

3 January 1969

From: Price

To: NN

Subj: Inaugural

*W. about - with
most of me - pretty -
last of that report -*

1. Enclosed is a draft, plus a collection of Supplementary Notes.
2. The draft is only a tentative stab at one possible approach, which doesn't quite hang together; it doesn't pretend to be an actual framework for the speech.
3. I'll be trying over the week end to pull together, in a more structured way, some other thoughts re themes and approaches. I was caught rather short when the deadline was moved up from Monday.

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Only a few weeks ago, we all were spellbound witness at one of the transcendent moments of history -- watching, waiting, as man made his pioneer journey to the moon and back.

In later centuries, that voyage will be remembered as a milestone in man's exploration of the heavens. But for us here today, Apollo 8 carries a more immediate lesson.

As they flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, their voices so clear across the lunar distance, we heard the astronauts speak of the beauty of Earth and invoke a blessing on its goodness. Their view from the moon moved poet Archibald MacLeish to write:

"To see the earth as it truly is, small and blue and beautiful in that eternal silence where it floats, is to see ourselves as riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold -- brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

Thus, in this moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity -- telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, our destiny lies not in the stars but here on Earth itself, in our own hands and our own hearts.

As we think of Earth from that far perspective, we see more clearly than ever that man's destiny is not divisible.

Today, we in America approach what may prove the decisive test of our national maturity -- called on to lead in a tortured world while uniting a divided people; to make peace abroad and restore peace at home; to calm the anxieties and meet the aspirations of a time of social upheaval.

As we approach these tasks together, the most urgent things we can do are simple things.

It's a curious paradox of our age that as the awesome becomes commonplace, we so often lose sight of the simple. The things closest to us are hardest to see. Yet it's precisely these simple things that are most needed if we're to master the complexities we live with.

For one, we can lower our voices.

In these difficult years, America has been suffering from a fever of words: from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can possibly deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatred; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading.

We can't learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another -- until we make language once again not a barricade, but a bridge -- until we speak quietly enough so that our words can be heard, as well as our voices.

In public life, passion too often drives out reason. The problems we face today cannot be solved by confrontation. In the real world, answers seldom fit neatly into slogans;

they defy the rigidities of dogma; they have a way of deflating the arrogance of certainty.

If we are to find these answers, we need resources drawn from deep within us: the forebearance, the considerateness of others, the devotion to justice, that are the mark of civilized man.

✓ In the long run, our strongest bulwark against the arbitrary restraints of tyranny is the self-restraint of free men.

To live as part of a community is to yield something of ourselves: to practice those internal disciplines that make it possible for people to live together. Without order, there is no freedom -- and unless it maintains order, a free society fails.

Unless it maintains a humane order, it also fails.

If ours is to be a humane order, there are other simple things we must do.

We must listen.

We must learn to listen in new ways -- to the voices of quiet anguish, the voices that speak without words, the voices of the heart -- to the injured voices, and the anxious voices, and the voices that have despaired of being heard.

Those who have been left out, we must strive to include in.

To those haunted by fear, we must offer safety.

To those caught up in uncertainty, perplexed by the confusions of change, we must offer direction -- beacons to be guided by, and elements of stability that can put change in perspective.

To those torn by the wrenching moral conflicts of an age of involvement, we must offer a compassionate hearing -- and respect for the demands of conscience, even if we disagree with where it leads.

Our nation was born in a ferment of anger and frustration, committed to a new concept of freedom as man's natural condition and his inalienable right.

As we approach the 200th anniversary of that birth, it falls to our generation to fill out the concept in its full dimensions -- recognizing freedom as not only the absence of restraints, but the presence of opportunities. We have learned that the right to choose is empty when there is no choice; that freedom is hollow without the chance for its exercise.

No man can be fully free while his neighbor is unfree.

The hungry among us are not free -- and it's time we moved at last to eliminate the scourge of hunger from this most bounteous nation on earth.

More than a century after Lincoln proclaimed emancipation, the freedom of the black American is still incomplete. It can't be completed by more of the old public charities that so dis-

nally perpetuated dependency. Rather, it requires helping the black American into the fullness of human dignity; helping build the base of economic power that can support independence and in turn sustain pride.

✓ The fearful are not free -- and we cannot cast off the shackles of fear until we bring order to our cities and safety to our streets.

✓ Neither is any of us fully free while assaults on our increasingly man-made environment go uncontrolled. For too long we have let forces build haphazardly that oppress the spirit, poison the body and imprison the soul. Ours will be a new commitment to the quality of life in America -- and crucial to this commitment is the quality of our environment as a place for man to live in.

As we seek to make these added dimensions of freedom real, and to meet the vast array of other problems confronting us, our reliance will not be on government alone.

✓ America's greatest resources are not those of government, but those of the people -- individually, and through business, unions, churches, voluntary organizations. Many of these already are in the vanguard of social advance, and others stand ready, waiting only the call.

✓ Only by enlisting these resources can we say that America itself is fully committed. But with these enlisted, there is no task confronting us that we cannot master.

The discords in our own society mirror discords in the world -- and yet as distances shrink, as weapons multiply in both numbers and power, the need intensifies that we go "forward together" not only in fellowship here at home, but together with people everywhere. There is no longer room on this small planet for nations to live in angry isolation, or for the old rivalries that have made history a dismal chronicle of wars.

Forward together has to mean all together -- Americans, Europeans, Russians, Chinese -- the peoples of Latin America and Africa, of Asia and the Middle East -- together at last in a fraternity of man.

It will not be easy to fashion the cords that can bind us together, and in our lifetimes we may not fully succeed. But unless we begin -- unless we weave them strand by strand, patiently, persistently, cautious of the dangers but confident in the ultimate promise of man, we will have failed in the most sacred trust that rests on our generation.

Both here and abroad, the tasks we face are immense. But they should stimulate, not frighten, us; they represent those peaks to be scaled that can give us a mountaintop experience.

No people on earth has ever had so great an array of resources to meet its challenges with -- not only in terms of material wealth, but more importantly in our vast treasury

of trained intelligence, tested experience and aroused conscience. Conscience, concern -- these are deeply rooted in our heritage, products of that basic human goodness that has inspired America's idealism ever since first we came together as a people. This has been our strength, and it will be our salvation.

I don't promise miracles. I do promise *effort* -- and I pledge that effort to the cause of justice, and decency, and freedom, to the end that we in America can be true to our destiny, true to our trust and true to ourselves.

To those who would stop time in its tracks, I offer disagreement. To those who seek sanction for acts of revolution, I offer discouragement. To those who seek orderly progress, who seek to restore domestic tranquility, to promote justice under law and to make the world safe for decency -- to you, I offer my hand and I ask for yours.

As we stand on the threshold of this final third of the twentieth century, the years that open ahead promise to be the most exciting, and the most humanly fulfilling, in all man's history. The cup history offers us is not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity. So let us seize it, not in fear, but in gladness -- and go forward together, firm in our faith, steadfast in our purpose, clear in our conscience -- and confident that we at last can learn to be "riders on the earth together, brothers on that bright loveliness in the eternal cold -- brothers who know now they are truly brothers."

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INAUGURAL -SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES
RAYMOND K. PRICE
JANUARY 3, 1969

The instruments of order have to be finely tooled, meticulously used, or else order itself can become an oppression.

But we stand now at a crossroads, and the immediate threat is not the oppression of too much order but the oppression of too little order.

Faced with civil chaos, the ordinary citizen is helpless. The student who wants to learn, the ghetto black who wants to live at peace, these have no recourse when mobs rampage and self-appointed spokesmen drown out debate with the shrillness of their "dissent."

There are certain elemental decencies that have to be insisted on. There are basic freedoms -- the right to life, to liberty, to expression, to walk in peace without fear -- basic freedoms which today, in this citadel of liberty, are in jeopardy. In places, at times, they have been extinguished altogether. A society cannot tolerate this and call itself free.

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The right to dissent does not include the right to coerce.

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There is a season for all things, and the seasons change. This peaceful transfer of power is one of those changes.

This has been a cooperative transfer, in which two teams of Americans have laid aside their differences in order to assure a continuity of effort and of responsibility.

Now a new team picks up the burdens. But this team is only partly new. What America does, what it becomes, will depend not only on its President and his Administration, but more fundamentally on the people of America.

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What has to be done will be done, or not done, by the people; whether we succeed or fail, it will be a success or failure by the people.

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Let us try to get our troubles in perspective -- the twin perspectives of the view from within man, and the view from a distant star; to perceive our larger challenges in human terms, and our human challenges in terms of the great sweep of larger events.

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We need change amid continuity, and continuity with change.

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As power passes, let us resolve:

- - to do the best that we can humanly do.
- - to demand the best, but only what can humanly be given;
- - to recognize that our frustrations are not ours alone,
- - to recognize that our fears are not ours alone,

our fears not ours alone; and to grant



the other man the same presumption of good faith we ask of him.

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Let us respect the past, but set it behind us. We have entered on a new era. Much that was meaningful ten years ago, or even five, is not relevant today.

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We are now approaching what is perhaps the decisive test of our national maturity, in which our immense strength will be measured against our courage and intelligence in applying it.

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I ask each American to look within himself, and beyond himself -- and to ask what resources he can find within that can better the world beyond.

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This is a task no man can do along. It is the task of an age, of a generation, of people -- and no people, ever, in the whole history of mankind, has had resources so great or an opportunity so awesome.

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Today, we inaugurate a President, we usher in a new Administration, but we must do something more.

We already have made our New Year's resolutions.

What I ask today is a larger resolution -- a commitment to honor truth and act justly, as God gives us to see the truth and as ^{our} hearts as well as our minds we best can define justice.

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The word "Justice" has many meanings to many people.

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When faced with a clash of irreconcilables, both the path to solution and the path of justice usually lie somewhere between.

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Let us approach our differences in a reasonable manner, asking, not shouting; seeking, not haranguing.

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One of the tragedies of life in America today is that the language itself has lost its commonality; no longer do the same words mean the same thing to different groups of people.

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Passion is the great enemy of reason.

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We need to incorporate the processes of dissent into the setting of policy -- but also to incorporate considerations of policy into the processes of dissent.

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The world is in a ferment of change. Not only in America, but everywhere, we find the troubles, the generational misunderstandings, impatience, fear.

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It's time for less passion in our public life, and more reason; not for the exaggerated posturings that make differences unbridgeable, but rather for good faith in the search

for accommodations.

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People have been shouting at one another, instead of talking with one another.

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Rhetoric can be incendiary, as readily as it can be inspirational.

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As we approach our tasks in humility -- recognizing that the world is imperfect, and we are imperfect, but striving to find what may most nearly be right -- as we extend those first, tentative feelers across the gulfs that divide us -- as we ^{reach} ~~press~~ to listen, and strive to learn what the other really is saying, and what is in his heart -- as we do these small things, we can lay the foundation for that process of unification that finally can bring us together again.

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When the apostles of hate no longer get ^{any} hearing, their voices will fade; when the spokesmen of reason find the courage and the common cause to mobilize their voices in one great chorus of affirmation, then we will be on the way, together, to the fulfillment of those promises that, as a people, we have made to ourselves.

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The past is not an empty page -- and neither is the future. The record of history already is written on the pages of tomorrow.

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The old, traditional material goals are not enough. The times demand more, The people demand more -- and rightly so. There's a new awareness that the quality of life needs new means of measurement -- means sensitive to the nuances of human aspiration, and to the often complex conflicts within the human soul.

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Charters
Workers in glass and metal have a process known as annealing, in which the substance is first heated, then cooled, in order to eliminate its internal tensions. What emerges is a stronger, tougher piece of material.

Here in America we have felt the heat of disputes, of riots, of discord, we have been seared by the flames of burning cities. In the process we have looked within ourselves, both as individuals and as a nation -- and what we have seen has not always been comforting, but it has been illuminating. Our task now is to damp the flames, to cool the passions -- but not to lose the lessons - so that in the end, the fires of discord will have annealed rather than consumed us.

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Nothing so threatens our society as the specter of civil strife; nothing is so needed to make our nation sound again as making our people one.

We cannot do this by exhortation alone, or by programs along; neither words nor deeds are sufficient. There has to be a metamorphosis of the spirit, a commitment to understanding, a

willingness to listen, an attention to the yearnings, to the anxieties, to the fears and the hopes that clamor within us.

All of us have to give a little, yield a little, bend a little. But this is what community means: not a mass of separate individuals, isolated, encapsulated, but people reaching out to one another, sharing, participating -- giving.

If there is one lesson writ deep within the human heart, it is this; that until we give, we never know the full dimensions of joy; until we share, we never feel the inner warmth compassion brings.

It's not enough to give money. One of the most striking lessons of this middle third of the century has been that the great problems confronting us won't yield to dollars alone. Money will be needed. But far more fundamental is the gift of caring - of an ear that listens to the cry of the anguished, and a mind that reaches for the keys of understanding.

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The demands of public order, no less than the urgencies of our own consciences, require a massive undertaking to bring black America within the affluent society -- not only to create the conditions of equal opportunity, but also to rescue those children of the slum whose lives have not yet been touched by hope; to establish motivation, to encourage ambition, to show them that there is a way out and a way up, and that the tremendous effort it requires is worthwhile.

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We cannot rest, we will not rest, while misery stalks the land.

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At any time of change and beginning, there are questions, doubts, uncertainties.

As we look back over this time of agony and turmoil, the questions are more insistent than usual.

Increasingly, the question is asked whether our society can survive -- whether we can discover once again the cement of national union, the respect that goes with mutual trust, the common will to partake of a common effort.

We ask whether our time of greatness is past -- whether, indeed, America's role in the world can be sustained at all.

In the face of doubt, there is a temptation to despair.

Yet we have the strength. We have the resources, material, moral, spiritual, and above all the resources of human mind and skill, to turn adversity into opportunity.

So let us pledge ourselves now to a new beginning.

✓ Pledge ourselves to the possible, Let doors swing open -- doors of the mind, doors of the heart, doors of the spirit. Let fresh breezes blow through, carrying the gift of hope, the light of pride, the spark of faith.

Let's begin by recognizing that there are limits to what we can do, as individuals and as a nation.

America can't end world hunger overnight. We can't

bring peace to every corner of the globe, or liberty, or fraternity.

We can, however, make beginnings. We can work with others, when those others are willing and prepared to work with us. We can try to design those great-power relationships that can contain smaller outbreaks of violence, and prevent them from growing into a world holocaust. We can try gradually to defuse the tensions that grip so much of the world. We can encourage the forces of peace and of freedom.

But if we encounter setbacks, we should not give up in despair.

* * *

By recognizing what we cannot do, we stand a better chance of achieving what we can.

Instead of the impossible dream, let us dream of the possible.

This is a time not for flights of improbable fancy, but for concentration on what ^{can} be done; a time for achievement, not overpromise; for delivery, not for demagoguery.

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For the first time in years, a newly elected President has a Congress, both houses of which are controlled by the opposition party.

Some say this will make the government unmanageable.

I don't believe it.

I know the leaders of Congress. They are men of honor -- as the members of my own Administration are men of honor.

We will be Americans first, and partisans second. The acquisition of power is not an end in itself, but rather a means to an end.

I hold this stewardship in trust, not for myself, not for my Administration or my party, but for the people of America -- and for hundreds of millions of others the world over, who look to America for the security of their own hopes, and ~~even~~ the survival of their own civilization.

This is a trust not lightly held, not casually given. It is a trust in the eyes of history, and in the eyes of man the world over. It is our trust -- ours together, government and governed, Republican and Democrat, Administration and Congress.

Carlyle: "In the long run every government is the exact symbol of its people, with their wisdom and unwisdom."

T. H. Buckley: "This may not be the best of all possible worlds, but to say that it is the worst is mere petulant nonsense."

We'll be honest about the costs and about the difficulties and about the odds on success.

It is the role of government to expand the range of our opportunities and to help us do together what we cannot do alone.

^{is a}
This time to take hold of our environment, and turn our genius to the making of the world livable for man. As our numbers increase, and as more goods are processed in more factories, as more and more our environment is made or touched by man, we have to concern ourselves more with its quality.

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Let us summon our reserves of self-discipline, and use them to restore order to our society and structure to our aspirations.

Formless hopes are never achieved. Only if we define what it is that we want, only if we give structure and coherence to our aspirations, can these be achieved.

But we can.

Never has a generation had such opportunity, or offered such promise.

Never has such power been held by any people -- power to shape their environment, to define their future, to fashion the instruments by which man can at last be, truly, master of his fate and captain of his soul.

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Government can't assure happiness for every American. But it is the role of government to maintain conditions in which the individual can pursue his own happiness.

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We'll measure progress not in terms of federal billions appropriated or federal programs enacted -- but in terms of results.

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We are entering an age of conscience. As seldom before, there is a great, mass determination to set right the wrongs of centuries, to define justice humanely and see it done. The order we seek is that decent, humane order that makes freedom possible.

There's no force on earth potentially more powerful than the force of the human spirit set free. Many of the voices of dissent we hear today are, in reality, voices clamoring for freedom -- some for freedoms impossible to achieve, some for freedoms that would be self-defeating if they were achieved, some for freedom without responsibility; but through them all there runs a common thread that rejects restrictions on the human spirit.

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The American opportunity is neither black or white. The flag stands for no one region or no one race.

The inner strength of a nation stems from the inner strength of man himself -- the toughness of fiber, the resilience, the indomitability.

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In the history of the past are the roots of tomorrow.

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We belong to a precarious fraternity of man, locked together on this small planet from which, even now, we are exploring the heavens.

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The heart-stopping voyage of Apollo 8 was man's greatest technological achievement ever -- and at the same time, a triumph of human spirit and human daring.

Now, we have a new view of earth.

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In our hands rests the fate of millions of others-- and with this power goes responsibility. Not to police the world, not to legislate for the world, but to use our power wisely, and humanely, and with a decent regard for its impact everywhere.

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The U. S. role in the world is one that our might inescapably casts us in. But just as that might is wielded in the interests of mankind everywhere, so must we seek out the best thinking of the best minds, not only in our own nation, but around the world as well.

Allies can contribute more than their arms, more than their might--they also can, and must, contribute their ideas about how better to organize the affairs of man, how best to structure the system of world security on which our own fate and theirs will rest for generations to come.

So we seek not only their friendship and respect, but also their ideas and their judgements.

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Our purpose^{is} not to remake the world in our image, but to make ourselves a model for the world.

Imagine a world in which America was not the world's first power, but its second, its lead in military strength overtaken, its dominance vanished. And imagine that the power that had passed us was committed not to order, but to disorder; not to peace, but to conquest; not to freedom, but to domination. To imagine that is to imagine a world in which free men everywhere.

would live in fear--justified fear; in which the course of civilization might be set back immeasurably, and the future of man himself be clouded by the spectre of disaster.

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What we seek among other nations is not their affection, but their enlistment in a common task that requires the efforts of all of us. Our divisions at home are paralleled the world over. Strikes, student uprisings, racial turmoil--these are commonplaces in Europe and Asia as well as here; they are a product, not of our own social strains alone, but of the strains that accompany the rapid changes of this final ^{round} of the 20th century. Our task is to bring those processes of change under control, and to ensure that man is the master of change rather than change the master of man.

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The year 2000 beckons; most Americans alive today will see that great millennium arrive.

Our nation's troubles won't all yield in a year, or a decade, or a generation. It's important that we recognize this; for this is the beginning of wisdom and the start of realism about the tasks we face.

Only if we put behind us the old myths that ill centuries in the making can be healed overnight, can we get on with the serious business of healing.

And we must get on with it.

Let us confront the evils we face. But let us not confront them belligerently, but in confidence; not with bluster, but with willing hands enlisted in a common cause.

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The dream is a part of our life, a part of our heritage, a part of our birthright. Ours is the challenge to deliver this birthright to every American.

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Some have wondered whether we care. We do.

Some have asked whether we have answers for all the nation's ills. We don't. But we have some, and we're going to search in good faith for others.

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There is neither peace nor security for the rich as a favored island in a sea of the poor.

Neither is there peace nor security for the poor, where the writ of the law ceases to run.

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These are not idle times, and this will not be an idle presidency.

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I don't promise miracles. I do promise effort.

I don't ask the impossible. I do ask understanding.

I don't ask indefinite patience. I do ask a presumption of good faith.

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In the years ahead, we will embark on new experiments. They will be of a different kind. Some will succeed. Some will fail. At their heart will be a concept of man and government that respects those spiritual values that are rooted within the individual, each privately and separately--the need for dignity, for participation, for liberty. They will be addressed less to the quantity of things, and more to the quality of life--for all of our people.

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No man can be truly free while his neighbor is a slave; freedom is indivisible, and so is justice.

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Ours is a quiet summons--not an exhortation, but an invitation. These days ahead can be a grand awakening-- an awakening of pride, and of hope, a springtime of the spirit, when the dream stirs and the doors of the possible swing open.

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Let us not fear to experiment, but let us experiment with care.

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The voyage of Apollo 8 was a proud day for America. Yet in a larger sense, this was a great human achievement, in which Americans were privileged to be in the vanguard. The advance of scientific knowledge knows no national boundaries; America's triumphs in space have drawn on discoveries by Russians, by Germans, by Britions; and as man reaches out to the stars, it's a human horizon that is stretched.

And we confront a curious, troubling, yet at the same time hopeful paradox. These adventures in space make us all seem that much more like brothers here on earth; and yet at the same time, they make us all the more sharply aware of the divisions between the have and have-not nations on earth; between those who have the technical skills to participate in these great adventures, and those who have not.

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American must restore its strength and find its soul.

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We must restore the rule of law and the light of hope.

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The old battles of the civil rights revolution have been won. ^{What} We need now is not new battles, and not new laws to break down the barriers between black and white; those we already have. We need, rather, a new spirit of understanding, a new will, a new quality of heart-- and new programs to give the black man the equal opportunity that ought to be his birthright, and to break the dismal cycles of despair and dependency.

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History has settled many of the quarrels that long divided us.

History has settled the burning question that has haunted America since its founding, and with new intensity in the past century; shall black and white be equal before the law, equal in opportunity, equal in dignity as human beings? The answer has been given; ^{for some} what remains is to give ^{what is in the law -} that answer life.

life to what is in law

We are embarking on the final third of the 20th century, a period which will be like no other, marked by a pace of change unprecedented in man's experience. Our task is to master that pace of change, and so keep the processes of change under man's control.

This requires foresight, insight and also hindsight. It requires a greater measure of good will and mutual restraint than we have lately shown. It requires a new measure of mutual faith on the part of those who see themselves as rivals, contenders for power or influence or preference.

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We should respect the past as we reach for the future; recognizing that our roots in the past are as real as our hopes for tomorrow.

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We need the vision and the dream, and also the patient effort--remembering that the romantics talked of going to the moon, but it took the engineers to get us there.

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Many words have been used lately in such loose fashion as to have lost much of their meaning--used passionately, used cavalierly, used as banners and slogans and catchwords. Peace. Justice. Order. Law.

Significant words

Time after time, we have seen a polarization of thought and action, with first one side and ^{then} the other driving itself further and further from that common ground on which agreements can be found; a mounting impatience, on the one hand with the system's resistance to change, and on the other with the pressures for precipitate change.

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What we seek is not a middle course, but a true course; what we ask is not patience, but realism; and not sacrifices, but enlistment.

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~~Let this be a day of commitment~~ --of commitment to trying, in good faith, to master those problems that beset us; commitment to a search for the equitable and the just in settling those disputes that divide us; commitment ^{to} of a patient determination, a steady persistence, in the search for the peace that man has found so elusive.

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We've lived too long with posturing; with the meaningless words of inflated rhetoric; with demagoguery; with the language of hate and division.

Hate begets hate; division begets division; distrust begets distrust.

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Each of us has to give up something, but together we all will have far more.

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The problem of order is, at root, a problem of finding that structure of expectations and behavior that lets each live at peace with his neighbor. It's a problem of defining justice, and of living up to our definition; of giving as well as getting.

Increasingly, the question is raised: Is America governable?

Have our problems grown so vast, so complex; has the fabric of our society worn so thin, have our tempers been rubbed so raw, that the pieces will no longer mesh together and the engine will no longer run?

I don't accept this dark perception.

Our troubles are all of man's creation--and what man led us into, man can lead us out of.

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Precisely because everything is on such a grand scale in America, the effort required is beyond anything yet put forward by man. But we have the means, we have the muscle, and I believe we have the will.

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Ours is a time of excitements unmatched in human history. The scale of everything is so much vaster, the pace so much quicker, the stakes so much greater--and our responsibility as a generation is so much heavier.

Yet never has man had such an array of tools with which to do the job.

Little that's worthwhile is created without agony. The painter, the poet, those who seek to shape a new world or to find a new truth, soon learn that the agony and the ecstasy of creation go together.

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There is no freedom without responsibility, no progress without effort, no pride without hope.

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Ours is a commitment of the spirit, and to the spirit--to that unique, precious, indefinable thing that sets man apart from all else in creation, that powers his triumphs and sustains him in defeat.

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So now, let's lift our heads--lift our eyes--lift our spirits. Let's dare to dream, and dare to do, and dare to be.

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Let us do the possible because it is necessary, and the necessary because it is possible.

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Ours is a narrow, demanding path, to be found through the thickets of challenge and the groves of despair. But the path is there, and we can walk it, and we will.

So I ask you to give us your hope, and give us your hand --and for our part, we will take that hand, and do our best to be true to that hope.

Let this be a time when the proud learn ^hhumility, and the humble are made proud.

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Only by stretching do we learn how far we can reach; only by striving do we learn how much we can do; only by giving do we learn how much we have.

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I pledge a government in which the people are partners, not subjects--a true partnership of the people.

* * *

Let the law come alive--as the protector of our rights, the guardian of our safety, the instrument ~~of~~ for our advancement. ^{From} ~~For~~ those first stirrings on the rocky edge of an uncharted continent, America has been led on by the lift of a driving dream.

* * *

Our troubles are man-made, and they can be unmade by man.

* * *

Never has a nation had the resources--either the physical resources, or the economic resources, or the trained intelligence and the resourceful will, that the United States possess today.

* * *

We have been through a time that has tried our capacity to survive--but we have survived. We have reached the edge of the valley; now let's begin the climb.

* * *

The climb doesn't have to be a struggle, it can be an adventure.

* * *

Ours can be a mountaintop experience--if we dare the climb.

* * *

*Christina
Joseph
notes*

If we master this challenge, all else becomes possible -- peace, abundance, the good life in terms not only of material goods but of the satisfactions of living.

* * *

The work of these years will be the work of an age, and of a century -- for the decisions we make in these years just ahead will determine what kind of a world our children inherit.

* * *

Lincoln defined the question confronting his time as whether a nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, could long endure. In our time, the question is whether the old freedoms can survive among the new freedoms technology makes possible.

* * *

It's a test of whether we have the insight to discern what it is that troubles us.

* * *

We have lost our sense of common effort, and common purpose. Old standards have been discarded before new were settled on. We have lost the old acceptance of standards of public behavior.

* * *

This is a test of conscience and understanding. It's a test of how much we're willing to give up in order to live together.

Out of the convulsions of two world wars, we have found ourselves a world power -- the guardians of man's hope for freedom not only here, but abroad.

Struggling with the effects of technological change, we have found ourselves the foremost industrial nation -- and we have been learning to share abundance more broadly than any people any time.

But with power and abundance has come a new set of crises.

* * *

In meeting this crisis, what government itself can do is limited. We've got to face it as people -- as members, together, of the American community.

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As we look at the tortured world beyond our shores, the great question is whether we all can learn to live together in a great community of man.

* * *

We may disagree about what "justice" means, or "liberty," or "peace." But we all share a deep devotion to the concepts of peace and liberty and justice. We can't speak of "America" without speaking of a rich heritage of ideals derived from man's long struggle toward the light.

* * *

If America fails itself, it cannot meet its responsibility to the world.

Simple things

Standing here today, it's impossible to know what the great questions at the time of the next Inaugural will be. We live in a rapidly changing world, in which one of the few certainties is that the unpredictable will happen. But by addressing ourselves to the crises of today, we can better ensure that tomorrow's world is shaped in the image of our hopes.

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There's nothing wrong with America that we cannot cure, if we can re-establish the sense of community. It's in the fields of community that ideals take root, and grow. It's the structure of community that makes liberty secure.

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Unless we take hold of ourselves, the nation could fly apart.

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Our first need today is not a new departure, but the recovery of an old perception; not the building of a new society, but the rebirth of the American community.

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The need is not to pile the newer on the new, but to recover the roots of community.

* * *

Our most compelling need is not to rush into something new, but to restore something old -- to restore that sense of community that was once so strong, but that we have lately been losing.

We have shown that freedom can produce prosperity. Now we have to show that in prosperity, we can maintain freedom.

* * *

We are one people. If we speak in different accents, if our skins are of different colors, if we come from every nation, this all is part of the diversity that is America.

* * *

We cannot banish our troubles with words, however eloquent, or with programs, however costly. The answers have to come from within ourselves.

* * *

We have been struggling with the processes of rapid change, striving to do right, seeking to redress old wrongs, learning to live with the responsibility of being the world's first power. We have made mistakes -- but we also have done much that was right, and much that was noble, and much that no other people had ever even attempted before.

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We can't find the right answers unless we ask the right questions. This should be a time of the most searching, dispassionate questioning of ourselves.

* * *

Between man and his God, there is a private communion. Between man and his neighbor, there is a public community. To sustain this community, we need communication.

*Not found
due to greater comm
for papers*

As it is

We are polarized by divisions. But we are enriched by diversity.

* * *

We've got to see again in the human dimension. We've got to recover the sense of the face behind the statistic, to recall that the hungry child has a name, that the man without a job wants not only to feed his family, but to earn their respect.

* * *

We need this spirit -- this giving of ourselves -- because this is what can save America. This is the American way; this is the American nature; this is the American spirit.

* * *

This won't end our troubles overnight. But it's the beginning that makes all else possible.

* * *

We still are an unfinished nation -- still growing, still exploring, still striving.

* * *

Let us never forget that we are your Government: your Congress, your Cabinet, your President. What America does, or what it fails to do, what it is and what it becomes, lies in your hands. I have faith in those hands. Because I have faith in America, I have faith in you; and because I have faith in you, I have faith in America.

* * *

In the campaign, I talked a great deal about the "forgotten Americans" -- those millions, black and white, who don't shout or demonstrate, who pay their taxes and obey the laws and send their children to school, who work in the shops and factories of America, who cherish its values and believe in its goodness.

Throughout our history, such people have been the backbone of America.

Today, they are that, and more.

They are the hope of America.

For they are people of great heart -- people willing to help -- ready to do the right, when they see the right -- ready to take that extra step, to make that extra gesture, when this is needed to make us a community.

* * *

With our hearts touched by God, this is what we too can do.

We, too, can build a cathedral.

Each of us, by his own effort, by his own talent, can help build a cathedral of the spirit: a cathedral of hopes achieved, of wrongs set right, of brotherhood rediscovered.

* * *

We don't celebrate greatness in the trappings of glory. Greatness lies within.

* * *

When working on the "world's
peeps" bit - one good line
you ticked off yesterday was,
"The world's people deserve better
of their leaders."

R