

INAUGURAL THEMES: INSERT #1: THEODORE ROOSEVELT
AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

"Americanism means the virtues of courage, honor, justice, truth, sincerity and hardihood -- the virtues that made America.

The things that will destroy America are prosperity at any price, peace at any price, safety first instead of duty first, the love of soft living and the get rich quick theory of life."

Four years from our Bicentennial, my fellow-countrymen, we are still challenged, we are still haunted, we are still enthralled by Theodore Roosevelt's warning. And today, I am here not to uplift, not to excite, but simply to lay it on the line in the same way. For what makes America different is individual responsibility. The spirit of '76 is individual responsibility. We have it. How shall we use it. Theodore Roosevelt said:

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The vital things in life are the things that foolish people look upon as commonplace. The vital deeds of life are those things which it lies within the reach of all of us to do. . . .

No one of us can make the world move on very far. But it moves at all only when each one of a very large number undertake

soberly to do the possible.

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What we need most in this Republic is not special genius, not unusual brilliancy, but the honest and upright adherence on the part of the mass of the citizens and their representatives to the fundamental laws of private and public morality You cannot build the superstructure of public virtue save on private virtue. The sum of the parts is the whole.

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No man is a good citizen unless he so acts as to show that he actually uses the Ten Commandments and translates the Golden Rule into his life conduct.

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There is not in all America a more dangerous trait than the deification of mere smartness unaccompanied by any sense of moral responsibility.

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It is a contradiction in terms to speak of a good government if the good government does not rest upon cleanliness and decency in the home, respect of husband and wife for one another, tenderness of the man for those dependent upon him... and the proper education

of the children who are to make the next generation ...

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Tariffs, the currency, all kinds of other things that convulse the country and attract everyone's attention are not of any real consequence compared with having the right kind of men and women in the homes of the country.... No piled-up wealth, no splendor of material growth, no brilliance of artistic development will permanently avail any people unless its home life is healthy, unless the average man... works hard.

* * *

All of us in our present civilization are dependent upon one another to a degree never before known in the history of mankind and in the long run we are going to go up or go down together... This country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in."

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(Coming: Churchill and Eisenhower on Western Alliance
Disraeli and perhaps others on the political center)

INAUGURAL THEMES: INSERT #2: WINSTON CHURCHILL
AND UNIFICATION

On March 5, 1946, on one of our most majestic moments, Winston Churchill -- introduced by Harry Truman -- delivered his Iron Curtain Speech at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. That day, Churchill spoke not just a warning, but a plan of action about how the world could be brought closer together.

Churchill's concept, then, was that the Americans and the British should use what he termed "the special relationship" to help forge a world community. Today, I view the development of the whole North Atlantic Community as the most realistic way to build what Churchill called "the temple of peace." Winston Churchill said:

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The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. With primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement.

Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries.

To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime.

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I spoke earlier of the temple of peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well, and are old friends, if their families are intermingled and if they have faith in each other's purpose, hope in each other's future, and charity toward each other's shortcomings... why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners?

Why cannot they share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed, they must do so, or else the temple may not be built, or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved unteachable.

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Do not let us take the course of letting events drift along till it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great

fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilizing the foundations of peace.

Prevention is better than cure.

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Thus whatever happens, and thus only we shall be secure ourselves and be able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to any. Eventually, there may come the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose outstretched arm so many of us can clearly see.

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It is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous, to interfere, forcibly, in the internal affairs of countries whom we have not conquered in war, but we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-Speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the habeas corpus, trial by jury and the English Common Law, find their most famous expression in the Declaration of Independence.

All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free, unfettered

elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell, that freedom of speech and thought should reign, that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are consecrated by time and custom.

Here are the title deeds of freedom, which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American people to mankind. Let us preach what we practice and practice what we preach.

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(R. Campbell)

December 18, 1972

INAUGURAL THEMES: INSERT #3: DWIGHT EISENHOWER
ON DIPLOMATIC PRINCIPLES

Two months and ten days before the signing of the Korean Armistice, President Eisenhower expressed these precepts governing United States conduct in world affairs. Today, with the Vietnam War negotiations so tragically stalled, I state them once again:

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First, no people on earth can be held, as a people, to be an enemy, for all humanity shares the common hunger for peace and fellowship and justice.

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Second, no nations' security and well-being can be lastingly achieved in isolation, but only in effective cooperation with fellow nations.

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Third, any nation's right to a form of government and an economic system of its own choosing is inalienable.

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Fourth, any nation's attempt to dictate to other nations their form of government is indefensible.

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Fifth, a nation's hope of lasting peace cannot be firmly based upon any race in armaments, but rather upon just relations and honest understanding with all other nations.

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These (precepts)... spring, without ulterior purpose or political passion, from our calm conviction that the hunger for peace is in the hearts of all peoples -- those of Russia and China no less than of our own country.

They conform to our firm faith that God created men to enjoy, not destroy the fruits of the earth and our own toil.

They aspire to this: The lifting, from the backs and from the hearts of men, of their burden of arms and of fears, so that they may find before them a golden age of freedom and of peace.

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(RCampbell)

December 18, 1972

INAUGURAL THEMES: INSERT #4 - BENJAMIN DISRAELI ON
THE POLITICAL CENTER

I have said I view myself as a Disraeli conservative -- and I have been asked, what does this mean.

Disraeli was Benjamin Disraeli, one of the great Victorian Prime Ministers of England, who lived from 1804 to 1881. As a young man, he wrote a novel called Sybil, a tale of two nations, and he meant the divided nations of the rich and the poor. As Prime Minister and as leader of the conservative party, he sparked dynamic action in the political center to bring his two nations together.

Disraeli, in 1867, argued for his Second [Electoral] Reform Bill in words that show why I am a Disraeli conservative:

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"Gentlemen, I cannot deny that the great measure which has been passed this year will give in some degree a new character to the Constitution, and introduce some new powers and influences into its play and action. . . . Well, great questions no doubt will arise, and I shall be very sorry if great questions should not arise. Great questions are a proof that a country is progressing.

"In a progressive country change is constant; and the great question is, not whether you should resist change which is inevitable, but whether that change should be carried out in deference to the manners, the customs, the laws, and the traditions of a people, or whether it should be carried out in deference to abstract principles and arbitrary and general doctrines.

* * *

"The times in which we happen to meet are no doubt serious. At this moment events may be occurring which may influence the destiny of Europe, and affect the position of this country. But, no doubt, whatever ministry may have to regulate the fortunes of this country, whatever may be their abilities, whatever may be the favouring circumstances they can command, they are nothing without the confidence of the great body of the nation.

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"Indeed, when I remember the elements and interests of these British Isles, so vast, so various, and so complicated...when I recollect that the great majority of the population of the United Kingdom rise every day and depend for their subsistence -- their daily subsistence -- on their daily labour; when I recollect the

delicate marvel of our credit -- more wonderful, in my opinion, than our accumulated capital...[when I consider] the constant collision between those ancient institutions that give permanence to the State, and the requirements of the new populations that arise...when I remember that it is upon the common sense, the prudence, and the courage of the community thus circumstanced that depends the fate of uncounted millions in Asian provinces... I declare I often wonder where is the strength of thought and the fund of feeling that are adequate to cope with such colossal circumstances.

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"But when I withdraw from the pressure of individual interests, and take a larger and deeper view of human affairs, I recognise that in this country, whatever may have been the tumult and the turmoil of now many generations, there have ever been three master influences that have at all times guided and controlled all other powers and passions. And these are Industry, Liberty, and Religion

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So long as this sacred combination influences the destiny of this country it will not die. History will recognise its life, not

record its decline and fall. It will say -- This is a great and understanding people, and it is from such materials we make the magnificence of nations and establish the splendour of terrestrial thrones."

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(R. Campbell)

December 18, 1972

INAUGURAL THEMES: INSERT #5: RICHARD NIXON AND
THE YEAR OF EUROPE

(Per RCC: In the first four years, the President has journeyed for peace to Peking, signed the SALT I agreement in Moscow -- but it was on his first mission to Western Europe early in 1969 that he put United States foreign relations back on the track. Here are some of the President's remarks on that trip, which might have been forgotten. They are valuable themes for the 1973 Year of Europe.)

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On this first trip abroad as President of the United States, I find myself thinking back to my first trip to Europe. That was in 1947, in my first year in Congress -- my first year, in fact, in public life. I came here then as a member of the Herter Committee, which studied Europe's postwar economic needs in order to help lay the foundations for the Marshall Plan.

Although I have been back many times, these first impressions remain valid, for 1947 was the starting point of our journey together. What we have built in the past 22 years is a testimony to what can be achieved through common will and a spirit of partnership.

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After 20 years, the Atlantic Alliance must adapt to the conditions brought on by its success. It must replace the unity of a common fear with the community of shared purpose. It must pool not only its arms but its brains...

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In today's world, what kind of alliance shall we strive to build?

As I see it, an alliance is not the temporary pooling of selfish interests; it is a continuing process of cooperation: 'a ship on its passage out, and not a voyage complete.'

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In creating new policy-making machinery in Washington, one of my principal aims has been to shift the focus of American policy from crisis management to crisis prevention. That is one of the reasons why I value NATO so highly. NATO was established as a preventive force -- and NATO can be credited with the fact that while Europe has endured its share of crises in these last 20 years, the ultimate crisis that would have provoked a nuclear war has been prevented.

Those nations that were free 20 years ago are still free today.

* * *

The Old World and the New, working together, have proved that the dream of collective security can be made a reality.

* * *

Woodrow Wilson... told the citizens of Manchester in 1918: 'Friendship must have a machinery. If I cannot correspond with you, if I cannot learn your minds, if I cannot cooperate with you, I cannot be your friend, and if the world is to remain a body of friends, it must have the means of friendship, the means of constant, friendly intercourse, the means for constant watchfulness over the common interests.'

* * *

I believe, as I stand here today, that we can bring about a durable peace in our time. But it cannot come to those who seek it frantically with overnight deals and or dramatic gestures. It cannot come to those who pursue it casually, without real help or genuine idealism.

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Let us, Great Britain and America, remember that 'United' is our common first name -- the United Kingdom, the United States.

We know the real meaning of unity -- not the unity of the monolith but the unity that gains strength by encouraging the diversity which is the hallmark of freedom. . . .

That is the kind of unity we seek within the Western Alliance -- a unity creative in its contrasts, flexible in its forms, but, above all, powerful in its purpose.

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Finally, as I stand before this parliamentary body (the Bundestag), I realize that we share so many common traditions, and it is to me a very moving experience to report to you that since becoming President of the United States I have not yet had the opportunity to appear before our own Congress. . . .

This is the first time that I, as President of the United States, have appeared before any legislative body in the whole world.

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We are a great power. We have obligations around the world. But because of the great changes that have occurred in history, the American mission is different from that of some others who have risen to greatness in their role in the world. We seek no territory. We seek no concessions. All that we want is the right for others that we have for ourselves.

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Berlin must remain free. I do not say this in any spirit of bravado or belligerence. I am simply stating an irrevocable fact of international life.

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Our common attitude can best be expressed in a motto of Goethe, 'Without haste, but without rest.' That is how, step by step, we shall strive together to construct a durable peace.

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There are several pillars in the temple of peace which we are now constructing. The first is to maintain the strength of the NATO alliance; the second is to work toward greater unity, not only in military, but in other ways for Europe; and third, we recognize that in this era in which we are now entering, it will be necessary for the United States to conduct bilateral negotiations with the Soviet Union.

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We have established, by this meeting ... a pattern for conference in the future involving our finance ministers, our trade ministers, our Prime Ministers, the Presidents, whereby on a

continuing and regular basis we will discuss the major issues and be sure that we move together toward our common objectives.

As always on my visits to Rome, the climate has been good, the hospitality has been superb but most important, the substance has been solid.

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Greatness of leadership can be seen in the character of a great man (De Gaulle). That character can be measured in three ways: the quality of courage, the quality of the ability to convince others of a point of view, and the quality of being able to bring a nation back

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I sensed a new trust in the United States growing out of the fact that they feel that there are open channels of communication with the United States, and a new sense of consultation with the United States.

... There were times... that I felt the American people, all of the American people, in the person of their President, were being greeted by the people of Europe....

I think that one of the accomplishments of this trip is that we

have established ... a new relationship of trust and confidence that did not exist before.

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(Per RCC: All of this is right on for today's typical trans-atlantic trade patterns in which Rolls Royce and Lockheed were saved and PanAm might have to be. In my opinion, there is nothing inherently divisive in a realistic trading situation, in which toughness is friendship, and competition is partnership, given the common concepts and human perceptions the President voiced at the very beginning of his years in charge).

(R. Campbell)

December 18, 1972

INAUGURAL THEMES: INSERT #6: MISCELLANEOUS THEMES

(RCC to RKP: Since this is an integrated Inaugural package,
I attach copy of the National Goals response I sent you October
27, in the hope that some of the themes might be useful.)

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 27, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: RAYMOND K. PRICE
FROM: RODNEY C. CAMPBELL
SUBJECT: NATIONAL GOALS REQUEST *h*

Herewith summary response to your request for personal ideas on the next goals of our Administration. Most of the following say, essentially, "more of the same," which is an index at least of my tremendous admiration for the President's wise courses of action and distinguished leadership.

1. Strengthening National Unity: Now that the specter of a divided, rancorous people has been dispelled, we need to strengthen our hard-won national unity. We should accomplish this with balanced policies, e.g. human gains/fiscal integrity; economic expansion/environmental protection, in which most of our people will feel their concerns are being tended to, and their interests protected. We should advance this with brilliant politics, in which the men and the causes of the center project the hopes and dreams and realities, while the extremists, even the mildly extreme, are systematically isolated from serious consideration.
2. The National Defense and the Deterrent to War: I feel very strongly that we must maintain a defense establishment adequate to deter war at strategic and tactical levels. A generation of peace will mean nothing unless we can in fact guarantee it. A new drive for unity and progress at home will be constantly vulnerable unless our defenses are strong. If the international climate in the months ahead should become euphoric, we will be tempted to reduce our defense establishment. I say we should resist this temptation and maintain our defenses, and this should be a national goal.
3. Law and Order: The shocks of the 1960s have led us to a national consensus on the need for law and order which should not be compromised in the next four years. We must entrust our passion for justice to our fundamental rule of law. The President's leadership has been exemplary.

4. A Concert of Powers; a Middle East Settlement: The Concert of Great Powers the President has so largely created should now turn its attention to a Middle East settlement. This might have to be a "silent settlement," in which a settlement is in effect without the parties acknowledging this is so. There are grounds for encouragement in the Russian withholding of support for any resumption of the Middle East War. There is also a new need, in my opinion, for a practical, post-Vietnam workout of the Concert of Powers concept -- and in the Middle East a prototype Sarajevo situation still exists.

5. Revenue Sharing and Responsiveness: The President has been on the right track for a long time in his perceptive attack against excessive "bigness" and "dehumanization" in the United States. I say, 'More of the same,' and would add that the London Times calls the whole revenue-sharing approach "an exalted inspiration." Getting men and women of all ages involved in problem-solving close to home is an inspiration. This could galvanize the Second American Revolution of which the President has spoken, and make it come true.

6. Black Prosperity and Black Citizenship: The racial problem underlies a great many of our domestic problems, of course, and blacks might not be melting-potable. But we have become ingrained, I suspect, in the identification blacks equals problems. Instead, in the next four years, we should look toward black opportunity, and not by quota. Instead of tramping on down the desolate road of forced integration, we should help funnel financial, educational and prideful work-opportunities to black districts. This is beginning to work in Harlem, as you know. Also, our new awareness of ethnic values, applied to blacks as well as whites, might bring on a bicentennial in which blacks see a society they helped build and can help make better.

7. Prosperity -- and R & D: Prosperity is of course a national goal, and I would add only that we often, wrongly tend to overlook the significance of R & D, including aerospace technology.

8. Lets Minimize the Nitpicking Irritations: In our emphasis on the quality of life, we talk largely in environmental terms. I should also like to see a more responsible effort to remove the nitpicking irritations which are of concern to our constituency. You name it -- repairing shortfalls,

collection agencies, utility billing practices, excessive industrial noise, product deficiencies, auto repossessions, phone company deposits, salesperson arrogance, incomprehensible medical forms, insurance companies that do not pay -- name anything that irritates you in your own life, and you have the concept of a national goal. The Presidency should not, obviously, be poking around at this level, but Theodore Roosevelt said the White House is a "bully pulpit." The President could make life miserable for those who say "the public be damned."

9. Agriculture and an Adequate Food Supply: Lincoln said that the strength of a nation depends on the health of its agriculture, and this is still true. We are the best fed, the most economically fed people in world history. Now we see American farmers in yet another key role in international relations, visavis the U.S.S.R. -- also in yet another potential key role, in a workable drive against malnutrition in leverage places in the Third World. The maintenance of a strong American agriculture is a forward-thrusting mission for the next four years.

10. Balanced Support for the Arts: This is a little-recognized strong suit of the President and it should be developed. This symbolizes, moreover, the encouragement of excellence which should govern all our attitudes.

11. Toward the North Atlantic Community: My own personal, lifelong cause, as you know, is a very much closer North Atlantic Community, and while I am aware of the competitive and timing factors, I am sure this should be listed here as a vital national and international goal.

12. Bicentennial 1976 and a New National Pride in America: This is what the Presidency is all about, and it is the most important goal of all.

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