

January 11, 1969

TO: RN  
FROM: JIM KEOGH

I remain firmly convinced that the basic tone of the inaugural address should be hopeful and confident.

By this I do not mean that our terrible problems should be ignored or minimized. They must be cited and considered.

Nor do I mean that we should fall into the rhetorical trap of over-promising.

I think the people should take away with them the recognition that our problems are great, but that in the long run we can have hope and confidence that consistent effort will work toward solution.

If the address is merely "realistic and sober," I fear that the reaction could be on the depressing side.

If its ultimate impact is to leave a feeling of determination, hope and confidence, it can lift the spirit of the country.

Following are some sentences and paragraphs, a few new but most gleaned from your 1968 speeches and changed slightly to fit in the pattern of an inaugural:

*Kick off - N. H. -  
1960 Inaugural Acceptance*

accomplishment. This will be an era of  
*achievement, excellence -*

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We stand at a great turning point -  
when the nation is groping for a new direction, unsure  
of its role and its purposes, caught in a tumult of change.

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This is a time of towering  
uncertainties.

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We offer leadership that believes in  
law, and has the courage to enforce it; leadership that  
believes in justice, and is determined to promote it;  
leadership that believes in progress, and knows how to  
inspire it.

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We aim to articulate the nation's  
values, define its goals and marshal its will.

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We will bear in mind the distinction  
between forceful leadership and stubborn willfulness.

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This will be an open administration - open to ideas from the people, and open in its communication with the people - an administration of open doors, open eyes and open minds.

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We aim to bring dissenters into policy discussions, not freeze them out; we invite constructive criticism, not only because the critics have a right to be heard, but also because they often have something worth hearing.

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The lamps of enlightenment are lit by the spark of controversy; their flame can be snuffed out by the blanket of concensus.

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The world is changing, America is changing, and so must our ideas and policies change - and our pursuit of the new must be an unremitting pursuit of excellence.

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We will hear not only the clamorous voices of the organized, but also the quiet voices, the inner voices - the voices that speak through the silences, and that speak from the heart and the conscience.

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The citizens will not have to break the law to be heard; they will not have to shout or resort to violence.

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*urgency*  
We promise a new attention to priorities,  
and a new realism about goals.

Our cause today is not only a nation,  
but a planet - for never have the fates of all the peoples  
of the earth been so bound together.

~~✓~~  
The judgments of history can bestow no  
honor greater than the title of peacemaker. It is this  
honor - this destiny - that beckons America, the chance to *help*  
lead the world at last out of turmoil and onto that plateau  
of peace man has dreamed of since the dawn of time. This  
is our summons to greatness. If we answer the call, generations  
yet unborn will say of this generation of Americans that  
we truly mastered our moment, that we at last *helped* made the  
world safe for mankind.

We aim to use one of a President's  
greatest resources: the moral authority of the office.  
It's time we restored that authority - and time we used  
it once again, to its fullest potential - to rally the  
people, to define those moral imperatives which are the  
cement of a civilized society, to point the ways in which  
the energies of the people can be enlisted to serve the  
ideals of the people.

What has to be done, has to be done by  
President and people together, or it won't be done at all.

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Together, we can hardly fail, for there is no force on earth to match the will and the spirit of the people of America, if that will and spirit are mobilized in the service of a common aim.

We should approach this time of challenge with a sense of the majesty of the moment. History will be made in these years just ahead - history that can change the world for generations to come. So let us seize the moment, and accept the challenge - not as a burden, and not in fear - but in the full confidence that no people has ever had such resources to meet its challenge. Ours is the chance to see the American dream fulfilled. This is the role that history offers; this is the hope that summons us; this is our generation's call to greatness as a nation. This, today, is America's opportunity.

As we turn away from the old paternalism of the 40's and toward the expanded democracy of the 70's, we'll discover a new dignity, a new unity, a new stability in America. We'll discover anew that this land is our land, all of us together, that its destiny is our destiny. We are one nation, together and inseparable, and if that proposition has been tested in these past years, tested in the fires of our cities, tested in war and in the bitter debates the war engendered, tested in demonstrations and civil disobedience and in the wondering conflict of generations, the nation has shown it can pass that test. Despite our troubles, there's a gathering today of the forces that are going to cement our society back together again - determined that decency and justice will prevail, and determined that reason shall rule.

*Mighty mobilizes.*

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We will forge a unity of goals,  
recognized by men who also recognize and value their  
own diversity.

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As frustration ends, violence will  
wane; as runaway government is curbed, personal freedom  
will grow; as demeaning welfare systems are replaced,  
individual initiative will take the <sup>lead</sup> ~~lead~~; as peace  
returns to the American city, America will be better  
able to build peace in the world.

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We are confident that America, in  
time of crisis, will respond as it has responded before -  
with new ideas, with great traditions and with fresh hope.

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We aim to advance the cause of personal  
freedom. For personal freedom is at the root of human  
dignity. It is room to turn around in life; it is the  
right to grow in your own way, to learn what is not yet  
being taught; it is both the right to privacy and the  
right to participate. It is liberty to dissent, and an  
obligation to challenge. It will not ensure that every  
man will get all he desires; it will ensure that every  
man will get all he deserves.

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We will seek to establish new respect  
for the qualities of initiative, personal sacrifice, and  
readiness to seize opportunity - qualities that made the  
individual American the wonder of the world.

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In the current agony of the American spirit, our body politic hungers for new directions, new answers to new needs. At moments like these throughout our history, it has been America's genius and good fortune to satisfy this appetite for orderly change. This generation of Americans shall not be the first in 200 years to deny the demands of the American spirit.

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We shall promote the general welfare, yes - but we shall preserve our personal freedom as well.

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We shall hold fast to the quality that made America great, as we reach out for new qualities that will make America greater.

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The American spirit calls upon us to make a mighty effort to rekindle our hope, our courage and our passion for personal freedom. It demands an awareness of the need for change; it requires the exploration of new horizons of justice; it insists on the rediscovery of the worth of the individual. It will accept nothing less than a reach for greatness.

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We believe in people. We will concentrate government efforts on what it can do best, and we will summon the people to do what they can do best. In asking the people to lend their hands and give of their hearts, we are asking America to be itself again.

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To all my fellow Americans I say:  
there is a new road ahead, a road wide enough for  
Americans of every age and color and creed to stride  
ahead together.

[ The times call out for a Great  
Generation, generous of heart, questing of mind,  
committed of spirit, to lift this world into the  
next millennium.

Peace is everybody's business, and  
the pursuit of peace is everybody's responsibility.

We commit ourselves to the truth -  
to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the  
truth.

We do not promise to eradicate  
poverty, end discrimination and eliminate all danger  
of war in the space of four, or even eight years. We  
promise every effort that human intelligence can extend  
to bring peace abroad and to foster peace and progress  
and justice at home.

We propose a new internationalism in  
which America enlists its allies and its friends around  
the world in those struggles in which their interest is  
as great as ours.

*Clint wanted  
go to the moon  
Together*

And now to the leaders of the Communist world, we say: After an era of confrontation, the time has come for an era of negotiation.

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But we shall always negotiate from strength and never from weakness.

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We extend the hand of friendship to all people - to the Russian people, to the Chinese people, to all the people in the world.

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And we shall work toward the goal of an open world - open skies, open cities, open hearts, open minds.

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The art of preserving peace is greater than that of waging war.

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So let us have order in America - not the order that suppresses dissent and discourages change but the order which guarantees the right to dissent and provides the basis for peaceful change.

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We aim to use to its full capacity the greatest engine of progress ever developed in the history of man - American private enterprise.

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We do not fire a shot heard 'round the world but we shall light the lamp of hope in millions of homes where there has been no hope.

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And that great light shining out from America will again become a beacon of hope for all those in the world who seek freedom and opportunity.

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I believe that historians will recall that this year marked the beginning of the American generation in world history.

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We set our sights toward a day when our nation is at peace and the world is at peace and everyone on earth - those who hope, those who aspire, those who crave liberty - will look to America as the shining example of hopes realized and dreams achieved.

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