

FOIA Marker

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Staff Secretary, White House Office of the Kavanaugh, Brett - Speech Files

Stack:	Row:	Sect.:	Shelf:	Pos.:	FRC ID:	Location or Hollinger ID:	NARA Number:	OA Number:
W	17	13	1	3	10465	23328	6465	4008

Folder Title:

Inaugural Address Background [3]

Withdrawn/Redacted Material

The George W. Bush Library

DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #6	7	01/24/2005	P5;
002	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #7	6	N.D.	P5;
003	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #9	6	N.D.	P5;
004	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #10	6	N.D.	P5;
005	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #12	6	N.D.	P5;
006	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #12	6	N.D.	P5;
007	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #10	6	N.D.	P5;
008	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #10	6	N.D.	P5;

COLLECTION TITLE:

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SERIES:

Kavanaugh, Brett - Speech Files

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
009	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #10	41	N.D.	P5;
010	Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #21	6	N.D.	P5;

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COPY OF
PRESIDENT'S
BOOK - WED 2:30pm

1

Second Inaugural Address
Thursday, January 20, 2005
Draft #13

Vice President Cheney, Mr. Chief
Justice, President Carter, President Bush,
President Clinton, reverend clergy,
distinguished guests, fellow citizens:

On this day, prescribed by law and
marked by ceremony, we celebrate the
durable wisdom of our Constitution, and
recall the deep commitments that unite our
country. I am grateful for the honor of this
hour, mindful of the consequential times in
which we live, and determined to fulfill the
oath that I have sworn and you have
witnessed.

At this second gathering, our duties are
defined not by the words I use, but by the
history we have seen together. / For a half
century, America defended our own
freedom by standing watch on distant
borders. / After the shipwreck of
communism came years of relative quiet,
years of repose, years of sabbatical – and
then there came a day of fire.

We have seen our vulnerability – and
we have seen its deepest source. | For as
long as whole regions of the world simmer
in resentment and tyranny – prone to
ideologies that feed hatred and excuse
murder – violence will gather, and multiply
in destructive power, and cross the most
defended borders, and raise a mortal
threat.



There is only one force of history that can
break the reign of hatred and resentment,
and expose the pretensions of tyrants, and
reward the hopes of the decent and
tolerant, and that is the force of human
freedom.

We are led, by events and common
sense, to one conclusion: The survival of
liberty in our land ... increasingly depends
on the success of liberty in other lands.
The best hope for peace in our world is the
expansion of freedom in all the world.

America's vital interests and our
deepest beliefs are now one. | From the day
of our Founding, we have proclaimed that
every man and woman on this earth has
rights, and dignity, and matchless value,
because they bear the image of the Maker
of Heaven and earth.

Across the generations we have proclaimed
the imperative of self-government, because
no one is fit to be a master, and no one
deserves to be a slave. Advancing these
ideals is the mission that created our
Nation. It is the honorable achievement of
our fathers. Now it is the urgent
requirement of our nation's security, and
the calling of our time.

So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.

This is not primarily the task of arms,
though we will defend ourselves and our
friends by force of arms when necessary.)

Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen,
and defended by citizens, and sustained by
the rule of law and the protection of
minorities.

And when the soul of a nation finally
speaks, the institutions that arise may
reflect customs and traditions very different
from our own. America will not impose our
own style of government on the unwilling.
Our goal instead is to help others find their
own voice, attain their own freedom, and
make their own way.

The great objective of ending tyranny is
the concentrated work of generations. The
difficulty of the task is no excuse for
avoiding it. America's influence is not
unlimited, but fortunately for the oppressed,
America's influence is considerable, and we
will use it confidently in freedom's cause.

My most solemn duty is to protect this
nation and its people against further attacks
and emerging threats. / Some have unwisely
chosen to test America's resolve, and have
found it firm.

We will persistently clarify the choice
before every ruler and every nation: The
moral choice between oppression, which is
always wrong, and freedom, which is
eternally right. America will not pretend that
jailed dissidents prefer their chains, or that
women welcome humiliation and servitude,
or that any human being aspires to live at
the mercy of bullies.

We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. (America's belief in human dignity will guide our policies, yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of dictators; they are secured by free dissent and the participation of the governed) In the long run, there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without human liberty.

Some, I know, have questioned the global
appeal of liberty – though this time in history,
four decades defined by the swiftest advance
of freedom ever seen, is an odd time for
doubt. / Americans, of all people, should
never be surprised by the power of our
ideals. / Eventually, the call of freedom comes
to every mind and every soul. / We do not
accept the existence of permanent tyranny
because we do not accept the possibility of
permanent slavery. / Liberty will come to
those who love it.

Today, America speaks anew to the
peoples of the world:

All who live in tyranny and hopelessness
can know: the United States will not ignore
your oppression, or excuse your
oppressors. / When you stand for your
liberty, we will stand with you.

Democratic reformers facing repression,
prison, or exile can know: America sees
you for who you are: the future leaders of
your free country.

The rulers of outlaw regimes can know
that we still believe as Abraham Lincoln did:
“Those who deny freedom to others
deserve it not for themselves; and, under
the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it.”

The leaders of governments with long
habits of control need to know: To serve
your people you must learn to trust them. /
Start on this journey of progress and
justice, and America will walk at your side.

And all the allies of the United States
can know: we honor your friendship, we rely
on your counsel, and we depend on your
help. Division among free nations is a
primary goal of freedom's enemies. The
concerted effort of free nations to promote
democracy is a prelude to our enemies'
defeat.

Today, I also speak anew to my fellow
citizens:

From all of you, I have asked patience in
the hard task of securing America, which
you have granted in good measure | Our
country has accepted obligations that are
difficult to fulfill, and would be dishonorable
to abandon.

Yet because we have acted in the great
liberating tradition of this nation, tens of
millions have achieved their freedom. (And
as hope kindles hope, millions more will find
it. (By our efforts, we have lit a fire as well –
a fire in the minds of men. It warms those
who feel its power, it burns those who fight
its progress, and one day this untamed fire
of freedom will reach the darkest corners of
our world.

A few Americans have accepted the
hardest duties in this cause – in the quiet
work of intelligence and diplomacy ... the
idealistic work of helping raise up free
governments ... the dangerous and
necessary work of fighting our enemies.
Some have shown their devotion to our
country in deaths that honored their whole
lives – and we will always honor their
names and their sacrifice.

All Americans have witnessed this
idealism, and some for the first time / I ask
our youngest citizens to believe the
evidence of your eyes. You have seen duty
and allegiance in the determined faces of
our soldiers.

You have seen that life is fragile, and evil is
real, and courage triumphs. Make the
choice to serve in a cause larger than your
wants, larger than yourself – and in your
days you will add not just to the wealth of
our country, but to its character.

America has need of idealism and
courage, because we have essential work
at home – the unfinished work of American
freedom. In a world moving toward liberty,
we are determined to show the meaning
and promise of liberty.

In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity and security of economic independence, instead of laboring on the edge of subsistence. This is the broader definition of liberty that motivated the Homestead Act, the Social Security Act, and the G.I. Bill of Rights.

And now we will extend this vision by
reforming great institutions to serve the
needs of our time. / To give every American
a stake in the promise and future of our
country, we will bring the highest standards
to our schools, and build an ownership
society.

We will widen the ownership of homes and businesses, retirement savings and health insurance – preparing our people for the challenges of life in a free society. By making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny, we will give our fellow Americans greater freedom from want and fear, and make our society more prosperous and just and equal.

In America's ideal of freedom, the public
interest depends on private character – on
integrity, and tolerance toward others, and
the rule of conscience in our own lives.

Self-government relies, in the end, on the
governing of the self.

That edifice of character is built in families,
supported by communities with standards,
and sustained in our national life by the
truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount,
the words of the Koran, and the varied
faiths of our people. Americans move
forward in every generation by reaffirming
all that is good and true that came before –
ideals of justice and conduct that are the
same yesterday, today, and forever.

In America's ideal of freedom, the
exercise of rights is ennobled by service,
and mercy, and a heart for the weak.

Liberty for all does not mean independence
from one another. Our nation relies on men
and women who look after a neighbor and
surround the lost with love.

Americans, at our best, value the life we
see in one another, and must always
remember that even the unwanted have
worth. And our country must abandon all
the habits of racism, because we cannot
carry the message of freedom and the
baggage of bigotry at the same time.

From the perspective of a single day,
including this day of dedication, the issues
and questions before our country are many. /

From the viewpoint of centuries, the
questions that come to us are narrowed
and few. Did our generation advance the
cause of freedom? / And did our character
bring credit to that cause?

These questions that judge us also unite
us, because Americans of every party and
background, Americans by choice and by
birth, are bound to one another in the cause
of freedom. We have known divisions,
which must be healed to move forward in
great purposes – and I will strive in good
faith to heal them.

Yet those divisions do not define America.

We felt the unity and fellowship of our nation when freedom came under attack, and our response came like a single hand over a single heart. And we can feel that same unity and pride whenever America acts for good, and the victims of disaster are given hope, and the unjust encounter justice, and the captives are set free.

We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom. / Not because history runs on the wheels of inevitability; it is human choices that move events. / Not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation; God moves and chooses as He wills. / We have confidence because freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul.

When our Founders declared a new order
of the ages; when soldiers died in wave
upon wave for a union based on liberty;
when citizens marched in peaceful outrage
under the banner "Freedom Now" – they
were acting on an ancient hope that is
meant to be fulfilled. History has an ebb
and flow of justice, but history also has a
visible direction, set by liberty and the
Author of Liberty.

When the Declaration of Independence
was first read in public and the Liberty Bell
was sounded in celebration, a witness said,
“It rang as if it meant something.” In our
time it means something still. America, in
this young century, proclaims liberty
throughout all the world, and to all the
inhabitants thereof. Renewed in our
strength – tested, but not weary – we are
ready for the greatest achievements in the
history of freedom.

May God bless you, and may He watch
over the United States of America.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #6	7	01/24/2005	P5;

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Dan Bartlett

Second Inaugural Address
Thursday, January 20, 2005
Draft #21

Vice President Cheney, Mr. Chief Justice, President Carter, President Bush, President Clinton, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, fellow citizens:

On this day, prescribed by law and marked by ceremony, we celebrate the durable wisdom of our Constitution, and recall the deep commitments that unite our country. I am grateful for the honor of this hour, mindful of the consequential times in which we live, and determined to fulfill the oath that I have sworn and you have witnessed.

At this second gathering, our duties are defined not by the words I use, but by the history we have seen together. For a half century, America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders. After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical – and then there came a day of fire.

We have seen our vulnerability – and we have seen its deepest source. For as long as whole regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny – prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder – violence will gather, and multiply in destructive power, and cross the most defended borders, and raise a mortal threat. There is only one force of history that can break the reign of hatred and resentment, and expose the pretensions of tyrants, and reward the hopes of the decent and tolerant, and that is the force of human freedom.

[We are led, by events and common sense, to one conclusion: The survival of liberty in our land ... increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in all the world.]

America's vital interests and our deepest beliefs are now one. From the day of our Founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they bear the image of the Maker of Heaven and earth. Across the generations we have proclaimed the imperative of self-government, because no one is fit to be a master, and no one deserves to be a slave. Advancing these

ideals is the mission that created our Nation. It is the honorable achievement of our fathers. Now it is the urgent requirement of our nation's security, and the calling of our time.

So it is the policy of the United States to seek and support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world.

This is not primarily the task of arms, though we will defend ourselves and our friends by force of arms when necessary. Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and defended by citizens, and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. And when the soul of a nation finally speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect customs and traditions very different from our own. America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling. Our goal instead is to help others find their own voice, attain their own freedom, and make their own way.

The great objective of ending tyranny is the concentrated work of generations. The difficulty of the task is no excuse for avoiding it. America's influence is not unlimited, but fortunately for the oppressed, America's influence is considerable, and we will use it confidently in freedom's cause.

My most solemn duty is to protect this nation and its people against further attacks and emerging threats. Some have unwisely chosen to test America's resolve, and have found it firm.

We will persistently clarify the choice before every ruler and every nation: The moral choice between oppression, which is always wrong, and freedom, which is eternally right. America will not pretend that jailed dissidents prefer their chains, or that women welcome humiliation and servitude, or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies.

We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people. America's belief in human dignity will guide our policies, yet rights must be more than the grudging concessions of dictators; they are secured by free dissent and the participation of the governed. In the long run, there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without human liberty.

Some, I know, have questioned the global appeal of liberty – though this time in history, four decades defined by the swiftest advance of freedom ever seen, is an odd time for doubt. Americans, of all people, should never be surprised by the power of our own ideals. We do not accept the existence of permanent tyranny because we do not accept the possibility of permanent slavery. Eventually, the soul will not be chained, and the mind will not be bound. Eventually, liberty will come to those who love it.

Today, America speaks anew to the peoples of the world:

All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression, or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you.

Democratic reformers facing repression, prison, or exile can know: America sees you for who you are: the future leaders of your free country.

The rulers of outlaw regimes can know that we still believe as Abraham Lincoln did: “Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it.”

The leaders of governments with long habits of control need to know: To serve your people you must learn to trust them. Start on this journey of progress and justice, and America will walk at your side.

And all the allies of the United States can know: we honor your friendship, we rely on your counsel, and we depend on your help. Division among free nations is a primary goal of freedom’s enemies. The concerted effort of free nations to promote democracy is a prelude to our enemies’ defeat.

Today, I also speak anew to my fellow citizens:

From all of you, I have asked patience in the hard task of securing America, which you have granted in good measure. Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill, and would be dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom. And as hope kindles

hope, millions more will find it. By our efforts, we have lit a fire as well – a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power, it burns those who fight its progress, and one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world.

A few Americans have accepted the hardest duties in this cause – in the quiet work of intelligence and diplomacy ... the idealistic work of helping raise up free governments ... the dangerous and necessary work of fighting our enemies. Some have shown their devotion to our country in deaths that honored their whole lives – and we will always honor their names and their sacrifice.

All Americans have witnessed this idealism, and some for the first time. I ask our youngest citizens to believe the evidence of your eyes. You have seen duty and allegiance in the determined faces of our soldiers. You have seen that life is fragile, and evil is real, and courage triumphs. Make the choice to serve in a cause larger than your wants, larger than yourself – and in your days you will add not just to the wealth of our country, but to its character.

[America has need of idealism and courage, because we have essential work at home – the unfinished work of American freedom. In a world moving toward liberty, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty.]

In America's ideal of freedom, citizens find the dignity and security of economic independence, instead of laboring on the edge of subsistence. This is the broader definition of liberty that motivated the Homestead Act, the Social Security Act, and the G.I. Bill of Rights. And now we will extend this vision by reforming great institutions to serve the needs of our time. To give every American a stake in the promise and future of our country, we will bring the highest standards to our schools, and build an ownership society. We will widen the ownership of homes and businesses, retirement savings and health insurance – preparing our people for the challenges of life in a free society. By making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny, we will give our fellow Americans greater freedom from want and fear, and make our society more prosperous and just and equal.

In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends on private character – on integrity, and tolerance toward others, and the rule of

conscience in our own lives. Self-government relies, in the end, on the governing of the self. That edifice of character is built in families, supported by communities with standards, and sustained in our national life by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people. Americans move forward in every generation by reaffirming all that is good and true that came before – ideals of justice and conduct that are the same yesterday, today, and forever.

In America's ideal of freedom, the exercise of rights is ennobled by service, and mercy, and a heart for the weak. Liberty for all does not mean independence from one another. Our nation relies on men and women who look after a neighbor and surround the lost with love. Americans, at our best, value the life we see in one another, and must always remember that even the unwanted have worth. And our country must abandon all the habits of racism, because we cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry at the same time.

From the perspective of a single day, including this day of dedication, the issues and questions before our country are many. From the viewpoint of centuries, the questions that come to us are narrowed and few. Did our generation advance the cause of freedom? And did our character bring credit to that cause?

These questions that judge us also unite us, because Americans of every party and background, Americans by choice and by birth, are bound to one another in the cause of freedom. We have known divisions, which must be healed to move forward in great purposes – and I will strive in good faith to heal them. Yet those divisions do not define America. We felt the unity and fellowship of our nation when freedom came under attack, and our response came like a single hand over a single heart. And we can feel that same unity and pride whenever America acts for good, and the victims of disaster are given hope, and the unjust encounter justice, and the captives are set free.

We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom. Not because history runs on the wheels of inevitability; it is human choices that move events. Not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation; God moves and chooses as He wills. We have confidence because freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul. When our Founders declared a new order

of the ages; when soldiers died in wave upon wave for a union based on liberty; when citizens marched in peaceful outrage under the banner "Freedom Now" – they were acting on an ancient hope that is meant to be fulfilled. History has an ebb and flow of justice, but history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty.

When the Declaration of Independence was first read in public and the Liberty Bell was sounded in celebration, a witness said, "It rang as if it meant something." In our time it means something still. America, in this young century, proclaims liberty throughout all the world, and to all the inhabitants thereof. Renewed in our strength – tested, but not weary – we are ready for the greatest achievements in the history of freedom.

May God bless you, and may He watch over the United States of America.

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FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #12	6	N.D.	P5;

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FRC ID:

10465

OA Num.:

4008

NARA Num.:

6465

FOIA IDs and Segments:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #10	6	N.D.	P5;

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Speech	Second Inaugural Address, 01/20/2005, Draft #10	41	N.D.	P5;

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