

DRAFT # 5
RPrice 1/17/69

~~Responsible~~
~~Single words~~
~~Engineer~~

Mr. Chief Justice, President Johnson, Vice
Agnew
President Humphrey, my fellow Americans -- and my fellow
citizens of the world community:

This oath I have taken before God is simple in its
language, rich in its history and profound in its meaning.
For each of the thirty-seven men who have taken it, the
occasion has been one to speak to his own time, and from his
own heart.

The powers this oath confers are not a gift, but
a stewardship. In this spirit I take them: to be held in trust,
not for myself or my party, but for the people of America --
and for those millions of others the world over whose fates
are linked with ours, and whose hopes ride the wings of
America's dream.

~~This is a moment for us to do three things.~~

~~First~~, this is a time for rejoicing -- not in the triumph of a man or a party, but in renewed evidence of the resilience and continuity that are symbolized in this orderly transfer of power among free men.

~~Second~~, this is a time for thanksgiving -- for the privilege of living in America at such a time, and in the world ~~today~~ at such a time. ^{I in the} Never has the future held such promise. All around us we see the goodness of life -- in the hearts of our people, in the opportunities that beckon, in the resources that are ours to use. _{challenge + opportunity}

~~Third~~, this is a time for sober appraisal -- of where we are, and where we want to go; of what we are, and what we want to be.

As we look at America, we see a great nation caught up in uncertainties, grappling with the often mystifying effects of rapid change, striving to hold itself together in the face

of forces that seem determined to tear it apart.

We see a nation borne to greatness on a soaring ideal, now struggling for the possession of its soul.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a nation ravaged by depression and gripped in fear. Surveying its troubles, he could say: "They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our crisis today is the reverse.

In material goods, we have grown rich beyond measure. But the strains on our spirit test our capacity to live as free men together. They test the limits of a humane order, in which liberty is secure, dissent is responsible and justice is done.

We all have felt those strains. We have seen their effects in ugly outbreaks of hate, in the wondering conflict of the generations, in racial discords, in bitter debates engendered by a cruel war in a distant land. We have heard the crescendo of discontent.

Because our strengths are
so great - we can with
- 4 - objectivity + hope ~~have~~
exercise our weakness

To this crisis of the spirit, our hearts summon
us to find an answer in the spirit.

We can find that answer if we let our spirit
respond to our heart.

Our hearts tell us
We stand on the threshold of a new era.

For the past ~~third~~ of a century, we have laid
great emphasis on material goods, and on government action.

The 23rd century has been

~~This has~~ been a time of great achievement. We have taken

enormous strides in industry and agriculture. We have shared

our wealth more abundantly than ever, and learned at last to

manage a modern economy to assure its continued growth. (We

have spent more money, passed more laws, initiated more programs,

to alleviate social ills, than in all of our previous history.)

But we are reaching the limits of what government
can do by itself.

Our task now is to build on what has gone before,
not turning away from the old but turning toward the new.)

Government will have a great role. But the time has come for the added dimension of people.

The time has come to throw wide the doors of opportunity -- opportunity to share in the high adventure of making America what it can become. The spirit needs fields to roam in, and the challenges before us call for the energies that only the people can provide.

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.

Yet in inviting your participation, I do so not only because the tasks require it. I do it also because the *human* spirit has hungers of its own -- because until he has been part of a cause larger than himself, no man is truly whole -- because each of us needs a share in the shaping of his own destiny -- because we find our fulfillment in the use we make of our talents.

we seek -- promising only what we know we can deliver, but
lifted by our dreams as we inscribe our goals. Those goals
can be raised precisely because they are not limited by what
government can do; because they include what people can ^{add} reach.

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

~~Those who are hungry, we will strive to see fed.~~

Jobs, housing, education; food for the hungry,
and safety for all; a new measure of control over our environ-
ment, so it lifts the spirit instead of depressing it -- toward
all these we will press urgently onward, knowing that the
American Dream does not come to those who fall asleep.

In ~~putting~~ aside old divisions, let us seek new
unity. History has settled the question that has haunted
America since its founding: shall black and white be equal
before the law, equal in opportunity, equal in dignity as human
beings? The answer has been given in law; what remains is to
give life to what is in the law.

add ?

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

We see a world still wracked by war and the threat
of war. *But as an exciting new factor;*
yet because the people of the world want peace and
the leaders are afraid of war, the times are on the side of
peace.

Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown,
to make it welcome. Where peace is fragile, to make it strong.
Where peace is temporary, to make it permanent.

~~To those who have opposed and occasionally threatened~~
as we have entered an era of negotiation of to
~~us, I repeat what I have already said: let the coming years be~~
a period of cooperation
~~a time of negotiation rather than confrontation. During this~~

Administration the lines of communication will be open. We
seek an open world -- open to ideas, open to the exchange of
goods and peoples, a world in which no people, great or small,
will live in angry isolation.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but
we can try to make no one our enemy. So let us turn our systems

to peaceful competition -- not in expanding control, but in improving the quality of life.

Let us seek ~~cooperation~~ -- to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry -- and to explore the reaches of space.

To the peoples of this world, we say: let us go to the new worlds together. *not as new worlds for conquest*

to conquer - but new worlds, new adventures to share together
It will not be easy to fashion the cords that can

bind us in peace. In our lifetimes, we may not fully succeed.

But unless we begin -- unless we weave them strand by strand, patiently, persistently, we will have failed in the most sacred trust of our generation.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the ~~shock~~ and the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere 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 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: "To see the Earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the Earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold -- brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

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

Eight years from now, America will celebrate its 200th anniversary as a nation. Within the lifetimes of most of us now, living, will come the beginning of the third millennium.

What kind of world will it then be? What kind of nation?

Will it be a world wracked by war, plagued by misery?
A nation torn by civil strife, its cities choking on their own
congestion?

Or will it be a world and a nation shaped in the
image of our hopes?

To us falls the answer. It rests on the choices we
make, the dreams we follow, the energies we summon.

~~The world watches; history waits.~~

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 go forward together, firm in our faith, steadfast
in our purpose, clear in our conscience -- and confident that
we at last can learn to be "riders on the earth together, brothers
on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold -- brothers who
know now they are truly brothers."

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