

(Huebner)

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NOTES FOR THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

In this new age we must learn to measure our accomplishments in new ways. We must learn that the good life does not come with the accumulation of goods but with the enrichment of experience. We must learn that good government does not come through bigger budgets but through better ideas.

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May these years be a time of openness, of adventure, of reaching outward -- despite all the risks and all the pain which that implies. May we always resist the temptation to retreat to the secure and the comfortable and the familiar -- not because we scorn the past, but because we know that the only way to honor the past is to grasp the future.

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When Charles Lindbergh flew the Atlantic in 1927, he captured the imagination of this country in a very special way. As F. Scott Fitzgerald put it, "A young Minnesotan... did a heroic thing, and for a moment people set down their glasses in country clubs and speakeasys and thought again of their old best dreams."

From our Nation's very beginnings, Americans have dreamed great and good dreams. At each critical juncture in our country's history we have been able to remember those dreams -- and to renew them.

As we enter now upon the last four years of our Nation's second century, let us strive once again to touch the mystic chords of memory. Let us make this bicentennial era a time when all of us -- individually and collectively -- think once again of our old best dreams -- and what we now must do to fulfill them.

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Unless we stand for something, we will fall for anything.

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As we work to improve our country, let us not be driven by a sense of guilt and frustration because our work is incomplete. Let us be motivated rather by a sense of excitement and purpose -- because we have the chance to advance it.

American ideals have always outrun American realities. Perhaps they always will. For ideals are like stars -- we can never hold them in our hands, but we need to keep them clearly in view if we are to find our way through the darkness.

So let us not despair because we are imperfect. Let us take heart from the fact that our vision of the ideal is clear -- and that our determination to pursue the ideal is strong.

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In the last few years, America has awakened to what we have called the environmental challenge -- the need to preserve and protect our physical resources, to conserve and renew the gifts which nature has given us.

Now we must awaken to another challenge -- the need to preserve and protect our spiritual resources, to conserve and renew the values we have inherited.

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"Sometimes people call me an idealist," Woodrow Wilson once said; "Well," he went on, "that is the way I know I am an American."

May it now be our goal -- in our time -- so to conduct ourselves that people in all parts of the world will look at us and say: "They are Americans. They are people who live by their ideals."

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To set great goals is to run great risks -- including the

risk of disappointment if our goals are not realized. But let us never shrink from that danger. It is because our reach has exceeded our grasp that we have become a great people, a people on the move, a people going somewhere. It is the fact that we have outrun reality that undergirds our faith that today will be better than yesterday and that tomorrow will be better still. And when our goals no longer cause us to stretch our capacities, then America will not be America anymore.

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We must rise above the distractions of the moment if we are to join the great forces which are moving through our times. We must strive for that historic perspective which Malraux attributed to DeGaulle when he called him: "A man of a day before yesterday, and the day after tomorrow."

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Discipline is not the enemy of freedom; it is the prerequisite for freedom.

We can never achieve the freedom to do our best unless we restrain our impulse to do what we please.

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Whenever the American Dream is denied for any American it is diminished for every American.

Ours is a great country because we have dared our children to dream the impossible dream -- and because we have given them the chance to make their dreams come true. But as Woodrow Wilson once said, we must believe the things we tell the children. If we tell them to dream -- and then deny them a fair chance to realize their dreams -- we can only breed frustration and despair -- and violate the essence of America.

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Benjamin Franklin once described America as a place where people do not inquire of a man "who is he" but rather "what can he do."

America must always be the place where people are judged by what they can do -- and not by any other artificial test. It must always be the place where anybody can become somebody.

America can never realize its full potential unless all our people have the chance to realize their full potential.

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We have always said that America is the nation of the common man. But let us never forget what this really means. Ours is

a great country because it gives the common man and woman the opportunity to be uncommon.

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I hope these years will be remembered as a time in which we changed the shape of world diplomacy -- away from a closed system, dominated by a few great powers, and toward an open system in which many nations can play strong, independent roles. I also hope these years will be remembered as a time when we changed the shape of domestic policy -- away from a closed system dominated by an overpowering Federal Government and toward an open system in which our States and communities and private institutions can develop their strength and exercise their independence.

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When we cut a million dollars from the Federal budget, that mon money is not lost and its power to do good things eliminated. When money is transferred from the Federal budget to State and local and family budgets, its power to do good things is multiplied.

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As political power has become nationalized in Washington, so has our attention and our emotions. For years young men and

women across America grew up believing that Washington, D. C. was the place where the action was. But now we have learned that our premises were wrong. Action in Washington too often means inaction at those points where the problems are rooted and at those places where the people live. And that is where the action must be today -- in our States and communities and neighborhoods.

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When the important things happen at the hub of power, those who live beyond the hub are inevitably left out. The more important the decision becomes, the less they have to say about it; the more exciting the challenge, the less they are involved. And so at the very time that more of our people are becoming better informed and better equipped to assume the responsibilities of leadership, the ceiling of opportunity has been lowered. The centralization of power has meant that more and more of our people have been forced to stoop below their full height, to lower their sights and to restrain their ambitions.

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When Huck Finn, at the end of Mark Twain's novel, said "I got to light out for the territory ahead of the rest," he was speaking

for all Americans. From the time of the first colonists to the age of Apollo, America has been driven by the desire to get there first -- to take the lead in exploring the unknown.

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Just before the Puritans first landed on the coast of Massachusetts, their leader, John Winthrop, wrote that "the only way to avoid shipwreck and to provide for our posterity" is this: "We must be knit together in this work as one man...."

From that time to this, the need to be "knit together" in confronting great challenges has been a constant demand of American life. Today more than ever, we need one another if we are to meet the challenges of our highly interdependent society -- not because any of us has all the answers but because none of us has those answers -- and because going on together is the only way we can ever hope to find them.

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Peace is not something to wish for. It is something we must work for.

We cannot shape the world in the image of our desires; but neither can we shun the world and retreat into ourselves. We

must learn instead to share international responsibilities in a spirit of international partnership.

We will never be able to run the world -- nor should we ever try. But neither dare we run away from the world -- and ignore our historic role.

We are only one nation. But we are one nation. And we have our role to play.

We cannot do everything. But we can do something. And we must do what we can do.

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The peace we seek is more than the absence of war. It is something positive and lasting -- a new system of international relations in which nations can respect one another's diversity and trust one another's commitments.

We cannot impose such a peace upon the world -- nor can we find it by ourselves. The structure of peace will never last unless all nations have a stake in preserving it.

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And so we face today a profound and relentless question.

I do not ask that question. History asks it.

I cannot answer that question. Only you can answer it.

Lincoln made the point very bluntly in 1861: "I wish you to remember," he said, "now and forever, that it is your business and not mine... [for] not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question, 'Shall the Union, shall the liberties of this country, be preserved to the latest generations.'"

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This is the fifth time I have participated in these Inaugural ceremonies, as many as any other person in the history of our country. To stand in this place and to take this oath is to feel a very special responsibility to the American people -- not only to America as it exists today, but to those who have gone before and to those who will come after.

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For over three hundred years, the genius of America has been its ability to adapt and adjust with changing conditions. From the time the colonists first stepped upon our shores, Americans have always been ready to give up the false comforts of the familiar, to look for newer ways of doing things and better ways of living.

Because old governments were not responsive to their needs, those who first settled here established new governments in a new

world. At first, they patterned these governments after those they had left behind. But soon they discovered they could not impose old forms upon a new continent. And so they developed new and more representative institutions which met the needs of their developing societies.

When their new ways were threatened from across the sea, these new Americans fought a revolution to protect them and they founded a new nation, so that their new ways could flourish.

They described this nation as "an experiment." It belonged to the people, they said, and that meant it existed to be altered. And so, only four years after they had won their independence, they wrote a new Constitution to cope more effectively with the new demands of nationhood. When they finished that work, George Washington made a statement about what had been accomplished. To the surprise of many, he spoke less about the virtues of the Constitution and more about its imperfections. Its finest quality, he said, was that it left room for change, so that future generations could carry on the work which began in Philadelphia.

And future generations did just that.

Under the guidance of a Constitution which anticipated change, they shaped their government to meet the changing conditions of

two turbulent centuries.

A tiny seaboard nation learned to think continentally as the pioneers trekked westward.

A nation of explorers learned to turn its energies to the new work of settlement and civilization.

A nation of farmers learned to build factories and railroads and to grasp the opportunities of the city.

A nation of industrialists and businessmen learned to share the fruits of their production with those who had been left out.

A technological nation learned to turn its genius to restoring an environment which technology itself had ravaged.

As the nation developed, the government developed with it, shaping change and responding to change and always remaining attentive to the changing voices of the people.

Today, the winds of change are blowing once again across the American landscape. Once again, the time has come to move in a new direction.

America is a land of changing landscapes, changing moods, changing weather, changing people. It is a land of open spaces, open minds, and open opportunities. We must be certain therefore that its political institutions are also open, so that the winds of

change can always blow fresh and clear through the halls of government.

For a nation open to change and growth can never grow old and tired.

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