights is at hand, and when that day does dawn, we must be prepared to extend our assistance to make sure that democracy, once gained, is never lost there. (Applause.)

And American foreign policy of engagement for democracy will unite our interests and our values. Here's what I think we should do: First, we need to respond more forcefully to one of the greatest security challenges of our time to help the people of the former Soviet Union demilitarize the society and build free political and economic institutions. (Applause.)

Congress has passed \$500 million to help the Soviets destroy nuclear weapons and for humanitarian aid. We can do better. As Senator Nunn and Representative Les Aspin have argued, we should shift money from marginal military programs to this key investment in our future security. We can radically reduce the threat of nuclear destruction that has dogged us for decades by investing a fraction of what would otherwise have to be spent to counter that threat. And together with our G-7 partners, we can supply the Soviet republics with the food and medical aid they need to survive their first winter of freedom in 74 years. (Applause.)

We should do all that we can to better coordinate these efforts with our allies and to provide the best technical assistance we can to distribute the food and the aid. No national security issue is more urgent than the question of who will control the nuclear weapons and technology of the former Soviet empire. Those weapons pose a threat to the security of every American, to our allies, and to the republics themselves.

I know it may be bad politics to be for any kind of foreign program in today's economic environment, but we owe it to the

people who defeated communism, who defeated the coup, and we owe it to ourselves. (Applause.) A small amount spent today stabilizing the emerging democracies in the former Soviet empire will reduce by far, far more the money we may have to commit to our defense in the future, and it will lead to the creation of lucrative new markets which mean more American jobs tomorrow. Having won the Cold War, we must not now lose the peace. (Applause.)

We should recognize Ukrainian independence as well as that of other republics who have made that decision democratically, but we should link United States and Western non-humanitarian aid to agreements by the republics to abide by all arms agreements negotiated by Soviet authorities, demonstrate responsibility with regard to nuclear weapons, demilitarize their economies, respect minority rights, and proceed with market and political reforms.

We should use our diplomatic and economic leverage to increase material incentives to democratize and raise the cost to those who don't. We have every right to condition our foreign aid and debt-relief policies on demonstrable progress toward democracy and market reforms, and in extreme cases, such as that of China, we should condition favorable trade terms on political liberalization and responsible international conduct. (Applause.)

We need to support evolving institutional structures which are favorable to countries struggling with the transition to democracy and markets such as the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, whose mission it is to rebuild the societies of Central and Eastern Europe. We are right to encourage the European Community to open its doors to those societies, perhaps by creating an affiliate status that carries some, but not all the privileges of citizenship.

We encourage American private investment in the former Soviet empire. The Soviet republics, after all, are rich in human and natural resources. One day, they and Eastern Europe could be lucrative markets for us.

We should regard increase in funding for democratic assistance as a legitimate part of our national security policy. We should support groups like the National Endowment for Democracy, which works openly, rather than covertly, to promote democratic pluralism and free markets abroad.

I would encourage the Agency for International Development and the USIA to channel more of their resources into promoting democracy, and just as Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America have helped to bring the truth to people around the world for years, a Radio Free Asia could carry news and hope to China and other countries in Asia which have not yet found democracy. (Applause.)

Finally, just as President Kennedy launched the Peace Corps 30 years ago, we should create a democracy corps today that will send thousands talented American volunteers of all ages to countries that need their legal, financial, and political expertise.

Our second major strategic challenge is to help lead the world in the new era of global growth. Any governor who's tried to create jobs over the last decade knows that experience in international economics is essential and that success in the global economy must be at the core of the United States national security policy in the 1990s. Without growth abroad, our own economy cannot thrive at home. Export of goods and services will be over a half trillion dollars in 1991, about 10 percent of our economy.

Without global growth, healthy international competition turns to all-too-deadly economic warfare. Without growth in economic progress, there can be no economic justice among or within nations. I believe the negotiations on an open trading system in the GATT round are of extraordinary importance, and I support the negotiation of a North American Free Trade Agreement as long as it's fair to our farmers and workers, preserves the environment, and observes decent labor standards.

Freer trade abroad means more jobs at home. Every billion dollars the United States exports generates 20 [thousand] or 30 thousand or more jobs. We must find ways to help developing nations finally overcome their debt crisis, which has lessened their capacity to buy our own goods and probably cost us over 1-1/2 million American jobs.

We must be strong at home to lead and maintain global growth. Our weakness at home has caused even our economic competitors to worry about our stubborn refusal to establish national strategy to regain our economic leadership and restore opportunity for our own working people and our middle class. That's what Mr. Landegger (ph) talked about. How can we lead when we've gone from being the world's largest creditor to the world's largest debtor, from having the highest wages in the world to falling to tenth? Where we depend on foreigners for \$100 billion a year of financing, we are not the masters of our own destiny.

I spoke in my last lecture about how we must rebuild our nation's economic greatness, for the job of restoring our competitive edge truly does begin at home. I have offered a program to build the most well-educated and well-trained work force in the world and put our national budget to work on programs that will make our people richer and not more indebted.

Our economic strength must become a defining element of our national security policy. We must organize to compete and win in the global economy. We need a commitment from American business and labor to work together to make world-class products. We have to be prepared to exchange some short-term benefit, whether it's in the quarterly profit statement or in archaic work rules, for long-term success.

The private sector has to maintain the initiative, but government has an indispensable role, too. A recent Department of Commerce report is a wake-up call that we are falling behind our major competitors in Europe and Japan in all kinds of emerging technologies that will define the high-paying jobs of the future, including advanced materials, biotechnology, superconductors, and computer-integrated manufacturing.

I have mentioned the Civilian Advanced Research Projects Agency to work closely with the private sector so that its priorities are not set by government alone. We have hundreds of national laboratories with exceptional talent that have put the United States at the forefront of military technology. Now we must reorient their mission, working with private companies and universities to advance technology that will make all our lives better and create tomorrow's high-wage, high-opportunity jobs. (Applause.)

Not enough of our companies engage in export. Just 15 percent of our companies account for 85 percent of our exports. We've got to meet our competitors' efforts to help smaller- and medium-sized

Companies identify and gain access to foreign markets. And, most important, government must assure that international competition is fair by insisting that our European, Japanese, and other trading partners play by the same rules. We prefer an open trading system, but our message must be clear: "We want you to play by these rules, but if you don't, we'll play by your rules."

We have no more important bilateral relations than our alliance with Japan, a relationship that's matured from one of dependency in the '50s to one of partnership today, a relationship based on the ties of democracy. But as we cooperate, we also compete, and as the maturity of our relationship allows American presidents to say more frankly what our common interests are, I will insist on fair play. As we put our own economic house in order, Japan must open the doors of its economic house or our partnership will be imperiled with adverse consequences for all the world.

We must understand, finally, as never before that our national security is largely economic. The success of our engagement in the world depends not on the headlines it brings to politicians in this city, but on the benefits it brings to hard-working middle-class Americans.

Our foreign policies are not really foreign at all anymore. When greenhouse gas emissions from developed nations warms the atmosphere and CFCs eat away at the ozone layer, our beaches and farmlands and people are threatened. When drugs flood into our country from South America and Asia, our cities suffer and our children's futures are put at risk. When a Libyan terrorist can go into an airport in Europe and check a bomb in a suitcase that kills hundreds of people, our freedom is diminished and our people live in fear.

So let us no longer define national security in narrow military terms of the Cold War. We can no longer afford to have separate foreign and domestic policies. We must devise and pursue national policies that serve the needs of our people by uniting us at home and restoring our greatness in the world. To lead abroad, a President of the United States must first lead at home.

A half century ago, this country emerged victorious from an all-consuming war into a new era of great challenge. It was a time of change, a time of new thinking, a time for working together to build a free and prosperous world, a time for putting that war behind us. In the aftermath of that war, Harry Truman and his successors forged a bipartisan consensus in America that brought security and for the next 20 years the greatest prosperity our nation had ever known.

Today, we need a president, a public, and a policy that are not caught up in the wars of the past, not World War II, not Vietnam, not the Cold War. What we need to elect in 1992 is not the last president of the 20th century, but the first president of the 21st century. (Sustained applause, cheers.)

This spring, when our troops came home from the Persian Gulf, welcome home parades were held all over America. In my home state, in Little Rock, we had over 100,000 people at the welcome home parade. Veterans came from all over the state, not just those who'd come back from the Gulf but those who'd served, men and women alike, in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, and they marched for 4-1/2 hours. I'll never forget how moved I was when I watched them march the street to our cheers. I saw the Vietnam veterans finally being given the honor they deserved all along.

The divisions we have lived with in this country for the last two years that have done so much to tear apart our politics and my own party

seem to fade away amid the common outburst of triumph and gratitude, and when the Vietnam Veterans' float won the prize for the best in the parade, with soldiers in long hair and tatoos and earrings and memories of the 60s, there was not a dry eye on the street. This spirit of unity is the spirit we need to move into this new era.

As President Lincoln once told Congress in another great time of challenge in 1862, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves and then we shall save our country." Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history.

(Applause)

-- chairman of the Georgetown University Lecture Fund. And before Governor Clinton takes a few questions, I'd like to recognize the student organizations who have co-sponsored this event, the Georgetown University Lecture Fund, the College Democrats, the NAACP, the Georgetown-Israeli Alliance, and the Students for Clinton.

Representatives from those organizations will ask the first questions, and if other students want to ask questions, I'd ask them to please line up behind the microphones. When you ask your question, please give your name and where you're from.

MS. HOSAK (ph): Governor Clinton, my name is Stephanie Hosak, president of the Georgetown University College Democrats and I'm from South Dakota, where I hear you just spent a cold evening in a very nice barn (inaudible) Sioux Falls.

My question is in regard to, given the tremendous trade deficit that we face and that must be attacked not only to improve our economic conditions but restore the competitive edge which you talk about, you mention that you will be insisting on rules of fair play.

My concern is that should our competitors, such as the EC and Japan, not abide by these rules that we'll be forced to close out some of our markets, which they tend to think that they can infiltrate to a large degree, and therefore we can see ourselves entering a trade war.

What would you do in specific policy to ensure against such trade wars?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, first I would renew our vigilance at GATT. I think the administration has tried hard to resolve the disputes. Our disputes with the Europeans are largely still over agricultural issues, which are also difficult matters of contention with Japan and things that I have wrestled with for years, since my state is the largest rice-producing state in the country and a major factor in soybean production as well.

I believe -- if you look at our trade deficit. Let's back up look at our trade deficit. If you look at our trade deficit, it has been coming down steadily because manufacturing productivity has increased. The manufacturing sector has gotten more aggressive,

and regrettably, because wages have dropped and because some of our business people are more alert to the opportunities in the global environment, we will actually have a modest trade surplus this year, for example with South Korea, a country with which we had a \$10 billion deficit only five years ago.

Our trade deficit has gone down each year with Mexico for the last five years because of the market-opening initiatives taken on his own by President Salinas. Our major deficits are with Japan, and that's about -- this year it'll probably be slightly over half of our deficit, and between two-thirds and three-quarters of that Japanese deficit will be in automobiles. I'll come back to that in a minute.

The second big problem we have is with the oil exporting countries, which is why I said in my economic -- we are more or less in balance with Europe. I haven't seen the final numbers yet but we'll be more or less in balance, a little below, a little above.

Our major problems are, in my opinion, here at home. We are not organized to compete to the maximum extent in a global economy, as I said today. We are not educated and trained to be a high wage, high growth, high opportunity society because we are insufficiently skilled and we do not have a system for retraining of our workers.

We have refused stubbornly to control health care costs at the national level, which is making many of our manufacturers uncompetitive in the global marketplace. So if we were to do those things, I think our exports would increase.

We would still have two primary problems with Japan and with oil exporters, and I'll say a little bit in a minute about the Mexican-American agreement. The problem with the oil exports is that the only energy policy we have is cheap oil. You can't blame them for making hay while the sun shines. They're just doing their job and raking it in.

Without having any serious jolts to an economy already in recession, we must begin a gradual but determined move toward a new energy policy that relies more on domestic production, especially of cheap, clean, plentiful natural gas, that relies more --

(Applause)

That relies more on R&D in the renewable resources. We have a laboratory in Colorado established when Jimmy Carter was President, whose budget has been strangled for the last 12 years that ought to be reinvigorated. There are enormous opportunities in this country for renewable long-term sources of energy.

Finally, we ought to achieve European standards of energy efficiency in large buildings and factories. If we did that, we could free up a lot of money and lower the trade deficit.

Now with Japan, Congressman Gephardt has a bill, the Super 301 bill, which I think has a lot of merit. We're going to have to go gingerly at this with Japan, but I think it is clear that they are much better organized and much more sophisticated at finding 1,000 indirect ways as well as more direct ways to make it difficult for us to pierce some of those markets.

I never blame them for what's wrong with us. I said in my previous speeches, until we become better educated, better organized, invest more in the future, get into the high technology

production game, we're not going to be competitive, but we are making those moves.

I think we have to find much more precise ways to try to even the playing field with Japan, and it is not just as clear as having some blanket selection on automobiles. There are a lot of automobiles with Japanese names today that have more American-made parts in them than some automobiles with American names have.

It is not just a problem of protectionism. We have American plants in this country today competitive in price and quality with the Japanese save for health care costs. But I think that the -- we have to be very careful about setting off a trade war. I agree with that. But if our disputes are largely with Japan and if we can find quick ways to respond to the dumping problems and to market-opening problems, I think we will be able to make some serious progress.

Now, let me say one thing about the Mexican-American free trade agreement, which has become the symbol, interestingly enough, of a bad trade policy. It means free trade is bad.

If Mexico grows richer, it'll be better for us. The Joint Economic Committee did a study a couple of years ago which said that if the growth rate of Latin America as a whole had been the same in the late 80s as it was in the mid-70s, our trade deficit would have been 20 percent lower.

One of the things that depresses our wages in the manufacturing sector is low wages in Mexico, and low productivity because we're under-organized and under-educated in America because they are crushed under foreign debt, mostly to us, that they can't. They have to depress their wages.

So if you just signed a trade agreement that had no environmental protections, no labor-law protections, and you didn't take account of the special problems of the farmers, especially people in citrus and vegetable in south Texas and south Florida, it might be very unfair.

If you sign one that is a good fair trade agreement, it will lead to explosions of growth on both sides of the Rio Grande River, as long as we also have the changes that I recommended in our economic policy so we're not competing with the low wage countries, we're competing with the high wage countries.

That requires also, to be perfectly fair, a different attitude on the part of some American managers who believe that we can only be a manufacturing country if we drive our wages down. That is wrong. The average German factory worker makes 20 percent more than the average American and works a shorter work week, gets a four-week paid vacation a year, has national health insurance, and has family leave when there's a kid born or a sick parent. It is wrong.

You can be a manufacturing country and be a high wage country, and I'm determined to see that we are both.

(Applause)

Q My name is Vernon Garns (ph). I'm president of Georgetown University NAACP. As stated in your speech, foreign policy should be the direct reflection of domestic policy. You also mentioned the horrible violence which has plagued black townships in Africa.

However, the same type of violence which is inflicted on black South Africans is equivalent to the amount of violence inflicted on African-Americans in this country and African-Americans in Latin America.

The African-American townships or communities are war-torn communities which are the marketplaces for illegal drugs, the overwhelming examples of the devastating consequences of AIDS, environmental racism, and the victims of continual police brutality.

How would you suggest that we secure human rights, civil rights, and improve living conditions in these African-American communities, thereby transforming them into role models for black communities abroad?

GOV. CLINTON: I think that is one of the central questions facing the United States today. It requires us first to make two decisions. One, that all of our people are important to us and that we don't have a person to waste. Two, that if we try, we can make a difference, because the truth is that a lot of people have given up on America's cities, a lot of people have given up on its most violent communities.

I had a heart-rending discussion a couple of days ago in New York with a trial judge about violence in America and what can be done about it. Very briefly, let me tell you what I think ought to be done.

None of this is a silver bullet and it will take time to overcome, but we can organize and direct our energies in an urgent task to revitalize our urban areas and restore the lives of so many that are being lost. First, let's just take the law enforcement issues and move to the human development issues.

The first thing we have to do is try to increase security in our cities. Most people have forgotten in some of the racist comments now being made by David Duke and others that in these big cities most black people work and most poor people work. Very important. Most poor people in America today have jobs, do 40 hours a week and are still living in poverty with their families, that they live in conditions of violence virtually unequalled anywhere in the world except where civil wars are reigning.

I think the first thing you have to do is put more police on the street and organize public housing developments and neighborhoods for safety. There are so few police today and so few of them are organized in grassroots community policing efforts with close ties to the people that live in communities or in housing developments that police are only used to go in after crimes have been committed.

They used to be the primary instrument of preventing crimes. Thirty years ago there were three policeman for every violent crime. Today there are three crimes for every policeman, a worsening ratio of nine to one. That's why my idea for national service in a national police corps, where we could send college graduates for two or three years back to cities where they come from to serve as police officers in neighborhood context is very, very important.

Secondly, we should pass the Brady bill. We should pass the Brady bill.

(Applause)

Thirdly, we should deal with the drug problem in a far more heads-up manner than we are now with two things. Number one, treatment on demand without delay. Treatment works. Appropriate treatment works. It is an illness. Some people are dumb enough to want to kill themselves with drug addiction. Most people are sick.

All the serious studies show that appropriate levels of treatment for appropriate lengths of time yield a success rate slightly in excess of 60 percent. You get to play major league baseball if you hit .250. This is a very important issue, a very important issue.

The second thing we ought to do is find an alternative for first-time drug offenders. Most people who commit drug crimes today in our big cities are given two unacceptable alternatives. Either they are sent to prison where they cost us a bunch of money and they really learn how to be criminals, or they're put on probation with some poor, overworked probation officer that's got 200 or 300 people and never pays them any attention. Then they commit a second crime and then they go to prison and do that.

I think that every urban area should have alternatives to incarceration, community work centers where people live, are subject to extreme discipline, adequate treatment for drug and alcohol abuse, continuing education and do community service work and are reconnected to their communities.

(Applause)

Third, you got to have public health clinics in all of our neighborhoods. You've got to have health services in the schools. You've got to have comprehensive drug education programs and every child in this country has got to have available to them by the time they reach adolescence -- now you listen to this, all of you -- every poor child in a disadvantaged-home in a disadvantaged neighborhood has got to have available to him or her by the time they reach adolescence a personal relationship with a successful, caring adult through organized mentoring programs.

(Applause)

You cannot expect these children to live lives they cannot imagine. The thing our President has said, of all the things he said that I disagree with most, is the way he derided his not having what he called "the vision thing."

Let me tell you something. I hope none of you walk out of this room without the vision thing.

(Applause)

The final thing I have to tell you is we have to start indigenous economic development and housing strategies in these areas. There are all kinds of housing programs that are at work that are empowering people. I think the Congress made a mistake in not passing more of Jack Kemp's housing initiatives to do more for low income working people, to give them the right to own their own homes and secure their own neighborhoods.

I think that was a big mistake and I think we ought to take some development models that work and put them all across the country. I'll just give you one. The South Shore Development Bank in Chicago, one of the most innovative financial institutions where in the world, did a great deal to revitalize a totally

ressed neighborhood within a matter of years.

We borrowed that model and set up a rural development bank in our state and it's doing amazing things. There ought to be a development bank in every sizable community in every city in this country to prove that we can make free enterprise work for poor people again. If we started there, we'd be making a good start.

Q My name is Jeremy Bash (ph). I represent a strong pro-Israel group on campus and we helped to co-sponsor the event today. I want to ask you, in September we lobbied for a loan guarantee program. We lobbied Congress to help private banks that wanted to invest in the Israeli economy to help absorb Soviet Jews who were fleeing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

I wanted to know your opinion on the loan guarantee program and other programs, private investing programs for US banks and US firms to help stimulate the Israeli economy, which is in dire straits.

GOV. CLINTON: I think the loan guarantees should be approved. They are part of a 20-year commitment we have to relocate Jews from the Soviet Union. I think that they should be approved in a way that makes them not part of this negotiation process at all. That is, the government should agree not to use the loan guarantees or some substitute for it to expand the settlements that are now being discussed in these peace negotiations, but we should not hold up the loan guarantee and undermine a 20-year humanitarian policy we have at a time when those societies are collapsing in Central Europe, and they will have their share, and historically have had their share, of David Dukes rising up.

I think we ought to go ahead and get those people where they want to go.

Q My name is Molly Peterson. I'm a student in the School of Foreign Service, a Student for Clinton, and a student about to take an international trade exam.

While China is a proven violator of human rights, of trade regulations against illegal importations into the US and at best a fair weather friend, there are many industries that depend upon the low tariffs which most favored nation status allows, especially the wheat growers and the lumber industries of the Pacific Northwest.

On a general basis, how do you intend to balance the moral demands of American foreign policy with the economic needs of these specific groups?

GOV. CLINTON: Well, if it were easy, it would be done already. I think that as a general rule we ought to try to cooperate with those countries that we think we have a reasonable chance of changing through cooperative efforts and mutual advance.

When countries flagrantly violate accepted norms of international conduct and undermine the interests that we hold dear and retard the forces of democracy that are plainly welling up, then I think we have to seriously consider whether we should maintain most favored nation status. That's why I support Senator Mitchell's bill on China in the United States Senate.

Thank you very much.

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1 welcome to Cleveland.

2 (Standing ovation.)

3 KEYNOTE ADDRESS

4 HON. BILL CLINTON

5 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Thank you very much. Mary
6 Rose, thank you for that introduction. I loved listening
7 to it, but all the while I knew that the better politician
8 was speaking first. It is a great honor for us to be in
9 your district and to be in Mayor White's city.

10 I want to again welcome all of you to this
11 convention. The Democratic Leadership Council has had a
12 very good year, but in a real sense, we are just
13 beginning, for it is here with you that we are being given
14 the chance to shape a new message for the Democratic
15 Party, and to chart a new course for our country.

16 I have read, and you have read, all the people
17 who say that the Democratic Party is dead. I read the New
18 Republic with the cover, Democratic Coma.

19 Well, I want you to know that I respectfully
20 disagree. Our DLC has over 600 Federal, State, and local
21 elected officials, people who are brimming with ideas and
22 energy, people who are out there on the firing line every
23 day, actually solving problems, and somehow getting the
24 electoral support they need to go forward.

25 I disagree because, even though our President is

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1 very, very popular, and we all pray for his speedy
2 recovery, all is not well in America. We should all be
3 justly proud of our magnificent victory in the Gulf, and
4 we can honestly say that only America, of all the
5 countries in the world, could have put together the
6 political and military coalitions that made it possible.

7 So in that sense we are still the world's number
8 one country. But if you look at the whole picture, it is
9 very different, for today, as we begin another work week
10 in America, 18 other nations will do a better job than we
11 do of the simple task of bringing babies into the world
12 alive.

13 And a dozen will do a better job of preparing
14 their children to perform on international tests in
15 science and math that are so critical to our future.

16 At least 10 will send their working men and
17 women out to their jobs with better reading skills that
18 are so necessary to compete in a world where what you can
19 earn depends largely on what you can learn.

20 Of all the major countries in the world, we will
21 be the only one that sends our working men and women to
22 their jobs today with the gnawing insecurity that millions
23 of them feel still that, if they get sick or their
24 children get sick, they do not know how they will pay the
25 bills, or whether they will get the care.

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1 Of all the major industrial countries in the
2 world, we are the only country that has no system for
3 moving the kids who do not want to go to college into good
4 jobs with high wages and a good future instead of dead-
5 end jobs.

6 Regrettably, last year we did become number one
7 in another category: we passed the Soviet Union and South
8 Africa, and now we are the number one nation in the world
9 in the percentage of our people we put in prison.

10 Our competitors for the future are Germany and
11 Japan. Last year they had productivity growth rates three
12 and four times ours, because they educate their people
13 better; they invest more in their future, and they
14 organize their economies for global competition, and we do
15 not.

16 These are facts that we have to face, but for
17 more than a decade we have lived in a fantasy world in
18 which it was bad form and terrible politics to admit that
19 we had problems of this magnitude, and it was certainly
20 out of the question for anyone in national political
21 leadership to assume personal responsibility for doing
22 something about them.

23 I hope that the number one consequence of our
24 victory in the Persian Gulf, is that at long last we will
25 have the national self-confidence to face up to our real

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1 problems here at home, for they are the national security
2 issues of the future.

3 More important than the future of the Democratic
4 Party, which is what is preoccupying so much of the press
5 coverage, is the future of America. If these conditions
6 continue, can we preserve America's leadership in the
7 world we have done so much to make? Can we keep the
8 American dream alive here at home? I joined the DLC to
9 help find answers to these questions.

10 The 1980's glorified the pursuit of greed and
11 self-interest, and we saw the explosion in the number of
12 poor women and their little children. In the 1980's our
13 competitive position eroded, but the CEO's of this country
14 gave themselves pay raises that were four times as much as
15 they gave their employees and three times as much as their
16 corporate profits increased.

17 Middle income families' earnings declined for
18 the first time in our memory, and not because we are a
19 lazy people. Working class families put in more hours at
20 work and less time with their children in 1989 than they
21 did in 1979.

22 (Applause.)

23 GOVERNOR CLINTON: And it is not because we are
24 overpaid. German factory workers on the average make over
25 20 percent more than their American counterparts. You may

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1 say, well if all these things are out there, why in the
2 wide world haven't the Democrats been able to take
3 advantage of these conditions?

4 I'll tell you why: because too many of the
5 people that used to vote for us, the very burdened middle
6 class we are talking about, have not trusted us in
7 national elections to defend our national interests
8 abroad, to put their values into our social policy at
9 home, or to take their tax money and spend it with
10 discipline.

11 We have got to turn these perceptions around, or
12 we cannot continue as a national party. But that is not
13 the most important issue. The most important thing is
14 that this United States of America needs at least one
15 political party that is not afraid to tell the people the
16 truth and address the real needs of real human beings.

17 (Applause.)

18 GOVERNOR CLINTON: We need one political party
19 that does not want to be the hunter or the hunted on those
20 30-second negative ads that have turned so many people
21 off.

22 (Applause.)

23 GOVERNOR CLINTON: I applaud the changes of the
24 Democratic national party in the last couple of years
25 under the leadership of Ron Brown. He has made a real

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1 effort to reach out to the middle class.

2 (Applause.)

3 GOVERNOR CLINTON: He has made a real effort to
4 unify all of our party, to talk to all of its people, with
5 all of their different views, and to help people like me
6 and our Members of Congress to get elected, often in very
7 tough circumstances, and we have held up pretty well. But
8 if we want to be a national party, we have a lot more to
9 do.

10 We have got to have a message that touches
11 everybody, that makes sense to everybody, that goes beyond
12 the stale orthodoxies of left and right, one that
13 resonates with the real concerns of ordinary Americans,
14 with their hopes and their fears. That is what we are
15 here in Cleveland to do.

16 The Republican burden is their record of denial,
17 evasion, and neglect. But our burden is to give the
18 people a new choice, rooted in old values, a new choice
19 that is simple, that offers opportunity, demands
20 responsibility, gives citizens more say, provides them
21 responsive government -- all because we recognize that we
22 are a community, we are all in this together, and we are
23 going up or down together.

24 Opportunity for all means first and foremost a
25 commitment to economic growth. To do it we have to expand

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1 world trade, but we ought to demand that when we expand
2 it, our workers get treated fairly and the global
3 environment is enhanced, not torn apart.

4 Opportunity for all means more investment in
5 emerging technologies, and more incentives to invest by
6 U.S. companies in their own country.

7 Opportunity for all means, more than anything
8 else, world-class skills, for people who live here while
9 money and management may fly away.

10 Opportunity for all also means that the
11 government ought to help the middle class as well as the
12 poor when they need it. That is why we favored increases
13 in the earned income tax credits for hard-pressed working
14 Americans who are overtaxed, largely because of the \$65
15 billion surplus in the regressive Social Security tax.

16 That is why we favor preschool for all children,
17 as an opportunity for all children, as an opportunity, not
18 a mandate. That is why we favor a national system of
19 apprenticeships for noncollege-bound young people, and
20 national service so that everybody who wants to can get
21 the money to go to college, if they will in turn give
22 something back to their country, as teachers or police
23 officers.

24 (Applause.)

25 GOVERNOR CLINTON: But opportunity for all is

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1 not enough, for if you give opportunity without insisting
2 on responsibility, much of the money can be wasted, and
3 the country's strength can still be sapped. So we favor
4 responsibility for all. That is the idea behind national
5 service. It is the idea behind welfare reform, and we
6 urge every State to vigorously pursue it.

7 We should invest more money in people on welfare
8 to give them the skills they need to succeed, and to help
9 them with child care and with medical care for their
10 children, but we should demand that everybody who can go
11 to work do it, for work is the best social program this
12 country has ever devised.

13 (Applause.)

14 GOVERNOR CLINTON: The Democrats should be the
15 party which demands the toughest possible child support
16 enforcement. Forty percent, 40 percent of our welfare
17 dollars would not have to come out of the taxpayers' hides
18 if the men who owe child support and can pay it did it.

19 (Applause.)

20 GOVERNOR CLINTON: There is an idea abroad in
21 the land that if you abandon your children the government
22 will raise them. Well, I will tell you something. For 11
23 years now I have been providing budgets for the division
24 of children and family services, for maternal and child
25 health, for every conceivable program. I have done

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1 everything I could to get more money, but I will let you
2 in on a secret -- governments do not raise children,
3 people do, and it is time they were asked to assume their
4 responsibilities and forced to do it if they refuse.

5 (Applause.)

6 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Responsibility for all means
7 that students ought not to get or keep their drivers
8 license unless they stay in school, and parents ought to
9 have to keep them in school and ought to show up at school
10 if the kids are in trouble. It means there is something
11 for everybody to do, and that we as Democrats recognize
12 that we cannot move forward without investing more money
13 in our future. But we can invest all the money in the
14 world, and if people will not do right, it will not do
15 what it is supposed to do.

16 So the Democrats should be for responsibility
17 for all. And I believe we should be for more choices.
18 Choice is not a code word for elitism or racism. We are
19 living in a world, after all, when all of us want 50 or 60
20 channels on cable television, when people in Eastern
21 Europe tore down the Berlin wall because they got sick and
22 tired of some government monopoly telling them what to do
23 and how to live, and they knew it did not work.

24 In the information age, monopoly decisions
25 handed down on high by government bureaucracies are not

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1 always the best way to go. With appropriate protections
2 against discrimination based on race or income, we can
3 provide our people more choices: child care vouchers,
4 public school choice options, job training programs,
5 choices for the elderly who used to be required, when they
6 got a little frail, in order to get government money, to
7 go to nursing homes, to let them have more choices, to
8 stay independent and to stay at home.

9 (Applause.)

10 GOVERNOR CLINTON: We believe in the obligation
11 of Democrats who believe in government to reinvent
12 government, to make it work. Wee believe that we should
13 follow the successes of our greatest corporations in
14 eliminating middle levels of bureaucracy, pushing
15 decisions down to the lowest possible level, empowering
16 people, increasing accountability, and treating our
17 citizens like they were our customers and our bosses --
18 because they are.

19 (Applause.)

20 GOVERNOR CLINTON: That is why we favor tenant
21 management of housing projects, and giving principals and
22 teachers more say in how schools are run, and neighborhood
23 policing, where the same police ride the streets or walk
24 the blocks day in and day out and know their neighbors and
25 treat them like partners in the fight for safe streets.

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1 We believe we ought to have a Federal budget
2 which spends more money on the future and less on the
3 present and the past, a Federal budget which ties current
4 increases in consumption to the money the American people
5 can afford to pay because of how much their own income
6 increases.

7 And finally, let me say again, we believe in
8 community, in repairing a torn fabric of our country at
9 its most fragile point, the millions and millions of
10 children who are being robbed of their childhoods, because
11 we really are all in this together. This is a new choice
12 Democrats can ride to victory on: opportunity,
13 responsibility, choice, a government that works, a belief
14 in community.

15 Now our new choice plainly rejects the old
16 categories and false alternatives they impose. Is what I
17 just said to you liberal or conservative? The truth is,
18 it is both, and it is different. It rejects the
19 Republicans' attacks and the Democrats' previous
20 unwillingness to consider new alternatives.

21 Let us just take two examples. Take this fight
22 about civil rights. The Republicans have set it up so
23 that, if you are for the civil rights bill, you have got
24 to be for quotas, so that if you are not for quotas we
25 have to say you are for discrimination. It is a bogus

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1 debate. And the White House ought to be ashamed of itself
2 for breaking up the honest --

3 (Applause.)

4 GOVERNOR CLINTON: -- for breaking up the honest
5 attempt of the Business Roundtable and the civil rights
6 groups in this country to have a new choice, where you can
7 have economic growth, small business vitality, you do not
8 wake up every day being scared to death of a lawsuit, but
9 we protect women and minorities and people who deserve it
10 from unfair discrimination on the job, which we all know
11 still exists in this country.

12 (Applause.)

13 GOVERNOR CLINTON: Take the debate about poor
14 children. The way the Republicans set the debate up, they
15 say, well the Democrats are for throwing more money at
16 these problems, and we know you cannot throw money at
17 them. We just said that, and we are for family values.

18 Well, let me tell you something. Family values
19 will not feed a hungry child, but you cannot raise that
20 hungry child very well without them. We need both.

21 When I was a little boy, I was raised by my
22 grandparents, with a lot of help from my great-
23 grandparents. My great-grandparents lived out in the
24 country in about a two-room shack up on stilts. The best
25 room on the place was the storm cellar, which was a hole

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1 in the ground, where I used to spend the night with a coal
2 oil lantern and snakes. And they got government
3 commodities -- that is what we called it back then -- help
4 from the government.

5 They did a heck of a job with what they had. My
6 granddaddy ran a country store in a black neighborhood in
7 a little town called Hope, Arkansas, and there were no
8 food stamps, so when his black customers, who worked hard
9 for a living, came in with no money, he gave them food
10 anyway and just made a note of it. He knew that he was
11 part of a community. They believed in family values.
12 They believed in personal responsibility. But they also
13 believed that the government had an obligation to help
14 people who were doing the best they can.

15 And we made it. If you contrast that to the
16 situation that exists in so much of America today, it is
17 truly shocking. My wife and I were in Los Angeles a year
18 and a half ago, in south-central L.A. in one of the drug-
19 dominated areas, and we spent an hour and a half with a
20 dozen sixth-graders, most of whom had never met their
21 grandparents, could only imagine what a great grandparent
22 was, and one of them even told me he thought he may have
23 to turn his own parents in for drug abuse.

24 And do you know what those kids were worried
25 about? They were worried first about getting shot going

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1 to and from school, and second, they were most worried
2 that when they turned 13 they would have to join a gang
3 and do crack or they would get the living daylights beat
4 out of them.

5 Now let me tell you something, friends. Those
6 people do not care about the rhetoric of left and right
7 and liberal and conservative and who is up and who is down
8 and how we are positioned. They are real people, they
9 have real problems, and they are crying desperately for
10 someone who believes the purpose of government is to solve
11 their problems and make progress, instead of posturing
12 around and waiting for the next election.

13 (Applause.)

14 GOVERNOR CLINTON: And there are people like
15 them all over America: A working man at home who asked me
16 in the election, he said, Governor I believe in your
17 education program, and I support raising taxes to pay for
18 it, but I am doing the best I can. When will I ever do
19 better?

20 A widow with four children I met in the cafe who
21 said, I know I could go on welfare and get medical
22 coverage for my kids, but I think it is immoral if I can
23 work, so I come here and work every day. But what am I
24 going to do if my children get sick?

25 Those people do not care about the idle rhetoric

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1 that has paralyzed American politics. They want a new
2 choice, and they deserve a new choice, and we ought to
3 give it to them.

4 Do you really believe that if we permit these
5 conditions to go on for 10 or 20 or 30 years, and we
6 permit national politics to continue in its present
7 irrelevant track for 10 or 20 or 30 years, that America
8 will lead the world we have made, that you can keep the
9 American Dream alive for the next generation of Americans?

10 I want my child to grow up in the America I did;
11 I do not want her to be part of the first generation of
12 Americans to do worse than their parents did. I do not
13 want her to be a part of a country that is coming apart
14 instead of coming together.

15 Over 25 years ago, I had a professor of western
16 civilization who told me our country was the greatest
17 country in human history because our people had always
18 believed in two simple things. One is that the present
19 does not have to be as good as the future. The future can
20 always be better. And two, that every one of us has a
21 personal, moral responsibility to make it so. That is
22 what the new choice is all about. That is what we are
23 here in Cleveland to do.

24 We are not here to save the Democratic Party.
25 We are here to save the United States of America.

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1 Thank you very much, and God bless you.

2 (Standing ovation.)

3 MAKING AMERICA THE LAND OF OPPORTUNITY AGAIN:

4 STORIES FROM THE NEW POLITICS

5 INTRODUCTION OF DOUG ROSS

6 SHELBY SOLOMON

7 MR. SOLOMON: Good morning. Talk about a tough
8 act to follow. That's why I'm a member of the DLC,
9 statements like that one. My name is Shelby Solomon, and
10 I am pleased to be serving as the chairman of the Michigan
11 DLC. And I am pleased to have the opportunity this
12 morning to introduce our next speaker.

13 If you don't know Doug Ross, who will moderate
14 our panel on new politics in America, you probably will
15 soon get to know him. He's someone who I had the pleasure
16 to serve with as a member of Governor Jim Blanchard's
17 cabinet in Michigan for the past 4 years. And Doug has
18 proven that he can work on the front lines to bring
19 business and government together to deliver innovative .
20 policies for the future.

21 In his 5 years as director of the Michigan
22 Department of Commerce under Governor Blanchard, Doug Ross
23 played a key role in shaping some of the most innovative
24 economic development and human investment programs and
25 initiatives in the country. Programs like the Michigan

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Divider Title: 10

U.S. President.

The Chief Executive

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES OF
THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE UNITED STATES

from

George Washington to Lyndon B. Johnson

with an introduction by

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

and commentary by

FRED L. ISRAEL

conceived and edited by

CHELSEA HOUSE PUBLISHERS

CROWN PUBLISHERS, INC., NEW YORK

The Inaugural Addresses: Panorama of American History

by ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.

*—Oath as prescribed in the Constitution,
Article II, Section 1*

America has no more solemn rite than the inauguration of a President. Every four years since 1789 the austere ceremony has suspended the passions of politics to permit an interlude of national reunion. "We have called by different names brethren of the same principle," said Jefferson after one of the angriest elections of our history. "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." Putting doubts and disagreements aside, the nation listens for a moment as one people to the words of the man they have chosen for the highest office in the land. And every President, as he takes the oath, has his opportunity to confide to his countrymen his philosophy of government, his conception of the Presidency, and his vision of the future. Some have done this more arrestingly than others; but together the inaugural addresses offer an unusual panorama of American history.

The addresses record, first of all, the growth of the United States from the infant rural country of 1789, made up of four million people in thirteen states straggling along the Atlantic seaboard, into the mighty industrial society of today, with nearly two hundred million in fifty states stretching from sea to sea and into the Pacific. They record too the parallel transformation of a weak nation isolated on the periphery of world politics into the most powerful nation in history, saddled with interests and responsibilities everywhere on earth.

INTRODUCTION

v

At the same time, these addresses reflect the tragic problems that growth and change have brought to the American community. The idyllic days when John Adams talked of our "national innocence," when Monroe spoke of "the happy Government under which we live," when Polk asked, "Who shall assign limits to the achievements of free minds and free hands under the protection of this glorious Union?" have given way to the somber apprehensions that have shadowed the inaugural pronouncements of the last generation. "Dark pictures and gloomy forebodings are worse than useless," said McKinley as late as 1901; but his successor, Theodore Roosevelt, could not escape the troubling proposition: "Never before have men tried so vast and formidable an experiment as that of administering the affairs of a continent under the form of a democratic republic." Power gave new perplexity to both domestic and foreign affairs.

So the rise of industrialism throughout the nineteenth century brought grave problems in its wake. As early as 1889 Benjamin Harrison began to worry about "our great corporations," and four years later Cleveland described them as too often "conspiracies against the interests of the people." At the same time, Cleveland, warning against the "evils of paternalism," added, "While the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government, its functions do not include support of the people." But the new social questions could not be ignored. "Modern life," said Theodore Roosevelt, "is both complex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being." By 1913 Wilson asked the nation to count the human cost of industrial growth, "the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through." Answering his question, Wilson demanded that government "be put at the service of humanity" in order to shield ordinary people "from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with."

Our domestic policy has also confronted with rising intensity the problem of the absorption of ethnic minorities. The early Presidents frequently recommended, in the ornate language of Madison, that the nation "carry on the benevolent plans which have so meritoriously applied to the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life to a participation in the improvements of which the human mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state"—a recommendation

which, alas, had small effect on his countrymen's treatment of the Indians. After the Civil War, Presidents betrayed concern about the mounting flow of immigrants. "There are men of all races," said Benjamin Harrison, "even the best, whose coming is necessarily a burden upon our public revenues or a threat to social order. These should be identified and excluded." Taft displayed special anxiety over "the admission of Asiatic immigrants who cannot be amalgamated with our population." But the idea of exclusion on ethnic grounds came into increasing conflict with the American conscience. Nor can modern America accept Taft's complacent message to Negro Americans that "it is not the disposition or within the province of the Federal Government to interfere with regulation by Southern States of their domestic affairs." Better the blunt language of Grant: The ex-slave "is not possessed of the civil rights which citizenship should carry with it. This is wrong, and should be corrected. To this correction I stand committed, so far as Executive influence can avail."

In foreign affairs our Presidents can no longer, with Jefferson, reject "entangling alliances" or, with Monroe, congratulate the nation on the "peculiar felicity" that preserves us from the upheavals of the world outside. As the United States has grown, the planet has shrunk. "We have become a great nation," said Theodore Roosevelt, "forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with the other nations of the earth." "We are provincials no longer," said Wilson in 1917. "... There can be no turning back." Even Calvin Coolidge, while hoping to resurrect the old isolationism, had to concede that "we cannot live to ourselves alone." Franklin Roosevelt proclaimed in 1945, after three testing years of war, "We have learned that we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger. We have learned to be citizens of the world, members of the human community." It was a bitter education. John F. Kennedy, reminding his fellow countrymen that "the graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe," spoke the hard wisdom of history in summoning the nation "to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle . . . against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself."

These addresses, as they illuminate the national experience, also illuminate the Presidency itself. No President ever took his accession to power lightly. Many followed Washington in remarking that "no event could have filled me with greater anxieties" (though none has been so querulous as Grant in complaining that he had been "the subject of abuse and slander scarcely ever equaled in political history"). The inaugural series displays the

growing understanding that the Presidency itself had to be the center of action in the American system. In 1841 William Henry Harrison could speak of "the impropriety of Executive interference in the legislation of Congress" and even regret that the Constitution had not made the Secretary of the Treasury "entirely independent of the Executive." But the addresses of the twentieth century, except for the decade of the 1920's, nearly all assume, without bothering to argue the point, that active and purposeful leadership is the essence of the Presidency.

It must be conceded that, even in the field of political oratory, the inaugural address is an inferior art form. It is rarely an occasion for original thought or stimulating reflection. The platitude quotient tends to be high, the rhetoric stately and self-serving, the ritual obsessive, and the surprises few. It is astonishing to note how few truly memorable addresses there have been: certainly Washington's First, Jefferson's First, Lincoln's Second, Franklin Roosevelt's First, and Kennedy's; perhaps also Lincoln's First, Theodore Roosevelt's, Wilson's First, and Franklin Roosevelt's Second. The addresses vary considerably among themselves. They differ in length—from the 135 words of Washington's Second to the 8,466 words of William Henry Harrison's (ironically the President who served the shortest term made the longest address). They differ in concept—from Taft's heavily programmatic discourse to the unimpeachable generalities of Eisenhower.

Yet a great strand binds them together. Washington declared at the beginning of the republic, "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered, perhaps, as *deeply*, as *finally* staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people." This is the recurrent theme. "Great is the stake placed in our hands," said Jackson, for the American experience "will be decisive in the opinion of mankind of the practicability of our federal system of government." Van Buren, the first President born in the American republic, taking office at the end of the first half-century of the Constitution, reviewed the record of "our great experiment" and concluded that "America will present to every friend of mankind the cheering proof that a popular government, wisely formed, is wanting in no element of endurance or strength." "Upon the success of our experiment," said Theodore Roosevelt, "much depends, not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations." "If we lose that sacred fire," said Franklin Roosevelt, "... then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish."

The sacred fire has sometimes flickered and guttered through the nearly two centuries of American independence. But it burns steadily on today, and "the glow from that fire," in the words of John F. Kennedy, "can truly light the world." The addresses in this volume suggest the resources of faith and of hope that will strengthen American Presidents in the years to come as they confront the perils and possibilities of an uncertain future. And every President, in his most anxious hour, must respond to the magnanimity and resolve of Abraham Lincoln: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

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Divider Title: 11



Ronald Reagan

FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS

TUESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1981

For the first time, an inauguration ceremony was held on the terrace of the West Front of the Capitol. Chief Justice Warren Burger administered the oath of office to the former broadcaster, screen actor, and Governor of California. In the election of 1980, the Republicans won the White House and a majority in the Senate. On inauguration day, American hostages held by the revolutionary government of Iran were released.

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens: 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-4-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, causing 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 are not bound by that same limitation?

We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding—we are going to 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 have 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.

From time to time, we have 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. But if no one among us is capable of governing himself,

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then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden. 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. 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 our factories, teach our children, keep our homes, and heal us when we are sick—professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies, and truckdrivers. 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 opportunity 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 is 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 are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do 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 are in a time when there are no heroes 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 are 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 are 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.

I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am 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. 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 are sick, and provide opportunities 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 have just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest econo-

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

This is the first time in history that this ceremony has been held, as you have 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 on 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 kinds 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 barber shop 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 are told that on his body was found a diary. 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

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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.

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clusion, when you held up a sign saying, "Chinese-American Friendship."

And friendship is the most important gift that one group can bring to another. It is a tragedy of this century that for 20 years a great wall of hostility has separated the 800 million people of the People's Republic of China and the 200 million people of the United States of America.

As a result of the meetings that I was privileged to have with Chairman Mao and Premier Chou En-lai in Peking early in 1972, that wall of hostility is now coming down. And we only hope in the future that young Americans will have the opportunity to go to your country and that they will be as fine ambassadors of friendship as you have been ambassadors of friendship from the People's Republic of China to the United States of America.

Now, since you have brought us these great gifts, your talent and your friendship, we have a small token of appreciation for you to take with you as you return

home.

This is the seal of the President of the United States which each of you can have and which will remind you of your visit to our country.

Now, Mrs. Nixon and I would like the privilege of greeting each of you personally to express our appreciation for your long journey, for your magnificent talent, but most of all for the friendship that you have brought to the American people.

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:03 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. Following his remarks, the members of the troupe were presented with ashtrays and pens bearing the Presidential seal.

The troupe, consisting of 40 performers and 12 musicians, toured the United States from December 16, 1972, to January 13, 1973, visiting Chicago, Indianapolis, New York City, and Washington, D.C.

Mr. Chang Ying-wu, director of the troupe, responded to the President's remarks in Chinese. A translation of his remarks is printed in the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents (vol. 9, p. 26).

8 Oath of Office and Second Inaugural Address. January 20, 1973

I, RICHARD NIXON, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, so help me God.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 ensure better education, better health, better housing, better transportation, a cleaner environment—to restore respect for law, to make our communities more livable—and to en-

sure the God-given right of every American to full and equal opportunity.

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 have 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.”

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. And let us measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves.

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.

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.

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. And let each of us reach out for that one precious quality government can-

not 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.

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 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.

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 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.

And let us be proud that by our bold, new initiatives, by our steadfastness for peace with honor, we have made a breakthrough 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.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:02 p.m. from the inaugural platform erected at the east front of the Capitol. Prior to the address, the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, first to Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and then to President Richard Nixon.

The address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television. An advance text was released on the same day.

Senator Marlow W. Cook of Kentucky was cochairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Inaugural Ceremonies. Mrs. Dwight D. Eisenhower was present on the platform for the ceremony.

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Divider Title: 13

I Inaugural Address.

January 20, 1961

[Delivered in person at the Capitol]

Vice President Johnson, Mr. Speaker, 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 to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

For 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 word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more 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 of half 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 belaboring 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) let the oppressed go free.”

And if a beach-head 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 one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand 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 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

John F. Kennedy, 1961

Jan. 21 [2]

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 here 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.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:52 p.m. from a platform erected at the east front of the Capitol. Immediately before the address the oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Warren.

The President's opening words "Reverend Clergy" referred to His Eminence Richard Cardinal Cushing, Archbishop of Boston; His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, head of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America; the Reverend Dr. John Barclay, pastor of the Central Christian Church, Austin, Tex.; and Rabbi Dr. Nelson Glueck, President of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

2 Exchange of Greetings With Leaders of the Soviet Union.

January 21, 1961

Nikita Khrushchev,

Chairman, Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R.

Leonid Brezhnev,

Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, U.S.S.R.

Please accept this expression of my appreciation for your kind message of congratulations on the occasion of my inauguration as President of the United States of America. I welcome your expression of hope for a fundamental improvement in relations between our two countries and in the world situation as a whole; it is a hope which we share. We are ready and anxious to cooperate with all who are prepared to join in genuine dedication to the assurance of a peaceful and a more fruitful life for all mankind. Speaking on behalf of the Government and people of the United States of America, as well as on my own behalf, I can assure you that the efforts of

the United States Government will be directed toward this imperative goal.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. KENNEDY

NOTE: The message from Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Brezhnev, dated January 20 and delivered to the White House at 4 p.m. on the same day, follows:

Dear Mr. President:

We congratulate you on the occasion of your inauguration. Availing ourselves of this opportunity we wish to express the hope that by our own joint efforts we shall succeed in achieving a fundamental improvement in relations between our countries and a normalization of the whole international situation. We are convinced that, step by step, it will be possible to remove existing suspicion and distrust and cultivate seeds of friendship and practical cooperation between our peoples. On its side, the Soviet Government is always ready to support any good undertakings in this direction and do everything in its power in order that durable peace may be established in the world, so that all nations may live in friendship and without enmity.

N. KHRUSHCHEV
L. BREZHNEV

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Divider Title: 14

1 ¶ The Second Inaugural Address. "I See One-Third of a Nation Ill-Housed, Ill-Clad, Ill-Nourished." January 20, 1937

WHEN four years ago we met to inaugurate a President, the Republic, single-minded in anxiety, stood in spirit here. We dedicated ourselves to the fulfillment of a vision—to speed the time when there would be for all the people that security and peace essential to the pursuit of happiness. We of the Republic pledged ourselves to drive from the temple of our ancient faith those who had profaned it; to end by action, tireless and unafraid, the stagnation and despair of that day. We did those first things first.

Our covenant with ourselves did not stop there. Instinctively we recognized a deeper need—the need to find through government the instrument of our united purpose to solve for the individual the ever-rising problems of a complex civilization. Repeated attempts at their solution without the aid of government had left us baffled and bewildered. For, without that aid, we had been unable to create those moral controls over the services of science which are necessary to make science a useful servant instead of a ruthless master of mankind. To do this we knew that we must find practical controls over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men.

We of the Republic sensed the truth that democratic government has innate capacity to protect its people against disasters once considered inevitable, to solve problems once considered unsolvable. We would not admit that we could not find a way to master economic epidemics just as, after centuries of fatalistic suffering, we had found a way to master epidemics of disease. We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster.

In this we Americans were discovering no wholly new truth; we were writing a new chapter in our book of self-government.

This year marks the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of

1. Second Inaugural Address

the Constitutional Convention which made us a nation. At that Convention our forefathers found the way out of the chaos which followed the Revolutionary War; they created a strong government with powers of united action sufficient then and now to solve problems utterly beyond individual or local solution. A century and a half ago they established the Federal Government in order to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to the American people.

Today we invoke those same powers of government to achieve the same objectives.

Four years of new experience have not belied our historic instinct. They hold out the clear hope that government within communities, government within the separate States, and government of the United States can do the things the times require, without yielding its democracy. Our tasks in the last four years did not force democracy to take a holiday.

Nearly all of us recognize that as intricacies of human relationships increase, so power to govern them also must increase—power to stop evil; power to do good. The essential democracy of our Nation and the safety of our people depend not upon the absence of power, but upon lodging it with those whom the people can change or continue at stated intervals through an honest and free system of elections. The Constitution of 1787 did not make our democracy impotent.

In fact, in these last four years, we have made the exercise of all power more democratic; for we have begun to bring private autocratic powers into their proper subordination to the public's government. The legend that they were invincible—above and beyond the processes of a democracy—has been shattered. They have been challenged and beaten.

Our progress out of the depression is obvious. But that is not all that you and I mean by the new order of things. Our pledge was not merely to do a patchwork job with second-hand materials. By using the new materials of social justice we have undertaken to erect on the old foundations a more enduring structure for the better use of future generations.

1. Second Inaugural Address

In that purpose we have been helped by achievements of mind and spirit. Old truths have been relearned; untruths have been unlearned. We have always known that heedless self-interest was bad morals; we know now that it is bad economics. Out of the collapse of a prosperity whose builders boasted their practicality has come the conviction that in the long run economic morality pays. We are beginning to wipe out the line that divides the practical from the ideal; and in so doing we are fashioning an instrument of unimagined power for the establishment of a morally better world.

This new understanding undermines the old admiration of worldly success as such. We are beginning to abandon our tolerance of the abuse of power by those who betray for profit the elementary decencies of life.

In this process evil things formerly accepted will not be so easily condoned. Hard-headedness will not so easily excuse hard-heartedness. We are moving toward an era of good feeling. But we realize that there can be no era of good feeling save among men of good will.

For these reasons I am justified in believing that the greatest change we have witnessed has been the change in the moral climate of America.

Among men of good will, science and democracy together offer an ever-richer life and ever-larger satisfaction to the individual. With this change in our moral climate and our rediscovered ability to improve our economic order, we have set our feet upon the road of enduring progress.

Shall we pause now and turn our back upon the road that lies ahead? Shall we call this the promised land? Or, shall we continue on our way? For "each age is a dream that is dying, or one that is coming to birth."

Many voices are heard as we face a great decision. Comfort says, "Tarry a while." Opportunism says, "This is a good spot." Timidity asks, "How difficult is the road ahead?"

True, we have come far from the days of stagnation and de-

1. Second Inaugural Address

spair. Vitality has been preserved. Courage and confidence have been restored. Mental and moral horizons have been extended.

But our present gains were won under the pressure of more than ordinary circumstance. Advance became imperative under the goad of fear and suffering. The times were on the side of progress.

To hold to progress today, however, is more difficult. Dulled conscience, irresponsibility, and ruthless self-interest already reappear. Such symptoms of prosperity may become portents of disaster! Prosperity already tests the persistence of our progressive purpose.

Let us ask again: Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March, 1933? Have we found our happy valley?

I see a great nation, upon a great continent, blessed with a great wealth of natural resources. Its hundred and thirty million people are at peace among themselves; they are making their country a good neighbor among the nations. I see a United States which can demonstrate that, under democratic methods of government, national wealth can be translated into a spreading volume of human comforts hitherto unknown, and the lowest standard of living can be raised far above the level of mere subsistence.

But here is the challenge to our democracy: In this nation I see tens of millions of its citizens — a substantial part of its whole population — who at this very moment are denied the greater part of what the very lowest standards of today call the necessities of life.

I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that the pall of family disaster hangs over them day by day.

I see millions whose daily lives in city and on farm continue under conditions labeled indecent by a so-called polite society half a century ago.

I see millions denied education, recreation, and the opportunity to better their lot and the lot of their children.

I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm

1. Second Inaugural Address

and factory and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions.

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished.

It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope — because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out. We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful, law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous. The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

If I know aught of the spirit and purpose of our Nation, we will not listen to Comfort, Opportunism, and Timidity. We will carry on.

Overwhelmingly, we of the Republic are men and women of good will; men and women who have more than warm hearts of dedication; men and women who have cool heads and willing hands of practical purpose as well. They will insist that every agency of popular government use effective instruments to carry out their will.

Government is competent when all who compose it work as trustees for the whole people. It can make constant progress when it keeps abreast of all the facts. It can obtain justified support and legitimate criticism when the people receive true information of all that government does.

If I know aught of the will of our people, they will demand that these conditions of effective government shall be created and maintained. They will demand a nation uncorrupted by cancers of injustice and, therefore, strong among the nations in its example of the will to peace.

Today we reconsecrate our country to long-cherished ideals in a suddenly changed civilization. In every land there are always at work forces that drive men apart and forces that draw men together. In our personal ambitions we are individualists. But in

2. Three Hundred and Thirty-eighth Press Conference

our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up, or else we all go down, as one people.

To maintain a democracy of effort requires a vast amount of patience in dealing with differing methods, a vast amount of humility. But out of the confusion of many voices rises an understanding of dominant public need. Then political leadership can voice common ideals, and aid in their realization.

In taking again the oath of office as President of the United States, I assume the solemn obligation of leading the American people forward along the road over which they have chosen to advance.

While this duty rests upon me I shall do my utmost to speak their purpose and to do their will, seeking Divine guidance to help us each and every one to give light to them that sit in darkness and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

2 (The Three Hundred and Thirty-eighth Press Conference. January 22, 1937

(Inaugural address in the rain — Statements by John L. Lewis — Government auditorium in Washington — TVA quarrel — Supreme Court situation.)

MR. GODWIN: (Referring to Inauguration Day Address delivered in the open during a very heavy rainstorm) Did you have any ill effects? Did you get a cold?

THE PRESIDENT: Not a sign of one. Charlie [Michelson] got one.

Q. Steve [Early] said that you wore out two silk hats.

Q. That was about the all-time high of bad weather.

THE PRESIDENT: I think it was.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, judging by the looks of people, I should say you could take it, too. *(Laughter)*

Q. Nothing but a little rain.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I don't think there is any particular news

Inaugural Address

bornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Inaugural Address

ance outgo. Our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. I favor as a practical policy the putting of first things first. I shall spare no effort to restore world trade by international economic readjustment, but the emergency at home cannot wait on that accomplishment.

The basic thought that guides these specific means of national recovery is not narrowly nationalistic. It is the insistence, as a first consideration, upon the interdependence of the various elements in and parts of the United States—a recognition of the old and permanently important manifestation of the American spirit of the pioneer. It is the way to recovery. It is the immediate way. It is the strongest assurance that the recovery will endure.

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors.

If I read the temper of our people correctly, we now realize as we have never realized before our interdependence on each other; that we cannot merely take but we must give as well; that if we are to go forward, we must move as a trained and loyal army willing to sacrifice for the good of a common discipline, because without such discipline no progress is made, no leadership becomes effective. We are, I know, ready and willing to submit our lives and property to such discipline, because it makes possible a leadership which aims at a larger good. This I propose to offer, pledging that the larger purposes will bind upon us all as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.

With this pledge taken, I assume unhesitatingly the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems.

Action in this image and to this end is feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors. Our

Inaugural Address

They have made me the present instrument of their wishes. In the spirit of the gift I take it.

In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.

NOTE: Those who lived through the months immediately preceding March, 1933, do not require a description of the desperate condition into which the American economy had fallen since the crash of 1929. In the succeeding pages I have endeavored to enumerate, in the form of notes to the various printed public papers, the different steps taken by my Administration to correct or ameliorate the desperate condition of agriculture, industry, finance and labor which had resulted from four years of depression.

By Inauguration Day, 1933, the banks of the United States were all closed, financial transactions had ceased, business and industry had sunk to their lowest levels. The widespread unemployment which accompanied the collapse had created a general feeling of utter helplessness. I sought principally in the foregoing Inaugural Address to banish, so far as possible, the fear of the present and of the future which

held the American people and the American spirit in its grasp.

For many months the people had looked to Government to help, but Government had looked away. I promised a program of action: first, to put people to work; and second, to correct the abuses in many fields of human endeavor which had in great measure contributed to the crisis. I promised action immediately, stating that if necessary I would ask for and would use all the war powers of the Executive to wage war against the emergency.

We kept our promise that we would act at once. By our action, we started to dissipate the fear and panic which had laid a paralyzing hand upon the finances, the business, the industry and the agriculture of the Nation.

The first thing I did was to call the Congress into extraordinary session, by the following Proclamation.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

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Divider Title: 15

1 Inaugural Address. March 4, 1933

I AM CERTAIN that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give that support to leadership in these critical days.

In such a spirit on my part and on yours we face our common difficulties. They concern, thank God, only material things. Values have shrunk to fantastic levels; taxes have risen; our ability to pay has fallen; government of all kinds is faced by serious curtailment of income; the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade; the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side; farmers find no markets for their produce, the savings of many years in thousands of families are gone. More important, a host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence, and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment.

Yet our distress comes from no failure of substance. We are stricken by no plague of locusts. Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for. Nature still offers her bounty and human efforts have multiplied it. Plenty is at our doorstep, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply. Primarily this is because rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed through their own stub-

Inaugural Address

bornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and have abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.

True they have tried, but their efforts have been cast in the pattern of an outworn tradition. Faced by failure of credit they have proposed only the lending of more money. Stripped of the lure of profit by which to induce our people to follow their false leadership, they have resorted to exhortations, pleading tearfully for restored confidence. They know only the rules of a generation of self-seekers. They have no vision, and when there is no vision the people perish.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it cannot live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Inaugural Address

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