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:
January 11, 1969

Keogh

This will be an era of accomplishment.

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.

This is a time of towering uncertainties.

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.

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

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

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.

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

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.

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.

The citizens will not have to break the
law to be heard; they will not have to shout or resort to
violence.
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 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 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.
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.
We will forge a unity of goals, recognized by men who also recognize and value their own diversity.

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 lead; as peace returns to the American city, America will be better able to build peace in the world.

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.

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.

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.
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.

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

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

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.

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.
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.
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.

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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.

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

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.