

*Inaugural
1973 file*

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RAY PRICE *RP*
SUBJECT: INAUGURAL

The materials we've put together for you contain drafts and fragments from a number of writers. Some are quite good. Royster's is in the form of a memo to me, dictated by phone.

In my own first draft, which is included, I didn't at this stage try to pick up pieces from the others, but rather put it together from some independent spinnings.

I think some of the others felt as I did on Vietnam: that we (the writers) simply don't have a sufficient feel at this point of what the situation is likely to be a month from now to know how to handle it, so I omitted any mention from this preliminary draft.

Any guidance you can give along the way on things you do or don't want to say will, of course, be most helpful.

Attachment
1st Draft (12/19)

INAUGURAL - FIRST DRAFT

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Chief Justice, my fellow Americans --

In once again taking this solemn oath, I do so with a profound sense of how little time we have left to complete the work of America's second century, and to prepare us to embark on our third century as a Nation just four years from now.

I do so determined that these shall be years of renewal -- renewal of America's spirit, of its purpose, of its brotherhood, and of its capacity for human achievement.

This solemn moment that we share together belongs not to a President alone, but to a people. It is a time for rededication by our Nation and to our Nation, and to those values America represents.

Four years ago, in this place, I said that America faced a crisis of the spirit -- and that to a crisis of the spirit, we needed an answer of the spirit.

We have been finding that answer.

A Nation torn by violence has been learning once again to live at peace with itself.

A Nation rent by division has been restoring its unity.

A Nation tempted by despair has been learning the renewal of hope.

When America was born, it was born in hope; as we approach the start of our third century, we do so having fulfilled those hopes and more. We do so having stood for nearly two centuries as a

beacon to the world, as a haven for the oppressed and a land of opportunity -- a land where man has shown what freedom can accomplish.

The world today looks to us for leadership and example -- and above all, it looks to us for responsibility.

The challenges we face are not those of an infant nation, struggling to establish itself; nor are they those of a poor nation, struggling to feed its people and eke out an existence. Rather, they are the special challenges of a great nation, a strong nation, a rich nation, an established nation -- and of a nation that bears a heavy responsibility to the world.

They summon us to a special kind of greatness: that of great responsibilities greatly borne, neither lost in pettiness nor shirked in self-indulgence.

Our reach is greater than ever because we stand on the shoulders of those giants who have gone before. On what they began, we can build; from what they discovered, we can learn.

But we can only learn if we listen; we can only expand the body of knowledge we inherit from the past if we respect the past and study its lessons.

At the same time, we cannot build a new world with the old machinery. The government programs of the 30s, the 40s, the 50s, the 60s -- these were experiments belonging to a particular time in history, some of which worked, and some of which failed. We cannot afford to let either nostalgia or inertia rivet these into permanence. Only those that address the needs of the 70s and reflect the realities of the 70s have a place in the 70s.

We must remember that government exists to serve the people, and each program or each agency is justified only so long as the service it gives is greater than the cost of its maintainance.

These years just ahead will not be a time of vast new Federal programs. In the past third of a century, the Federal Government has grown to a point at which we must begin redressing the balance between Federal and local, between public and private, in favor of local and the private. We must learn to take less, not more, from the individual to give to the State.

This does not mean that we walk away from our needs as a Nation. It means that we learn to address those needs in new ways.

It means that we must look back into our experience, and draw from that the lessons of achievement and invention that transformed

a small and new and weak Nation into the richest and mightiest and the freest in the whole history of mankind.

We must learn to make leaner government better government -- and to measure progress not by how much government does, but by how well people live.

We must continue to make our economy more productive, concentrating on enlarging the whole rather than dividing the parts.

We must encourage the life of the mind, striving for excellence in thought as in all things, fostering the arts as a catalyst of human expression, reaching into the humanities for a deeper understanding of the human condition and the American experience.

As we strive to improve the quality of our lives, we must view that charter broadly -- recognizing that it means more than clean air

and clean water and more livable physical surroundings. It also means a greater leaven of civility, a greater measure of personal safety and security, a heightened degree of mutual respect and mutual forbearance. It means living with one another as members of a community in which what unites us matters far more than what divides us.

As we strive to increase our productivity, let us give new attention to the quality of work -- recognizing that the care and devotion we put into what we do repays us in more than material things; it repays us most richly in the satisfaction of knowing that what we do is worthwhile, and in the pride of doing it well.

Above all, let us restore among ourselves a sense of responsibility -- to ourselves and to our communities, toward our families

and toward our friends, toward the Nation and toward the world.

It was not our vast expanse of land, not our wealth of natural resources, that made America the most productive and the most inventive nation on earth. It was a combination of the American system and the American spirit -- of a system rooted in liberty, sustained by faith in the capacity of the individual human being; and of a spirit that would dare and do, held back neither by fear of the obstacles nor by an unwillingness to grow and to change.

We are no longer pushing a frontier westward across a continent. But we are pressing outward the frontiers of human experience. We are testing how a people as diverse as ours can live together in harmony, while preserving our diversity. We are testing new ways of sharing the abundance that our invention makes possible. We are

testing the American ideal against hostile philosophies. We are testing the strength of our resolve in a world still hazardous, even though less immediately threatening.

As we do so, let us put aside the old myths, and turn once more to our own common sense. Let us not be bedazzled by the theorists who tell us what we see with our own eyes is not there.

At the same time, let us strive to see in new ways, to understand in new ways -- and let us not shrink from the hard work of laying the basis for such an understanding.

Just as the Moscow and Peking summits were made possible only by years of painstaking preparation, so too the new understandings we need here at home must be carefully prepared.

We cannot have that preparation in an atmosphere of shrill recrimination or political profiteering. We cannot set about deliberately to inflame public opinion and to create public misunderstanding, and at the same time hope to arrive at the new understanding.

These four years have seen great progress on the road back to reason, to civility, to rational discussion of our differences. We must continue on that road, and resist all efforts to turn us from it.

Let us have the courage of our uncertainties, as well as of our beliefs -- recognizing that there is much we do not know, much that we yet must learn, and that some questions have no answers.

Let us be modest in our pretensions, but magnificent in our intentions.

We shall answer to God, to history and to our own consciences for the way we use these precious years. We can fritter them away in idle pursuits and frivolous debate; or we can resolve to make them the best four years in America's history. Never have we had the means to do so much. And seldom have we been so greatly challenged, not by adversity but by opportunity.

So let us invest in these years -- let us invest our energy, our ideas, our hopes, our determination -- and so be able to deliver to the next generation an America as fine as the hand and the heart and the mind of mankind can make it.

From this moment, let us go forward united in purpose and
confident in hope -- sustained by our faith in God and strong in
our faith in one another.

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