

January 3, 1969

TO: RN  
FROM: Jim Keogh

We are sending you, in all, three separate drafts for the Inaugural, with some notes appended. I am attaching Safire's draft. Price's and Buchanan's will be coming to you separately.

I like the tone of long-range optimism in Safire's draft - although it may be somewhat overdone. I strongly recommend that such a tone be a major consideration in the final product. Our problems have been discussed at great length; to dwell too long on them on this occasion would, in my opinion, have an unfortunate negative impact. Recognizing that the problems exist, and then going on with a tone of long-range hope could lift the spirit of millions of people. Ray Price and I have discussed this point and he aimed to give more emphasis to that aspect in his latest draft.

I particularly like Ray's passages making the point that for the good of mankind forward together has got to mean all people together - Americans, Europeans, Russians, Chinese. Ray and I have discussed this on a couple of occasions; I believe that it could have an important international impact.

We consider these drafts a beginning - and await your reaction and instructions to send one or more draftsmen back to the board.

JK

*The theme of most inaugurals is a call to sacrifice.*

*Americans like to be asked to tighten their belts, to make  
not  
sacrifices, so long as they are/actually required to sacrifice anything specific.*

*The theme of this draft is the need to grapple with rapid change,  
and an optimistic view of what we can do if we want.*

*It does not contain a blockbuster: a new proposal to electrify  
world opinion and upset those who plan to criticize the Nixon administration  
as "the bland leading the bland."*

*Here is one idea for a blockbuster: Suggest an exchange of  
astronauts with the Russians. We invite one of their men to train with our  
men planning to go to the moon in July, and one of our men volunteers to  
be part of their crew whenever they begin final training.*

*That way, we land on the moon together. Instant detente. And it's  
our initiative, and our rocket that goes -- and, unlike vague offers of  
technical cooperation, this deals with real human heroes and would be of  
enormous impact. The Russians could not turn it down without appearing  
to be chicken.*

*Maybe it would jeopardize the mission -- or maybe delay it until  
communications barriers could be overcome. Maybe it's impractical.*

*But if you ever plan anything along these dramatic lines, the  
Inaugural is a damn good place to do it.*

*My two hundred and two million countrymen:*

*At this very place, two generations ago, another man came before the American people to address them for the first time as President.*

*Before he began, he noticed that the audience was being kept far back behind barricades, and he said to the chief of police: "Let the people come forward."*

*That day, Woodrow Wilson went on to make one of the most eloquent of inaugural addresses. But nothing else he said would better strike the keynote of his administration than those five offhand words.*

*Today, at a time in our history when so many of our citizens feel out of touch with their own destiny; when so many gaps have opened between generations and races; when so many of us feel that personal freedom is being denied and human dignity delayed; it is the time to turn to the taproot of our strength, and say again -- "Let the people come forward."*

*As the American people come forward, the American people shall come together.*



I do not call for national unity, because unity does not come  
✓ when it is called. Unity must be earned -- unity follows progress,  
unity is a response to commitment.

Therefore, we should not concern ourselves whether the position  
we take is exactly in the middle of the road; rather, we should make  
certain that the direction we take is on the forward road.

Americans pride themselves on being realists. Throughout our  
history, the only realists have been the optimists.

Let us, then, believe that this millenium will close with humanity  
on the rise.

✓ Let us believe that an end to war in our lifetime is a goal we shall  
achieve.

Let us believe that mankind will finally come to grips with the  
age-old question -- "Am I my brother's keeper?" -- with the ringing  
answer, "Yes, I am."

✓ Let us believe that the passion for personal freedom in the human  
soul is irresistible, and neither tyranny nor technocracy can eternally deny it.

✓ Let us believe that all men are created equal, but that no two men  
are created alike -- that there is no higher cause than human dignity.

*Let us believe that education is the key to fulfillment, with that key the birthright of every child -- and that a lot of learning is a marvelous thing.*

*Let us believe that misery has no majesty; that poverty and disease and degradation have no inescapable dominion over any portion of mankind; that we are right to be impatient with injustice.*

*The doubters are never the doers; the blazers of trails have always been the believers, the man who have mastered the art of the improbable.*

*There are those who say that the trouble with America is that everything is changing too fast.*

*I do not agree. America has been summoned to respond to the need for change; the great test of America is to make that response not a turn toward anarchy, but a change for the better. The only way to avoid being the victim of change is to become the manager of change.*

*The continuing American Revolution is nearly two centuries old, and that successful revolution has only just begun.*

*We must understand that the nature of change itself is changing. Change is not steady; it is accelerating. Mankind's progress is picking up speed; our needs and desires are gaining momentum.*

*In the span of only one lifetime, the first takeoff at Kitty Hawk has climbed to an orbit of the moon.*

✓ *Before we could truly call ourselves citizens of the world, we find ourselves thrust into being citizens of the universe.*

*We must never be fearful of the gather/<sup>ing</sup> speed of change.*

*Instead, we must gain confidence from our ability to widen our horizons.*

✓ *(physically? - quite spiritually.)*

✓ *Man has broken the grip of gravity; are we not capable of breaking the pattern of three wars in a generation?*

✓ *Man will be able to control the weather; will we not be able to control our moral climate and live in a world where right makes might?*

✓ *Man can transplant living organs; certainly we should be able to transplant ideas of government that meet human needs.*

✓ *Man has performed the physical miracle of converting mass into energy; surely we can now perform the spiritual miracle of treating masses of people as individuals, releasing human energy to enrich human life.*

*In the light of what man has done in this past generation, who dares predict what man cannot do in this next generation?*



an age  
when no man  
no nation has  
all answers

*That is why the realists are the optimists. That is why our hopes are true hopes, and our dreams are realizable dreams.*

*And that is why there is a divinity to our discontent. We are dissatisfied with our remarkable nation as it is, only because we have a vision of what America can be.*

*We Americans don't count our blessings, we examine our shortcomings; that is the way we must always be, if we are to move forward together.*

*Every question we answer opens up an exciting new line of questioning -- that is the acceleration of change.*

*Every door we open to opportunity and the good life, leads to a room with a dozen other doors -- that is the acceleration of change.*

*Those who grow impatient with dissent must recognize that this nation can never grow without dissent.*

*We talk proudly of "majority rule" in American, but the fact is that the majority does not rule -- the majority governs.*

*We derive our just powers from the consent of the governed; but we often derive our wisdom from the constructive dissent of the minority.*

*That receptivity to new ideas will mark our dealings with other nations. We do not have all the answers, but we do share all the hopes for lasting peace.*

✓ We shall be as strong as we need to be for as long as strength is needed to defend freedom. But as peace comes, with healing in its wings, we are poised to leapfrog "coexistence" and seek out areas of cooperation. We know the difference between an enemy and a competitor.

*Peaceful competition  
our enemies shall become our friends -  
our competitors -  
our cooperators*

Last month, most of us learned a new word in the conversation of the astronauts. The word was "terminator" -- that constantly moving line that marks the separation of night and day on a revolving globe.

In a larger sense, we all stand in the twilight of that constantly changing terminator. Each man must choose the direction he will face.

*Future* A man can turn his back on the light and watch day turn into night. Or he can face the light and take part in a constant dawn.

I recall the words of Winston Churchill in the darkest days of the Battle of Britain. President Roosevelt had dispatched the leader of our loyal opposition, Wendell Willkie, with a message to England's Prime Minister that included the poem that begins, "Sail on, O Ship of State."

✓ In giving that message to the British people, Churchill summed up what I have been saying today: "When we face with a steady eye the difficulties which lie before us, we may derive new confidence by



*remembering those we have already overcome."* And then he added these lines by an English poet:

*And not by eastern windows only,*

*When daylight comes, comes in the light;*

*In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!*

*But westward, look, the land is bright!*

*People the world over still look to this land, to our land. And the land is bright.*

*This land is bright because nowhere else does the torch of freedom burn more strongly.*

*This land is bright because here is where the lamp of justice illuminates the way.*

*This land is bright because here in the United States of America, is the shining example of democracy in the painful process of changing for the better -- and in that reach for greatness, beaming its beacon of hope to all mankind.*

*We do not reach out with our rockets to presume to touch the face of God; we reach out to learn the truth about ourselves.*

*We have recently felt the shock of seeing the ~~world~~<sup>earth</sup> as God sees it, as a single sphere reflecting light in the darkness, where the overriding urgency is the brotherhood of man.*

*As we keep pace with the thundering momentum of this age of change, men of all nations will transform a warring world into a place of peace and progress.*

*Because of how we act, because of what we are, because of all we believe in, and because we know what mortal man can do, we shall be worthy of a new destiny.*

*A century from now, millions of space travelers will look Earthward and feel a surge of gratitude for the people of today.*

*And because of the leadership we take by the example we set, they shall say proudly of this planet: "Look -- the land is bright."*

NOTES ON THE FOREGOING:

1. The Census Bureau says there will be 202,313,129 Americans alive at 8 a.m. January 20, 1969. Most Americans do not know we are up above 200 million -- and the use of a surprise in the salutation immediately seizes attention (as in FDR's speech to the DAR that began "fellow immigrants."). I hope you will use "countrymen" rather than "fellow countrymen" which is redundant -- also, the word has a traditional, historic flavor because it has often been used in Inaugurals and is preferred over the prosaic "fellow Americans" or "fellow citizens".

2. The line "when peace comes, with healing in its wings" is a beautiful metaphor, subtly evoking the dove of peace without using it openly. I stole it from Wilson.

3. A Churchill reference is called for, since it recalls the come-back theme and the man called back to serve in time of crisis. According to the new Bartlett's Quotations, the lines of poetry quoted were a favorite both of Churchill and John Kennedy; the entire Churchill speech is attached for reference. I quote one stanza of four lines; it could be cut to the last line.

4. "The only realists are the optimists" is not original, but I cannot find the source.

5. A reference to God is called for in an Inaugural; instead of the customary "with God's help" in the final line, I found a place for it slightly earlier in the reference to space.

6. An Inaugural Speech is remembered less for its total content than for its quotable lines ("With malice toward none..." "The only thing we have to fear..." "Ask not what your country can do for you..."). The one-liners in this speech are not for applause, but for subsequent quotation. As an old counterpuncher, perhaps I can be helpful in adding "quotes" to your own draft, if you want me to look at it.

7. There is no hard-and-fast rule that you must come up with the "slogan" of the administration in your Inaugural. FDR and Rosenman had no idea "new deal" would be taken up; my feeling is not to strain for a slogan. If one catches fire from the speech, so be it; if not, there is time.

8. The construction of the last two paragraphs is, obviously, Churchillian ("will look back and say 'This was their finest hour'"), but since it is based on a Churchill selection of poetry it is appropriate.



# Winston Churchill's Broadcast Report on War

## Churchill Quoted Arthur Hugh Clough Poem 'Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth'

The verses quoted yesterday by Winston Churchill at the close of his broadcast were the last two stanzas of Arthur Hugh Clough's poem "Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth." The complete poem follows:

Say not the struggle naught availeth,  
The labor and the wounds are vain,  
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,  
And as things have been they remain.  
If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars;  
It may be, in yon smoke conceal'd,  
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,  
And, but for you, possess the field.  
For while the fired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain,  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.  
And not by eastern windows only,  
When daylight comes, comes in the light;  
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!  
But westward, look, the land is bright!

Clough, an English poet, lived from 1819 to 1861. He was a friend of Matthew Arnold, who commemorated him in the elegy "Thyrsis."

in beating the Italians, had to be refitted and the single armored brigade which had been judged sufficient to hold the frontier until about the middle of May was worsted and its vehicles largely destroyed by a somewhat stronger German armored force.

Our infantry, which did not exceed one division, had to fall back upon the very large Imperial Armies that have been assembled and can be nourished and maintained in the fertile Delta of the Nile.

Tobruk—the fortress of Tobruk—which flanks any German advance on Egypt, we hold strongly. There we have repulsed many attacks, causing the enemy heavy losses and taking many prisoners. That is how the matters stand in Libya and on the Egyptian front.

### See "Very Fierce" Fighting

We must now expect the war in the Mediterranean, on the sea, in the desert and above all in the air to become very fierce, varied and widespread. We have cleaned the Italians out of Cyrenaica and it now lies with us to purge that province of the Germans. That will be a harder task and we cannot expect to do it at once.

You know I never try to make out that defeats are victories. I have never underrated the German as a warrior. Indeed, I told you a month ago that the swift, unbroken courses of victories which we had gained over the Italians could not possibly continue and that misfortune must be expected. There is only one thing certain about war, that it is full of disappointments and also of mistakes.

It remains to be seen, however, whether it is the Germans who have made the mistake in trampling down the Balkan States and in making a river of blood and

may be confident that we shall give a very good account of ourselves. More than that it would be boastful to say. Less than that it would be foolish to believe. But how about our lifeline across the Atlantic? What is to happen if so many of our merchant ships are sunk that we cannot bring in the food we need to nourish our brave people?

What if the supplies of war materials and war weapons which the United States are seeking to send us in such enormous quantities should in large part be sunk on the way? What is to happen then?

In February, as you may remember, that bad man, in one of his raving outbursts, threatened us with a terrifying increase in the numbers and activities of his U-boats and in his air attacks, not only on our island but, thanks to his use of French and Norwegian harbors, and thanks to the denial to us of the Irish bases, fell upon our shipping far out into the Atlantic.

We have taken and are taking all possible measures to meet this steady attack. And we are now fighting against it with might and main. That is what is called the Battle of the Atlantic which, in order to survive, we have got to win on salt water just as decisively as we had to win the Battle of Britain last August and September in the air.

### "Wonderful Exertions" at Sea

Wonderful exertions have been made by our navy and air force, by the hundreds of mine-sweeping vessels which with their marvelous appliances keep our ports clear in spite of all the enemy can do, by the men who build and repair our immense fleets of mer-

chant ships, by the men who load and unload them, and, need I say, by the officers and men of the merchant navy who go out in all weathers and in the teeth of all dangers to fight for the life of their native land and for a cause they comprehend and serve.

Still, when you think how easy it is to sink ships at sea and how hard it is to build them and protect them, and when you remember that we have never less than 2,000 ships afloat and three or four hundred in the danger zone, when you think of the great armies we are maintaining and reinforcing in the east and of the world-wide traffic we have to carry on—when you remember all this can you wonder that it is the Battle of the Atlantic which holds the first place in the thoughts of those upon whom rests responsibility for procuring the victory?

It was, therefore, with indescribable relief that I learned of the tremendous decisions lately taken by the United States and people of the United States. The American Fleet and flying boats have been ordered to patrol the wide waters of the Western Hemisphere and to warn the peaceful shipping of all nations, including the combat zone of the presence of lurking U-boats or raiding cruisers belonging to the two aggressor nations.

We British will, therefore, be able to concentrate our protecting forces far more upon the routes nearer home and to take a far heavier toll of the U-boats than I've felt for some time that something like this was bound to happen.

The President and Congress of the United States, having newly fortified themselves by contact with their electors, have solemnly pledged their aid to Britain in this war because they deemed our cause just and because they know their own interests and safety would be endangered if we were destroyed.

### Lists Help from America

They are taxing themselves heavily. They have passed great legislation. They have turned a large part of their gigantic industry to making the munitions which we need. They have even given us or lent us valuable weapons of their own. I could not believe that they would allow the high purposes to which they have set themselves to be frustrated and the products of their skill and labor sunk to the bottom of the sea.

U-boat warfare, as conducted by Germany, is entirely contrary to international agreements freely subscribed to by Germany only a few years ago. There is no effective blockade but only a merciless murder and marauding over wide indiscriminate areas utterly beyond the control of the German sea power.

When I said ten weeks ago, "Give us the tools and we will finish the job," I meant, "Give them to us; put them within our reach." And that is what it now seems the Americans are going to do.

And that is why I feel a very strong conviction that though the battle of the Atlantic will be long and hard and its issue is by no

means yet determined, it has entered upon a more grim but at the same time a far more favorable phase.

When you come to think of it, the United States are very closely bound up with us now and have engaged themselves deeply in giving us moral, material and, within the limits I have mentioned, naval support.

### No Doubt of Axis Defeat

It is just worth while, therefore, taking a look on both sides of the ocean at the forces which are facing each other in this awful struggle from which there can be no going back.

No prudent and far-seeing man can doubt that the eventual and total defeat of Hitler and Mussolini is certain in view of respective declared resolves of the British and American democracies. There are less than 10,000,000 malignant Huns, some of whom are curable and others inhuman, most of whom are already engaged in holding down Austrians, Czechs, Poles and the many other ancient races they now bully and oppress.

The people of the British Empire and of the United States number nearly 200,000,000 in their homelands and in the British Dominions alone. They possess the unchallengeable command of the ocean and will soon obtain decisive superiority in the air.

They have more wealth, more technical resources and they make more steel than the whole of the rest of the world put together. They are determined that the cause of freedom shall not be trampled on nor the tide of world progress turned backward by the criminal dictators.

While, therefore, we naturally view with sorrow and anxiety much that is happening in Europe and in Africa and may happen in Asia, we must not lose our sense of proportion and thus become discouraged or alarmed.

When we face with a steady eye the difficulties which lie before us we may derive new confidence by remembering those we have already overcome. Nothing that is happening now is comparable in gravity with the dangers through which we passed last year. Nothing that can happen in the East is comparable with what is happening in the West.

Last time I spoke to you, I quoted the lines of Longfellow which President Roosevelt had written out for me in his own hand. I have some other lines which are less well known but which seem apt and appropriate to our fortunes tonight and I believe they will be so judged when, over the English language is spoken or the flag of freedom flies.

For while the fired waves, vainly breaking,  
Seem here no painful inch to gain;  
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,  
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

And not by eastern windows only,  
When daylight comes, comes in the light;  
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!  
But westward, look, the land is bright!

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