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(Dolan)
December 26, 1984
12:30 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INAUGURATION
MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1985

This occasion marks the fiftieth time an American President has pledged to uphold the Constitution and those principles of self-government and democratic rule on which it is based. This faith in the uncommon wisdom of the common people, first proclaimed by a young Nation on a new continent 200 years ago, prompted Thomas Jefferson to call this Capitol "the first temple dedicated to the sovereignty of the people."

And it is in this spirit, my fellow Americans, I have taken the oath of office today and accept now not a personal bestowal of power but a stewardship for the people.

As America begins her third century, our faith in the democratic ideal must guide us now as it has guided us for the last two centuries. Not long ago, some questioned this faith and suggested the American quest for peace and human freedom had reached its limit, that our Nation and our world had already crossed the last frontiers of human progress. Mention was made of our economic ills: our inflated currency, the high number of unemployed, the recession in business and the loss of productivity. There were social ills: the growth in crime, the dependency of the unfortunate, the power of unelected interests, the loss of faith by the people in their political leaders and governmental institutions. Some even suggested our constitutional system and the beliefs on which it was based were fast becoming unworkable or even obsolete.

To all of this -- 4 years ago -- we gave an unswerving answer. We said then that our national difficulties arose not from following the simple wisdom that began this Nation, but by failing to heed it -- a simple wisdom that said: "A wise and frugal government will restrain men from injuring one another but leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government. . . ."

Our Founding Fathers knew firsthand the perils of Government too heavily invested with power; they had seen their own rights trampled on by the arbitrary constraints of Government. And so they saw in Government both a potentially useful servant of the people and a potentially dangerous adversary whose power must be continually watched, controlled, and limited.

That is why in writing a Constitution they assigned to Government such tasks as maintaining civil order and the common defense but left to the people -- to their private institutions and separate communities -- the real work of pursuing and finding the creative, the just, and the good society.

For too long we had forgotten this wisdom. In pursuit of worthy goals, the cost of Government was increased and its size expanded. The result was what our Founding Fathers had warned against, what had weakened and exhausted other nations and civilizations: a vastly expanded bureaucracy, a huge burden of taxation and inflation on our citizens, the weakening of voluntary associations and private institutions, economic

decline, social disruption, a confusion of our moral standards, and the threat of a collapse in our national morale.

With the best of intentions our constitutional concepts of Government and those personal values responsible for America's greatness were undermined. In the name of making Government more responsive, its traditional and necessary functions were ignored while it took on new responsibilities for which it was neither qualified nor competent. In the name of redistributing wealth, creativity was discouraged; in the name of ending inequality, excellence was stifled; in the name of liberating the individual from the past, the individual was isolated from family, community, and Providence.

It was these trends we have sought to change during the last 4 years. We sought to remove Government's hand from where it could only do harm even as we sought to revitalize Government's traditional functions. Most important, we sought to set loose again the energy and ingenuity of the American people: to reinvigorate those social economic institutions which serve as both a buffer and bridge between the individual and the state and which remain the real source of our progress as a Nation.

With these goals in mind, the American people and their leaders pledged 4 years ago to seek together not revolutionary turmoil but prudent reform, not national upheaval but national renewal.

Today, that national renewal is upon us. As government is being restored to its rightful place in our lives, our people have returned to work and prosperity, our national wealth is

increasing, our technology is expanding, the physical and life sciences and our culture are flourishing. Most of all, we have seen a reawakening of faith in those values of family, country, and religious faith that remain the source of American greatness. By rebuilding our defenses and ensuring the strength of our alliances, we have also moved to enhance our national security. The once-steady march of totalitarianism has been blunted; where freedom has been threatened, we have sought to defend it, where human rights have been repressed we have sought to speak for them -- all of this for the purpose of making America what we pray God she always will be: the champion of peace and human freedom among the nations of the world.

All of these gains, all of these successes, are not the work of a single man or party or philosophy. They are rooted in the strength of our democratic way of life; in the realization that social and economic advancement come only when the people are free to determine their own future, to "regulate," in Jefferson's words, "their own pursuits of industry and improvement." So if we seek today the causes of America's return to greatness, let us look to the real source of growth and energy in democratic societies: The progress of our recent years, like the progress of all our years, has been -- like our very form of Government -- "for the people, by the people, and of the people."

Let us now, in this spirit of national unity -- confident of what "we the people" have already achieved -- continue what has been so well begun.

The challenges that remain are daunting, in attempting to meet them we take on problems made intractable by years of neglect and misguided policy. Yet I remain confident that "we the People" can maintain our current prosperity, deal with our domestic difficulties, and continue to advance the cause of peace and further the spread of freedom throughout the world. Our past is evidence that when our Nation is united in mind and spirit there is very little we cannot accomplish together.

It is at such a moment of national unity that I believe we now live. Or on a wide range of issues that once divided us, foreign and domestic, a new American consensus has emerged and a spirit of national unity taken hold.

Consider for a moment the problem that has so perplexed us here in the Capital during the past few months. I refer to our monstrous national debt, its continued growth and the mortgage it places on the future of many generations of Americans.

Only a short time ago opinion here in Washington held that the national debt was of little matter, that deficit financing was not only permissible but economically healthy. But now a different consensus -- one that has existed for some time among the people -- has taken hold here in our Capital. We are united now in the view that deficit financing is wrong, that it is bad, and that it must be ended.

In the past few years, we have been able to take the first few steps towards this goal: Despite a budget filled with rising costs from mandated programs, we have managed to partially thwart the trend of decades and reduce Government spending growth to

nearly half of what it was. But much more remains to be done and the promise of future progress lies in a growing realization by our Government leaders that the power to tax -- far from being a cure-all for our domestic and fiscal ills -- is a danger to economic health and growth. We are increasingly aware that the dilemma of our deficits is tied directly to high levels of taxation; that deficit financing and high taxation are actually twin sides of the same problem: Government is too big and it spends too much money. In short, the realization is growing that the only real chance to control our national finances lies in continuing America's economic expansion while cutting the costs of Government.

I think all of us are increasingly aware that our prodigal child, Government, is only just now showing signs of learning the first lessons of fiscal prudence -- let us not tempt him back to old, profligate ways by making available new sources of revenue through higher taxes, higher taxes that can only frustrate enterprise and growth and lead as it did in the past to another round of irresponsible spending and even higher deficits.

So in the months ahead let us move to eliminate bureaucracy and waste and cut back unnecessary programs and bureaus, but let us also resolve to expend every effort to keep America's economic growth accelerating; and to do this by refusing to burden workers and businesses with new taxation.

Beyond solving our deficit problem over the short term, however, the new American consensus for economic growth and limited Government can enable us to take two additional and historic steps, steps that will institutionalize our own hard-won

experience in dealing with the abuse of Government's power to tax and spend.

First, let us enact a constitutional prohibition that will protect future generations from Government's inevitable desire to spend its citizens' money and then tax them into servitude when the bills come due; let us see to it that Government can no longer mortgage the future of our children and our children's children by running up huge national deficits. Let us enact a safeguard that our Founding Fathers would gladly have provided for had they ever thought their progeny capable of such excess. The time has come to make the Federal Government abide by the wisdom understood in every American household and practiced by virtually every State government, the time has come to make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to live beyond its means, to spend more than it takes in.

And second, let us continue America's prosperity, and promote her growth not only by refusing to levy new taxes but by simplifying our current tax system, a system that is an obstacle to economic growth because it has grown unfair, inequitable, counterproductive, and all but incomprehensible.

Beyond reducing the burden of Government spending and taxation, our new sense of national unity extends to other crucial domestic matters. I think here of one problem whose growth until recently threatened the moral health of our Nation and the very basis of our democratic order. For the first time in decades, the rate of crime has declined substantially and over a period of several years. This decline is due largely to the

increased apprehension and incarceration of those who would make a career of victimizing their fellow citizens. This too is the result of a new resolve in America on basic moral and social questions; the American people have lately instructed their courts to reaffirm what "we the people" have always believed: that right and wrong matter, that the individual is responsible for his or her actions and that society has a right to protect itself from those who make a career of preying on the innocent. Let us then unite in our efforts to continue our war against crime and especially those organized syndicates that have for too long been a blot on our history and a breeding ground for so much political and social corruption.

The restoral of our national unity is also seen in the new life and energy we see among those social and political institutions not directed or dominated by the central Government. That great observer of American democracy, Alexis de Tocqueville, warned that elimination or weakening of lower levels of Government and of intermediate groups and voluntary associations would lead to a powerless mass of subordinated individuals dominated by a huge nation-state. Americans of late show they understand the wisdom of such warnings. We have seen a rebirth in the health and power of local communities and State governments, in the values and strength of families, of the number and vitality of fraternal and charitable groups. In the matters of social compassion, the Federal Government, of course, has its legitimate role, but our final goal must always be to reduce the dependency and upgrade the dignity of those who are

infirm or disadvantaged. And it is these institutions, family and community, that offer us our best chance for a society where compassion is commonplace, where the old and infirm are truly cared for, the young and unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and when possible, made self-sufficient -- a society where no person need go hungry, homeless, or unwanted.

And let me turn here to another vital issue where Americans have grown closer together. There is no story in America's past more heartening than our steady march towards a society where men and women of different race and creed can live together in the brother and sisterhood that God intended. It has special meaning for those of us older Americans who remember a time when racial, religious or ethnic hatred and prejudice were codified in law and social custom. In the long course of history, few nations have managed to extract themselves from quagmires like slavery, Civil war, and Jim Crow in as short a time as our own. America's commitment to civil rights and racial justice is a thing of pride and a matter of national honor. So as one Nation, we resolve and we say today: There can be no turning back, no faltering, no hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens.

As we turn to the world at large, we can also see evidence of a restoral of national unity on the vital questions of our own Nation's security and the advancement of peace and human freedom. Much has been said of the recent stirring in Americans hearts and minds called the new patriotism, of the reawakening of our national sense of mission -- a belief that in a world longing for

freedom and anxious for moral leadership America has a special role and destiny.

I know much has also been made of our differences over foreign policy in the past few decades; yet all we need do is step back from the immediate present to see the remarkable consistency that since the close of World War II has characterized the foreign policy objectives of our national administrations.

This consistent dedication to peace, to human rights, to the spread of freedom -- when combined with the current reawakening of our patriotic feelings, the restoral of our military strength, and the renewal of moral purpose in our foreign policy -- presents us now with enormous new opportunities for furthering the cause of peace and freedom.

Scholars have noted the startling material progress mankind has made in the last century or two particularly in contrast to the plight of most generations in previous centuries. The growth of industry, of science and technology now holds out the prospect that not-so-distant generations will see an end to the age-old menaces of hunger and disease, ignorance and want.

But this material progress of mankind must be matched by a progress of the mind and spirit. And it is in the growth of human freedom and the rising concern with human rights throughout the world that there is much cause for hope. When our Nation began, it was almost alone in proclaiming a government based on the protection of individual rights and the consent of the

governed. Even as late as the start of this century, there were but a handful of democracies in the world.

Today the number of democracies has grown by fivefold and more than a third of the world's population lives under democratic rule. To sense the enormous energy of the democratic ideal in the world today we need only look close to our own borders. In startling contrast to their recent past, more than 90 percent of the people of Latin America live today under governments that are democratically run or are moving decisively in that direction.

Human freedom is on the march everywhere in the world; it is on the march because it remains today what it has been throughout history: one of the deepest and noblest aspiration of the human spirit. While history is the work of free men and women -- not unalterable laws -- history does have direction and trends; and one such trend is clear: The people of the world hunger for the right to self-determination, to those unalienable rights that self-government guarantees and to the human dignity it enshrines.

It is now America's task to advance this cause. This is not to say our own past is blameless or our Nation without fault; this is not to say we shall not at times be tempted by pride or self-righteousness -- a temptation we must seek the strength to resist. And it does not mean there are no limits to what we as a single Nation can accomplish. As John Adams reminded us: We are "a friend to liberty everywhere; but the custodian of only our own."

But being a friend of liberty means that our final goal must be consistent with the dream of our Founding Fathers; not just to keep America a beacon of hope, a shining city to all the oppressed of the world but to know we as Americans can never truly rest, that our work as a Nation can never truly be done until the blessings of life and liberty are extended to all the peoples of the Earth.

So, my fellow Americans, it is our faith in the eventual triumph of the human spirit, our belief that governments based on a denial of that spirit must eventually wither and decline that causes us now to rededicate ourselves to a forward strategy for freedom, to renew our call for a crusade for freedom, to do all that we can to advance throughout the world the growth of democratic institutions and governments.

That is why we can never be silent, we can never acquiesce in assaults on freedom or human rights wherever they occur. And because the cause of human freedom and individual rights is at the moral core of our foreign policy, we pledge to never look upon any nation's or any people's freedom as a bargaining chip in our dealings with their larger or more powerful neighbors.

And that is why we must continue to enunciate the crucial moral distinctions between those system of government that allow dissent, that acknowledge mistakes, that permit reform and those systems of government that simply justify wrongdoing as long as it is done in the name of the state and a coercive Utopian vision. It has been said that to deny a fact is to make that fact your master. Yes, we know there are those in the world

today who seek to extinguish the light of freedom. But we also know -- and on this point we repledge our sacred honor today -- that these efforts shall never succeed.

But mankind's movement towards freedom and self-determination, towards a world of both material and spiritual well-being is not only gravely threatened by totalitarian systems that seek to extinguish this movement, it is threatened as well by awful weapons of destruction and by the specter of worldwide holocaust.

That is why we recognize a moral responsibility to pursue every path to peace, to reduce the danger these weapons pose to civilization, to expend every effort to reach fair and verifiable agreements on the number and size of such arms and to eventually eliminate them altogether. We will pursue these negotiations not simply out of mere habit or diplomatic routine or for purposes of propaganda but because we recognize a moral obligation to reach out in every possible way to other nations, to be ready always for that moment when changes of heart and mind may at last make peace among all peoples possible. That is why the American people speak as one today to all the nations of the world and especially to any who may view themselves as our adversaries: We say to you that we are all brothers and sisters on this Earth, that we can and we must put aside the madness of mutual nuclear terror, that we can and we must live together in the peace and harmony that God intended.

We must work then -- and especially we must pray -- that the advance of freedom and human rights will not be thwarted either

by totalitarian ideologies or by the destruction of nuclear war. And as we stand for freedom and also take those diplomatic steps that will reduce the threat of nuclear terror, so too we must pursue new technologies that can give all nations a measure of protection against the utter devastation that the use of a single nuclear weapon would bring. These steps towards strategic defense, far from jeopardizing arms reduction negotiations will advance the progress of these measures because the objectives of both are the same: to stop the madness of nations holding each other hostage to mutual assured destruction.

I know there are some who look at these dangers in our world today and are without hope, who conclude that eventually we must choose between peace or freedom. But I have often said that this is not the choice before us, that the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism is not a test of arms or armies but a test of faith and spirit. And that it is in this spiritual struggle, where the minds and wills of men and women are the crucial battleground, that the ultimate fate of humanity will be decided.

That is why we must not only protect our legacy of freedom, but seek to make it some day the birthright of other peoples. And to those who remain doubtful we can ask today: what American, viewing a land so blessed by Providence in overcoming the hardships and struggles of the past, has a right now to be without hope about our future.

It has been said that no nation as fortunate as ours in having the leadership of its early days would ever again have the right to complain about a lack of stature or character in its

national leaders. Yet no one knew better than the Founding Fathers that the real resting place of our Nation's greatness was with the people and with the system of government that they had devised.

Two of those founders that I have mentioned today, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, remain for most of us symbols of a remarkable group of men who dared to think they could make the world over again when they met in that carpenters' hall in Philadelphia. Yet I wonder if in the bitter estrangement of these two great Americans after the presidential campaign and election of 1800, Jefferson and Adams didn't leave their countrymen one final and important lesson.

It was in the middle of the night, March 1801, the night before the inauguration of President-elect Jefferson that President Adams left for Boston. And it was only when these two old comrades and opponents had retired -- Jefferson at 68 to Monticello and Adams at 76 to Quincy -- that they began to speak again to each other through their letters.

What a testimony their correspondence is to life and learning on every conceivable subject: developments in horticulture, the shortcomings of newspaper reporters, even sneezing as a cure for hiccups. But other subjects as well: The loss of loved ones, the mystery of grief and sorrow in our lives, the importance of religion and, of course, those last thoughts, those final hopes of two old men for the country they helped to found and so deeply loved.

The science of government had not progressed in three of four thousand years, Adams complained to Jefferson, because "Parties and Factions will not permit improvements to be made. As soon as one man hints at an improvement, his rival opposes it. No sooner has one party discovered an amelioration of the condition of man or the order of society, than the opposite party belies it, misconstrues it, misrepresents it, ridicules it, insults it, and persecutes it."

And lest anyone feel self-righteous, Adams warned, both parties had excited "artificial terrors" and "if I were summoned as a Witness to say, upon oath, which party had excited the most terror, and which had really felt the most, I could not give a more sincere answer, than in the vulgar style: 'Put them in a Bagg and shake them, and then see which comes out first.'"

And as we begin our work on the Nation's business, how well we do to keep their warnings in mind, to remember what they to their regret once forgot: that what unites us far outweighs whatever may divide us, and that in the spirit of the older Jefferson and Adams: We are all Republicans, WE are all Democrats because we are all Americans.

There is one last footnote to this story of Adams and Jefferson and I cannot leave you without telling it -- a footnote that perhaps testifies to history's sense of irony and poetry. 1826 was the 50th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. And it was the year that John Adams died. It was also the year Thomas Jefferson died. They did so within a few hours of each other. On the same day. Yes, The Fourth of July.

They left us on that Fourth of July those letters "filled" Jefferson said "with affections so sweetening to the evening of our lives." They left us too, a country and a past that is an inspiration.

"It carries me back," Jefferson wrote about correspondence with his co-signer of the Declaration of Independence, "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, my fellow Americans, we ride now through the storm; proud of our yesterdays, determined that our future shall be worthy of our past. We stand as one today: One people under God, one Nation dedicated to his service and to the dream of freedom he has placed in the human heart. A dream that is ours now to cherish and protect and to pass on to a troubled but waiting and hopeful world.

Tom's Dis.
phoned in
12/26/84

11¹⁵(203)-367-2942

(Dolan)
December 21, 1984
4:30 p.m.

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Beyond reducing the burden of Government spending and taxation, our new sense of national unity extends to other crucial domestic matters. I think here of one problem whose growth until recently threatened the moral health of our nation and the very basis of our democratic order. For the first time in decades, the rate of crime has declined substantially and over a period of several years. This decline is due largely to the increased

apprehension and incarceration of those who would make a career of victimizing their fellow citizens. This too is the result of a new resolve in America on basic moral and social questions; the American people have lately instructed their courts to reaffirm what "we the people" have always believed: that right and wrong matter, that the individual is responsible for his or her actions and that society has a right to protect itself from those who make a career of preying on the innocent. Let us then unite in our efforts to continue our war against crime and especially those organized syndicates that have far too long been a blot on our history and a breeding ground for so much political and social corruption.

The restoral of our national unity is also seen in the new life and energy we see among those social and political institutions not directed or dominated by the central Government. That great observer of American democracy, Alex deTocqueville, warned that elimination or weakening of lower levels of Government and of intermediate groups and voluntary associations would lead to a powerless mass of subordinated individuals dominated by a huge nation-state. Americans of late show they understand the wisdom of such warnings. We have seen a rebirth in the health and power of local communities and State governments, in the values and strength of families, of the number and vitality of fraternal and charitable groups. In matters of social compassion, the Federal Government of course has its legitimate role, but our final goal must always be to reduce the dependency and upgrade the dignity of those who are

infirm or disadvantaged. And it is these institutions, family and community, that offer us our best chance for a society where compassion is commonplace, where the old and infirm are truly cared for, the young and unborn protected, and the unfortunate looked after and when possible, made self-sufficient -- a society where no person need go hungry, homeless, or unwanted.

And let me turn here to another vital issue where Americans have grown closer together. There is no story in America's past more heartening than our steady march towards a society where men and women of different race and creed can live together in the brother and sisterhood that God intended. It has special meaning for those of us older Americans who remember a time when racial, religious or ethnic hatred and prejudice were codified in law and social custom. In the long course of history, few nations have managed to extract themselves from quagmires like slavery, Civil war and Jim Crow in as short a time as our own. America's commitment to civil rights and racial justice is a thing of pride and a matter of national honor. So as one nation, we resolve and we say today: there can be no turning back, no faltering, no hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens.

As we turn to the world at large, we can also see evidence of a restoral of national unity on the vital questions of our own nation's security and the advancement of peace and human freedom. Much has been said of the recent stirring in American hearts and minds called the new patriotism, of the reawakening of our national sense of mission -- a belief that in a world longing for freedom and anxious for moral leadership America has a special role and destiny.

I know much has also been made of our differences over foreign policy in the past few decades; yet all we need do is step back from the immediate present to see the remarkable consistency that since the close of World War II has characterized the foreign policy objectives of our national administrations.

This consistent dedication to peace, to human rights, to the spread of freedom -- when combined with the current reawakening of our patriotic feelings, the restoral of our military strength and the renewal of moral purpose in our foreign policy -- presents us now with enormous new opportunities for furthering the cause of peace and freedom.

Scholars have noted the startling material progress mankind has made in the last century or two particularly in contrast to the plight of most generations in previous centuries. The growth of industry, of science and technology now holds out the prospect that not-so-distant generations will see an end to the age old meances of hunger and disease, ignorance and want.

But this material progress of mankind must be matched by a progress of the mind and spirit. And it is in the growth of human freedom and the rising concern with human rights throughout the world that there is much cause for hope. When our nation began, it was almost alone in proclaiming a government based on the protection of individual rights and the consent of the governed. Even as late as the start of this century, there were but a handful of democracies in the world.

Today the number of democracies has grown by fivefold and more than a third of the world's population lives under democratic rule. To sense the enormous enregy of the democratic ideal in the world today we need only look close to our own borders. In startling contrast to their recent past, more than 90 percent of the people of Latin Amreica live today under

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governments that are democratically run or are moving decisively in that direction.

Human freedom is on the march everywhere in the world; it is on the march because it remains today what it has been throughout history: one of the deepest and noblest aspiration of the human spirit. While history is the work of free men and women -- not unalterable laws -- history does have direction and trends; and one such trend is clear: the people of the world hunger for the right to self-determination, to those unalienable rights that self-government guarantees and to the human dignity it enshrines.

It is now Amreica's task to advance this cause. This is not to say our own past is blameless or own nation without fault; this is not to say we shall not at times be tempted by pride or self-rightousness -- a temptation we must seek the strength to resist. And it does not mean there are no limits to what we as a single nation can accomplish. As John Adams reminded us: We are "a friend to liberty everywhere; but the custodian of only our own."

But being a freind of liberty means that our final goal must be consistent with the dream of our founding fathers; not just to keep Amreica a beacon of hope, a shining city to all the oppressed of the world but to know we as Amreicans can never truly rest, that our work as a nation can never be truly be done until the blessings of life and liberty are extended to all the peoples of the earth.

So, my fellow Americans, it is our faith in the eventual triumph of the human spirit, our belief that governments based on a denial of that spirit must eventually wither and decline that causes us now to rededicate ourselves to a forward strategy for freedom, to renew our call for a crusade for freedom, to do all that we can to advance throughout the world the growth of democratic institutions and governments.

That is why we can never be silent, we can never acquiesce in assaults on freedom or human rights wherever they occur. And because the cause of human freedom and individual rights is at the moral core of our foreign policy, we pledge to never look upon any nation's or any people's freedom as a bargaining chip in our dealings with their larger or more powerful neighbors.

And that is why we must continue to enunciate the crucial moral distinctions between those systems of government that allow dissent, that acknowledge mistakes, that permit reform and those systems of government that simply justify wrongdoing as long as it is done in the name of the state and a coercive Utopian vision. It has been said that to deny a fact is to make that fact your master; Yes, we know there are those in the world today who seek to extinguish the light of freedom. But we also know -- and on this point we repledge our sacred honor today -- that these efforts shall never succeed.

But mankind's movement towards freedom and self-determination, towards a world of both material and spiritual well-being is not only gravely threatened by totalitarian systems that seek to extinguish this movement, it is threatened as well by awful weapons of destruction, and } by the specter of worldwide holocaust.

That is why we recognize a moral responsibility to pursue every path to peace, to reduce the danger these weapons pose to civilization, to expend every effort to reach fair and verifiable agreements on the number and size of such arms and to eventually eliminate them altogether. We will pursue these negotiations not simply out of mere habit or diplomatic routine or for purposes of propaganda but because we recognize a moral obligation to reach out in every possible way to other nations, to be ready always for that moment when changes of heart and mind may at last make peace among all peoples possible. That is why the American people speak as one today to all the nations of the world and especially to any who may view themselves as our adversaries: we say to you that we are all brothers and sisters on this earth, that we can and we must put aside the madness of mutual nuclear terror, that we can and we must live together in the peace and harmony that God intended.

We must work then -- and especially we must pray -- that the advance of freedom and human rights will not be thwarted either by totalitarian ideologies or by the destruction of nuclear war. And as we stand for freedom and also take those diplomatic

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steps that will reduce the threat of nuclear terror, so too we must pursue new technologies that can give all nations a measure of protection against the utter devastation that the use of a single nuclear weapon would bring. These steps towards strategic defense, far from jeopardizing arms reduction negotiations will advance the progress of these measures because the objectives of both are the same: to stop the madness of nations holding each other hostage to mutual assured destruction.

I know there are some who look at these dangers in our world today and are without hope, who conclude that eventually we must choose between peace or freedom. But I have often said that this is not the choice before us, that the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism is not a test of arms or armies but a test of faith and spirit. And that it is in this spiritual struggle, where the minds and wills of men and women are the crucial battleground, that the ultimate fate of humanity will be decided.

That is why we must not only protect our legacy of freedom, but seek to make it someday the birthright of other peoples. And to those who remain doubtful we can ask today: what American, viewing a land so blessed by Providence in overcoming

the hardships and struggles of
the past, has a right now to be
without hope about our future.

It has been said that no nation as fortunate as ours in
having the leadership of its early days would ever again have the
right to complain about a lack of stature or character in its
national leaders. Yet no one knew better than the founding
fathers

that the real resting place of our nation's greatness was
with the people and with the system of government that they had
devised.

Two of those founders that I have mentioned today, a
Boston lawyer named Admas and a Virginia planter named Jefferson,
remain for most of us symbols of a remarkable group of men who
when they met in that carpenters hall in Philadelphia, dared to
think they could make the world over again. Yet I wonder if in
the bitter estrangement of these two great Americans after the
presidential campaign and election of 1800, Jefferson and Admas
didn't leave their countrymen one final and important lesson.

It was in the middle of the night ^{March - 1801, the night} before the inauguration
of President-elect Jefferson that President Adams left for
Boston.. And it was only when these two old comrades and
opponents had retired -- Jefferson at 68 to Monticello and Adams
at 76 to Quincy -- that they began to speak again to each other
through their letters.

What a testimony their correspondence is to life and learning on every conceivable subject: developments in horticulture, the shortcomings of newspaper reporters, even sneezing as a cure for hiccups. But other subjects as well: the loss of loved ones, the mystery of grief and sorrow in our lives, the importance of religion and, of course those last thoughts, those final hopes of two old men for the country they helped to found and so deeply loved.

The science of government had not progressed in three of four thousand years, Adams complained to Jefferson, because "Parties and Factions will not permit improvements to be made. As soon as one man hints at an improvement, his rival opposes it. No sooner has one party discovered an amelioration of the condition of man or the order of society, than the opposite party belies it, misconstrues it, misrepresents it, ridicules it, insults it, and persecutes it."

And lest anyone feel self-righteous, Adams warned, both parties had excited "artificial terrors" and "if I were summoned as a Witness to say, upon oath, which party had excited....the most terror, and which had really felt the most, I could not give a more sincere answer, than in the vulgar style: 'Put them in a Bag and shake them, and then see which comes out first.'"

What a sense of regret there is in these letters that they had let partisan or factional differences divide them; and how they feared such future threats to America's national unity.

And as we begin our work on the nation's business, how well we do to keep their warnings in mind, to remember what they to their regret once forgot: that what unites us far outweighs whatever may divide us, and that in the spirit of the older Jefferson and Adams: we are all Republicans, WE are all Democrats because we are all Americans.

~~By the way,~~ there is one last footnote to this story of Adams and Jefferson and I cannot leave you without telling it -- a footnote that perhaps testifies to history's sense of irony and poetry. 1826 was the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. And it was the year that John Adams died. It was also the year Thomas Jefferson died. They did so within a few hours of each other. On the same day. Yes, The Fourth of July.

They left us on that fourth of July those letters "filled" Jefferson said "with affections so sweetening to the evening of our lives." ~~And~~ ^{to} the left us a country and a past that is an inspiration.

"It carries me back," Jefferson wrote about this correspondence with his ~~fellow~~ ^{co} signer of the Declaration of Independence, "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, my fellow Americans, we ride now

through the storm; proud of our yesterdays, determined

that

our

future shall be worthy of our past. And ~~I think those that~~
~~founded our nation would be proud of us today; for we~~ stand as
one ^{today} -- one people under God, one nation dedicated to his service
and to the dream of freedom he has placed in the human heart. A

dream that is ours now to cherish and protect and to pass on to a
troubled but waiting and hopeful world.

^{little after}
~~In submitting this draft, I make no claims of originality.~~
~~Much of the language and especially the themes~~ ^{in this draft,} you will recognize
~~from~~ as plagiarized from about twenty-five years of RR speeches.

^{this draft does}
~~I did~~ try however, to put this in the context of this inaugural --

the 50th, We the people, national and American renewal, ~~which~~
^{the new consensus in Amer 50.}
~~the presspicked up on in your last inaugural).~~ ^{I have} ~~I have~~ ^{this draft}
~~also tried to weave throughout the theme of national unity,~~ ^{13 other spec. themes: also tries}
and the wisdom of the founding fathers, ^{and you wish to reach}
^{out to all Americans.}

In this connection, you may remember sending us
a couple of years ago, copies of the correspondence between
Jefferson and Adams. The sections you outlined ^{then} seemed to
fit perfectly ~~inxxxxxxx~~ for this occasion. ~~ADA~~

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 26, 1984

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY R. DOLAN

SUBJECT: Inauguration Address

The themes in this draft you will recognize as plagerized from about 25 years of RR speeches. This draft does try, however, to put this in the context of this inaugural -- the 50th, We the people, national and American renewal, the new consensus in America. This draft tries to weave throughout three other specific themes: national unity, the wisdom of the Founding Fathers, and your wish to reach out to all Americans.

In this connection, you may remember sending us a couple of years ago, copies of the correspondence between Jefferson and Adams. The sections you outlined then seemed to fit perfectly for this occasion.

(Elliott/Rusthoven)
December 26, 1984
2:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INAUGURATION
MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1985

My fellow citizens, today is a day for celebration and rededication. We celebrate together the success of mankind's oldest experiment in free self-government. For the 50th time in the history of our Republic, this simple, solemn ceremony has marked the continuance of our Constitution, and our rededication to its guiding principles.

Honored by our heritage, grateful for our abundant blessings, and challenged by high hopes for the future, we renew and reaffirm our faith in the vision of human freedom and dignity that gave birth to our Nation -- a vision that retains across two centuries all its power to unite us and to inspire the world.

Let us give thanks for this historic day; and let us make clear our determination that next year, and every year after, this Government will remain in the hands of "we the people."

Those words -- "we the people" -- remain the proper starting point for everything we do. Some of us were partisans in the last election. But none of us has come here as Republican or Democrat. We come as Americans, a free and united people, proud to stand together, one for all, and all for one.

We can rejoice in another blessing that touches our lives and guides our destiny -- the American Renewal. New reverence for old truths and our deepest values has given a rebirth to the American spirit, rebirth to the American dream, and yes, rebirth to American greatness.

When I took the oath of office 4 years ago, our Nation was confronted with an economic affliction of great proportions. Some even questioned whether our form of democratic government could survive. We had strayed from the bedrock principle of our revolution that had led us safely through stormy seas of our past: Man is not beholden to Government; Government is beholden to man.

But we knew we were not, as some fainthearts believed, doomed to inevitable decline. We had every right to dream heroic dreams. We are the sons and daughters of a great revolution that brought forth hope and opportunity. We survived the Great Depression, came back from Pearl Harbor to rescue freedom for the West, and, in my lifetime went from horse and buggy to sending astronauts to the Moon.

It was time to raise freedom's banner, to renew our hope and our faith, and to stand tall again with courage and strength. We believed then and say today, there are no limits to economic growth, because there are no limits to the power of the human mind and spirit. We believed then and say today, America must and will be strong enough to defend freedom whenever freedom is threatened, and strong enough to seek a peace that can endure for this generation and beyond.

The timid voices who lacked faith in our people, who declared our cause lost before it began, continue to oppose us. But we have ~~we~~ proved them wrong before; and we shall prove them wrong again. We have made a New Beginning, to restore a proper balance between citizen and Government, curb the size and

influence of the Federal establishment, lower tax rates to create new opportunities and revive our economic might, and restore credibility to our military, pride in our country, and confidence in our future.

And look how far we have come. No longer do our families watch helplessly as ruinous inflation silently erodes the savings and dreams of years of discipline and effort. No longer do ever-escalating taxes penalize the enterprise and sap the initiative of an industrious and inventive people.

More of our citizens hold jobs than ever before in our history -- not temporary, delusive employment created by Government fiat, but real jobs, jobs that give men and women opportunities to produce, contribute, and be fulfilled, jobs created by an economic system that made this country an industrial giant which is finally being freed from the artificial restraints too long placed upon it. America is back.

One other thing: No longer is a totalitarian tyranny seizing nation after nation. Not one country has been lost to communist aggression during these last 4 years. But we have welcomed with joy the people of Grenada back into the family of free nations.

What credit is due for these accomplishments does not belong to me or my Administration. It belongs to the millions united in great love for an even greater good; to the wise who understand freedom is never more than one generation from extinction; to all of you who labor each day and take pride in your work on our farms and in our factories, in our offices and stores.

Far from being selfish or greedy, you are restoring the opportunities to work and save and invest on which our families and our future depend. Far from forgetting the least fortunate among us, your hearts share sorrow, feel pain, and reach out with the warmth of brother or sister to the fallen stranger who cries for help. Your generosity is keeping alive the bright promise offering hope for lives and dignity and self-sufficiency, and genuine compassion for those unable to care for themselves. My fellow citizens, you are the heroes who are building the American renewal and I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

We have accomplished much. But the American revolution remains an unfinished work. For can victory be won when nearly 8-1/2 million of our fellow countrymen are still without jobs and hope for the future? Can our work be done when many areas are still not havens for enterprise, safe neighborhoods, and schools meeting their mission of learning, but are, instead, pockets of destitution, drugs and despair?

And can our great dream live on, if we turn our backs on a world struggling to break free from the rule of force, fear, and failure? ~~/~~ Each passing day -- from Central America, to eastern ^z Europe, to the continents of Africa and Asia -- more people are embracing one triumphant truth: Freedom is the surest path to peace and human happiness -- freedom to read and speak one's ~~/~~ thoughts, to worship God, to elect a ~~/~~ Government resting upon the consent of the governed, and to create wealth and a better life.

Remember why we are here. The nature of our celebration, and the challenge of our rededication on this 50th inaugural, were foreseen by the giants of our own history. Speaking on the 50th anniversary of the American revolution, Daniel Webster said, "No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is, one of the greatest events in human history . . . a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs."

And in 1861, Abraham Lincoln spoke at Independence Hall in a dark hour of our history. To a Nation divided, on the brink of Civil War, he asked, what is the great principle that has held our Union together. More than the mere separation from our mother country it was, he said, something in the Declaration giving liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world; the promise that in due course the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of humanity and that all should have an equal chance.

The Declaration of Independence does not say all Americans are created equal. The Declaration says all men are created equal -- all people, in all places, for all time.

We will not honor our Fathers by going back to the place where they stopped, but by going on toward the great dreams their vision foresaw. When history renders judgement on what we did in our time, let it be said that a Nation born of hope did not lose hope; that a people forged by courage did not find courage wanting; and that generations steeled by hard war and a harsh

peace did not forsake honor at this moment of great climatic struggle for the human spirit.

America need not fear the future, America was born to make the future. And America is moving on -- to make our future safer and better than this world today. After 200 years, our spirit is still young, daring and optimistic. We are still the last, best hope to lift the weights from the shoulders -- and meet that challenge we must, for the sake of our children and every child of future generations.

My fellow Americans, my fellow citizens of the world: Lift up our hearts, call on our courage and set our sights on the stars. Freedom is not dying; freedom is gaining new life. America's best days are not behind her; America's best days are yet to come. Our human family is not condemned to an endless night of tyranny, terrorism, and economic want; humanity is ready to lift-off in a new revolution of opportunity -- toward new horizons of technological progress, economic growth, and human fulfillment, cooperation, and love.

Drawing upon all the strengths of our roots, let us begin. Our national motto is " E Pluribus Unum." Ours is the strength of one from many. We are many bloods blended into one -- American. We are 50 States bound into one union -- these United States. We are one Nation of many communities. And our diversity -- from local neighborhoods to family farms, from professional, business and labor associations, to voluntary private agencies, schools and places of worship -- are each a vital and unique expression of our American character.

Just as Government must foster tolerance for the differences among us, and must not supercede our responsibilities in our communities, so, too, must Government respect our freedom to enlighten and strengthen ourselves with the faith that has united us in a communion of spirit, ever since our first Americans crossed the Atlantic, not to find soil for their ploughs, but liberty for their souls.

All we have been, all we could ever hope to be, all our power for good to make this world a better place -- is a glorious gift from heaven. The brotherhood of man begins with the fatherhood of God. He is our light and our life. Without Him, we cannot make it. With Him, all things are possible. And the full majesty of his promise is given to us in 2nd Chronicles: "If my people will humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways, then will I hear from heaven and will forgive their sin and heal their land."

United and strengthened by our diversity, empowered by our faith and devotion to freedom and equal opportunity, we move to confront the great challenges of our day. As we do, we will never forget lessons too dearly learned from the well-meaning mistakes of the past. We will never forget that Government is the servant, not the master of we the people. We will never abuse the trust of our working men and women, by sending their earnings on a futile chase after the ever-spiraling demands of a bloated Federal establishment. You elected us in 1980 to end this prescription for economic disaster. I do not believe you re-elected us in 1984 to reverse course.

Our course will be clearly stated and vigorously pursued. Our goal is to build an American Opportunity Society -- by creating work, by rewarding work, and by encouraging good works, in our families and communities, and for our Nation and fellow man.

We will insist on policies that promote the growth of opportunity, and that give all Americans the opportunity for growth. We will work for an America where taxes don't climb, individuals do; where Government doesn't expand, the economy does. We promise those in need will always be helped. But we must reach the greater promise of an America where only few need be helped. We will maintain a safety net to cushion the weak; but we must build a ladder of hope and opportunity, to give all an equal chance to grow strong, and one day excel.

We believe the United States recovery and expansion give proof to our contention: The best economic program in the world is incentives that unleash the drive and entrepreneurial genius of free men and women. Since 1981, we have reduced personal tax rates by 25 percent. (Next week, in my State of the Union address, I will propose that we go much further: an historic reform to bring personal tax rates sharply down, to make our tax system more simple, fair and efficient, and to keep the United States the undisputed leader for jobs, innovation, growth, and a better life for years to come.)

We will also call for your support in our crusade to eliminate unnecessary red tape, bureaucracy, and the inexcusable squandering of public funds. We will announce comprehensive

measures to bring the growth of Government spending under control, permanently. We favor Government frugality not to save money, but to save people -- you, and your offspring, who must pay your own bills, and Government's as well.

When we look beyond our shores, we can see the freedom tide rising. The countries that are following our path -- with lower tax rates, freer markets and freer trade -- are surging ahead, leaving centralized economies and high tax states farther and farther behind. We will go forward together.

Friends of freedom are also peacemakers, seeking peaceful trade with their neighbors to ensure the exchange of goods and ideas essential to their progress. It will be the mission of the United States to advocate, to support, and to strive mightily to liberate incentive around the world; to employ our best energies developing the great possibilities of the future. Freedom is the world's best and only hope to conquer poverty. 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.

Today, as ever, we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on Earth. Yet, we know that peace does not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by our good will alone. In a world where many who disdain our vision of human dignity and freedom hold awesome weapons of destruction, we must meet the first obligation of Government -- to protect the security of our people -- and this we will do.

We have reassumed our role as a trusted ally and respected power and we will work always for peace and harmony among nations. But we will never pretend the dangers we face may be ignored or will go away, or that if we will but freeze or weaken our own defenses, our adversary will do the same. None of the four wars in my lifetime has come about because America was too strong; none need ever come again if America stays strong.

By restoring our strength, we can look to the possibility of reducing the arsenals of nuclear destruction. Always open to genuine opportunities to reduce tensions and differences, but always remembering that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, we can take further steps along the path to a just and lasting peace.

As we continue on that journey, we cannot but reflect on the many who travelled it before us, the many who have paid so dearly to keep the sacred fire of liberty alight. We stand in prayerful silence at the steps of this symbol of our Democracy, and see and hear again all the images and echoes of our past:

A general is kneeling in the snows of Valley Forge -- a lonely President is fighting a terrible war to preserve the Union and eradicate the shame of slavery, pointing us to the better angels of our nature -- and a minister is standing at that President's memorial and voicing undiminished faith in a dream too long denied.

On a hill overlooking Boston, citizens with muskets are preparing to redeem a pledge of lives and fortunes and sacred honor for a Declaration of Independence and the truths it

proclaims. An ocean away, a beach is being stormed and cliffs are being scaled in a hail of mortars and machine-gun fire, and the blood of sons of the Mayflower is mingling with the blood of sons of slaveships to free a continent that neither calls home.

In jungles and rice paddies in Southeast Asia, young men whose grandfathers called themselves Irish and Italian, Mexican and Polish, are fighting as Americans for children who call themselves Vietnamese; and not far from where we stand, a solemn black wall is bearing eternal tribute to these, too, who gave a last full measure of devotion that we might see this day.

What unites these Americans across all barriers of time and place and makes them stand as one in our memory? What draws us to them still and makes us want to stand in their ranks? Like they, we share no common blood or ancestry; we are of different races, backgrounds, parties, and faiths.

But we are all bound by one common ancestry of freedom that transcends our differences; united by one common faith that free men and women, endowed by their Creator with the right and responsibility to govern themselves, can unleash the greatness of the human spirit.

We are the sons and daughters of those from every corner of the globe who left homelands to see that stirring sight in New York's harbor -- a Statue of Liberty, which, even today, is being renewed, just as the American spirit is being renewed. We are the children of those who, moved by that common faith, laid the final sacrifice on the altar of freedom. We are the heirs to the precious legacy that is America.

Let us face our tasks with the courage and confidence worthy of a people united by so rich an inheritance. Let us do so remembering always, as Lincoln reminded us, that "we are not enemies, but friends, that though passion may have strained, it must not break ^{the} our bonds of affection."

And as our Fathers did at the birth of this Republic, let us appeal "to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions." Trusting in His infinite power and mercy, we will preserve this shining city on a hill we are blessed to call our home. And America will light the path for His whole human family, so, together, we can fulfill the honor, the happiness and the hopes of our fellow men.

Thank you. God bless you, and may God bless America.