

MEMO TO PRESIDENT-ELECT

From Buchanan

January 4, 1968/RE--INAUGURAL

① Open world
(no people is off)
outside the
Cunning to shut
off from the world
people

Attached are thoughts written up in segments ranging from one paragraph to 500 words, for insertion or deletion as desired. They are done without connecting phrases because I am sure RN intends to take sections of various drafts incoming.

(Soviet portion does not end on a note of hopefulness, which I suppose it should)

Three points I think important about the Inaugural.

1) The President ignore to the degree necessary the daily commentators' views, and concentrate upon what the historians will say. Thus the conventional shibboleths should be deliberately discarded if they are not going to look good twenty years from now, or if they will ~~look~~ look naive. It ought to be written to be read, not necessarily to be spoken---despite the presence of TV..

2) Simple and eloquent; consciously avoiding the Kennedy style, which influences most speechwriters today. The style ought to mirror the style of the RN Presidency.

3) Should contain some phrases to describe RN policies, like "Good Neighbor," "Open Door," This should be done consciously, and by RN or others after RN has gotten the draft in final stage.

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MEMO TO PRESIDENT-ELECT

Selected Passages/Inaugural Thoughts

From PJBuchanan

January 7, 1969

Mr. President. Mr. Chief Justice. My Fellow Americans.

One third of a century ago, Franklin Roosevelt stood on these same steps to take the same oath of office which I have taken now. This nation was then in the iron grip of an economic depression that had shaken to its roots our people's faith in their institutions and in their national destiny.

Through a long process of trial and error, we came to understand and to master the complex machinery of a modern economy, and so, in time the clouds lifted, the crisis passed and the old confidence returned. Today, for the second time within the lifetime of

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my generation, the confidence of the American people in themselves has been shaken, and the old doubts and anxieties have returned.

✓ But the crisis of our time differs from the crisis of the old order. "Our common difficulties," Franklin Roosevelt said in that First Inaugural in March of 1963, "concern, thank God, only material things." Today, we are not so fortunate.

For "material things" have never before existed in such abundance as they do in the United States today, and never has that abundance been more broadly shared. No, the crisis of our time is of a different order altogether.

It consists of a series of challenges, a convergence of crises, some from within our own society, some from without, some devised by our adversaries, some by the hand of history. Together, these challenges are testing the quality of the American character; the wisdom, the patience, the endurance and the allegiance to their own democratic principles of

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an entire American generation. This is the ordeal of our era. History
is today taking the measure of the whole American people.

It is at such times and under such pressures as this nation
is under today that the strengths and weaknesses of races and nations
are revealed to the world.

I believe that this time of crisis will be viewed in retrospect
as a period of greatness in the history of our people. Writers of
history will look back upon these years as the twentieth century's
ultimate test of the American people. They will say, I believe, that
this generation rode out the worst of the storm, that we kept our people
together, that we held high the lamp of freedom, that we stood watch
through the darkest of the night and that we were there at the dawn of
a new day for America.

Under the pressure of these times, malignant forces have surfaced within our society. Among some of our most capable young people, there has developed an uncharacteristic streak of intolerance for opposing views, an absence of commitment to the rules that govern a democratic society, a cavalier disregard for the traditions of civility essential to a tolerable existence in an open society.

Between the races the division deepens and the distrust and impatience rises. A spirit of belligerence replaces the spirit of compromise.

Within some of the centers of economic power, we see the repeated resort to outlaw weapons, a selfish indifference to the rights of the majority in the relentless pursuit of personal advantage. Throughout the land there is a weariness and a frustration with the sacrifices and burdens required particularly of Americans in the twentieth century.

Finally, those who have deliberately breached the limits of dissent, those who have rudely ignored the democratic processes, have found allies and collaborators among political and social and religious and intellectual leaders who should have been the very Americans to call them to account.

The preservation of the democratic system, which has enlarged liberty over 19 decades, will require the constant concern of a new majority of Americans, men and women of every party and persuasion and race. The beneficiaries of a free society must recognize the new dangers and rise to its defense. They must speak out against the excesses and the abuses; they must more importantly instill in their children the democratic spirit, and educate their children in the democratic tradition. In so doing they will be discharging but a small part of the debt each of us owes to America.

It is not within the province of presidents or parliaments to accomplish these things. Government can do many things. It can put down violence, pass legislation, right injustices, redress grievances, rectify wrongs. But government cannot replace or cannot instill a will to work together, a spirit of compromise or a spirit of charity in a whole people. That is the function of a far more basic institution, the home, the church and the school.

There is no ground more important than the ground we stand on.

The first crisis of America is the crisis in America, and whether we speak of the crisis of the cities or the crisis of poverty, preeminently, we are speaking of the crisis of race. It is time for a new candor in racial relations in America. We must put an end to promises on which we cannot deliver.

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To black Americans, let me say this from your government.

We recognize that the rights and privileges guaranteed to every American in the founding documents of this nation had no meaning for black Americans for the first century of our national existence and they lacked full meaning the second. Yet, they are the goal toward which we are inexorably moving as a people, a goal which will not be interrupted in the coming four years. The enlargement of liberty, the expansion of freedom, the extension of the horizon for all people; this is the business of America.

To the twenty two million Americans of African descent I can restate unequivocally the commitment of my predecessors of the recent past, that government will do whatever lies within its power to remove the artificial and illegal roadblocks from your path of progress.

But the restoration of their dignity and pride to black Americans is not within the means even of a providential government, to give, nor does it lie with a better redistribution of our material

goods — just and right though that may be. Full acceptance of black Americans within American society depends upon their own efforts and upon the charity and justice with which other Americans regard those efforts.

In those efforts, black Americans deserve the sympathy, the understanding, the assistance, and the good will of their fellow Americans. But let us remember that the history of racial prejudice on this globe is as old as the history of the globe itself, and its erasure from the hearts of men will be the work of generations and the business of decades, not days. To achieve racial harmony in this land, to bring the minority of former slaves to a seat at the table of private enterprise in the most advanced and competitive society on earth — this is a goal worthy of the United States, one to which the new Administration is as committed as any in the past.

Citizenship in a democratic society consists of a long agenda of responsibilities — as well as a Bill of Rights. Those who clamor for the second and ignore the first do not know what freedom is all about.

We can send men to the moon; we can transplant the human heart; then we can live together as brothers.

A second crisis that threatens the democratic society is the marked increase in crime and violence of the recent past. Security is the first essential of progress; its restoration is the first duty of government. It is a mockery to employ economic yardsticks to measure the progress of people living in fear behind locked doors — as hundreds of thousands do within the cities of our nation today.

The current level of crime and violence is unacceptable to this government; it is inconsistent with our concept of an open society; we shall move rapidly against it with all the resources at our command.

The sacrifices we have made in Asia over the past half decade, spent in a seemingly inconclusive conflict, have our people disillusioned with their role of leadership and weary of its burdens.

Certainly every nation's quarrel is not our quarrel; and any nation's liberty depends ultimately upon the exertions and sacrifices its own people are willing to make.

But we cannot abandon what we have begun; we cannot retreat from responsibility into isolationism. Woodrow Wilson wrote half a century ago that the isolationism of the United States was at an end because the "genius of her people" had made her a vital factor in the history of mankind.

America was drawn into two world wars partially by her own awareness that the national interests of the United States were not secure in a world in which either the Continent of Europe or the Continent of Asia was dominated by a single hostile and expansionist power. That is even more true in this day of increased economic and political interdependence of nations and continents.

Nor would the poor nations or the predator nations leave America unmolested in her own hemisphere to consume half of the world's produce, as we do today.

✓ We are involved in the world, involved in the global struggle for the hearts and minds of men. We cannot avoid the consequences of that conflict; so we cannot afford to stay aloof from it. Our future is wrapped up with the future of men of different continents and creeds and colors; and the call of isolationism is the call of a simpler past to which the United States can never return.

With the election past, a page was turned and a new chapter begun in American political history. The cycle started with the election of Franklin Roosevelt has run its course in American life. The power that began to flow from the cities and states to Washington will begin to flow in the other direction in the years ahead. A new balance of power will be created.

The old ways proved inadequate for the modern problems.

But that is no guarantee of the success of the new. Our success depends upon the capacities of Americans in their communities and cities and states to deal with their own problems in their own way, given the resources to do so and future of America depends upon our success.

Just as centralized power lacked the variety and the flexibility so too we shall now determine if localized control has the will and the vision. There are many skeptics; and we will have but one opportunity.

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Our policy toward our adversaries in Europe and Asia will be dictated by the interests of a just peace---and informed by the history of the last quarter century. We shall not again mistake a change of tone for a change of heart. Two decades of disappointment have taught us that a posture of hope and optimism toward our adversaries is as unrealistic as a policy of implacable hostility is unwise.

No, ours will be a policy of pragmatism and a posture of skepticism. History dictates no other.

The differences between their view of history and ours, between between their view of the nature of man and ours, between their view of the role of government and ours, between their concept of the world to come and our concept of the world we intend to build---are irreconcilable. No rhetoric can bridge them.

This nation, as the champion of Western traditions and the defender of Western values, is committed to the enlargement of liberty while our opponents found, a half-century after their establishment in

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power, that they could not yet co-exist with a small spark of freedom in Central Europe.

We shall continue to explore every honorable avenue to peace.

But our explorations will go with our eyes open, and ourselves resigned to the probability that the uneasy peace that exists today may be the only peace we shall know in our own lifetime. We await the dawn of a new day for mankind; we await the opportunity to build a more durable and lasting peace, but the history of our lifetime warns us not to expect it.
