

## Appendix I

### Table of the detailed classification of the attitudinal meanings as an example to show the process of the analysis of the inaugural addresses

#### Detailed Classification of the attitudinal meanings in Truman's inaugural address in 1949

Signs used in the table	
Aff = Affect	norm = 'judgement: normality'
Jud = Judgement	cap = 'judgement: capacity'
App = Appreciation	ten = 'judgement: tenacity'
+ = 'positive attitude'	ver = 'judgement: veracity'
- = 'negative attitude'	prop = 'judgement: propriety'
+des = 'affect: +desire'	reac = 'appreciation: reaction'
hap = 'affect: un/happiness'	comp = 'appreciation: composition'
sec = 'affect: in/security'	val = 'appreciation: valuation'
sat = 'affect: dis/satisfaction'	T = token

	Appraising items	Appraiser	Aff	Jud	App	Appraised
1. Para.1	accept with humility	<sup>1</sup>		+Ten		I
2. Para.1	with a deep resolve			+ten		I
3. para.2	need		+des			the help and prayers of every one of you.
4. para.2	ask for		+des			Your encouragement
5. para.2	difficult				-val	The tasks we face
6. para.2	accomplish			+cap		Them ( the tasks)
7. para.2	work together			+cap		we
8. para.3	special				+val	challenges
9. para.3	momentous				+val	Those (challenges)
10. para.3	eventful, decisive,				+val	a period
11. Para.4	major				+val	turning point
12. Para.4	unprecedented			-prop		attacks on the rights of man
13. Para.4	frightful				-reac	wars
14. Para.4	need	Men (generally)	+des			to learn
15. Para.4	live together in peace and harmony			+prop		Men (generally)
16. Para.5?	with grave uncertainty,	the peoples of the earth	-sec			the future
17. Para.5	of doubt				-val	time
18. Para.5	look to...for	They(The peoples of the earth)	+des			good will, strength, and wise leadership

<sup>1</sup> Blank space stands for the defaulted appraiser --- 'the speaker' in the speech.

19.	Para.5	good will, strength, and wise leadership			T +cap		The U.S.A
20.	Para.5	good				+val	will
21.	Para.6	fitting				+val	That we take this ...
22.	Para.6	proclaim	we	+sec :conf			essential principles of the faith
23.	Para.6	essential	We			+val	principles
24.	Para.6	declare	we	+sec			our aims
25.	Para.7	stand firm in the faith			+cap		The American people
26.	Para.7	inspired	This nation(The American people)	+sec			the faith
27.	Para.7	believe	we	+sec			That ...
28.	Para.7	all men have a right to equal justice and equal opportunity	We/I		T+prop		all men
29.	Para.7	common good.	We/I			+val	Things in general
30.	Para.7	believe	We	+sec			That...
31.	Para.7	all men have the right to freedom of thought ...			T+prop		all men
32.	Para.7	believe	we	+sec			men are created equal .
33.	Para.8	will not be moved			T,+ten		we
34.	Para.9	desire	the U.S. people	+des			to work for, a world
35.	Para.9	determined	the U.S. people	+sec			to work for, a world
36.	Para.9	free			+prop		all nations and all peoples
37.	Para.9	desire	the U.S. people	+des			to work for peace
38.	Para.9	determined	the U.S. people	+seco			to work for peace
39.	Para.9	just and lasting				+val	peace
40.	Para.9	genuine				+val	agreement
41.	Para.9	Freely arrived at			+cap		Equals
42.	Para.10	opposed	<b>a regime</b> with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life.	-hap			the United States and other like-minded nations
43.	Para.11	adheres to a false philosophy			T-prop		That regime
44.	Para.11	false				-val	philosophy
45.	Para.11	Misled			T -cap		many peoples(in that regime)
46.	Para.11	sacrificed their liberties only to learn that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward.				T -val	the false philosophy ( communism)
47.	Para.11	to their sorrow	many peoples(in that	-happ			their reward

		regime)				
48. Para.12	That false philosophy				-val	communism
49. Para.13	weak and inadequate			-cap		Man (human being)
50. Para.13	unable to govern himself			-cap		Man (human being)
51. Para.13	requires	Man (human being)	+des			the rule of strong masters.
52. Para.13	strong			+cap		Masters
53. Para.13	The whole of Para.13				T -val	communism
54. Para.14	the whole of Para. 14				T+val	Democracy
55. Para.14	has the moral and intellectual capacity to...			+cap		Man (human being)
56. Para.14	Has the inalienable right, to govern himself			+cap		Man (human being)
57. Para.15	The whole of Para. 15				T -val	communism
58. Para.15	subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labor as the chattel of the state			T-prop		Society of communism
59. Para.15	decrees what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leaders he shall follow, and what thoughts he shall think			T-prop		Society of communism
60. para.16	The whole of Para.16				T +val	Democracy
61. para.16	Maintain	society of democracy	+sec			That...
62. para.16	established for the benefit of the individual,			T+prop		Government ( in general)
63. para.16	is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities.			T+prop		Government ( in general)
64. Para.17	The whole of Para.17				T -val	communism
65. Para.17	Maintain	Society of communism	+Sec			That...
66. Para.17	social wrong can be corrected only by violence			T -prop		communism
67. Para.18	The whole of Para.18				T +val	democracy
68. Para.18	social justice can be achieved through peaceful change.			T +prop		society of democracy
69. Para.19	The whole of Para.19				T -val	communism
70. Para.19	hold	The society of communism	+sec			That...
71. Para.19	deeply divided				-comp	the world

72.	Para.19	inevitable				-val	war
73.	Para20	The whole of Para.20				+val	democracy
74.	Para20	hold	Society of democracy	+sec			Tha...
75.	Para20	free				+val	nations
76.	Para20	settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace.			+cap		Free nations
77.	Para20	lasting				+val	peace
78.	Para.21	No evaluatives					
79.	Para.22	a threat to the effort				-prop	Actions resulting from the Communist philosophy
80.	Para.22	to bring about world recovery and lasting peace.			T -cap		Efforts of the free nations
81.	Para.22	free				+val	nations
82.	Para.22	Lasting				+val	peace
83.	Para23	hostilities				-val	World War II
84.	Para23	invested its substance and its energy in a great constructive effort to restore peace, stability.				T +cap	The U.S.A
85.	para.24	sought no territory				T+prop	We/the U.S.A
86.	para.24	imposed our will on none				T+prop	We/the U.S.A
87.	para.24	asked for no privileges				T +prop	We/the U.S.A
88.	Para.25	constantly and vigorously				+ cap	We/the U.S.A
89.	Para.25	consistently				+ ten	We/the U.S.A
90.	Para.25	relied upon peaceful settlement				T +prop	We/the U.S.A
91.	Para.26	have made every effort to secure agreement				T + ten	We/the U.S.A
92.	Para.26	effective control				+cap	We/the U.S.A
93.	Para.26	powerful				+reac	weapon
94.	Para.26	have worked steadily				+ten	We/the U.S.A
95.	Para.27	have encouraged trade				T +cap	We/the U.S.A
96.	Para.27	sound and fair				+val	world trade
97.	Para.28	Free				+val	Nations of Europe
98.	Para.28	launched the greatest cooperative economic program in history				T +cap	We/the U.S.A
99.	Para.28	unprecedented				+norm	Effort of us(we/the U.S.)for the program
100.	Para.28	invigorate and strengthen democracy in Europe				T +cap	we/the U.S.A
101.	Para.28	free				+val	people of Europe
102.	Para.28	resume their rightful place in the forefront of civilization				T +cap	the free people of Europe
103.	Para.28	can contribute once more to the				T +cap	the free people of Europe

	security and welfare of the world					
104. Para.29	have brought new hope to all mankind			T +cap		Our efforts/ we/the U.S.A
105. Para.29	have beaten back +despair and defeatism.			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
106. Para.29	have saved a number of countries from losing their liberty.			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
107. Para.30	The initiative is ours.			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
108. Para.31	moving on with other nations to build an even stronger structure of international order and justice			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
109. Para.31	strong				+ val	structure of international order and justice
110. Para.31	concerned with	we/the U.S.A	-sec :disquiet			the problem of national survival
111. Para.31	working to improve the standards of living			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
112. Para.31	ready to undertake new projects to strengthen the free world.			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
113. Para.31	free				+val	world
114. Para.32	major				+val	Courses of action
115. Para.33	continue to give unfaltering support			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
116. Para.33	continue to search for..			T +ten		we/the U.S.A
117. Para.33	believe	we/the U.S.A	+sec			that the U.N...
118. Para.34	continue our programs for			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
119. Para.35	must keep our full weight			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
120. Para.35	confident of	we/the U.S.A	+sec			the success
121. Para.35	major				+val	venture
122. Para.35	believe	we/the U.S.A	+sec :confi			that our partners...
123. Para.35	achieve the status of			T +cap		our partners
124. Para.35	self-supporting				+val	Nations in the European recovery program.
125. Para.36	carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to...			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
126. Para.37	strengthen nations against the dangers of aggression			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
127. Para.37	freedom-loving				+val	nations
128. Para.38	working out with a number of countries			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
129. Para.39	established such a defense pact for			T +cap		We/the U.S.A
130. Para.40	primary				+val	purpose
131. Para.40	unmistakable				+val	proof
132. Para.40	the joint determination	the free	+sec			to resist armed attack

		countries				
133. Para.40	Free				+val	countries
134. Para.40	contribute all it can to...			T +prop		each country participating in these arrangements
135. Para.40	common				+val	defense
136. Para.41	clear				+comp	Proposition(that...)
137. Para.40	overwhelming				+reac	force
138. Para.42	hope	I/the speaker	+desire			to send a treaty
139. Para.43	provide military advice			+cap		we/the U.S.A
140. Para.43	Free				+val	nations
141. Para.43	cooperate with us			+ten		Free nations
142. Para.44	embark on a bold new program			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
143. Para.45	misery	More than half the people of the world	-happ			Living conditions
144. Para.45	inadequate				-val	food
145. Para.45	Their food is inadequate			T - cap		More than half the people of the world
146. Para.45	They are victims of disease			T - cap		They/More than half the people of the world
147. Para.45	Their economic life is primitive and stagnant.			T - cap		They
148. Para.45	primitive and stagnant				-val	The economic life of the more than half the people of the world
149. Para.45	poverty			T - cap		they
150. Para.45	a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.			T -prop		they
151. Para.46	possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people			T +cap		humanity
152. Para.46	Suffering	These people/	-happ			Unspecified
153. Para.47	pre-eminent				+reac	The United States
154. Para.47	limited				-comp	material <b>resources</b>
155. Para.47	imponderable				+reac	<b>resources</b> in technical knowledge
156. Para.47	constantly growing and are inexhaustible				+comp	<b>resources</b> in technical knowledge
157. Para.48	believe	I/the speaker	+sec :con			Proposition(that...)
158. Para.48	should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
159. Para.48	Peace-loving				+val	peoples

160. Para.48	aspirations	Peace-loving peoples	+des			Better life
161. Para.48	Better(good)				+val	life
162. Para.48	we should foster capital investment in areas needing development.			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
163. Para.49	help the free peoples			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
164. Para.49	free				+val	Peoples of the world
165. Para.50	invite	we/the U.S.A	+des			Proposition(other...
166. Para.50	pool their technological resources in this undertaking			+Prop		other countries
167. Para.50	contributions			+ten		They/other countries
168. Para.50	warmly welcomed	we/the U.S.A	+sat			Their contributions
169. Para.50	cooperative				+val	enterprise
170. Para.50	work together			+cap		all nations
171. Para.50	achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom.			+prop		a worldwide effort /All nations
172. Para.51	cooperation			+ten		business, private capital, agriculture, and labor in this country(the U.S.A)
173. Para.51	this program can greatly increase.. and can raise substantially...			T + cap		Those who carry out the program (the U.S.A)
174. Para.52	must be devised and controlled to benefit the peoples of the areas			T +prop		Peoples of the areas
175. Para.52	must be balanced			T+prop		We/ the U.S.
176. Para.53	The old imperialism has no place in our plans			T +prop		our plans/ we/the U.S.A
177. Para.53	democratic fair-dealing			+prop		The U.S.
178. Para.54	constructive				+val	program
179. Para.54	Better(good)			+prop		use of the world's human and natural resources
180. Para.55	the key				+val	Greater production
181. Para.55	the key				+val	application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.
182. Para.55	wider and more vigorous			+cap		application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.
183. Para.56	helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves			T +prop		the human family
184. Para.56	the least fortunate			-norm		Members of human family
185. Para.56	achieve the decent, satisfying life			T +cap		the human family
186. Para.56	decent, satisfying				+val	life
187. Para.57	can supply the vitalizing force to stir			T +cap		democracy

	the peoples of the world into triumphant action against....					
188. Para.57	triumphant			+cap		the peoples of the world
189. Para.57	against their human oppressors	the peoples of the world	-hap			
				T-prop		human oppressors
190. Para.57	against their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair.	the peoples of the world	-hap			ancient enemies:hunger, misery, and despair.
191. Para.58	major				+val	Courses of action
192.	hope	we/the U.S.A	+des			to help create the conditions
193. Para.58	to help create the conditions			T +ten		we/the U.S.A
194. Para.58	personal freedom				T +val	all mankind
195. Para.58	happiness	all mankind	+hap			
196. Para.59	successful			+cap		we/the U.S.A
197. Para.59	clear				+comp	proposition (that...)
198. Para.59	must have continued prosperity in this (the U.S.A) country			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
199. Para.59	continued				+comp	prosperity of U.S.A
200. Para.59	must keep ourselves strong.			T +prop		we/the U.S.A
201. Para.59	strong			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
202. Para.60	surely	we/the U.S.A	+sec			Actions of U.S.A:
203. Para.60	weaving a world fabric of international security and growing prosperity.			T +cap		we/the U.S.A
204. Para.61	are aided by			T +ten		all who wish to live in freedom from fear
205. Para.61	wish	All (people generally)	+des			to live in freedom from fear
206. Para.61	live today in fear under their own governments	Those people	-hap			
				T -prop		Those people's governments
207. Para.62	are aided by			T +ten		all who want relief from the lies of propaganda
208. Para.62	want	All (people generally)	+des			relief from the lies of propaganda
209. Para.62	lies of propaganda			T -ver		propagandist
210. Para.62	desire	All (people generally)	+des			truth and sincerity.
211. Para.63	are aided by			T +ten		all who desire self-government and..
212. Para.63	desire	All (people generally)	+des			self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs.
213. Para.63	self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs.			T +prop		self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs.



214. Para.64	are aided by			T +ten		all who long for economic security
215. Para.64	long for	All (people generally)	+des			economic security
216. Para.64	enjoy.	men in free societies	+hap			the security and abundance
217. Para.64	free				+val	societies
218. Para.65	are aided by			T +ten		all who desire freedom of...
219. Para.65	desire	All (people generally)	+des			Freedom of....
220. Para.65	To live their own lives for useful ends			+cap		They (people generally)
221. Para.65	useful				+val	ends
222. Para.67	Our allies	we/the U.S.A	T +hap			the millions who hunger and thirst after righteousness
223. Para.67	hunger and thirst after	the millions	+des			righteousness
224. Para.68	our stability		+ten			we/the U.S.A
225. Para.68	manifest,				+comp	stability
226. Para.68	believe	I /speaker	+sec:co			'that' proposition
227. Para.68	oppose	those countries	-hap :antipa			Us/ the U.S.A
228. Para.68	abandon their delusions and join with the free nations...			T +prop		those countries that oppose the U.S.A
229. Para.68	free				+val	nations
230. Para.68	just			+prop		settlement of international differences
231. Para.69	But I say to all men,	I / speaker	T +sec			What....
232. Para.69	achieved			+cap		We/the U.S.A.
233. Para.69	surpass			+cap		We/the U.S.A.
234. Para.70	Steadfast in our faith in			+ten		We/the U.S.A.
235. Para.70	Almighty			+cap		God
236. Para.70	will advance toward			+cap		We/the U.S.A.
237. Para.70	secure				+val	man's freedom
238. Para.70	devote our strength, our resources, and our firmness of resolve.			+ten		We/the U.S.A.
239. Para.70	assured	We/the U.S.A.	T +sec :confi			the future of mankind
240. Para.70	of justice, harmony, and peace.				+val	A world
241.	Two places of them are conveying affect and judgement at the same time					
242.						

## Appendix II

- **The U.S. Presidential Inaugural Addresses with signified classification of attitudinal meanings**  
**Signs to show different categories of attitudes in the addresses:**

Judgement	---- I accept the task with <u>resolve</u>
Token of Judgement	---- He <u>understands nothing</u>
Affect	---- I <u>love</u> her
Token of Affect	---- The liar <u>was spat on</u> by some boys.
Appreciation	---- That is a <u>beautiful</u> garden
Token of appreciation	---- There is <u>no human interest</u> in the book

### 1. Harry S. Truman's Inaugural Address, Thursday, January 20, 1949

*Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, and fellow citizens, I accept with humility the honor which the American people have conferred upon me. I accept it with a deep resolve to do all that I can for the welfare of this Nation and for the peace of the world.* 1

In performing the duties of my office, I *need* the help and prayers of every one of you. I *ask for* your encouragement and your support. The tasks we face are **difficult**, and we can accomplish them only if we work together. 2

Each period of our national history has had its **special** challenges. Those that confront us now are as **momentous** as any in the past. Today marks the beginning not only of a new administration, but of a period that will be **eventful**, perhaps **decisive**, for us and for the world. 3

It may be our lot to experience, and in large measure to bring about, a **major** turning point in the long history of the human race. The first half of this century has been marked by **unprecedented and brutal** attacks on the rights of man, and by the two most **frightful** wars in history. The supreme *need* of our time is for men to live together in peace and harmony. 4

The peoples of the earth face the future *with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and great fears*. In this time of **doubt**, they *look to* the United States as never before for good will, strength, and wise leadership. 5

It is **fitting**, therefore, that we take this occasion to *proclaim* to the world the **essential** principles of the faith by which we live, and to *declare* our aims to all peoples. 6

The American people stand firm in the faith which has *inspired* this Nation from the beginning. We *believe* that all men have a right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity to share in the common good. We *believe* that all men have the right to freedom of thought and expression. We *believe* that all men are created equal because they are created in the image of God. 7

From this faith we will not be moved. 8

The American people *desire*, and are *determined* to work for, a world in which all nations and all peoples are free to govern themselves as they see fit, and to achieve a decent and satisfying life. Above all else, our people *desire*, and are *determined* to work for, peace on earth—a **just and lasting** peace—based on **genuine** agreement freely arrived at by equals. 9

In the pursuit of these aims, the United States and other like-minded nations find themselves directly opposed by a regime with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life. 10

That regime adheres to a false philosophy which purports to offer freedom, security, and greater opportunity to mankind. Misled by this philosophy, many peoples have sacrificed their liberties only to learn to their sorrow that deceit and mockery, poverty and tyranny, are their reward. 11

**That false philosophy** is communism. 12

Communism is based on the belief that man is so weak and inadequate that he is unable to govern himself. 13

**and therefore requires the rule of strong masters.**

**Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice.** 14

Communism subjects the individual to arrest without lawful cause, punishment without trial, and forced labor as the chattel of the state. It decrees what information he shall receive, what art he shall produce, what leaders he shall follow, and what thoughts he shall think. 15

Democracy maintains that government is established for the benefit of the individual, and is charged with the responsibility of protecting the rights of the individual and his freedom in the exercise of his abilities. 16

Communism maintains that social wrongs can be corrected only by violence. 17

Democracy has proved that social justice can be achieved through peaceful change. 18

Communism holds that the world is so deeply divided into opposing classes that war is inevitable. 19

Democracy holds that free nations can settle differences justly and maintain lasting peace. 20

These differences between communism and democracy do not concern the United States alone. People everywhere are coming to realize that what is involved is material well-being, human dignity, and the right to believe in and worship God. 21

I state these differences, not to draw issues of belief as such, but because the actions resulting from the Communist philosophy are a threat to the efforts of free nations to bring about world recovery and lasting peace. 22

Since the end of hostilities, the United States has invested its substance and its energy in a great constructive effort to restore peace, stability, and freedom to the world. 23

We have sought no territory and we have imposed our will on none. We have asked for no privileges we would not extend to others. 24

We have constantly and vigorously supported the United Nations and related agencies as a means of applying democratic principles to international relations. We have consistently advocated and relied upon peaceful settlement of disputes among nations. 25

We have made every effort to secure agreement on effective international control of our most powerful weapon, and we have worked steadily for the limitation and control of all armaments. 26

We have encouraged, by precept and example, the expansion of world trade on a sound and fair basis. 27

Almost a year ago, in company with 16 free nations of Europe, we launched the greatest cooperative economic program in history. The purpose of that unprecedented effort is to invigorate and strengthen democracy in Europe, so that the free people of that continent can resume their rightful place in the forefront of civilization and can contribute once more to the security and welfare of the world. 28

Our efforts have brought new hope to all mankind. We have beaten back despair and defeatism. We have saved a number of countries from losing their liberty. Hundreds of millions of people all over the world now agree with us, that we need not have war—that we can have peace. 29

The initiative is ours. 30

We are moving on with other nations to build an even stronger structure of international order and justice. We shall have as our partners countries which, no longer solely concerned with the problem of national survival, are now working to improve the standards of living of all their people. We are ready to undertake new projects to strengthen the free world. 31

In the coming years, our program for peace and freedom will emphasize four major courses of action. 32

First, we will continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies, and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. We believe that the United Nations will be strengthened by the new nations which are being formed in lands now advancing toward self-government under democratic principles. 33

Second, we will continue our programs for world economic recovery. 34

This means, first of all, that we must keep our full weight behind the European recovery program. We are confident of the success of this major venture in world recovery. We believe that our partners in this effort will achieve the status of self-supporting nations once again. 35

In addition, we must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume. Economic recovery and peace itself depend on increased world trade. 36

Third, we will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. 37

We are now working out with a number of countries a joint agreement designed to strengthen the security of the North Atlantic area. Such an agreement would take the form of a collective defense arrangement within the terms of the United Nations Charter. 38

We have already established such a defense pact for the Western Hemisphere by the treaty of Rio de Janeiro. 39

The **primary** purpose of these agreements is to provide **unmistakable** proof of *the joint determination* of the **free** countries to resist armed attack from any quarter. Each country participating in these arrangements must contribute all it can to the common defense. 40

If we can make it sufficiently **clear**, in advance, that any armed attack affecting our national security would be met with **overwhelming force**, the armed attack might never occur. 41

I *hope* soon to send to the Senate a treaty respecting the North Atlantic security plan. 42

In addition, we will provide military advice and equipment to free nations which will cooperate with us in the maintenance of peace and security. 43

Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. 44

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching *misery*. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. 45

For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the *suffering* of these people. 46

The United States is **pre-eminent** among nations in the development of industrial and scientific techniques. The material resources which we can afford to use for the assistance of other peoples are **limited**. But our **imponderable** resources in technical knowledge are **constantly growing and are inexhaustible**. 47

I *believe* that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their *aspirations* for a **better** life. And, in cooperation with other nations, we should foster capital investment in areas needing development. 48

Our aim should be to help the free peoples of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens. 49

We *invite* other countries to pool their technological resources in this undertaking. Their contributions will be *warmly welcomed*. This should be a **cooperative** enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialized agencies wherever practicable. It must be a worldwide effort for the achievement of peace, plenty, and freedom. 50

With the cooperation of business, private capital, agriculture, and labor in this country, this program can greatly increase the industrial activity in other nations and can raise substantially their standards of living. 51

Such new economic developments must be devised and controlled to benefit the peoples of the areas in which they are established. Guarantees to the investor must be balanced by guarantees in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments. 52

The old imperialism—exploitation for foreign profit—has no place in our plans. What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair-dealing. 53

All countries, including our own, will greatly benefit from a **constructive** program for the better use of the world's human and natural resources. Experience shows that our commerce with other countries expands as they progress industrially and economically. 54

Greater production is **the key** to prosperity and peace. And **the key** to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge. 55

Only by helping the least fortunate of its members to help themselves can the human family achieve the decent, satisfying life that is the right of all people. 56

Democracy alone can supply the vitalizing force to stir the peoples of the world into triumphant action, not only against their human oppressors, but also *against* their ancient *enemies*—hunger, misery, and despair. 57

On the basis of these four **major** courses of action we hope to help create the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and *happiness* for all mankind. 58

If we are to be successful in carrying out these policies, it is **clear** that we must have continued prosperity in this 59

country and we must keep ourselves strong.

Slowly but *surely* we are weaving a world fabric of international security and growing prosperity. 60

We are aided by all who *wish* to live in freedom from fear—even by those who live today in fear under their own governments. 61

We are aided by all who *want* relief from the lies of propaganda—who *desire* truth and sincerity. 62

We are aided by all who *desire* self-government and a voice in deciding their own affairs. 63

We are aided by all who *long for* economic security—for the security and abundance that men in **free** societies can *enjoy*. 64

We are aided by all who *desire* freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom to live their own lives for useful ends. 65

*Our allies* are the millions who *hunger and thirst* after righteousness. 66

In due time, as our stability becomes **manifest**, as more and more nations come to know the benefits of democracy and to participate in growing abundance, *I believe* that those countries which now *oppose* us will abandon their delusions and join with the free nations of the world in a just settlement of international differences. 67

Events have brought our American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities. They will test our courage, our devotion to duty, and our concept of liberty. 68

*But I say to all men*, what we have achieved in liberty, we will surpass in greater liberty. 69

Steadfast in our faith in the Almighty, we will advance toward a world where man's freedom is **secure**. 70

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

## 2. Dwight D. Eisenhower First Inaugural Address Tuesday, January 20, 1953

MY friends, before I begin the expression of those thoughts that I deem **appropriate** to this moment, would you permit me the privilege of uttering a little private prayer of my own. And *I ask* that you bow your heads: 1

Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the executive branch of government join me in *beseeking* that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere. 2

Give us, we *pray*, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of this land. Especially we *pray* that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race, or calling. 3

May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, *hold to* differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our *beloved* country and Thy glory. Amen. 4

*My fellow citizens:* 5

The world and we have passed the midway point of a century of **continuing** challenge. We sense with all our faculties that forces of good and evil are massed and armed and *opposed* as rarely before in history. 6

This fact defines the meaning of this day. We are summoned by this **honored and historic** ceremony to witness more than the act of one citizen swearing his oath of service, in the presence of God. We are called as a people to *give testimony* in the sight of the world to our faith that the future shall belong to the **free**. 7

Since this century's beginning, a time of **tempest** has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth. Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past. Great nations of Europe have fought their bloodiest wars. Thrones have toppled and their vast empires have disappeared. New nations have been born. 8

For our own country, it has been a time of **recurring** trial. We have grown in power and in responsibility. We have passed through the anxieties of depression and of war to a summit unmatched in man's history. *Seeking to secure peace in the world*, we have had to fight through the forests of the Argonne, to the shores of Iwo Jima, and to the cold mountains of Korea. 9

In the swift rush of great events, we find ourselves groping to know the full sense and meaning of these times in which we live. In our *quest* of understanding, we *beseek* God's guidance. We summon all our knowledge of the past 10

and we scan all signs of the future. We bring all our wit and all our will to meet the question:

How far have we come in man's long *pilgrimage* from darkness toward light? Are we nearing the light—a day of **freedom and of peace** for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us? 11

Great as are the preoccupations **absorbing** us at home, *concerned* as we are with matters that **deeply affect our livelihood today and our vision of the future**, each of these domestic problems is **dwarfed** by, and often even created by, this question that **involves all humankind**. 12

This trial comes at a moment when man's power to achieve good or to inflict evil surpasses the **brightest** hopes and the **sharpest** fears of all ages. We can turn rivers in their courses, level mountains to the plains. Oceans and land and sky are avenues for our colossal commerce. Disease diminishes and life lengthens. 13

Yet the promise of this life is imperiled by the very **genius** that has made it possible. Nations amass wealth. Labor sweats to create—and turns out devices to level not only mountains but also cities. Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its final gift, the power to erase human life from this planet. 14

At such a time in history, we who are free must proclaim anew our faith. This faith is the **abiding** creed of our fathers. It is our faith in the **deathless** dignity of man, governed by **eternal** moral and natural laws. 15

This faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, *beyond debate*, those gifts of the Creator that are man's **inalienable** rights, and that make all men **equal** in His sight. 16

In the light of this equality, we know that the virtues most *cherished* by free people—*love* of truth, *pride* of work, *devotion* to country—all are **treasures** equally **precious** in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted. The men who mine coal and fire furnaces and balance ledgers and turn lathes and pick cotton and heal the sick and plant corn—all serve as *proudly*, and as profitably, for America as the statesmen who draft treaties and the legislators who enact laws. 17

This faith rules our whole way of life. It decrees that we, the people, elect leaders not to rule but to serve. It asserts that we have the right to choice of our own work and to the reward of our own toil. It inspires the initiative that makes our productivity the wonder of the world. And it warns that any man who seeks to deny equality among all his brothers betrays the spirit of the free and invites the mockery of the tyrant. 18

It is because we, all of us, hold to these principles that the political changes accomplished this day do not imply turbulence, upheaval or disorder. Rather this change expresses a purpose of strengthening our dedication and devotion to the precepts of our founding documents, a conscious renewal of faith in our country and in the watchfulness of a Divine Providence. 19

The *enemies* of this faith know no god but force, no devotion but its use. They tutor men in treason. They feed upon the hunger of others. Whatever *defies* them, they torture, especially the truth. 20

Here, then, is joined no argument between slightly differing philosophies. This conflict strikes directly at the faith of our fathers and the lives of our sons. No principle or treasure that we hold, from the spiritual knowledge of our **free** schools and churches to the **creative** magic of **free** labor and capital, nothing lies safely beyond the reach of this struggle. 21

**Freedom** is pitted against **slavery**; **lightness** against **the dark**. 22

The faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the **free** of all the world. This **common** bond binds the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes. It confers a **common** dignity upon the French soldier who dies in Indo-China, the British soldier killed in Malaya, the American life given in Korea. 23

We know, beyond this, that we are linked to all **free** peoples not merely by a **noble** idea but by a **simple** need. No free people can for long cling to any privilege or enjoy any safety in economic solitude. For all our own material might, even we *need* markets in the world for the surpluses of our farms and our factories. Equally, we *need* for these same farms and factories **vital** materials and products of distant lands. This **basic** law of interdependence, so **manifest** in the commerce of peace, applies with thousand-fold intensity in the event of war. 24

So we *are persuaded* by necessity and by belief that the strength of all **free** peoples lies in unity; their danger, in discord. 25

To produce this unity, to meet the challenge of our time, destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership. 26

So it is proper that we *assure* our friends once again that, in the discharge of this responsibility, we Americans know and we observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughtfully calculated goal and spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies. 27

We wish our friends the world over to know this above all: we face the threat—not with dread and confusion—but with confidence and conviction. 28

We feel this moral strength because we know that we are not helpless prisoners of history. We are **free** men. We shall remain free, never to be proven guilty of the one capital offense against freedom, a lack of staunch faith. 29

In pleading our just cause before the bar of history and in pressing our labor for world peace, we shall be guided by certain fixed principles. 30

These principles are: 31

(1) **Abhorring** war as a chosen way to balk the purposes of those who threaten us, we hold it to be the first task of statesmanship to develop the strength that will deter the forces of aggression and promote the conditions of peace. For, as it must be the supreme purpose of all **free** men, so it must be the dedication of their leaders, to save humanity from preying upon itself. 32

In the light of this principle, we stand ready to engage with any and all others in joint effort to remove the causes of mutual fear and distrust among nations, so as to make possible drastic reduction of armaments. The sole requisites for undertaking such effort are that—in their purpose—they be aimed logically and honestly toward **secure** peace for all; and that—in their result—they provide methods by which every participating nation will prove good faith in carrying out its pledge. 33

(2) Realizing that common sense and common decency alike dictate the futility of appeasement, we shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of trading honor for security. Americans, indeed all **free** men, remember that in the final choice a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains. 34

(3) Knowing that only a United States that is strong and immensely productive can help defend freedom in our world, we view our Nation's strength and security as a trust upon which rests the hope of **free** men everywhere. It is the firm duty of each of our free citizens and of every free citizen everywhere to place the cause of his country before the comfort, the convenience of himself. 35

(4) *Honoring* the identity and the special heritage of each nation in the world, we shall never use our strength to try to impress upon another people our own cherished political and economic institutions. 36

(5) Assessing realistically the needs and capacities of proven friends of freedom, we shall strive to help them to achieve their own security and well-being. Likewise, we shall count upon them to assume, within the limits of their resources, their full and just burdens in the common defense of freedom. 37

(6) Recognizing economic health as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace, we shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade. For the impoverishment of any single people in the world means danger to the well-being of all other peoples. 38

(7) Appreciating that economic need, military security and political wisdom combine to suggest regional groupings of **free** peoples, we *hope*, within the framework of the United Nations, to help strengthen such **special** bonds the world over. The nature of these ties must vary with the different problems of different areas. 39

In the Western Hemisphere, we enthusiastically join with all our neighbors in the work of perfecting a community of **fraternal trust and common purpose.** 40

In Europe, we *ask* that enlightened and inspired leaders of the Western nations strive with renewed vigor to make the unity of their peoples a reality. Only as **free** Europe unitedly marshals its strength can it effectively safeguard, even with our help, its spiritual and cultural heritage. 41

(8) Conceiving the defense of freedom, like freedom itself, to be one and **indivisible**, we hold all continents and peoples in equal regard and honor. We *reject* any insinuation that one race or another, one people or another, is in any sense inferior or expendable. 42

(9) *Respecting* the United Nations as the living sign of all people's hope for peace, we shall strive to make it not merely **an eloquent symbol** but an effective force. And in our *quest* for an **honorable** peace, we shall neither compromise, nor tire, nor ever cease. 43

By these rules of conduct, we *hope* to be known to all peoples. 44

By their observance, an earth of peace may become not a vision but a fact. 45

This hope—this supreme aspiration—must rule the way we live. 46

We must be ready to dare all for our country. For history does not long entrust the care of freedom to the weak or the timid. We must acquire proficiency in defense and display stamina in purpose. 47

We must be willing, individually and as a Nation, to accept whatever sacrifices may be required of us. A people 48

that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both.

These **basic** precepts are not lofty abstractions, far removed from matters of daily living. They are laws of spiritual strength that generate and define our material strength. Patriotism means equipped forces and a prepared citizenry. Moral stamina means more energy and more productivity, on the farm and in the factory. Love of liberty means the guarding of every resource that makes freedom possible—from the **sanctity** of our families and the **wealth** of our soil to the genius of our scientists. 49

And so each citizen plays an indispensable role. The productivity of our heads, our hands, and our hearts is the source of all the strength we can command, for both the enrichment of our lives and the winning of the peace. 50

No person, no home, no community can be beyond the reach of this call. We are summoned to act in wisdom and in conscience, to work with industry, to teach with persuasion, to preach with conviction, to weigh our every deed with care and with compassion. For this truth must be clear before us: whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass in the heart of America. 51

The peace we seek, then, is nothing less than the practice and fulfillment of our whole faith among ourselves and in our dealings with others. This signifies more than the stilling of guns, easing the sorrow of war. More than escape from death, it is a way of life. More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave. 52

This is the hope that beckons us onward in this century **of trial.** This is the work that awaits us all, to be done with bravery, with charity, and with prayer to Almighty God. 53

### 3. Dwight D. Eisenhower's Second Inaugural Address, Monday, January 21, 1957

#### THE PRICE OF PEACE 1

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

I, too, am a witness, today testifying in your name to the principles and purposes to which we, as a people, are pledged. 2

Before all else, we *seek*, upon our **common** labor as a nation, the blessings of Almighty God. And the hopes in our hearts fashion the **deepest** prayers of our whole people. 3

~~May we pursue the right—without self-righteousness.~~ 4

~~May we know unity—without conformity.~~ 5

~~May we grow in strength—without pride in self.~~ We Americans /the U.S.A 6

~~May we, in our dealings with all peoples of the earth, ever speak truth and serve justice.~~ 7

And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the honorable purposes that bind and rule us as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass. 8

We live in a land of **plenty**, but rarely has this earth known such peril as today. 9

In our nation work and wealth abound. Our population grows. Commerce crowds our rivers and rails, our skies, harbors, and highways. Our soil is fertile, our agriculture productive. The air rings with the song of our industry—rolling mills and blast furnaces, dynamos, dams, and assembly lines—the chorus of America the bountiful. 10

This is our home—yet this is not the whole of our world. For our world is where our full destiny lies—with men, of all people, and all nations, who are or would be **free**. And for them—and so for us—this is no time of ease or of rest. 11

In too much of the earth there is want, discord, danger. New forces and new nations stir and strive across the earth, with power to bring, by their fate, great good or great evil to the **free** world's future. From the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific one third of all mankind has entered upon an **historic** struggle for a new freedom; freedom from **grinding** poverty. Across all continents, nearly a billion people *seek*, sometimes almost in desperation, for the skills and knowledge and assistance by which they may satisfy from their own resources, the material *wants* **common** to all mankind. 12

No nation, however old or great, escapes this tempest of change and turmoil. Some, impoverished by the recent 13



World War, *seek* to restore their means of livelihood. In the heart of Europe, Germany still stands tragically divided. **So is the whole continent divided.** And **so, too, is all the world.**

The divisive force is International Communism and the power that it controls. 14

15

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

Yet the world of International Communism has itself been shaken by a fierce and mighty force: the readiness of men who love freedom to pledge their lives to that love. Through **the night of their bondage**, the unconquerable will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning. Budapest is no longer merely the name of a city; henceforth it is a new and **shining symbol** of man's yearning to be free. 16

Thus across all the globe there **harshly** blow the winds of change. And, we—though fortunate be our lot—know that we can never turn our backs to them. 17

We look upon this **shaken** earth, and we *declare* our **firm and fixed** purpose—the building of a **peace with justice** in **a world where moral law prevails.** 18

The building of such a peace is a **bold and solemn** purpose. To proclaim it is **easy**. To serve it will be **hard**. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning—and ready to pay its full price. 19

We know clearly what we *seek*, and why. 20

We *seek* peace, knowing that peace is **the climate of freedom.** And now, as in no other age, we *seek* it because we have been *warned*, by the power of modern weapons, that peace may be the only climate possible for human life itself. 21

Yet **this peace we seek cannot be born of fear alone:** it must be rooted in the lives of nations. There must be justice, sensed and shared by all peoples, for, without justice the world can know only a tense and unstable truce. There must be law, steadily invoked and respected by all nations, for without law, the world promises only such meager justice as the pity of the strong upon the weak. But the law of which we speak, comprehending the values of freedom, affirms the equality of all nations, great and small. 22

**Splendid** as can be the blessings of such a peace, **high** will be its cost: in toil patiently sustained, in help honorably given, in sacrifice calmly borne. 23

We are called to meet the price of this peace. 24

To counter the threat of those who seek to rule by force, we must pay the costs of our own needed military strength, and help to build the security of others. 25

We must use our skills and knowledge and, at times, our substance, to help others rise from *misery*, however far the scene of *suffering* may be from our shores. For wherever in the world a people *knows desperate want*, there *must* appear at least the **spark** of hope, the hope of progress—or there will *surely* rise at last the **flames** of conflict. 26

We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere. We are accordingly *pledged to honor*, and to strive to fortify, the authority of the United Nations. For in that body rests the **best** hope of our age for the assertion of that law by which all nations may live in dignity. 27

And, beyond this general resolve, we are called to act a responsible role in the world's great concerns or conflicts—whether they touch upon the affairs of a vast region, the fate of an island in the Pacific, or the use of a canal in the Middle East. Only in respecting the hopes and cultures of others will we practice the equality of all nations. Only as we show willingness and wisdom in giving counsel—in receiving counsel—and in sharing burdens, will we wisely perform the work of peace. 28

For one truth must rule all we think and all we do. No people can live to itself alone. The unity of all who dwell in freedom is their only sure defense. The economic need of all nations—in mutual dependence—makes isolation an impossibility; not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not also prosper. No nation can longer be a fortress, lone and strong and safe. And any people, *seeking* such shelter for themselves, can now build only their own prison. 29

Our pledge to these principles is constant, because we *believe in* their **rightness.** 30

We do not fear this world of change. America is no stranger to much of its spirit. Everywhere we see the seeds of 31

the same growth that America itself has known. The American experiment has, for generations, fired the passion and the courage of millions elsewhere *seeking* freedom, equality, and opportunity. And the American story of material progress has helped excite the *longing* of all *needy* peoples for some satisfaction of their human *wants*. These hopes that we have helped to inspire, we can help to fulfill.

In this *confidence*, we speak plainly to all peoples. 32

We *cherish* our friendship with all nations that are or would be *free*. We *respect*, no less, their independence. And when, in time of want or peril, they *ask* our help, they may honorably receive it; for we no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own. Sovereignty is never bartered among freemen. 33

We *honor* the *aspirations* of those nations which, now captive, *long* for freedom. We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society. And they can know ~~the warmth of the welcome~~ that awaits them when, as must be, they join again the ranks of freedom. 34

We *honor*, no less in this **divided** world than in a less *tormented* time, the people of Russia. We do not dread, rather do we *welcome*, their progress in education and industry. We wish them success in their demands for more intellectual freedom, greater security before their own laws, fuller enjoyment of the rewards of their own toil. For as such things come to pass, the more certain will be the coming of that day when our peoples may *freely* meet in friendship. 35

So we *voice our hope and our belief* that we can help to heal this divided world. Thus *may* the nations cease to live in trembling before the menace of force. Thus *may* the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind. 36

This, nothing less, is the labor to which we are called and our strength dedicated. 37

**And so the prayer of our people carries far beyond our own frontiers, to the wide world of our duty and our destiny.** 38

~~May the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly—until at last the darkness is no more.~~ 39

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

#### 4. John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address, Friday, January 20, 1961 1

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

The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life. And yet the same **revolutionary** beliefs for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe—the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God. 2

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. *Let* the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a **hard and bitter** peace, *proud* of our ancient heritage—and *unwilling* to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world. 3

*Let* every nation know, whether it *wishes* us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty. 4

This much we pledge—and more. 5

To those old allies whose cultural and spiritual origins we share, we pledge the loyalty of faithful friends. United, there is little we cannot do in a host of cooperative ventures. Divided, there is little we can do—for we dare not meet a powerful challenge at odds and split asunder. 6

To those new States whom we *welcome* to the ranks of the **free**, we pledge our word that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny. We shall not always expect to find them supporting our view. But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom—and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought power by riding the back of the tiger ended up inside. 7

To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe struggling to break the bonds of mass misery, we pledge 8

our best efforts to help them help themselves, for whatever period is required—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we *seek* their votes, but because it is right. If a **free** society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.

To our *sister* republics south of our border, we offer a **special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds**—in a new alliance for progress—to assist **free men and free governments** in casting off the chains of poverty. But this **peaceful** revolution of hope cannot become the prey of **hostile** powers. *Let* all our neighbors know that we shall **join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas**. And *let* every other power know that this Hemisphere *intends* to remain the master of its own house. 9

To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace, we **renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run**. 10

Finally, to those nations who would *make themselves our adversary*, we offer not a pledge but a *request*: that **both sides begin anew the quest for peace**, before the **dark** powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction. 11

We *dare not* tempt them with weakness. For **only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt** can we *be certain beyond doubt* that they will never be employed. 12

But *neither* can two **great and powerful** groups of nations *take comfort from* our present course—both sides **overburdened** by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the **steady** spread of the **deadly** atom, yet both **racing to alter that uncertain balance** of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war. 13

So *let* us begin anew—remembering on both sides that civility is not a sign of weakness, and sincerity is always subject to proof. *let* us **never negotiate out of fear**. But *let* us **never fear to negotiate**. 14

*Let* both sides **explore what problems unite us** instead of belaboring those problems which divide us. 15

*Let* both sides, for the first time, **formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms—and bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations**. 16

*Let* both sides **seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors**. Together *let* us **explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean depths, and encourage the arts and commerce**. 17

*Let* both sides **unite to heed in all corners of the earth the command of Isaiah**—to "undo the heavy burdens ... and to let the oppressed go free." 18

And if a beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion, *Let* both sides **join in creating a new endeavor**, not a new balance of power, but a new world of law, **where the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved**. 19

All this will not be finished in the first 100 days. Nor will it be finished in the first 1,000 days, nor in the life of this Administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But *Let* us begin. 20

In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course. Since this country was founded, each generation of Americans **has been summoned to give testimony to its national loyalty**. **The graves of young Americans who answered the call to service surround the globe**. 21

Now the trumpet summons us again—not as a call to bear arms, though **arms we need**; not as a call to battle, though **embattled** we are—but a call to **bear the burden of a long twilight struggle**, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against **the common enemies of man**: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself. 22

*Can we forge against these enemies a grand and global alliance, North and South, East and West, that can assure a more fruitful life for all mankind? Will you join in that historic effort?* 23

In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. **I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. I do not believe that any of us would exchange places with any other people or any other generation**. The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world. 24

And so, my fellow Americans: **ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country**. 25

My fellow citizens of the world: **ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man**. 26

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, **ask of us the same high standards of strength** 27

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

## 5. Lyndon Baines Johnson's Inaugural Address, Wednesday, January 20, 1965

1

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

This is the **majesty** and the meaning of this moment.

2

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

3

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

4

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

5

### THE AMERICAN COVENANT

6

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

### JUSTICE AND CHANGE

7

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

In a land **of great wealth**, **families must not live in hopeless poverty.** In a land **rich** in harvest, **children just must not go hungry.** In a land **of healing miracles**, **neighbors must not suffer and die unattended.** In a great land **of learning and scholars**, **young people must be taught to read and write.**

8

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

9

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

10

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

11

### LIBERTY AND CHANGE

12

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

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

13

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

14

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

15

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

16

How *incredible* it is that in this **fragile** existence, we should hate and destroy one another. There are possibilities 17  
enough for all who will abandon mastery over others to pursue mastery over nature. There is world enough for all  
to *seek* their happiness in their own way.

Our Nation's course is abundantly **clear.** We aspire to nothing that belongs to others. We seek no dominion over 18  
our fellow man, but man's dominion over tyranny and misery.

But more is required. Men *want* to be a part of a **common** enterprise—a cause greater than themselves. Each of us 19  
must find a way to advance the purpose of the Nation, thus finding new purpose for ourselves. Without this, we  
shall become a nation of strangers.

#### UNION AND CHANGE 20

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

No longer need capitalist and worker, farmer and clerk, city and countryside, struggle to divide our bounty. By 21  
working shoulder to shoulder, together we can increase the bounty of all. We have discovered that every child who  
learns, every man who finds work, every sick body that is made whole—like a candle added to an altar—brightens  
the hope of all the faithful.

So *let* us reject any among us who seek to reopen old wounds and to rekindle old hatreds. They stand in the way of 22  
a seeking nation.

Let us now join reason to faith and action to experience, to transform our unity of interest into a unity of purpose. 23  
For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without  
hatred—not without difference of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the union for  
generations.

#### THE AMERICAN BELIEF 24

Under this covenant of justice, liberty, and union we have become a nation—prosperous, great, and mighty. And 24  
we have kept our freedom. But we have no promise from God that our greatness will endure. We have been allowed  
by Him to seek greatness with the sweat of our hands and the strength of our spirit.

I do **not believe** that the Great Society is the **ordered, changeless, and sterile** battalion of the ants. It is the 25  
excitement of becoming—always becoming, trying, probing, falling, resting, and trying again—but always  
trying and always gaining.

In each generation, with toil and tears, we have had to earn our heritage again. 26

If we fail now, we shall have forgotten in abundance what we learned in hardship: that democracy rests on faith, 27  
that freedom asks more than it gives, and that the judgement of God is **harshest** on who are most *favore*d.

If we succeed, it will not be because of what we have, but it will be because of what we are; not because of what we 28  
own, but, rather because of what we *believe*.

For we are a nation of believers. Underneath the clamor of building and the rush of our day's pursuits, we are 29  
believers in justice and liberty and union, and in our own Union. We believe that every man must someday be free.  
And we *believe* in ourselves.

Our *enemies* have always made the same mistake. In my lifetime—in depression and in war—they have awaited 30  
our defeat. Each time, from the secret places of the American heart, came forth the faith they could not see  
or that they could not even imagine. It brought us victory. And it will again.

For this is what America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert and the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not 31  
reached and the harvest sleeping in the unplowed ground. Is our world gone? We say "Farewell." Is a new world  
coming? We *welcome* it—and we will bend it to the hopes of man.

To these *trusted* public servants and to my family and those close friends of mine who have followed me down a 32  
long, winding road, and to all the people of this Union and the world, I will repeat today what I said on that  
sorrowful day in November 1963: "I will lead and I will do the best I can."

But you must look within your own hearts to the old promises and to the old dream. They will lead you best of 33  
all.

For myself, I *ask* only, in the words of an ancient leader: "Give me now wisdom and knowledge, that I may go out 34  
and come in before this people: for who can judge this thy people, that is so great?"

### 6. Richard Milhous Nixon's First Inaugural Address, Monday, January 20, 1969

Senator Dirksen, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, my fellow Americans—and my fellow citizens of the world community: 1

I ask you to share with me today the **majesty** of this moment. In the orderly transfer of power, we *celebrate* the unity that keeps us **free**.

Each moment in history is a fleeting time, **precious and unique**. But some stand out as moments of beginning, in which courses are set that shape decades or centuries. 2

**This can be such a moment.** 3

Forces now are converging that make possible, for the first time, the hope that many of man's deepest *aspirations* can at last be realized. The spiraling pace of change allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries. 4

In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth. 5

For the first time, because the people of the world *want* peace, and the leaders of the world *are afraid of war*, **the times are on the side of peace**. 6

Eight years from now America will *celebrate* its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetime of most people now living, mankind will *celebrate* that great new year which comes only once in a thousand years—the beginning of the third millennium. 7

What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether we shape the future in the image of our hopes, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices. 8

**The greatest honor** history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace that man has *dreamed of* since the dawn of civilization. 9

If we succeed, generations to come will say of us now living that we mastered our moment, that we helped make the world safe for mankind. 10

This is our summons to greatness. 11

I *believe* the American people are ready to answer this call. 12

The second third of this century has been **a time of proud achievement**. We have made enormous strides in science and industry and agriculture. We have shared our wealth more broadly than ever. We have learned at last to manage a modern economy to assure its **continued** growth. 13

We have given freedom new reach, and we have begun to make its promise real for black as well as for white. 14

We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today. I know America's youth. I *believe in* them. We can be *proud* that they are better educated, more committed, more passionately driven by conscience than any generation in our history. 15

No people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society, or so possessed of the will to achieve it. Because our strengths are so great, we can afford to appraise our weaknesses with candor and to approach them with hope. 16

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a Nation ravaged by depression and *gripped in fear*. He could say in surveying the Nation's troubles: "They concern, thank God, only material things." 17

*Our crisis* today is the reverse. 18

We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit; reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling into raucous discord on earth. 19

We *are caught in war, wanting peace. We are torn by division, wanting unity*. We see around us *empty lives, wanting fulfillment*. We see tasks that need doing, waiting for hands to do them. 20

To a crisis of the spirit, we *need* an answer of the spirit. 21

To find that answer, we *need* only look within ourselves. 22

When we listen to "the better angels of our nature," we find that they *celebrate* the **simple** things, the **basic** things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness. 23

Greatness comes in **simple** trappings. 24

The **simple** things are the ones most *needed* today if we are to surmount what divides us, and cement what unites us. 25

To lower our voices would be a **simple** thing. 26

In these **difficult** years, America has *suffered from* a **fever of words**; from **inflated rhetoric** that promises more than it can deliver; from **angry rhetoric** that fans discontents into hatreds; from **bombastic rhetoric** that postures instead of persuading. 27

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another—until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard as well as our voices. 28

For its part, government will listen. We will strive to listen in new ways—to the voices of quiet *anguish*, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart—to the *injured* voices, the *anxious* voices, the voices that have *despaired* of being heard. 29

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in. 30

Those left behind, we will help to catch up. 31

For all of our people, we will set as our goal the decent order that makes progress possible and our lives secure. 32

As we reach toward our hopes, our task is to build on what has gone before—not turning away from the old, but turning toward the new. 33

In this past third of a century, government has passed more laws, spent more money, initiated more programs, than in all our previous history. 34

In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life—in all these and more, we will and must press urgently forward. 35

We shall plan now for the day when our wealth can be transferred from the destruction of war abroad to the urgent needs of our people at home. 36

The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep. 37

But we are approaching the limits of what government alone can do. 38

*Our greatest need* now is to reach beyond government, and to enlist the legions of the concerned and the committed. 39

What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all. The lesson of *past agony* is that without the people we can do nothing; with the people we can do everything. 40

To match the magnitude of our tasks, we *need* the energies of our people—enlisted not only in **grand** enterprises, but more **importantly** in those small, **splendid** efforts that make headlines in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal. 41

With these, we can build a great cathedral of the spirit—each of us raising it one stone at a time, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing. 42

I do not offer a life of uninspiring ease. I do not call for a life of grim sacrifice. I *ask* you to join in a high adventure—one as rich as humanity itself, and as **exciting** as the times we live in. 43

The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the shaping of his own destiny. 44

Until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly **whole**. 45

The way to fulfillment is in the use of our talents; we achieve nobility in the spirit that inspires that use. 46

As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals we shall be lifted by our dreams. 47

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together. 48

This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains is to give life to what is in the law: to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man. 49

As we learn to go forward together at home, *let* us also seek to go forward together with all mankind. 50

*let* us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; where peace is fragile, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent. 51

After a period of *confrontation*, we are entering an era of negotiation. 52

*Let* all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open. 53

We *seek* an **open** world—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people—a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry isolation. 54

We *cannot expect* to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy. 55

Those who would be our adversaries, we *invite* to a peaceful competition—not in conquering territory or extending 56  
dominion, but in enriching the life of man.

As we explore the reaches of space, *let us go to the new worlds together*—not as new worlds to be conquered, but as 57  
a new adventure to be shared.

With those who are *willing* to join, let us cooperate to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of 58  
peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry.

But to all those who would be *tempted by weakness*, let us leave no doubt that we will be as strong as we need to be 59  
for as long as we need to be.

Over the past twenty years, since I first came to this Capital as a freshman Congressman, I have visited most of the 60  
nations of the world.

I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the hatreds, the fears that divide the world. 61

I know that peace does not come through wishing for it—that there is no substitute for days and even years of 62  
**patient and prolonged** diplomacy.

I also know the people of the world. 63

I have seen the *hunger* of a homeless child, the *pain* of a man wounded in battle, the *grief* of a mother who has lost 64  
her son. I know these have no ideology, no race.

I know America. I know the heart of America is good. 65

I speak *from my own heart, and the heart of my country*, the deep concern we have for those who *suffer*, and those 66  
who *sorrow*.

I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and defend the Constitution of the 67  
United States. To that oath I now add this sacred commitment: I shall consecrate my office, my energies, and all the  
wisdom I can summon, to the cause of peace among nations.

*Let* this message be heard by strong and weak alike: 68

The peace we *seek* to win is not victory over any other people, but the peace that comes "with healing in its wings"; 69  
*with compassion* for those who have *suffered*; with understanding for those who have *opposed* us; with the  
opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the **glory** of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere 70  
reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the **beauty** of 71  
earth—and in that voice so **clear** across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, their view from the moon *moved* poet Archibald MacLeish to write: 72

"To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and **beautiful** in that **eternal** silence where it floats, is to see ourselves 73  
as riders on the earth *together*, brothers on that bright **loveliness** in the **eternal** cold—brothers who know now they  
are truly brothers."

In that moment of **surpassing** technological **triumph**, men turned their thoughts toward home and 74  
humanity—seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is **not divisible**; telling us that however far we  
reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts.

We have *endured* a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, *let* 75  
us not curse the remaining dark. *Let us gather the light*.

Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So *let us seize it, not in fear, but in  
gladness*—and, "riders on the earth together," *let us go forward, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, cautious of* 76  
the dangers; but sustained by *our confidence* in the will of God and the promise of man.

## 7. Richard Milhous Nixon's Second Inaugural Address, Saturday, January 20, 1973

*Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Senator Cook, Mrs. Eisenhower, and my fellow citizens of this great and 1  
good country we share together:*

When we met here four years ago, America was *bleak in spirit, depressed* by the prospect of **seemingly endless war  
and of destructive conflict at home**.

As we meet here today, we stand on the threshold of a new era of peace in the world. 2

The central question before us is: How shall we use that peace? *Let us resolve* that this era we are about to enter will 3



not be what other postwar periods have so often been: a time of **retreat and isolation that leads to stagnation at home and invites new danger abroad.**

*Let us resolve* that this will be what it can become: a time of great responsibilities greatly borne, in which we **renew the spirit and the promise of America** as we enter our third century as a nation. 4

This past year saw **far-reaching** results from our new policies for peace. By **continuing to revitalize** our traditional friendships, and by **our missions to Peking and to Moscow**, we were able to establish the base for a new and more **durable** pattern of relationships among the nations of the world. Because of America's **bold initiatives**, 1972 will be long remembered as the year of **the greatest progress** since the end of World War II toward a **lasting** peace in the world. 5

The peace we *seek* in the world is **not** the **flimsy** peace which is merely an interlude between wars, but a peace which can **endure for generations to come.** 6

It is **important** that we **understand both the necessity and the limitations of America's role in maintaining that peace.** 7

**Unless we in America work to preserve the peace, there will be no peace.** 8

**Unless we in America work to preserve freedom, there will be no freedom.** 9

But *Let us clearly understand* the new nature of America's role, as a result of the new policies we have adopted over these past four years. 10

We **shall respect our treaty commitments.** 11

We shall **support vigorously the principle** that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force. 12

We **shall continue, in this era of negotiation, to work for** the limitation of nuclear arms, and to reduce the danger of *confrontation* between the great powers. 13

We **shall do our share in defending peace and freedom in the world.** But we shall *expect* others to do their share. 14

**The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflict our own, or make every other nation's future our responsibility, or presume to tell the people of other nations how to manage their own affairs.** 15

Just as we *respect* the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation **to secure its own future.** 16

Just as America's role is **indispensable** in preserving the world's peace, so is each nation's role **indispensable** in preserving its own peace. 17

*Together* with the rest of the world, *Let us resolve* to move forward from the beginnings we have made. *Let us continue to bring down the walls of hostility* which have divided the world for too long, and to build in their place bridges of understanding—so that despite **profound** differences between systems of government, the people of the world can be friends. 18

*Let us build a structure of peace in the world* **in which the weak are as safe as the strong—in which each respects the right of the other to live by a different system—in which those who would influence others will do so by the strength of their ideas, and not by the force of their arms.** 19

*Let us accept* that high responsibility not as a burden, but *gladly*—gladly because the chance to build such a peace is the **noblest** endeavor in which a nation can engage; gladly, also, because **only if we act greatly in meeting our responsibilities abroad** will we remain a great Nation, and **only if we remain a great Nation** will we act greatly in meeting our challenges at home. 20

We **have the chance today to do more than ever before in our history to make life better in America—to ensure better education, better health, better housing, better transportation, a cleaner environment—to restore respect for law, to make our communities more livable—and to insure the God-given right of every American to full and equal opportunity.** 21

Because the range of our needs is so great—because the reach of our opportunities is so great—*Let us be bold in our determination to meet those needs in new ways.* 22

Just as building a structure of peace abroad has required **turning away from old policies that failed**, so building a new era of progress at home requires **turning away from old policies that have failed.** 23

Abroad, the shift from old policies to new has not been a retreat from our responsibilities, but a **better** way to peace. 24

And at home, the shift from old policies to new will not be a retreat from our responsibilities, but a **better** way to progress. 25

Abroad and at home, **the key** to those new responsibilities lies in the placing and the division of responsibility. We 26

have lived too long with the consequences of attempting to gather all power and responsibility in Washington.

Abroad and at home, the time has come to turn away from the **condescending** policies of paternalism—of "Washington knows best." 27

A person can be expected to act responsibly only if he has responsibility. This is human nature. So Let us encourage individuals at home and nations abroad to do more for themselves, to decide more for themselves. Let us locate responsibility in more places. Let us measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves. 28

That is why today I offer no promise of a purely governmental solution for every problem. We have lived too long with that **false** promise. In *trusting* too much in government, we have asked of it more than it can deliver. This leads only to inflated expectations, to reduced individual effort, and to a disappointment and frustration that erode confidence both in what government can do and in what people can do. 29

Government must learn to take less from people so that people can do more for themselves. 30

Let us remember that America was built not by government, but by people—not by welfare, but by work—not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility. 31

In our own lives, Let each of us ask—not just what will government do for me, but what can I do for myself? 32

In the challenges we face together, Let each of us ask—not just how can government help, but how can I help? 33

Your National Government has a **great and vital** role to play. And I pledge to you that where this Government should act, we will act **boldly** and we will lead **boldly**. But just as important is the role that each and every one of us must play, as an individual and as a member of his own community. 34

From this day forward, let each of us make a solemn commitment in his own heart: to bear his responsibility, to do his part, to live his ideals—so that together, we can see the dawn of a new age of progress for America, and together, as we *celebrate* our 200th anniversary as a nation, we can do so *proud* in the fulfillment of our promise to ourselves and to the world. 35

As America's **longest and most difficult** war comes to an end, let us again learn to debate our differences with civility and decency. And let each of us reach out for that one precious quality government cannot provide—a new level of *respect* for the rights and feelings of one another, a new level of *respect* for the individual human dignity which is the *cherished* birthright of every American. 36

Above all else, the time has come for us to renew our faith in ourselves and in America. 37

In recent years, that faith has been challenged. 38

Our children have been taught to *be ashamed of* their country, *ashamed of* their parents, *ashamed of* America's record at home and of its role in the world. 39

At every turn, we have been *beset* by those who find everything wrong with America and little that is right. But I am *confident* that this will not be the judgement of history on these **remarkable** times in which we are privileged to live. 40

America's record in this century has been **unparalleled** in the world's history for its *responsibility*, for its *generosity*, for its *creativity* and for its *progress*. 41

let us be proud that our system **has produced and provided more freedom and more abundance, more widely shared, than any other system in the history of the world.** 42

Let us be proud that in each of the four wars in which we have been engaged in this century, including the one we are now bringing to an end, we have fought not for our selfish advantage, but to help others resist aggression. 43

let us be proud that by our bold, new initiatives, and by our steadfastness for peace with honor, we have made a break-through toward creating in the world what the world has not known before—a structure of peace that can last, not merely for our time, but for generations to come. 44

We are embarking here today on an era that presents challenges great as those any nation, or any generation, has ever faced. 45

We shall answer to God, to history, and to our conscience for the way in which we use these years. 46

As I stand in this place, so *hallowed* by history, I think of others who have stood here before me. I think of the dreams they had for America, and I think of how each recognized that he needed help far beyond himself in order to make those dreams come true. 47

Today, I *ask* your prayers that in the years ahead I may have God's help in making decisions that are right for America, and I *pray* for your help so that together we may be worthy of our challenge. 48

Let us pledge together to make these next four years the **best** four years in America's history, so that on its 200th 49

birthday America will be as **young** and as **vital** as when it began, and as **bright a beacon of hope for all the world**.  
Let us go forward from here confident in hope, strong in our faith in one another, sustained by our faith in God who created us, and striving always to serve His purpose.

## 8. Jimmy Carter's Inaugural Address, Thursday, January 20, 1977

FOR myself and for our Nation, I want to thank my predecessor for all he has done to heal our land. 1

In this outward and physical ceremony we attest once again to the inner and spiritual strength of our Nation. As my high school teacher, Miss Julia Coleman, used to say: "We must adjust to changing times and still hold to unchanging principles." 2

Here before me is the Bible used in the inauguration of our first President, in 1789, and I have just taken the oath of office on the Bible my mother gave me a few years ago, opened to a **timeless** admonition from the ancient prophet Micah: 3

"He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (Micah 6:8) 4

This inauguration ceremony marks a new beginning, a new dedication within our Government, and a new spirit among us all. A President may sense and proclaim that new spirit, but only a people can provide it. 5

Two centuries ago our Nation's birth was a milestone in *the long quest* for freedom, but the **bold and brilliant** dream which *excited* the founders of this Nation still awaits its consummation. I have no new dream to set forth today, but rather *urge* a fresh faith in the old dream. 6

Ours was the first society openly to define itself in terms of both spirituality and of human liberty. It is that **unique** self-definition which has given us an **exceptional appeal**, but it also imposes on us a special obligation, to take on those moral duties which, when assumed, seem invariably to be in our own best interests. 7

You have given me a great responsibility—to stay close to you, to be worthy of you, and to exemplify what you are. Let us create together a new national spirit of unity and trust. Your strength can compensate for my weakness, and your wisdom can help to minimize my mistakes. 8

Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will triumph together in the right. 9

The American dream **endures**. We must once again have full faith in our country—and in one another. I believe America can be better. We can be even **stronger** than before. 10

Let our recent mistakes bring a resurgent commitment to the basic principles of our Nation, for we know that if we despise our own government we have no future. We recall in special times when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united. In those times no prize was beyond our grasp. 11

But we cannot dwell upon remembered glory. We cannot afford to drift. We reject the prospect of failure or mediocrity or an inferior quality of life for any person. Our Government must at the same time be both competent and compassionate. 12

We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now struggling to enhance equality of opportunity. Our commitment to human rights must be absolute, our laws fair, our natural beauty preserved; the powerful must not persecute the weak, and human dignity must be enhanced. 13

We have learned that "more" is not necessarily "better," that even our great Nation has its recognized limits, and that we can neither answer all questions nor solve all problems. We cannot afford to do everything, nor can we afford to lack boldness as we meet the future. So, together, in a spirit of individual sacrifice for the common good, we must simply do our best. 14

Our Nation can be strong abroad only if it is strong at home. And we know that **the best** way to enhance freedom in other lands is to demonstrate here that our democratic system is **worthy** of emulation. 15

To be true to ourselves, we must be true to others. We will not behave in foreign places so as to violate our rules and standards here at home, for we know that the trust which our Nation earns is **essential** to our strength. 16

The world itself is now dominated by a new spirit. Peoples more numerous and more politically aware are *craving and now demanding* their place in the sun—not just for the benefit of their own physical condition, but for basic human rights. 17

The passion for freedom is on the rise. Tapping this new spirit, there can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America to undertake on this day of a new beginning than to help shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane. 18

We are a strong nation, and we will maintain strength so sufficient that it need not be proven in combat—a quiet strength based not merely on the size of an arsenal, but on the nobility of ideas. 19

We will be ever vigilant and never vulnerable, and we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice—for those are the enemies against which our forces can be honorably marshaled. 20

We are a purely idealistic Nation, but *let* no one confuse our idealism with weakness. 21

Because we are free we can never be indifferent to the fate of freedom elsewhere. Our moral sense dictates a *clearcut preference* for these societies which share with us an *abiding respect* for individual human rights. We *do not seek* to intimidate, but it is clear that a world which others can dominate with impunity would be **inhospitable to decency and a threat to the well-being of all people.** 22

The world is still engaged in a massive armaments race designed to ensure continuing equivalent strength among potential adversaries. We pledge perseverance and wisdom in our efforts to limit the world's armaments to those necessary for each nation's own domestic safety. And we will move this year a step toward ultimate goal—the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this Earth. We *urge* all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death. 23

Within us, the people of the United States, *there is evident a serious and purposeful rekindling of confidence.* And I *join in the hope* that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our Nation: 24

—that we had remembered the words of Micah and renewed our search for humility, mercy, and justice; 25

—that we had torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion, and where there had been mistrust, built unity, with a *respect* for diversity; 26

—that we had found productive work for those able to perform it; 27

—that we had strengthened the American family, which is the basis of our society; 28

—that we had ensured respect for the law, and equal treatment under the law, for the weak and the powerful, for the rich and the poor; 29

—and that we had enabled our people to be proud of their own Government once again. 30

I would *hope* that the nations of the world might say that we had built a lasting peace, built not on weapons of war but on international policies which reflect our own most precious values. 31

These are not just my goals, and they will not be my accomplishments, but the affirmation of our Nation's **continuing** moral strength and our belief in an **undiminished, ever-expanding** American dream. 32

## 9. Ronald Reagan's First Inaugural Address, Tuesday, January 20, 1981

*Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Bush, Vice President Mondale, Senator Baker, Speaker O'Neill, Reverend Moomaw, and my fellow citizens:* To a few of us here today, this is a **solemn and most momentous** occasion; and yet, in the history of our Nation, it is a **commonplace** occurrence. The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the Constitution routinely takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every-4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a **miracle.** 1

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process, you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I *thank* you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the **bulwark** of our Republic. 2

The business of our nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an *economic affliction* 3

of great proportions. We suffer from **the longest and one of the worst sustained** inflations in our national history. It **distorts our economic decisions, penalizes thrift, and crushes the struggling young and the fixed-income elderly alike.** It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people.

Idle industries **have cast workers into unemployment, causing human misery and personal indignity.** **Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.**

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades, we **have piled deficit upon deficit, mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present.** To continue this long trend is to guarantee **tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.**

You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we **think that collectively,** as a nation, we are not bound by that same limitation?

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

The economic ills we *suffer* have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks, or months, but they will go away. They will go away because we, as Americans, **have the capacity now,** as we have had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve **this last and greatest bastion of freedom.**

In this present crisis, government is not the solution to our problem.

From time to time, we **have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people.** But if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else? **All of us together, in and out of government, must bear the burden.** The solutions we *seek* must be **equitable,** with no one group singled out to pay a higher price.

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

Well, **this administration's objective will be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunity for all Americans, with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination.** **Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work.** **Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs.** **All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning" and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy.** **With the idealism and fair play which are the core of our system and our strength, we can have a strong and prosperous America at peace with itself and the world.**

So, as we begin, *let* us take inventory. We are a nation that has a government—not the other way around. And this makes us **special among the nations of the Earth.** **Our Government has no power except that granted it by the people.** **It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.**

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

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

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

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel and are proportionate to the intervention and intrusion in our lives that result from unnecessary and excessive growth of government. It is time for us to realize that we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do. I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing. So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin an era of national renewal. let us renew our determination, our courage, and our strength. And let us renew our faith and our hope. 17

We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say that we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter—and they are on both sides of that counter. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life. 18

I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am addressing the heroes of whom I speak—you, the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes, and the goals of this administration, so help me God. 19

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen, and loving them, reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they are sick, and provide opportunities to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory? 20

Can we solve the problems confronting us? Well, the answer is an unequivocal and emphatic "yes." To paraphrase Winston Churchill, I did not take the oath I have just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy. 21

In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow—measured in inches and feet, not miles—but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, to get government back within its means, and to lighten our punitive tax burden. And these will be our first priorities, and on these principles, there will be no compromise. 22

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of.... On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions upon which rests the happiness and the liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves." 23

Well, I believe we, the Americans of today, are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for ourselves, our children and our children's children. 24

And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom. 25

To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will strengthen our historic ties and assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty. We will strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty, for our own sovereignty is not for sale. 26

As for the enemies of freedom, those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it; we will not surrender for it—now or ever. 27

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security, we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of never having to use that strength. 28

Above all, we must realize that no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenals of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice 29

terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I am told that tens of thousands of prayer meetings are being held on this day, and for that I am *deeply grateful*. We are a nation under God, and I *believe* God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good, I think, if on each Inauguration Day in future years it should be declared a day of prayer. 30

This is **the first time in history** that this ceremony has been held, as you have been told, on this West Front of the Capitol. Standing here, one faces a **magnificent** vista, opening up on this city's **special** beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand. 31

Directly in front of me, the monument to a **monumental** man: George Washington, Father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. Off to one side, the **stately** memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence. 32

And then beyond the Reflecting Pool the **dignified** columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln. 33

Beyond those monuments to heroism is the Potomac River, and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row on row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom. 34

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kinds of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno and halfway around the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, the Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam. 35

Under one such marker lies a young man—Martin Treptow—who left his job in a small town barber shop in 1917 to go to France with the **famed** Rainbow Division. There, on the western front, he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire. 36

We are told that on his body was found a diary. On the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," he had written these words: "America must win this war. Therefore, I will work, I will save, I will sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone." 37

The crisis we are facing today does not require of us the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does require, however, our best effort, and our willingness to believe in ourselves and to believe in our capacity to perform great deeds; to believe that together, with God's help, we can and will resolve the problems which now confront us. 38

And, after all, why shouldn't we *believe* that? We are Americans. God bless you, and *thank* you.

## 10. Ronald Reagan's Second Inaugural Address, Monday, January 21, 1985

*Senator Mathias, Chief Justice Burger, Vice President Bush, Speaker O'Neill, Senator Dole, Reverend Clergy, members of my family and friends, and my fellow citizens:* 1

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. 2

There is, however, one who is not with us today: Representative Gillis Long of Louisiana left us last night. I *wonder* if we could all join in a moment of silent prayer. (Moment of silent prayer.) Amen. 3

There are no words adequate to express *my thanks* for the great honor that you have bestowed on me. I will do my utmost to be deserving of *your trust*. 4

This is, as Senator Mathias told us, the 50th time that we the people have *celebrated* this **historic** occasion. When the first President, George Washington, placed his hand upon the Bible, he stood less than a single day's journey by horseback from raw, untamed wilderness. There were 4 million Americans in a union of 13 States. Today we are 60 times as many in a union of 50 States. We have lighted the world with our inventions, gone to the aid of mankind wherever in the world there was a cry for help, journeyed to the Moon and safely returned. So much has changed. And yet we stand together as we did two centuries ago. 5

When I took this oath four years ago, I did so in a time of economic stress. *Voices were raised saying we had to look to our past for the greatness and glory*. But we, the present-day Americans, are not given to looking 6

backward. In this **blessed** land, *there is always a better tomorrow*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



government and its interference in people's lives.

We must simplify our tax system, make it more fair, and bring the rates down for all who work and earn. We must think anew and move with a new boldness, so every American who seeks work can find work; so the least among us shall have an equal chance to achieve the greatest things—to be heroes who heal our sick, feed the hungry, protect peace among nations, and leave this world a better place. 21

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. 22

From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth, a more productive, fulfilled and united people, and a **stronger** America—an America that will lead the technological revolution, and also open its mind and heart and soul to the treasures of literature, music, and poetry, and the values of faith, courage, and love. 23

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. 24

I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at freezing government program spending for the next year. Beyond that, we must take further steps to permanently control Government's power to tax and spend. We must act now to protect future generations from Government's desire to spend its citizens' money and tax them into servitude when the bills come due. Let us make it unconstitutional for the Federal Government to spend more than the Federal Government takes in. 25

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. 26

And there is another area where the Federal Government can play a part. As an older American, I remember a time when people of different race, creed, or ethnic origin in our land found hatred and prejudice installed in social custom and, yes, in law. There is no story more **heartening** in our history than the progress that we have made toward the "brotherhood of man" that God *intended* for us. Let us resolve there will be no turning back or hesitation on the road to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens. 27

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. 28

I have spoken of our domestic goals and the limitations which we should put on our National Government. Now Let me turn to a task which is the primary responsibility of National Government—the safety and security of our people. 29

Today, we utter no prayer more fervently than the ancient prayer for peace on Earth. Yet history has shown that peace will not come, nor will our freedom be preserved, by good will alone. There are those in the world who *scorn* our vision of human dignity and freedom. One nation, the Soviet Union, has conducted the greatest military buildup in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome offensive weapons. 30

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. 31

There is only one way **safely and legitimately** to reduce the cost of national security, and that is to reduce the need for it. And this we are trying to do in negotiations with the Soviet Union. We are not just discussing limits on a further increase of nuclear weapons. We *seek*, instead, to reduce their number. We *seek* the total elimination one day of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth. 32

Now, for decades, we and the Soviets have lived under the threat of mutual assured destruction; if either 33

resorted to the use of nuclear weapons, the other could retaliate and destroy the one who had started it. Is there either logic or morality in believing that if one side threatens to kill tens of millions of our people, our only recourse is to threaten killing tens of millions of theirs?

I have *approved* a research program to find, if we can, a security shield that would destroy nuclear missiles before they reach their target. It wouldn't kill people, it would destroy weapons. It wouldn't militarize space, it would help demilitarize the arsenals of Earth. It would render nuclear weapons obsolete. We will meet with the Soviets, *hoping* that we can agree on a way to rid the world of the threat of nuclear destruction. 34

We strive for peace and security, *heartened* by the changes all around us. Since the turn of the century, the number of democracies in the world has grown fourfold. Human freedom is on the march, and nowhere more so than 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. 35

America must remain freedom's staunchest friend, for freedom is our best ally. 36

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. 37

So we go forward today, a nation still mighty in its youth and powerful in its purpose. With our alliances strengthened, with our economy leading the world to a new age of economic expansion, we *look forward to* a world **rich in possibilities**. And all this because we have worked and acted together, not as members of political parties, but as Americans. 38

My friends, we live in a world that is lit by lightning. So much is changing and will change, but so much endures, and transcends time. 39

History is a ribbon, always unfurling; history is a journey. And as we continue our journey, we think of those who traveled before us. We stand together again at the steps of this symbol of our democracy—or we would have been standing at the steps if it hadn't gotten so cold. Now we are standing inside this symbol of our democracy. Now we hear again the echoes of our past: a general falls to his knees in the hard snow of Valley Forge; a *lonely* President paces the darkened halls, and ponders his struggle to preserve the Union; the men of the Alamo call out encouragement to each other; a settler pushes west and *sings a song*, and the song echoes out forever and fills the unknowing air. 40

It is the American sound. It is **hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair**. That's our heritage; that is our song. We sing it still. For all our problems, our differences, we are together as of old, as we raise our voices to the God who is the Author of this **most tender** music. And *may He continue to hold us close as we fill the world with our sound*—sound in unity, affection, and love—one people under God, dedicated to the dream of freedom that He has placed in the human heart, called upon now to pass that dream on to a waiting and **hopeful** world. 41

God *bless* you and *may God bless* America.

## 11. George Bush's Inaugural Address, Friday, January 20, 1989

*Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President, Vice President Quayle, Senator Mitchell, Speaker Wright, Senator Dole, Congressman Michel, and fellow citizens, neighbors, and friends:* 1

There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts and in our history. President Reagan, on behalf of our Nation, I *thank* you for the **wonderful** things that you have done for America.

I have just repeated word for word the oath taken by George Washington 200 years ago, and the Bible on which I placed my hand is the Bible on which he placed his. It is right that the memory of Washington be with us today, not only because this is our Bicentennial Inauguration, but because Washington remains the Father of our Country. And he would, I think, be *gladdened* by this day; for today is the concrete expression of a **stunning** fact: our continuity these 200 years since our government began. 2

We meet on democracy's front porch, a **good** place to talk as neighbors and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended. 3

And my first act as President is a prayer. I *ask* you to bow your heads: 4

Heavenly Father, we *bow our heads and thank You for Your love. Accept our thanks for* the peace that yields this 5

day and the shared faith that makes its continuance likely. *Make us* strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and write on our hearts these words: "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. *Help us to* remember it, Lord. Amen.

I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment **rich with promise**. We live in a **peaceful, prosperous** time, but we can make it better. For a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn; for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. There is new ground to be broken, and new action to be taken. There are times when the future seems **thick as a fog**; you sit and wait, *hoping* the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.

**Great** nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward **free** markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world *agitate for free* expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows.

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

For the first time in this century, for the first time in perhaps all history, man does not have to invent a system by which to live. We don't have to talk late into the night about which form of government is better. We don't have to wrest justice from the kings. We only have to summon it from within ourselves. We must act on what we know. I take as my guide the hope of a saint: In **crucial** things, unity; in **important** things, diversity; in all things, generosity.

America today is a **proud, free nation, decent and civil**, a place we cannot help but *love*. We know in our hearts, not loudly and proudly, but as a simple fact, that this country has meaning beyond what we see, and that our strength is a force for good. But have we changed as a nation even in our time? Are we *enthralled with* material things, *less appreciative* of the **nobility** of work and sacrifice?

My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot *hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account*. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it. What do we *want* the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more *driven* to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to trade a word of friendship?

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

America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle. *We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of the Nation and gentler the face of the world*. My friends, we have work to do. There are the homeless, lost and roaming. There are the children who have nothing, no love, no normalcy. There are those who cannot free themselves of enslavement to whatever addiction—drugs, welfare, the demoralization that rules the slums. There is crime to be conquered, the rough crime of the streets. There are young women to be helped who are about to become mothers of children they can't care for and might not love. They *need* our care, our guidance, and our education, though we *bless* them for choosing life.

The old solution, the old way, was to think that public money alone could end these problems. But we have learned that is not so. And in any case, our funds are low. We have a deficit to bring down. We have more will than wallet; but will is what we *need*. We will make the hard choices, looking at what we have and perhaps allocating it differently, making our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety. And then we will do the wisest thing of all: We will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows—the goodness and the courage of the American people.

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

I have spoken of a thousand points of light, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes

being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light, and I will ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they are not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice, commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in.

We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate. We must bring the Federal budget into balance. And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But, of course, things may be difficult. We need compromise; we have had dissension. We need harmony; we have had a chorus of discordant voices. 17

For Congress, too, has changed in our time. There has grown a certain divisiveness. We have seen the hard looks and heard the statements in which not each other's ideas are challenged, but each other's motives. And our great parties have too often been far apart and untrusting of each other. It has been this way since Vietnam. That war cleaves us still. But, friends, that war began in earnest a quarter of a century ago; and surely the statute of limitations has been reached. This is a fact: The final lesson of Vietnam is that no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory. A new breeze is blowing, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. 18

To my friends—and yes, I do mean friends—in the loyal opposition—and yes, I mean loyal: I put out my hand. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader. For this is the thing: This is the age of the offered hand. We can't turn back clocks, and I don't want to. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water's edge. And we don't wish to turn back time, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live. Let us negotiate soon and hard. But in the end, Let us produce. The American people await action. They didn't send us here to bicker. They ask us to rise above the merely partisan. "In crucial things, unity"—and this, my friends, is crucial. 19

To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow: We will stay strong to protect the peace. The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist; but once made, strong, and can be used with great effect. There are today Americans who are held against their will in foreign lands, and Americans who are unaccounted for. Assistance can be shown here, and will be long remembered. Good will begets good will. Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on. 20

Great nations like great men must keep their word. When America says something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps. We will always try to speak clearly, for candor is a compliment, but subtlety, too, is good and has its place. While keeping our alliances and friendships around the world strong, ever strong, we will continue the new closeness with the Soviet Union, consistent both with our security and with progress. One might say that our new relationship in part reflects the triumph of hope and strength over experience. But hope is good, and so are strength and vigilance. 21

Here today are tens of thousands of our citizens who feel the understandable satisfaction of those who have taken part in democracy and seen their hopes fulfilled. But my thoughts have been turning the past few days to those who would be watching at home, to an older fellow who will throw a salute by himself when the flag goes by, and the women who will tell her sons the words of the battle hymns. I don't mean this to be sentimental. I mean that on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably connected by the ties that bind. 22

Our children are watching in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all, and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze. And to all I say: No matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day, you are part of the life of our great nation. 23

A President is neither prince nor pope, and I don't seek a window on men's souls. In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life. 24

There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been a deadly bacteria, so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it: This scourge will stop. 25

And so, there is much to do; and tomorrow the work begins. I do not mistrust the future; I do not fear what is ahead. For our problems are large, but our heart is larger. Our challenges are great, but our will is greater. And if our flaws are endless, God's love is truly boundless. 26

Some see leadership as **high drama**, and the sound of trumpets calling, and sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning. The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds. And so today a chapter begins, a small and **stately** story of unity, diversity, and generosity—shared, and written, together.

27

*Thank you. God bless you and God bless the United States of America.*

28

Non-commercial use only