

Barack Obama's Inaugural Address

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I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. (Common rhetorical device to present things in groups of three. Each of these phrases has four words and the "by" "for" and "of" are the same three prepositions used by Lincoln at Gettysburg: "of the people, by the people, for the people.") I thank President Bush for his service to our nation, as well as the generosity and cooperation he has shown throughout this transition.

Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. (Grover Cleveland served as the nation's 22nd and 24th presidents. I cannot imagine that one of the many people working on the speech would not have picked it out immediately. Perhaps it was intentional although I don't understand why.) The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. (Psalm 23: "He leadeth me beside still waters.") Yet, every so often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. (Obama introduces these "storm" concepts at the beginning of the speech so that he can return to them at the summation of his speech. Also "gathering clouds" and "raging storms" is a reference to Churchill's "Gathering Storm.") At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears, and true to our founding documents. (Very important as one of the main Democratic charges against the Bush Administration was its blatant disregard for the Constitution. Obama knows, as Bush seemed not to know, that what sets America apart, what makes America the exceptional nation, is that America alone among the nations of the world was founded on a set of principles. Compromise those principles and we're no different from anyone else.)

So it has been. So it must be with this generation of Americans. (Presidents at key generational transitions, such as Kennedy and Clinton, have pointed out that theirs is a new generation ready to take the torch from the previous generation. It's also a way to turn a page by essentially saying, "Their turn is over. It is now our turn.")

That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war, against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. (The fault is not George Bush's alone; we are all responsible.) Homes have been lost; jobs shed; businesses shuttered. (Ideas in groups of three again.) Our health care is too costly; our schools fail too many; and each day brings further evidence that the ways we use energy strengthen our adversaries and threaten our planet.

These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a sapping of confidence across our land – a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, and that the next generation must lower its sights.

Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real. They are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this, America – they will be met.

On this day, (Here and in the next paragraph Obama repeats this phrase that he used on election night at Grant Park in Chicago: On *this* day, emphasis on "this.") we gather because we have chosen hope over fear, unity of purpose over conflict and discord.

On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn out dogmas, that for far too long have strangled our politics.

We remain a young nation, but in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things. (St. Paul, 1st Letter to the Corinthians: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things." Obama ran his presidential campaign on the theme of rising above the politics of division and the petty squabbles that sap our energy and distract us from engaging in the real work we need to be do.) The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better

history; (Invokes Lincoln's "better angels of our nature.") to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness. (Just a rephrasing of the Jeffersonian "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" from the Declaration of Independence with the Lincolnian "full measure" as in "full measure of devotion" from the Gettysburg Address.)

In reaffirming the greatness of our nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. (Another charge against the Bushies is that they never asked for sacrifice. After 9/11 Bush told people to go shopping. He is also the only president in history who cut taxes during wartime.) It has not been the path for the faint-hearted – for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things (America has become an economy of information and services; it no longer makes things. There are historians who doubt that a great power can remain a great power without a manufacturing base.) – some celebrated but more often men and women obscure in their labor, who have carried us up the long, rugged path towards prosperity and freedom.

For us, they packed up their few worldly possessions and traveled across oceans in search of a new life. For us, they toiled in sweatshops and settled the West; endured the lash of the whip and plowed the hard earth. (In these two sentences Obama includes all who came together to make up our nation: Pilgrim fathers and Ellis Island immigrants, black slaves and the people who pushed west to settle the continent.)

For us, they fought and died, in places like Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and Khe Sanh. (Khe Sanh was a battle in Vietnam in 1968. Obama is recognizing the sacrifices of Vietnam as equal to those of the War of Independence, the Civil War, and World War II.)

Time and again these men and women struggled and sacrificed and worked till their hands were raw so that we might

live a better life. They saw America as bigger than the sum of our individual ambitions; greater than all the differences of birth or wealth or faction.

This is the journey we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive, our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of standing pat, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions – that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America. (A call to action and a reprimand to both Bush and to all of us when we choose to avoid making tough decisions. The "pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off" line is an odd reference to the song "Start all Over Again" by Jerome Kern and Dorothy Fields written for the 1936 Fred Astair-Ginger Rogers film "Swing Time." Perhaps it's a little nod to the original Great Depression.)

For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act – not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth. We will build the roads and bridges, the electric grids and digital lines that feed our commerce and bind us together. (There are many countries in the world that we think of as old societies but who have spent a lot of time and money working on their infrastructure. Roads and bridges are not glamorous but they are vital.) We will restore science to its rightful place, (real science, not the pseudo-science of intelligent design and other efforts by conservative luddites to thwart progress in stem cell research or to dismiss the reality of climate change.) and wield technology's wonders to raise health care's quality and lower its cost. We will harness the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories. And we will transform our schools and colleges and universities to meet the demands of a new age. All this we can do. All this we will do.

Now, there are some who question the scale of our ambitions – who suggest that our system cannot tolerate too many big plans. Their memories are short. For they have forgotten what this country has already done; what free men and women can achieve

when imagination is joined to common purpose, and necessity to courage.

What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them – that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works. (This is a direct repudiation of Ronald Reagan's "government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem." To be fair, Reagan prefaced that well-known phrase with the words "In this present crises." Technically he was not saying that government is the problem in all times and in all places, although no one remembers that today.) – whether it helps families find jobs at a decent wage, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end. Those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account – to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business in the light of day – because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.

Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched, but this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, the market can spin out of control – and that a nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity; on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart – not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good. (There are many among conservatives who believe that the market is the infallible and unerring God. In this paragraph Obama masterfully and succinctly lays out that which separates the fundamental philosophy differences between Democrats and Republicans.)

As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our founding fathers ... our founding fathers, faced with perils we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. (Evokes JFK: "The ener-

gy, 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." Also the Statue of Liberty whose seldom used full name is "Liberty Enlightening the World." It also repudiates the Bush policy of compromising our principles for temporary benefit.)

And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and that we are ready to lead once more.

Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use; our security emanates from the justness of our cause, the force of our example, (Again, that which makes us different, that which makes us exceptional is in that America was founded on ideas and there is no greater force in the world than the example of truth. This is why Jefferson and the other founders are relevant and vital every day of our lives.) the tempering qualities of humility and restraint. (Soft power: It's cheap and effective. Try some today!)

We are the keepers of this legacy. Guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort – even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and forge a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan. With old friends and former foes, we will work tirelessly to lessen the nuclear threat, and roll back the specter of a warming planet. We will not apologize for our way of life, nor will we waver in its defense, and for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken; you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.

For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus – and non-

believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; (even as we welcome the first African- American president, the world is filled with microscopic divisions that we Americans can hardly fathom: Sunnis and Shiites, Kurds, Arabs, and Persians, Hutus and Tutsis, dozens of different Afghan tribal identities. This is real complicated stuff.) as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace. (And not just because we have YouTube.)

To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ills on the West - know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy. To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history; but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.

To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders; nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. (We are resource hogs in everything. It's a tough sell to tell the Chinese and the Indians to hold back when we've been eating like Hatfield Happy Porkers at the world's trough for centuries.) For the world has changed, and we must change with it.

As we consider the road that unfolds before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains. They have something to tell us, just as the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington whisper through the ages. We honor them not only because they are guardians of our liberty, but because they embody the spirit of service; a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves. And yet, at this moment - a moment that will define a generation - it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all.

For as much as government can do and must do, it is ultimately the faith and determination of the American people upon which this nation relies. It is the kindness to take in a stranger when the levees break, the selflessness of workers who would rather cut their hours than see a friend lose their job which sees us through our darkest hours. It is the firefighter's courage to storm a stairway filled with smoke, but also a parent's willingness to nurture a child, that finally decides our fate.

Our challenges may be new. The instruments with which we meet them may be new. But those values upon which our success depends - hard work and honesty, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism - these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. (Touché, Mr. Cheney!) What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility - a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation, and the world, duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character, than giving our all to a difficult task.

This is the price and the promise of citizenship. (A very nice alliterative way to say that rights and responsibilities are inseparable concepts.)

This is the source of our confidence - the knowledge that God calls on us to shape an uncertain destiny. (Possible reference to JFK's "God's work must truly be our own." Also deliberate effort to demonstrate that Democrats are not hostile to religion, as conservatives would have it.)

This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed - why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent Mall, and why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. (Pretty amazing!)

So let us mark this day with remembrance, of who we are and how far we have traveled. In the year of America's birth, in the coldest of months, a small band of patriots huddled by dying campfires on the shores of an icy river. The capital was abandoned. The enemy was advancing. The snow was stained with blood. At a moment when the outcome of

our revolution was most in doubt, the father of our nation ordered these words be read to the people:

"Let it be told to the future world ... that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive...that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet (it)."

(These are not Washington's own words but are those from Thomas Paine's pamphlet "The Crisis." Obama uses as the central metaphor of his inaugural address words read to Washington's troops at his behest who were encamped on the banks of the Delaware River in Bucks County. Obama speaking in our modern capitol of Washington refers to when Washington's capital, Philadelphia, was abandoned but "that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet (it)." Washington was faced with the greatest existential challenge of our infant nation but met it when he sent his troops across an icy river on Christmas night 1776. We should also remember that the great ideals born in Philadelphia in July of that year would have withered and died if not for the conviction and action taken in December. That so much of this happened right here where we live should fill us all with immeasurable pride.)

America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, (good metaphor tying in the chilly winter day of the inauguration with the challenges facing the country; also hints of Shakespeare's "winter of our discontent" from "Richard III") let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come. (Ties back to words at the beginning of address; the literal icy currents faced by Washington and his troops as they prepared the Christmas night crossing of the Delaware in 1776; and the metaphorical challenges we face today.) Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, (hint of Kennedy: "With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds.") we carried forth (Kennedy: "let us go forth.") that great gift of freedom (Lincoln: "new birth of freedom.") and delivered it safely to future generations.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.