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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 21, 1985

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

The Rotunda
United States Capitol
Washington, D.C.

11:49 A.M. EST

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

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

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

Amen.

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

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

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

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

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

That system has never failed us. But, for a time, we failed the system. We asked things of government that government was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to the national government that properly belonged to states or to local governments, or to the people themselves.

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We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings, and watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow down, and the number of unemployed increase.

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

We believed then and now: There are no limits to growth and human progress, when men and women are free to follow their dreams. And we were right -- (applause) -- And we were right to believe that. Tax rates have been reduced, inflation cut dramatically, and more people are employed than ever before in our history.

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

And, if we meet this challenge, these will be years when Americans have restored their confidence and tradition of progress;

When our values of faith, family, work and neighborhood were restated for a modern age;

When our economy was finally freed from government's grip;

When we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reductions and by rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies, helped preserve peace in a troubled world;

When America courageously supported the struggle for individual liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom. (Applause.)

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

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

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become, in the years then in government, bitter political rivals in the presidential election of 1800.

And then, years later when both were retired, and age had softened their anger, they begin to speak to each other again through letters. A bond was reestablished between those two who had helped create this government of ours.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence they both died. They died on the same day, within a few hours of each other. And that day was the Fourth of July.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have spoken of our domestic goals and the limitations we should put on our national government. Now let me turn to a task that is the primary responsibility of national government -- the safety and security of our people.

Today, we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on earth. Yet history has shown that peace does not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by goodwill alone. There are those in the world who scorn our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted the greatest military build-up in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome offensive weapons.

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

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

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

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

We strive for peace and security, heartened by the

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

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally. (Applause.) And it is the world's only hope to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

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

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

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

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

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

God bless you and may God bless America. (Applause.)

END

12:10 P.M. EST

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 18, 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BEN ELLIOTT *Ben*

SUBJECT: Inaugural Address

Attached are your cards for your address Monday morning.

There are a multitude of research changes, but all are of minor consequences. We did pull back, upon request of Senior Staff and Dick Wirthlin, the proposal Third World initiative, because they felt it should be saved for the State of the Union Address.

Peggy Noonan, Tony Dolan, and everyone else on our staff who contributed to and worked on this address join me in wishing you and Mrs. Reagan a wonderful day on Monday, and a very successful second term.

As always, we're honored to serve you. But please do everyone a favor on Monday -- wear your long johns and eat a hearty breakfast.

Thank you.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF
PRESIDENT RONALD W. REAGAN

JANUARY 21, 1985

SENATOR MATHIAS, CHIEF JUSTICE BURGER,
VICE PRESIDENT BUSH, SPEAKER O'NEILL,
SENATOR DOLE, REVEREND CLERGY, MEMBERS OF MY
FAMILY, AND MY FELLOW CITIZENS:

THERE ARE NO WORDS ADEQUATE TO EXPRESS
MY THANKS FOR THE GREAT HONOR YOU HAVE
BESTOWED ON ME. I WILL DO MY UTMOST TO BE
DESERVING OF YOUR TRUST.

THIS IS THE 50TH TIME WE THE PEOPLE
HAVE CELEBRATED THIS HISTORIC OCCASION.
WHEN THE FIRST PRESIDENT, GEORGE WASHINGTON,
PLACED HIS HAND UPON THE BIBLE, HE STOOD
LESS THAN A SINGLE DAY'S JOURNEY BY
HORSEBACK FROM RAW, UNTAMED WILDERNESS.

THERE WERE 4 MILLION AMERICANS IN A
UNION OF 13 STATES. TODAY, WE ARE 60 TIMES
AS MANY IN A UNION OF 50 STATES.





WE HAVE LIGHTED THE WORLD WITH OUR INVENTIONS, GONE TO THE AID OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE WORLD WHEREVER THEY CRIED OUT FOR HELP, JOURNEYED TO THE MOON AND SAFELY RETURNED.

SO MUCH HAS CHANGED. AND YET, HERE AGAIN WE STAND, TOGETHER AS CENTURIES AGO. AND, ONCE AGAIN, AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT FREELY CHOSEN BY A SOVEREIGN PEOPLE HAS TAKEN THE OATH PRESCRIBED BY THE CONSTITUTION THAT GUIDES US STILL. THIS ALONE IS CAUSE FOR REJOICING, BUT THERE IS MORE.



WHEN I TOOK THIS OATH 4 YEARS AGO, I DID SO IN A TIME OF ECONOMIC STRESS. VOICES WERE RAISED SAYING WE HAD TO LOOK TO OUR PAST FOR THE GREATNESS AND GLORY THAT HAD MARKED OUR TWO CENTURIES AS A NATION. BUT WE, THE PRESENT-DAY AMERICANS, ARE NOT GIVEN TO LOOKING BACKWARD. IN THIS BLESSED LAND, THERE IS ALWAYS A BETTER TOMORROW.

FOUR YEARS AGO, I SPOKE TO YOU OF A NEW BEGINNING AND WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THAT. BUT IN ANOTHER SENSE, OUR NEW BEGINNING IS A CONTINUATION OF THAT BEGINNING CREATED TWO CENTURIES AGO; THAT BREAK WITH THE PAST WHEN, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, A PEOPLE SAID, GOVERNMENT IS NOT OUR MASTER BUT OUR SERVANT; AND GOVERNMENT'S ONLY POWER WILL BE THAT WHICH WE THE PEOPLE ALLOW IT TO HAVE.

OUR BEDROCK PRINCIPLES HAVE NEVER FAILED US. BUT, FOR A TIME, WE FAILED THOSE PRINCIPLES. OVER RECENT YEARS WE ASKED THINGS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT IT WAS NOT EQUIPPED TO GIVE. WE YIELDED AUTHORITY TO GOVERNMENT THAT PROPERLY BELONGED AT LOCAL OR STATE LEVELS OR IN THE HANDS OF THE CITIZENRY. WE ALLOWED TAXES AND INFLATION TO ROB US OF OUR EARNINGS AND SAVINGS.

WE WATCHED THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL MACHINE THAT HAD MADE US THE MOST PRODUCTIVE PEOPLE ON EARTH SLOW AND THE NUMBER OF UNEMPLOYED MOUNT.

BY 1980, WE KNEW IT WAS TIME TO EMBRACE AGAIN THE GREAT PROMISE OF OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION; TIME TO RENEW OUR FAITH; TO DREAM HEROIC DREAMS; TO STRIVE WITH ALL OUR STRENGTH TOWARD THE ULTIMATE IN INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, CONSISTENT WITH AN ORDERLY SOCIETY.

WE BELIEVED THEN AND REPEAT TODAY: THERE ARE NO LIMITS TO GROWTH AND HUMAN PROGRESS, WHEN MEN AND WOMEN ARE FREE TO FOLLOW THEIR DREAMS. AND WE WERE RIGHT TO BELIEVE. TAX RATES HAVE BEEN REDUCED, INFLATION CUT DRAMATICALLY, AND MORE PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYED TODAY THAN EVER IN OUR HISTORY.

WE ARE CREATING A NEW AMERICA, A RISING NATION ONCE AGAIN VIBRANT, ROBUST, AND ALIVE. BUT THE PROMISE OF OUR REVOLUTION WAS MEANT FOR ALL PEOPLE FOR ALL FUTURE TIME. THERE ARE MANY MOUNTAINS YET TO CLIMB. WE WILL NOT REST UNTIL EVERY AMERICAN, FROM COUNTRYSIDE TO INNER CITY, ENJOYS THE FULLNESS OF FREEDOM, DIGNITY, AND OPPORTUNITY WHICH IS OUR BIRTHRIGHT AS CITIZENS OF THIS GREAT REPUBLIC.

IF WE MEET THIS CHALLENGE, THESE WILL BE YEARS OF AMERICAN RENEWAL:

WHEN AMERICANS RESTORED THEIR CONFIDENCE AND TRADITION OF PROGRESS;

WHEN OUR VALUES OF FAITH, FAMILY, WORK AND NEIGHBORHOOD WERE REVIVED AND RESTATED FOR A MODERN AGE;

WHEN OUR ECONOMY WAS FINALLY FREED FROM GOVERNMENT'S GRIP, AND THE AMERICAN EAGLE SOARED TO NEW HEIGHTS;

WHEN WE MADE SINCERE EFFORTS AT
MEANINGFUL ARMS REDUCTION, AND ALSO, BY
REBUILDING OUR DEFENSES, OUR ECONOMY, AND
DEVELOPING NEW TECHNOLOGIES, STRENGTHENED
OUR POSITION AND HELPED PRESERVE PEACE IN A
TROUBLED WORLD;

AND, YES, THE YEARS WHEN AMERICA
COURAGEOUSLY SUPPORTED THE STRUGGLE FOR
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, SELF-GOVERNMENT, AND
FREE ENTERPRISE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND
TURNED THE TIDE OF HISTORY AWAY FROM
TOTALITARIAN DARKNESS AND INTO THE WARM
SUNLIGHT OF HUMAN FREEDOM.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS, OUR NATION IS
POISED FOR GREATNESS. WE MUST DO WHAT WE
KNOW IS RIGHT, AND DO IT WITH ALL OUR MIGHT.
LET HISTORY SAY OF US, THESE WERE GOLDEN
YEARS -- WHEN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS
REBORN, WHEN FREEDOM GAINED NEW LIFE, WHEN
AMERICA REACHED FOR HER BEST.

OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM HAS SERVED US WELL OVER THE YEARS, BUT NEVER BETTER THAN IN TIMES OF GREAT CHALLENGE, WHEN WE COME TOGETHER NOT AS DEMOCRATS OR REPUBLICANS, BUT AS AMERICANS UNITED IN THIS COMMON CAUSE.

TWO OF OUR FOUNDING FATHERS, A BOSTON LAWYER NAMED ADAMS AND A VIRGINIA PLANTER NAMED JEFFERSON, BOTH MEMBERS OF THAT REMARKABLE GROUP WHO MET IN INDEPENDENCE HALL AND DARED TO THINK THEY COULD START THE WORLD OVER AGAIN, LEFT US AN IMPORTANT LESSON. THEY HAD BECOME POLITICAL RIVALS IN THE GOVERNMENT THEY HELPED CREATE.

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1800, THEY WERE BITTERLY ESTRANGED. ONLY YEARS LATER WHEN BOTH WERE RETIRED, AND AGE HAD SOFTENED THEIR ANGER, DID THEY BEGIN TO SPEAK TO EACH OTHER THROUGH LETTERS.

IN 1826, THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THEY BOTH DIED, DIED ON THE SAME DAY, WITHIN A FEW HOURS OF EACH OTHER. THE DAY WAS THE FOURTH OF JULY.

IN ONE OF THOSE LETTERS EXCHANGED IN THE SUNSET OF THEIR LIVES, JEFFERSON WROTE, "IT CARRIES ME BACK TO THE TIMES WHEN, BESET WITH DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS, WE WERE FELLOW LABORERS IN THE SAME CAUSE, STRUGGLING FOR WHAT IS MOST VALUABLE TO MAN, HIS RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. LABORING ALWAYS AT THE SAME OAR, WITH SOME WAVE EVER AHEAD THREATENING TO OVERWHELM US, AND YET PASSING HARMLESS . . . WE RODE THROUGH THE STORM WITH HEART AND HAND."

WITH HEART AND HAND, LET US STAND AS ONE TODAY: ONE PEOPLE UNDER GOD DETERMINED THAT OUR FUTURE SHALL BE WORTHY OF OUR PAST. AS WE DO, WE MUST NOT REPEAT THE WELL-INTENTIONED ERRORS OF OUR PAST.

WE MUST NEVER AGAIN ABUSE THE TRUST OF WORKING MEN AND WOMEN, BY SENDING THEIR EARNINGS ON A FUTILE CHASE AFTER THE SPIRALING DEMANDS OF A BLOATED FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT. YOU ELECTED US IN 1980 TO END THIS PRESCRIPTION FOR DISASTER. I DO NOT BELIEVE YOU RE-ELECTED US IN 1984 TO REVERSE COURSE.

AT THE HEART OF OUR EFFORTS IS ONE IDEA VINDICATED BY 25 STRAIGHT MONTHS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH: FREEDOM AND INCENTIVES UNLEASH THE DRIVE AND ENTREPRENEURIAL GENIUS THAT ARE THE CORE OF HUMAN PROGRESS. WE HAVE BEGUN TO INCREASE REWARDS FOR WORK, SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT, REDUCE THE INCREASE IN THE COST AND SIZE OF GOVERNMENT AND ITS INTERFERENCE IN PEOPLE'S LIVES.

RATHER THAN LIMIT OUR CHALLENGE TO GROWTH, LET US CHALLENGE THE LIMITS OF GROWTH.

WE MUST SIMPLIFY OUR TAX SYSTEM, MAKE IT MORE FAIR AND BRING TAX RATES DOWN FOR ALL WHO WORK AND EARN. WE MUST THINK ANEW AND MOVE WITH NEW BOLDNESS, SO EVERY AMERICAN WHO SEEKS WORK CAN FIND WORK; SO THE LEAST AMONG US HAVE AN EQUAL CHANCE TO ACHIEVE THE GREATEST THINGS -- TO BE HEROES WHO HEAL OUR SICK, FEED THE HUNGRY, PROTECT PEACE AMONG NATIONS, AND LEAVE THIS WORLD A BETTER PLACE.

THE TIME HAS COME FOR A NEW AMERICAN EMANCIPATION -- A GREAT NATIONAL DRIVE TO TEAR DOWN ECONOMIC BARRIERS AND LIBERATE THE SPIRIT OF ENTERPRISE IN THE MOST DISTRESSED AREAS OF OUR COUNTRY. MY FRIENDS, TOGETHER WE CAN DO THIS, AND DO IT WE MUST, SO HELP ME GOD.

FROM NEW FREEDOM WILL SPRING NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR GROWTH, A MORE PRODUCTIVE, FULFILLED AND UNITED PEOPLE, AND A STRONGER AMERICA -- AN AMERICA THAT WILL LEAD THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, AND ALSO OPEN ITS MIND, HEART, AND SOUL TO THE TREASURES OF LITERATURE, MUSIC AND POETRY, AND THE VALUES OF FAITH, COURAGE, AND LOVE.

A DYNAMIC ECONOMY, WITH MORE CITIZENS WORKING AND PAYING TAXES, WILL BE OUR STRONGEST TOOL TO BRING DOWN BUDGET DEFICITS. BUT AN ALMOST UNBROKEN 50 YEARS OF DEFICIT SPENDING HAS FINALLY BROUGHT US TO A TIME OF RECKONING.

WE HAVE COME TO A TURNING POINT, A MOMENT FOR HARD DECISIONS. I HAVE ASKED THE CABINET AND STAFF A QUESTION AND NOW I PUT THAT SAME QUESTION TO YOU. IF NOT US, WHO? IF NOT NOW, WHEN? WE KNOW THE ANSWER.

IT MUST BE DONE NOW, BY ALL OF US GOING FORWARD WITH A PROGRAM AIMED AT REACHING A BALANCED BUDGET. WE CAN THEN BEGIN REDUCING THE NATIONAL DEBT.

I WILL SHORTLY SUBMIT A BUDGET TO THE CONGRESS AIMED AT FREEZING GOVERNMENT PROGRAM SPENDING FOR THE NEXT YEAR. BEYOND THAT WE MUST TAKE FURTHER STEPS TO PERMANENTLY CONTROL GOVERNMENT'S POWER TO TAX AND SPEND.

WE MUST ACT NOW TO PROTECT FUTURE GENERATIONS FROM GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE TO SPEND ITS CITIZENS' MONEY AND TAX THEM INTO SERVITUDE WHEN THE BILLS COME DUE. LET US MAKE IT UNCONSTITUTIONAL FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO SPEND MORE THAN IT TAKES IN.

WE HAVE ALREADY STARTED RETURNING TO THE PEOPLE AND TO STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS RESPONSIBILITIES BETTER HANDLED BY THEM.

THERE IS A PLACE FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN MATTERS OF SOCIAL COMPASSION. BUT OUR FUNDAMENTAL GOALS MUST BE TO REDUCE DEPENDENCY AND UPGRADE THE DIGNITY OF THOSE WHO ARE INFIRM OR DISADVANTAGED. AND HERE, A GROWING ECONOMY AND SUPPORT FROM FAMILY AND COMMUNITY OFFER OUR BEST CHANCE FOR A SOCIETY WHERE COMPASSION IS THE WAY OF LIFE, WHERE THE OLD AND INFIRM ARE CARED FOR, THE YOUNG AND, YES, THE UNBORN PROTECTED, AND THE UNFORTUNATE LOOKED AFTER AND MADE SELF-SUFFICIENT.

THERE IS ANOTHER AREA WHERE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN PLAY A PART. AS AN OLDER AMERICAN, I REMEMBER A TIME WHEN PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT RACE, CREED, OR ETHNIC ORIGIN IN OUR LAND FOUND HATRED AND PREJUDICE INSTALLED IN SOCIAL CUSTOM AND LAW.

THERE IS NO STORY MORE HEARTENING IN OUR HISTORY THAN THE PROGRESS WE'VE MADE TOWARD THE "BROTHERHOOD OF MAN" THAT GOD INTENDED FOR US. LET US RESOLVE THERE WILL BE NO TURNING BACK OR HESITATION ON THE ROAD TO AN AMERICA RICH IN DIGNITY AND ABUNDANT WITH OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

LET US RESOLVE THAT WE THE PEOPLE WILL BUILD AN AMERICAN OPPORTUNITY SOCIETY, IN WHICH ALL OF US -- WHITE AND BLACK, RICH AND POOR, YOUNG AND OLD -- WILL GO FORWARD TOGETHER, ARM IN ARM. AGAIN, LET US REMEMBER THAT, THOUGH OUR HERITAGE IS ONE OF BLOOD LINES FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE EARTH, WE ARE ALL AMERICANS PLEDGED TO CARRY ON THIS LAST, BEST HOPE OF MAN ON EARTH.

I HAVE SPOKEN OF OUR DOMESTIC GOALS, AND THE LIMITATIONS WE SHOULD PUT ON OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.



LET ME TURN NOW TO A TASK THAT IS, ABOVE ALL, THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT -- THE SAFETY AND SECURITY OF OUR PEOPLE.

TODAY, WE UTTER NO PRAYER MORE FERVENTLY THAN THE ANCIENT PRAYER FOR PEACE ON EARTH. YET HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT PEACE DOES NOT COME, NOR WILL OUR FREEDOM BE PRESERVED, BY GOOD WILL ALONE. THERE ARE THOSE IN THE WORLD WHO SCORN OUR VISION OF HUMAN DIGNITY AND FREEDOM. ONE NATION, THE SOVIET UNION, HAS CONDUCTED THE GREATEST MILITARY BUILD-UP IN THE HISTORY OF MAN, BUILDING ARSENALS OF AWESOME, OFFENSIVE WEAPONS.



WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN RESTORING OUR DEFENSE CAPABILITY. BUT MUCH REMAINS TO BE DONE. THERE MUST BE NO WAVERING BY US, NOR ANY DOUBTS BY OTHERS, THAT AMERICA WILL MEET HER RESPONSIBILITIES TO REMAIN FREE, SECURE, AND AT PEACE.

THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY SAFELY AND
LEGITIMATELY TO REDUCE THE COST OF NATIONAL
SECURITY, AND THAT IS TO REDUCE THE NEED FOR
IT. THIS WE ARE TRYING TO DO IN
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. WE ARE
NOT JUST DISCUSSING LIMITS ON ANY FURTHER
INCREASE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE SEEK,
INSTEAD, TO REDUCE THEM. FOR THE SAKE OF
EACH CHILD IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE,
WE SEEK, ONE DAY, THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF
NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

FOR DECADES, WE AND THE SOVIETS HAVE
LIVED UNDER THE THREAT OF MUTUAL ASSURED
DESTRUCTION; IF EITHER RESORTED TO THE USE
OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE OTHER COULD
RETALIATE, AND DESTROY THE OTHER. IS THERE
EITHER LOGIC OR MORALITY IN BELIEVING THAT,
IF ONE SIDE THREATENS TO KILL TENS OF
MILLIONS OF OUR PEOPLE, OUR ONLY RECOURSE IS
TO THREATEN TENS OF MILLIONS OF THEIRS?

WE SEEK ANOTHER WAY -- A FAR BETTER WAY. I HAVE APPROVED A RESEARCH PROGRAM TO SEE IF A SECURITY SHIELD CAN BE DEVELOPED THAT WILL DESTROY NUCLEAR MISSILES BEFORE THEY REACH THEIR TARGET. SUCH A SHIELD WOULD NOT KILL PEOPLE, BUT DESTROY WEAPONS; IT WOULD NOT MILITARIZE SPACE, BUT HELP DEMILITARIZE THE ARSENALS OF EARTH. SUCH A SHIELD COULD RENDER NUCLEAR WEAPONS OBSOLETE. SO, WE WILL MEET WITH THE SOVIETS HOPING THAT WE CAN AGREE ON A FORMULA FOR RIDDING THE WORLD OF THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION.

AND AS WE STRIVE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY, WE ARE HEARTENED BY THE CHANGES ALL AROUND US. SINCE THE TURN OF THE CENTURY, THE NUMBER OF DEMOCRACIES IN THE WORLD HAS GROWN FOUR-FOLD. TODAY, HUMAN FREEDOM IS ON THE MARCH, AND NOWHERE MORE SO THAN IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE.

FREEDOM IS ONE OF THE DEEPEST AND NOBLEST ASPIRATIONS OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT. PEOPLE WORLDWIDE HUNGER FOR THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION, FOR THOSE INALIENABLE RIGHTS THAT MAKE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND PROGRESS.

AMERICA MUST REMAIN FREEDOM'S STAUNCHEST FRIEND, FOR FREEDOM IS OUR BEST ALLY, AND THE WORLD'S ONLY HOPE, TO CONQUER POVERTY AND PRESERVE PEACE. EVERY BLOW WE INFLICT AGAINST POVERTY WILL BE A BLOW AGAINST ITS DARK ALLIES OF OPPRESSION AND WAR. EVERY VICTORY FOR HUMAN FREEDOM WILL BE A VICTORY FOR WORLD PEACE.

SO WE GO FORWARD TODAY, A NATION STILL MIGHTY IN ITS YOUTH AND POWERFUL IN ITS PURPOSE. WITH OUR ALLIANCES STRENGTHENED, WITH OUR ECONOMY LEADING THE WORLD TO A NEW AGE OF ECONOMIC EXPANSION, WE LOOK TO A FUTURE RICH IN POSSIBILITIES.



ALL THIS BECAUSE WE WORKED AND ACTED
TOGETHER, NOT AS MEMBERS OF POLITICAL
PARTIES, BUT AS AMERICANS.

MY FRIENDS, WE LIVE IN A WORLD LIT BY
LIGHTNING. SO MUCH IS CHANGING AND WILL
CHANGE, BUT SO MUCH ENDURES, AND TRANSCENDS
TIME.

HISTORY IS A RIBBON, ALWAYS UNFURLING;
HISTORY IS A JOURNEY. AND AS WE CONTINUE
OUR JOURNEY WE THINK OF THOSE WHO TRAVELLED
IT BEFORE US. WE STAND AGAIN AT THE STEPS
OF THIS SYMBOL OF OUR DEMOCRACY, AND WE SEE
AND HEAR AGAIN THE ECHOES OF OUR PAST.



A GENERAL FALLS TO HIS KNEES IN THE
HARD SNOW OF VALLEY FORGE; A LONELY
PRESIDENT PACES THE DARKENED HALLS, AND
PONDERES HIS STRUGGLE TO PRESERVE THE UNION;
THE MEN OF THE ALAMO CALL OUT ENCOURAGEMENT
TO EACH OTHER; A SETTLER PUSHES WEST AND
SINGS A SONG, AND THE SONG ECHOES OUT
FOREVER AND FILLS THE UNKNOWING AIR.

- 20 -

IT IS THE AMERICAN SOUND: HOPEFUL,
BIG-HEARTED, IDEALISTIC -- DARING, DECENT,
AND FAIR. THAT IS OUR HERITAGE, THAT IS OUR
SONG. WE SING IT STILL. FOR ALL OUR
PROBLEMS, OUR DIFFERENCES, WE ARE TOGETHER
AS OF OLD, AS WE RAISE OUR VOICES TO THE GOD
WHO IS THE AUTHOR OF THIS MOST TENDER MUSIC.
AND MAY HE CONTINUE TO HOLD US CLOSE AS WE
FILL THE WORLD WITH OUR SOUND -- IN UNITY,
AFFECTION, AND LOVE. ONE PEOPLE UNDER GOD,
DEDICATED TO THE DREAM OF FREEDOM HE HAS
PLACED IN THE HUMAN HEART, CALLED UPON NOW
TO PASS THAT DREAM ON TO A WAITING AND
HOPEFUL WORLD.

GOD BLESS YOU AND MAY GOD BLESS
AMERICA.

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(RR)
January 18, 1985
4:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INAUGURAL
MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1985

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

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

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

There were 4 million Americans in a Union of 13 States. Today, we are 60 times as many in a Union of 50 States. We have lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of our fellow citizens of the world wherever they cried out for help, journeyed to the Moon and safely returned.

So much has changed. And yet, here again we stand, together as centuries ago. And, once again, an American President freely chosen by a sovereign people has taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution that guides us still. This alone is cause for rejoicing, but there is more.

When I took this oath 4 years ago, I did so in a time of economic stress. Voices were raised saying we had to look to our past for the greatness and glory that had marked our two centuries as a Nation. But we, the present-day Americans, are

not given to looking backward. In this blessed land, there is always a better tomorrow.

Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago; that break with the past when, for the first time in history, a people said, Government is not our master but our servant; and Government's only power will be that which we the people allow it to have.

Our bedrock principles have never failed us. But, for a time, we failed those principles. Over recent years we asked things of the Federal Government that it was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to Government that properly belonged at local or State levels or in the hands of the citizenry. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings. We watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow and the number of unemployed mount.

By 1980, we knew it was time to embrace again the great promise of our American revolution; time to renew our faith; to dream heroic dreams; to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom, consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and repeat today: There are no limits to growth and human progress, when men and women are free to follow their dreams. And we were right to believe. Tax rates have

been reduced, inflation cut dramatically, and more people are employed today than ever in our history.

We are creating a new America, a rising Nation once again vibrant, robust, and alive. But the promise of our revolution was meant for all people for all future time. There are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American, from countryside to inner city, enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity which is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic.

If we meet this challenge, these will be years of American renewal:

When Americans restored their confidence and tradition of progress;

When our values of faith, family, work and neighborhood were revived and restated for a modern age;

When our economy was finally freed from Government's grip, and the American eagle soared to new heights;

When we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reduction, and also, by rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies, strengthened our position and helped preserve peace in a troubled world;

And, yes, the years when America courageously supported the struggle for individual liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

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

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

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, both members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become political rivals in the Government they helped create.

In the presidential election of 1800, they were bitterly estranged. Only years later when both were retired, and age had softened their anger, did they begin to speak to each other through letters.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both died, died on the same day, within a few hours of each other. The day was the Fourth of July.

In one of those letters exchanged in the sunset of their lives, Jefferson wrote, "It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right of self-government. Laboring always at the same oar, with

some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless . . . we rode through the storm with heart and hand."

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

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

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

The time has come for a new American Emancipation -- a great national drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most distressed areas of our country.

My friends, together we can do this, and do it we must, so help me God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have spoken of our domestic goals, and the limitations we should put on our national Government. Let me turn now to a task

that is, above all, the primary responsibility of national Government -- the safety and security of our people.

Today, we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on Earth. Yet history has shown that peace does not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by good will alone. There are those in the world who scorn our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted the greatest military build-up in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome, offensive weapons.

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

There is only one way safely and legitimately to reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. This we are trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are not just discussing limits on any further increase of nuclear weapons. We seek, instead, to reduce them. For the sake of each child in every corner of the globe, we seek, one day, the total elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

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

We seek another way -- a far better way. I have approved a research program to see if a security shield can be developed that will destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their target. Such a shield would not kill people, but destroy weapons; it would not militarize space, but help demilitarize the arsenals of Earth. Such a shield could render nuclear weapons obsolete. So, we will meet with the Soviets hoping that we can agree on a formula for ridding the world of the threat of nuclear destruction.

And as we strive for peace and security, we are heartened by the changes all around us. Since the turn of the century, the number of democracies in the world has grown four-fold. Today, human freedom is on the march. And no where more so than in our own hemisphere. Freedom is one of the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit. People worldwide hunger for the right of self-determination, for those inalienable rights that make for human dignity and progress.

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally, and the world's only hope, to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

So we go forward today, a Nation still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose. With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we look to a future rich in possibilities. All this

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

History is a ribbon, always unfurling; history is a journey. And as we continue our journey we think of those who travelled it before us. We stand again at the steps of this symbol of our democracy, and we see and hear again the echoes of our past.

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

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

God bless you and may God bless America.

(RR)
January 18, 1985
2:30 p.m.



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INAUGURAL
MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1985

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

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By 1980, we knew it was time to embrace again the great promise of our American revolution; time to renew our faith; to dream heroic dreams; to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom, consistent with an orderly society.

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God bless you and may God bless America.

(RR)
January 18, 1985
2:30 p.m.

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MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1985

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Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago; that break with the past when, for the first time in history, a people said, Government is not our master but our servant; and Government's only power will be that which we the people allow it to have.

Our bedrock principles have never failed us. But, for a time, we failed those principles. Over recent years we asked things of the Federal Government that it was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to Government that properly belonged at local or State levels or in the hands of the citizenry. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings. We watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow and the number of unemployed mount.

By 1980, we knew it was time to embrace again the great promise of our American revolution; time to renew our faith; to dream heroic dreams; to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom, consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and repeat today: When men and women are free to follow their dreams, there are no limits to growth and human progress. And we were right to believe. Tax rates have

been reduced, inflation cut dramatically, and more people are employed today than ever in our history.

We are creating a new America, a rising Nation, once again, vibrant, robust, and alive. But the promise of our revolution was meant for all people for all future time. There are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American, from countryside to inner city, enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity which is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic.

If we meet this challenge, these will be years of American renewal:

When Americans restored their confidence and tradition of progress;

When our values of faith, family, work and neighborhood were revived and restated for a modern age;

When our economy was finally freed from Government's grip, and the American eagle soared to new heights;

When we made sincere efforts at meaningful arms reduction, and also, by rebuilding our defenses, our economy, and developing new technologies, strengthened our position and helped preserve peace in a troubled world;

And, yes, the years when America courageously supported the struggle for individual liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

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

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

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, both members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become political rivals in the Government they helped create.

In the presidential election of 1800, they were bitterly estranged. Only years later when both were retired, and age had softened their anger, did they begin to speak to each other through letters.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both died, died on the same day, within a few hours of each other. The day was the Fourth of July.

In one of those letters exchanged in the sunset of their lives, Jefferson wrote, "It carries me back to the times when, beset with difficulties and dangers, we were fellow laborers in the same cause, struggling for what is most valuable to man, his right of self government. Laboring always at the same oar, with

some wave ever ahead threatening to overwhelm us, and yet passing harmless. . .we rode through the storm with heart and hand."

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

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

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

The time has come for a new American Emancipation -- a great national drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise in the most distressed areas of our country.

My friends, together we can do this, and do it we must, so help me God.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have spoken of our domestic goals, and the limitations we should put on our national Government. Let me turn now to a task

that is, above all, the primary responsibility of national Government -- the safety and security of our people.

Today, we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on Earth. Yet history has shown that peace does not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by good will alone. There are those in the world who scorn our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted the greatest military build-up in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome, offensive weapons.

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

There is only one way safely and legitimately to reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. This we are trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are not just discussing limits on any further increase of nuclear weapons. We seek, instead, to reduce them. For the sake of each child in every corner of the globe, we seek, one day, the total elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

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

We seek another way -- a far better way. I have approved a research program to see if a security shield can be developed that will destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their target. Such a shield would not kill people, but destroy weapons; it would not militarize space, but help demilitarize the arsenals of Earth. Such a shield could render nuclear weapons obsolete. So, we will meet with the Soviets hoping that we can agree on a formula for ridding the world of the threat of nuclear destruction.

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

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally, and the world's only hope, to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

So we go forward today, a Nation still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose. With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we look to a future rich in possibilities. All this

because we worked and acted together, not as members of political parties, but as Americans.

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

History is a ribbon, always unfurling; history is a journey. And as we continue our journey we think of those who travelled it before us. We stand again at the steps of this symbol of our democracy, and we see and hear again the echoes of our past.

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

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

God bless you and may God bless America.

Walter

(RR)

January 16, 1985

Noon

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INAUGURAL
MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1985

Ch
Protocol
order

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

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

This is the 50th time ^{we the people have celebrated this} ~~an American President has taken the~~ ^{historic occasion.} ~~oath of office.~~ When the first President, George Washington, placed his hand upon the Bible, ^{he stood} ~~the Capital was less than a~~ ⁵⁶⁷ ~~single day's journey by horseback from raw, untamed wilderness.~~

There were 4 million Americans in a ^{union} ~~confederation~~ of 13 States. Today, we are 60 times as many in a Union of 50 States. We have lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of our fellow ^{Citizens of the world} ~~humans~~ wherever ~~in the world~~ they cried out for help, journeyed to the Moon and safely returned.

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

Four years ago, I spoke to you of a new beginning and we have accomplished that. But in another sense, our new beginning is ~~just~~ a continuation of that beginning created two centuries ago; that break with the past when, for the first time in

me again,
* So much has changed. And yet, here again we stand, together as centuries ago. And, an American President freely chosen by a sovereign people has taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution. But guides us still. This alone

history, a people said, Government is not our master but our servant; and Government's only power will be that which we the people allow it to have.

Our bedrock principles have never failed us. But, for a time, we failed those principles. Over recent years we asked things of ^{the Government} Government that ~~Government~~ ^{it} was not equipped to give. We yielded authority to Government that properly belonged at local or State ~~government~~ levels or in the hands of the citizenry. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings. We watched the great industrial machine that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow and ~~slow~~ the number of unemployed mount.

By 1980, we knew it was time to embrace again the great promise of our ^{American} revolution; time to renew our faith; ^{and our} ~~to dream~~ ^{to dream} ~~heroic~~ dreams; to strive with all our strength toward the ultimate in individual freedom, consistent with an orderly society.

We believed then and ~~we~~ repeat today: ^{When men and women are free to follow their dreams} There are no limits to growth and human progress, ~~except the government puts in our way.~~ And we were right to believe. Tax rates have been reduced, inflation ^{cut dramatically} ~~brought under control~~, and more people are employed today than ever in our history.

We are creating a new America, a rising Nation, ~~that is~~ once again, vibrant, robust, and alive. But the ~~great~~ promise of our revolution was meant for all people for all future time. ~~And~~ there are many mountains yet to climb. We ~~cannot and~~ will not rest until every American, from countryside to inner city, enjoys

the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity which is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic.

If we meet this challenge, these will be ~~the~~ years when Americans restored their confidence and ~~rescued their~~ ~~time-honored~~ tradition of progress;

When our ~~traditional~~ values of faith, family, work and neighborhood were revived and restated for a modern age;

When our economy was finally freed from Government's grip, and the American eagle soared to new heights;

When we made sincere efforts at arms reduction, ~~but~~ also, by rebuilding our defenses, ~~and~~ our economy, and developing new technologies, strengthened our position and helped preserve peace in a troubled world;

And, ^{very few years} when America courageously supported the struggle for individual liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.

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

Our two-party system has served us well over the years, but never better than ~~when~~ in times of great challenge, ^{when} we come together not as Democrats or Republicans, but as Americans united in this common cause.

Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, both members of that remarkable group who met in ~~Carpenters~~ ^{Independence} Hall and dared to think they could start the world over again, left us an important lesson. They had become political rivals in the Government they ~~had~~ helped create.

In the presidential ~~campaign and~~ election of 1800, they were bitterly estranged. Only years later when both were retired, ^{and age had softened their anger} ~~when age had softened their anger~~, they began to speak to each other through letters.

In 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, they both died, died on the same day, within a few hours of each other. The day was the Fourth of July.

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With heart and hand, let us stand as one today: One people under God determined that our future shall be worthy of our past. As we do, we must ~~never forget~~ ^{not regret} the well-intentioned ~~mistakes~~ ^{errors} of our past. We must never again abuse the trust of ~~our~~ ^{the} working men and women, by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the spiraling demands of a ^{bloated} Federal establishment. You elected us in

1980 to end this prescription for disaster. I do not believe you re-elected us in 1984 to reverse course.

At the heart of our ~~program~~^{efforts} is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth: ^{Freedom and} incentives unleash the drive and entrepreneurial genius ^{that are the core of human progress,} ~~of free men and women~~. We have begun to increase rewards for work, savings and investment, reduce the increase in the cost and size of Government, and ^{its} ~~lower~~ the amount of ~~regulatory~~ interference in ~~the~~ people's lives.

~~But~~ rather than limit our challenge to growth, let us challenge the limits of growth. We must simplify our tax system, make it more fair and bring ~~personal~~ tax rates down for all who work and earn. We must think anew and move with new boldness, so every American who seeks ~~to~~ work can find work; so the least among us ^{will} have an equal chance to achieve the greatest things -- to be heroes who heal ^{our} ~~the~~ sick, feed the hungry, protect peace among nations, and leave this world a better place.

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

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

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We have come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions. I have asked the Cabinet and Staff a question and now I put that same question to you. If not us, who? If not now, when? We know the answer. It must be done now, by all of us going forward with a program aimed at reaching a ^{balanced} ~~date certain~~ ~~when the budget, will be balanced.~~ We can then begin reducing the national debt.

I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at ^{Government} ~~freezing overall spending in 1986 at the 1985 level.~~ ^{program for the next year} Beyond that we must take further steps to permanently control Government's power to tax and spend.

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compassion is the way of life, where the old and infirm are cared for, the young and, yes, the unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and made self-sufficient.

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

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

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Today, we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on Earth. Yet history has shown that peace does not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by good will alone. There are those in the world who ^{scorn} ~~disdain~~ our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted



the greatest military build-up in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome, offensive weapons.

We have made progress in restoring our defense capability. But much remains to be done. There must be no wavering by us, ~~not any~~ ^{any} ~~doubting~~ ^s by others, that America will meet her responsibilities to remain free, secure, and at peace.

There is only one way to safely and legitimately reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. This we are trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are not just discussing limits on any further increase of nuclear weapons. We seek, instead, ~~a reduction of the number of such weapons~~ ^{to reduce them,} For the sake of each child ^{in every corner of the globe,} born today, ^{one day,} and in the year 2,000, we seek the total elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

For decades, we and the Soviets have ^{lived under the threat of} ~~had a policy of mutual assured destruction; if either resorted to~~ ^{the use of} nuclear weapons, the other could retaliate, and destroy the other. ~~This mutual threat has played a part in 40 years of peace,~~ ^{maintaining,} ~~but there is a great~~ ^{Is there either logic or morality} ~~immorality in an agreement~~ ^{believing} that if one side kills tens of millions of our people, our only recourse is to ~~kill~~ ^{threaten} tens of millions of theirs?

We seek another way -- a far better way. I have approved a research program to see if a ~~defensive~~ security shield can be developed that will destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their target. Such a shield would not kill people, ^{but} ~~it would~~ ^{at would not militarize space, but help demilitarize the atmosphere of earth.} destroy weapons. ^{Such a shield could render nuclear weapons} obsolete. So, we will meet with the Soviets hoping that we can

Non-
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And as we strive for peace and security, we are heartened by the changes all around us. Since the turn of the century, the number of democracies in the world has grown ~~five~~ ^{four} fold, ~~and~~ today, human freedom is on the march. It is one of the deepest and noblest aspirations of the human spirit. People worldwide hunger for the right of self-determination, for those inalienable rights that make for human dignity and progress.

~~[There are 3 billion human beings in third world countries. Their average per capita income is less than \$600 a year. Some suggest the answer to this problem is a simple transfer of wealth. That isn't good enough. Let us ask others to join us in a practical program of aid, trade, and technical assistance to encourage economic development through incentives and free markets, so they can climb out of poverty on their own.]~~

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally, and the world's only hope, to conquer poverty and preserve peace. Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. Every victory for human freedom will be a victory for world peace.

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