January 3, 1969

TO: RN
FROM: Jim Keogh

We are sending you, in all, three separate drafts for the Inaugural, with some notes appended. I am attaching Safire's draft. Price's and Buchanan's will be coming to you separately.

I like the tone of long-range optimism in Safire's draft - although it may be somewhat overdone. I strongly recommend that such a tone be a major consideration in the final product. Our problems have been discussed at great length; to dwell too long on them on this occasion would, in my opinion, have an unfortunate negative impact. Recognizing that the problems exist, and then going on with a tone of long-range hope could lift the spirit of millions of people. Ray Price and I have discussed this point and he aimed to give more emphasis to that aspect in his latest draft.

I particularly like Ray's passages making the point that for the good of mankind forward together has got to mean all people together - Americans, Europeans, Russians, Chinese. Ray and I have discussed this on a couple of occasions; I believe that it could have an important international impact.

We consider these drafts a beginning - and await your reaction and instructions to send one or more draftsmen back to the board.
The theme of most inaugurals is a call to sacrifice.

Americans like to be asked to tighten their belts, to make not sacrifices, so long as they are actually required to sacrifice anything specific.

The theme of this draft is the need to grapple with rapid change, and an optimistic view of what we can do if we want.

It does not contain a blockbuster: a new proposal to electrify world opinion and upset those who plan to criticize the Nixon administration as "the bland leading the bland."

Here is one idea for a blockbuster: Suggest an exchange of astronauts with the Russians. We invite one of their men to train with our men planning to go to the moon in July, and one of our men volunteers to be part of their crew whenever they begin final training.

That way, we land on the moon together. Instant detente. And it's our initiative, and our rocket that goes -- and, unlike vague offers of technical cooperation, this deals with real human heroes and would be of enormous impact. The Russians could not turn it down without appearing to be chicken.

Maybe it would jeopardize the mission -- or maybe delay it until communications barriers could be overcome. Maybe it's impractical.

But if you ever plan anything along these dramatic lines, the Inaugural is a damn good place to do it.
My two hundred and two million countrymen:

At this very place, two generations ago, another man came before the American people to address them for the first time as President.

Before he began, he noticed that the audience was being kept far back behind barricades, and he said to the chief of police: "Let the people come forward."

That day, Woodrow Wilson went on to make one of the most eloquent of inaugural addresses. But nothing else he said would better strike the keynote of his administration than those five offhand words.

Today, at a time in our history when so many of our citizens feel out of touch with their own destiny; when so many gaps have opened between generations and races; when so many of us feel that personal freedom is being denied and human dignity delayed; it is the time to turn to the taproot of our strength, and say again -- "Let the people come forward."

As the American people come forward, the American people shall come together.
I do not call for national unity, because unity does not come when it is called. Unity must be earned -- unity follows progress, unity is a response to commitment.

Therefore, we should not concern ourselves whether the position we take is exactly in the middle of the road; rather, we should make certain that the direction we take is on the forward road.

Americans pride themselves on being realists. Throughout our history, the only realists have been the optimists.

Let us, then, believe that this millennium will close with humanity on the rise.

Let us believe that an end to war in our lifetime is a goal we shall achieve.

Let us believe that mankind will finally come to grips with the age-old question -- "Am I my brother's keeper?" -- with the ringing answer, "Yes, I am."

Let us believe that the passion for personal freedom in the human soul is irresistible, and neither tyranny nor technocracy can eternally deny it.

Let us believe that all men are created equal, but that no two men are created alike -- that there is no higher cause than human dignity.
Let us believe that education is the key to fulfillment, with that key the birthright of every child -- and that a lot of learning is a marvelous thing.

Let us believe that misery has no majesty; that poverty and disease and degradation have no inescapable dominion over any portion of mankind; that we are right to be impatient with injustice.

The doubters are never the doers; the blazers of trails have always been the believers, the man who have mastered the art of the improbable.

There are those who say that the trouble with America is that everything is changing too fast.

I do not agree. America has been summoned to respond to the need for change; the great test of America is to make that response not a turn toward anarchy, but a change for the better. The only way to avoid being the victim of change is to become the manager of change.

The continuing American Revolution is nearly two centuries old, and that successful revolution has only just begun.

We must understand that the nature of change itself is changing. Change is not steady; it is accelerating. Mankind's progress is picking up speed; our needs and desires are gaining momentum.
In the span of only one lifetime, the first takeoff at Kitty Hawk has climbed to an orbit of the moon.

Before we could truly call ourselves citizens of the world, we find ourselves thrust into being citizens of the universe.

We must never be fearful of the gather/speed of change.

Instead, we must gain confidence from our ability to widen our horizons. (physically? spiritually.)

Man has broken the grip of gravity; are we not capable of breaking the pattern of three wars in a generation?

Man will be able to control the weather; will we not be able to control our moral climate and live in a world where right makes might?

Man can transplant living organs; certainly we should be able to transplant ideas of government that meet human needs.

Man has performed the physical miracle of converting mass into energy; surely we can now perform the spiritual miracle of treating masses of people as individuals, releasing human energy to enrich human life.

In the light of what man has done in this past generation, who dares predict what man cannot do in this next generation?
That is why the realists are the optimists. That is why our hopes are true hopes, and our dreams are realizable dreams.

And that is why there is a divinity to our discontent. We are dissatisfied with our remarkable nation as it is, only because we have a vision of what America can be.

We Americans don't count our blessings, we examine our shortcomings; that is the way we must always be, if we are to move forward together.

Every question we answer opens up an exciting new line of questioning -- that is the acceleration of change.

Every door we open to opportunity and the good life, leads to a room with a dozen other doors -- that is the acceleration of change.

Those who grow impatient with dissent must recognize that this nation can never grow without dissent.

We talk proudly of "majority rule" in American, but the fact is that the majority does not rule -- the majority governs.

We derive our just powers from the consent of the governed; but we often derive our wisdom from the constructive dissent of the minority.

That receptivity to new ideas will mark our dealings with other nations. We do not have all the answers, but do share all the hopes for lasting peace.
We shall be as strong as we need to be for as long as strength is needed to defend freedom. But as peace comes, with healing in its wings, we are poised to leapfrog "coexistence" and seek out areas of cooperation. We know the difference between an enemy and a competitor.

Last month, most of us learned a new word in the conversation of the astronauts. The word was "terminator" -- that constantly moving line that marks the separation of night and day on a revolving globe.

In a larger sense, we all stand in the twilight of that constantly changing terminator. Each man must choose the direction he will face.

A man can turn his back on the light and watch day turn into night. Or he can face the light and take part in a constant dawn.

I recall the words of Winston Churchill in the darkest days of the Battle of Britain. President Roosevelt had dispatched the leader of our loyal opposition, Wendell Willkie, with a message to England's Prime Minister that included the poem that begins, "Sail on, O Ship of State."

In giving that message to the British people, Churchill summed up what I have been saying today: "When we face with a steady eye the difficulties which lie before us, we may derive new confidence by
remembering those we have already overcome." And then he added these lines by an English poet:

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!
But westward, look, the land is bright!

People the world over still look to this land, to our land. And the land is bright.

This land is bright because nowhere else does the torch of freedom burn more strongly.

This land is bright because here is where the lamp of justice illuminates the way.

This land is bright because here in the United States of America, is the shining example of democracy in the painful process of changing for the better -- and in that reach for greatness, beaming its beacon of hope to all mankind.

We do not reach out with our rockets to presume to touch the face of God; we reach out to learn the truth about ourselves.
We have recently felt the shock of seeing the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness, where the overriding urgency is the brotherhood of man.

As we keep pace with the thundering momentum of this age of change, men of all nations will transform a warring world into a place of peace and progress.

Because of how we act, because of what we are, because of all we believe in, and because we know what mortal man can do, we shall be worthy of a new destiny.

A century from now, millions of space travelers will look Earthward and feel a surge of gratitude for the people of today.

And because of the leadership we take by the example we set, they shall say proudly of this planet: "Look -- the land is bright."
NOTES ON THE FOREGOING:

1. The Census Bureau says there will be 202,313,129 Americans alive at 8 a.m. January 20, 1969. Most Americans do not know we are up above 200 million -- and the use of a surprise in the salutation immediately seizes attention (as in FDR's speech to the DAR that began "fellow immigrants."). I hope you will use "countrymen" rather than "fellow countrymen" which is redundant -- also, the word has a traditional, historic flavor because it has often been used in Inaugurals and is preferred over the prosaic "fellow Americans" or "fellow citizens".

2. The line "when peace comes, with healing in its wings" is a beautiful metaphor, subtly evoking the dove of peace without using it openly. I stole it from Wilson.

3. A Churchill reference is called for, since it recalls the come-back theme and the man called back to serve in time of crisis. According to the new Bartlett's Quotations, the lines of poetry quoted were a favorite both of Churchill and John Kennedy; the entire Churchill speech is attached for reference. I quote one stanza of four lines; it could be cut to the last line.

4. "The only realists are the optimists" is not original, but I cannot find the source.

5. A reference to God is called for in an Inaugural; instead of the customary "with God's help" in the final line, I found a place for it slightly earlier in the reference to space.

6. An Inaugural Speech is remembered less for its total content than for its quotable lines ("With malice toward none..." "The only thing we have to fear..." "Ask not what your country can do for you...") The one-liners in this speech are not for applause, but for subsequent quotation. As an old counterpuncher, perhaps I can be helpful in adding "quotes" to your own draft, if you want me to look at it.

7. There is no hard-and-fast rule that you must come up with the "slogan" of the administration in your Inaugural. FDR and Rosenman had no idea "new deal" would be taken up; my feeling is not to strain for a slogan. If one catches fire from the speech, so be it; if not, there is time.

8. The construction of the last two paragraphs is, obviously, Churchillian ("will look back and say 'This was their finest hour'") but since it is based on a Churchill selection of poetry it is appropriate.
Churchill's Broadcast Report on War

Churchill Quoted Arthur Hugh Clough Poem
'Say Not the Struggle Naught Availed''

The verses quoted yesterday by Winston Churchill at the close of his broadcast were the last stanza of Arthur Hugh Clough's poem "Say Not the Struggle Naught Availed." The complete poem follows:

Say not the struggle naught availed, 

The voices that were silenced are not vain, 

The enemy raves, nor lies that mar. 

And, as things have been, they remain. 

If hopes were dupes, fears may be flares, 

It may be, in your smoke conceal'd. 

Your comrades chase 'em now the fliers, 

And, but for you, possess the field. 

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking, 

Have no painful inch in gain, 

Far back a hundred miles of making, 

Come, silent, flooding in the main. 

And not by eastern window's only! 

When daylight comes, comes in the light; 

In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly! 

But westward, look, the land is bright!

Clough, an English poet, lived from 1819 to 1861. He was a friend of Matthew Arnold, who commemorated him in the elegy "Thyrsis."

In hearing the Italians, had to be refilled and the single armored brigade which had been judiciously held back the enemy and the vehicles largely destroyed by a somewhat stronger German mixing. Our infantry, which did not exceed one division on the 16th, had to fall back onto the great injury. Armies that have been assembled and can be moved and maintained in the face of the Russians. It's clear that the Red Army is not a force to be underestimated.

In Fridrich--the fortress of Fridrich--which thanks an English advance, we held strongly. There we have annihilated many tasks, causing the enemy heavy losses and taking prisoner many officers. That is how the matters stand in Libya and on the Egyptian front.

See "Very Piers" Fighting. We must now expect the war in the Mediterranean to rage on, in Europe, and in Africa, which has been mentioned as German. It is now, however, that we can begin to understand the nature and extent of the war in Europe.

In February, as you may remember, that bad man, in one of his countless efforts, threatened us with a terrible war, now is stirring up the crowd of his detractors and attacking the French. The war has not only caused a loss of our influence in the world, but thanks to the help of France, the artillery of the Italian and Norwegian harbingers, and thanks to the moral support of the Italian bakers, the German army is falling upon the shipping far out into the Atlantic.

We have taken the battle of the Atlantic with all possible means to make it a steady advance. We are aware that the Germans are not as strong as they may look, and we are doing our best to keep this up. We have never underestimated the German military might and main. That is what we call the "Atlantic Wall," which, in order to survive, we must have face on our salt water; but we will do our best, and the battle of this last August is the battle of the Atlantic Wall.

"Wonderful Emotions" at Sea. Wonderful emotions have been made by our navy and air force. The British have made the Germans resemble the vessels which, with their marvelous appliances, keep our ports and our coastlines free of the enemy. We may do this, but the enemy will not sit idle, and its forces is by no means yet determined. It has endured and may now find the same time a far more favorable position against the Red Army.

When you see that we have, the United States are very close to the Red Army and have engaged themselves deeply in providing military matériel to the Chinese within the limits I have mentioned, naval support.

We must learn from the East.

It is most worth while, therefore, to ask the question of the Red Army, and the reason for the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini is certain in view of the recent developments. They and the American government are less than 30 percent of the population, and the number of Americans is growing by leaps and bounds. They are now fully and properly trained, and all the men of the Red Army are not trained, or are being trained, to the same extent. They must train technical resources and organizations, and we must be aware of the fact that the Red Army is not a force to be underestimated.

Last Help from America. We must be aware of the fact that the Red Army is not a force to be underestimated. It has endured and may now find the same time a far more favorable position against the Red Army.

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