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DRAFT #4
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Mr. Chief Justice, President Johnson, Vice President

(1) Humphrey, ^{Agnew} my fellow Americans -- and my fellow citizens of

the world community.

(2) ^{said before god & this assembly In the presence of God & this assembly} The ~~oath~~ I have taken is simple in its language, rich

in its history, profound in its meaning. It has been taken by thirty-six Presidents before me -- taken in times of peace and of war, of promise and peril. Each man who takes it must speak to his own time, and speak from his own heart.

The fashion today is to reject faith. ^{In this time when I affirm faith}

I affirm faith, deep faith, in this land which is ours: faith in America's people, faith in our ideals, faith in the enduring nature of the strength we have always drawn from those ideals.

I take this office as a stewardship that I have been given in trust, not for myself, not as a spokesman for any group

or doctrine, but for the people of America -- and for those millions of others around the world, whose fates are linked with ours and whose hopes ride the wings of America's dream.

I take it, not as one who asks that you agree with all I believe -- but rather, as one who asks that we rise above our differences, and join in a great commitment: a commitment of our hearts and our hands in making America what it can become.

Ours is a difficult time. We approach what may prove to be the supreme 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.

The times call on us to be, not Democrats or Republicans, but citizens.

As we join together, the outgoing and incoming Administrations, to observe this orderly transfer of power, we celebrate not the victory of a party but the stability of a system.

Standing in this same place a third of a century ago,
Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a nation ravaged by depression
and gripped by fear. Surveying its troubles, he ~~could say:~~ ^{said}
our common difficulties
"They concern, thank God, only material things."

Our crisis today is the reverse: it is ~~not~~ of material
things, but a crisis of the spirit.

We find ourselves the best-fed, best-housed, best-
clothed nation on earth -- yet more and more dissatisfied. As
our abundance has multiplied, our sense of community has crumbled.

We have found ourselves rich in goods, but ragged in spirit;
reaching with magnificent precision for the moon, but falling
into raucous discord here on earth.

To a crisis of the spirit, we need an answer of the spirit.

This calls on us not to confront an alien foe, but to
confront ourselves.

Let us put aside what divides us, and focus on what
unites us.

This is exactly the message I said for

In a world of increasing complexity, we too often lose sight of the simple things. Yet these are the things most needed if we are to master the complexities we live with.

For one, we can lower our voices.

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

We cannot learn from one another until we stop shouting at one another -- until we speak quietly enough so that our words ~~can be heard~~ as well as our voices. *Can the heart*

as is

For its part, government will listen. We will strive 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.

Ours will be an open administration -- open to ideas from the people, and open in its communication with the people -- an administration of open doors, open eyes and open minds.

Those who have been left out, we will try to bring in.

Those haunted by fear, we will strive to give safety.

Those torn by the wrenching moral conflicts of an age of involvement, we will offer respect for the demands of conscience even if we disagree with where it leads.

There is much to be done, but we have much to do it with.

Our farms and factories are the most productive ever known by man. Our resources of trained intelligence are the most abundant ever. Our youth are committed. Our system works.

Despite our faults, despite our disagreements, despite those ills that are still not cured and those wrongs that are still not righted, no people has ever been so close to the achievement of a just and abundant society -- or so possessed of the will to achieve it.

I will not promise that by what we do in this next Administration, all the nation's wrongs will be set right. There are limits to what we can do. Governments can pass laws; only the people can take the law into their hearts.

But if we are sparing in what we promise, we will be bold in what we seek -- promising only what we know we can deliver, but guided by our dreams as we chart our goals.

We will press ^{unequivocally} toward the achievement of those goals, knowing that the American Dream does not come to those who fall asleep. We will recognize the need for the poet's vision and the craftsman's skill -- remembering that poets dreamed of going to the moon, and engineers got us there.

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 in law; what remains is to give life to what is in the law.

We will be one nation, under God, indivisible, when we provide liberty and justice for all.

This requires what government alone cannot give, though government must lead.

It requires that every American have a rendezvous with his conscience.

It requires that we press on with programs for jobs, housing, education -- but also that we press outward the bounds of the spirit.

Demetrius D. Perinich

As we learn to go forward together here at home, let us also seek to go forward together with all mankind, and to forge at last a fraternity of man.

It will not be easy to fashion the cords that can bind us. 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 the most sacred

trusts that lies on our generation.

To those who have opposed and occasionally threatened us, I repeat what I have already said: let the coming years be a time of negotiation rather than confrontation. During this Administration the lines of communication will be open. We seek an open world -- open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and peoples, a world in which no people, great or small, live in angry isolation.

Let us meet in peaceful competition: not with arms, but with ideas; not in the expanding of territory or the increase of dominion, but in improving the quality of human life.

We cannot expect to make everyone our friend, but we can try to make no one our enemy.

Let us cooperate -- to reduce the burden of arms, to strengthen the structure of peace, to lift up the poor and the hungry -- and to explore the reaches of space. To the peoples of this world, we say: let us go to the new worlds together.

Only a few short weeks ago, we shared the shock and the glory of man's first sight of the world as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness.

As the Apollo astronauts flew over the moon's gray surface on Christmas Eve, they spoke to us of the beauty of Earth -- and in that voice so clear across the lunar distance, we heard them invoke God's blessing on its goodness.

In that moment, 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 that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity -- seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible, and 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 enter this final third of the Twentieth Century, the years ahead promise to be the most exciting, the most humanly fulfilling, in all man's history.

Our destiny offers, 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."

We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Rather, let us gather the light.

As we confront our tasks ahead, let us summon "the better angels of our nature." Let us remember that no man is made whole until he has been part of a cause larger than himself.

- 11 -

To those who would turn backward, I offer disagreement.

To those who seek sanction for acts of ^{Carulman}~~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, I offer my hand and I ask for yours.

I promise no miracles. I do promise concern and commitment -- commitment to 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.

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