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[June 1975]

POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

- Air and Space Museum
- National Archives
- Honor America event
- Valley Forge signing
- Wagon Train
- Independence Hall
- Op Sail
- Monticello
- Proclamation to the Nation honoring the Fourth
- Bicentennial Message to Congress
- Prayer Proclamation
- Address to the Nation the night of the Fourth
- Viking/Mars space shot the night of the Fourth
- Recognition of Happy Birthday USA parade
- Recognition of Fourth of July fireworks
- Medal of Freedom
- Commander-in-Chief message
- Message to foreign governments
- Message to Americans overseas
- Recognition of Fourth of July nation-wide bell ringing
- Recognition of arrival of Freedom Train
- Presidential letters to significant events
- Tree planting
- Message to United Nations



- 4th of July message to the Governors
- Message for 2076
- Opening of the Centennial Safe

file  
[June 1976]

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM TO: ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
FROM: JIM CANNON *JC*  
SUBJECT: Bicentennial Themes

Here are my comments:

GENERAL

Since the events at which the President will appear in the Bicentennial series are by nature grand, momentous, and historic, almost any set of words appropriate to these occasions can sound pretentious and contrived -- especially for a President who is accustomed to speaking directly and in plain English.

We assume the President must speak for history. It seems to me that it is of equal importance that he speak to Americans today. And if he says something well, his words will live. I am concerned that if we emphasize too strongly the lasting nature of what he is to say, ~~he~~ he may simply sound portentous.

President Ford is not a poet; he is a doer. And while I think what he says should be on a very high level, I think his words should be direct and action-oriented instead of orotund.

THEME

The President indicated a preference for the titles of Outline II. Each of these could have two parts:

- a. Where we have been, and
- b. Where we are going.

This would provide an opportunity to carry through these, and any other speeches the President might make, the idea that America is fulfilling its promise to bring freedom and stability, hope and opportunity to its own people, and, by setting an example, to other people.

ca. June 1976

MEMORANDUM TO ROBERT T. HARTMANN

FROM: IRVING KRISTOL

RE: The President's Bicentennial Speeches

Here, as requested, are some thoughts about the themes the President might evoke in his speeches on or about July 4. I propose them with great <sup>dis</sup> dissidence, because I really have no background as a speechwriter and, in addition, do not know President Ford well enough to have a "feel" as to what kind of speech he is comfortable with.

To begin with, I suggest that you and your staff take a look at the collection of lectures published by American Enterprise Institute under the title "America's Continuing Revolution." There are lectures by myself, Martin Diamond, Daniel Boorstin, and others of a similar outlook. I suspect you might find them useful in ways in which even I cannot foresee.

Let me begin with the Monticello speech because I find myself with some specific thoughts on this question of "a nation of immigrants." The thoughts have been provoked by my teaching experience -- it is astonishing how little our young people appreciate the uniqueness of the immigrant experience in this country, and I'm sure their elders are no more enlightened. This uniqueness is revealed in two extraordinary facts:

- (1) The United States is, to my knowledge, the only nation in history which, during most of its existence, permitted



unrestricted immigration. The boldness of this policy has been insufficiently appreciated -- we gambled that we could take in anyone, from anywhere, and that simply by reason of their experience in America these people would become loyal, law-abiding, productive citizens. The gambles worked. And the success of this enterprise reveals both the universality of the political ideals on which the U.S. was founded, and their realism.

(2) The U.S. is, to my knowledge, the first nation, and still remains one of the very few nations -- it may even be the only one: check it out! -- which makes the acquisition of citizenship an automatic proceeding. The conditions for becoming a citizen are specific, and those who fulfill these conditions have a right to citizenship -- one which the government cannot deny. In all other countries I am familiar with, citizenship is regarded as a privilege, not a right, and the political authorities have final discretion as to whether to bestow or withhold it.

(3) The reason behind both of these phenomena is the fact that the United States is unique among nations in being founded, not on race, not on kinship, not on language, not on religion, but on political values. To be an American is to subscribe to these values. We are uniquely a political community, as distinct from an ethnic community, a religious community, a racial community, or any other kind. Our two key political values are individual liberty (i.e., limited government) and civic liberty (i.e., self-government). Our experience with mass immigration



demonstrates that these are not parochial values, not peculiar to Americans, but rather reside in the hearts and minds of men and women all over the world.

For the President's Independence Hall speech, I would suggest the use of the quotation from Lincoln, in a speech also delivered in Independence Hall, as quoted at the opening of Diamond's lecture. That quotation reads:

"I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in the place where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live."

These are noble, simple words. These also make an important point: At Independence Hall was born both the Declaration and the Constitution, and these two documents cannot be understood except in the light of one another. The Declaration provides us with the purpose of government, as Americans understand it -- i.e., to secure the rights of the individual, against even government. The Constitution gives us the means to this end -- i.e., a democratic republic, with a decentralized, federal structure, and with checks and balances within this government. The importance of checks and balances certainly needs to be emphasized today. But the importance of a decentralized political structure needs to be emphasized even more. It is healthy and



vigorous self-government on the local level, that is the bedrock of American freedom.

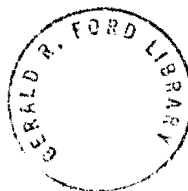
For his Valley Forge speech, I would suggest the President emphasize that, though affluence is a good thing, and the spirit of compassionate reform is a good thing, in the end a nation survives only to the extent that the spirit of self-discipline and self-sacrifice is strong and vital. I would even go so far as to suggest that he ask the question: Are we in danger of becoming a nation of cry-babies? Are we becoming a people who panic at the least sign of adversity? Are we becoming a people with a faith not in God or in ourselves, but in a paternalistic government to shelter us from all of life's hardships and misfortunes?

For his Smithsonian speech, I would suggest that the President make the point that, while technological progress can, in some circumstances, represent a threat to the quality of American life, it is also true -- and we should never forget it -- that this very "quality of life" is itself based on, and has been shaped by, the spirit of scientific and technological progress. A faith in scientific and technological progress is not simple-minded idolatry, but rather expresses a profound American confidence that a free people, freely using their creative talents, can use science and technology to resolve the problems posed by science and technology. If this is not the case, then the argument

for freedom itself -- freedom of thought, freedom of intellectual enterprise, freedom to innovate -- is itself brought into question. This is the danger which some of the more extreme versions of "environmentalism": their logic would lead to the government's trying to cope with, not merely the effects of technological innovation (which is proper), but with sources of scientific and technological innovation.

One little point: I think it would be nice if the President, somewhere, could make the point that both Diamond and I make, to the effect that the American Revolution was a "law-and-order" revolution, in contrast to practically all subsequent revolutions -- and that is one of the secrets of its success. The quote from Tocqueville in Diamond's essay (page 34) is useful here -- also see pages 6-9 of my essay.

I have no idea if these thoughts are in any way useful to you. I hope they are.



I

BICENTENNIAL SERIES

AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENTS; AMERICAN TASKS



The theme would be that in each of four major areas of human life, the United States has made great progress in successfully meeting problems which are universal, but that in each area challenges remain. Each speech would identify one of the four areas of life, trace America's achievements, identify the current challenge, and chart the direction we must take to meet it in the century ahead.

I. A LAND OF PLENTY (Air & Space Museum)

Problem: Soaring human aspirations can be crushed unless resources can be devoted to realizing those dreams. Achievement: Our system of private enterprise, our inventiveness, and our natural resources combined to provide abundance. Challenge: How can abundance be maintained when we are increasingly aware that many resources are exhaustable? Course: Technological progress has often turned such problems into opportunities for developing new resources as well as new ways of using old ones.

II. A COUNTRY INFORMED (National Archives)

Problem: Technological development, self-government, the enjoyment of cultural diversity -- all these require an educated population. Achievement: Even without the Constitutional Amendment which Grant proposed to mark the centennial, Americans know education to be one of their rights. Challenge: We must increase the diversity of careers and the diversity of life styles for which our educational systems prepare their students. Course: Policy should reward flexibility in curriculum and multiplicity of goals rather than bureaucratic standardization.

III. A SELF-GOVERNING NATION (Independence Hall)

Problem: Tyranny can be avoided and a multiplicity of aspirations can achieve fulfillment only if government is responsive and responsible to the people. Achievement: The Framers created and later generations developed a system of government by the people which occasionally makes notable errors but which is largely self-correcting. Challenge: How can popular control be maintained in the face of mounting pressures to create large, impersonal bureaucracies? Course: The pressures must be resisted and decentralization pursued.

IV. A UNION OF OPPOSITES (Monticello)

Problem: A diverse people must be woven into a single nation. Achievement: The idea of the melting pot coupled with the building of a national culture produced one nation without destroying the rich

gifts brought to us by immigrants from many background.

Challenge: We need to increase the appreciation and understanding which each American has of the contributions of those of heritages other than his own. Course: We must set examples in government, in education, and in our private lives so that these values are chosen by our children.

In sum, the series suggests that America is unique not because of one contribution, but because she has achieved such success in each of these four areas and because she is not content with only that degree of success.



THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE

The Bicentennial speaking series (July 1-6) should describe not only what has made the American adventure successful, but what has made it unique. Freedom, sacrifice, wealth and power have been shared in varying degrees by a host of nations. But reaching for the unknown with a reverence for the past has produced in America a foundation for liberty and a haven of opportunity unmatched in the history of mankind. While these general themes reflect the high tone such memorable events demand, the episodes and examples which bring these themes to life are quite down-to-earth and human.

Reaching for the Unknown (Air and Space Museum, July 1)

The hallmark of the American adventure has been a willingness to explore the unknown -- whether it lay across an ocean, a continent, a solar system or the frontiers of human knowledge. Americans have always been ready to try new and untested enterprises; new political, social and economic systems; new inventions in the arts and sciences; and new rights for men. The continuing adventure of exploring the unknown will be dramatized by the landing on Mars of an unmanned U.S. space vehicle on July 4.

A Reverence for the Past (National Archives, July 3)

Our search for the unknown has been launched from the safe harbor of experience -- adopting the best of human traditions in religion, law and learning. Colonists and immigrants brought with them familiar objects and ideals which have become our cultural inheritance. The Magna Carta, the immediate focal point of this speaking engagement, was sent to the United States for safekeeping during World War II, a fact that demonstrates both our reverence for the past and our strength and will to preserve the best of it.

A Foundation for Liberty (Independence Hall, July 4)

The union of the tried and the untried, the known and the unknown, has created a foundation for American liberty. The true meaning of liberty, embodied in the Declaration of Independence itself, is that men may be masters rather than victims of their destiny. The purpose of our government, embodied in the Constitution, is to preserve this liberty. With our freedom comes the obligation to ensure that all our fellow citizens can have the opportunity to make the most of their lives.

A Haven of Opportunity (Monticello, July 5 or 6)

The American opportunity, the right of individuals to shape their own destiny, is not limited by social, economic or geographic boundaries. The colonists saw their settlement as "a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us;" and we declared our independence "with a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." We shared our destiny of freedom not only with those who came to our shores, but with all people throughout the world who share our ideals. This dynamic element of the American adventure keeps America young and reaching for the unknown as we enter our third century.

This series is intended to personalize, rather than theorize, the American adventure in all its forms, with grand themes illustrated through the stories of struggle and courage, hope and faith and achievement of succeeding generations of Americans.

THEME: The Progress and Challenge of Freedom

This history of America is the progress of freedom. From its inception, America has nurtured the flame of freedom like no other nation. In so doing, America has not only achieved material but spiritual wealth. Throughout our history, the challenge of freedom has been to maintain it; that goal has strengthened the American character while preserving the American experience. The unique American experience is the process of making freedom work. (These speeches examine aspects of the progress and challenge of freedom to give definition to what it means to be an American.)

SPEECH 1: The Spirit of Adventure (Dedication of Air and Space Museum)

A. Our progress as a Nation reveals that our character is molded by the spirit of adventure. From the colonization of Jamestown to the landing on the moon, we have been a people free to explore. Science, industry, and education search for and find answers to problems unsolvable when our Nation was born.

B. The challenge we now face is to maintain the free spirit that fortified explorers and pioneers, that encouraged captains of industry and geniuses of science.

SPEECH 2: The Spirit of Justice (National Archives)

A. The progress of freedom is traceable from our heritage (Magna Charta--Bible) through the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Emancipation Proclamation, through all our historic documents. Each reveals another major step in the perfecting of freedom. America has been more concerned with providing justice for all than any other nation.

B. The challenge we now face is to retain the structure and substance of justice, and the prosperity, liberty and equality it has guaranteed. (Use of President's legislative record.)

SPEECH 3: The Spirit of Sacrifice (Independence Hall)

A. The progress of freedom is revealed in the sacrifice of our citizens. From the early settlers, to the lives lost in battle, to the men and women who work to provide for their children, the American character reveals the spirit of sacrifice. (Use of President's war record.)

B. The challenge to our generation is to continue to sacrifice when necessary to insure the progress of freedom. In the face of adversity, diligence, unselfishness, and strength will be essential now and in the future.

SPEECH 4: The Spirit of Patriotism (Naturalization Ceremony - Monticello)

A. The progress of freedom is the justification for patriotism. Americans have built a free nation from the House of Burgesses in 1619 through the Revolution to preserve our freedom to this year's electoral process.

B. The challenge is to continue to allow men to create their own futures, their own enterprises, their own dreams.

SUMMARY: In each speech, Progress is used to review the past; Challenge to project a vision of the future. Unquestionably, what makes being an American unique is our spirit. And that spirit is born out of progress freedom has made, and out of the challenge freedom provides. Adventure and sacrifice, patriotism and justice, are the essence of the American experience in the past, at the present, and with God's guidance in the future.

THEME: The Challenges of Freedom

America's Bicentennial celebration is a time to take stock. What are the sources of our greatness? What must we do to fulfill America's potential.

SPEECH 1: The Heritage of Freedom (Dedication of Air and Space Museum)

This speech would spell out our origins as a Nation, why the settlers came to America, what people sought to escape in other lands and what they sought here. Our willingness to explore uncharted territory; development of new forms of government and social structures.

SPEECH 2: The Values of Freedom (National Archives)

The best of America's cultural and political traditions -- religious faith, morality, the English Common Law, literature, frontier neighborliness and the fierce pride and national will to overcome obstacles -- need to be understood and given fresh emphasis.

SPEECH 3: The Vitality of Freedom (Independence Hall)

The concepts of individual liberty and responsibility contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. The idea that man can chart his own course, shape his own destiny. The heritage of individual freedom embodied in our form of government.

SPEECH 4: The Unity of Freedom (Monticello)

America's tradition of gathering diverse peoples together, assimilating them and drawing values and spirit from each of them.

SUMMARY: The four speeches, taken separately or together, should stress the theme that America's challenge is to draw from its past to chart its future -- on a path that enhances and protects individual freedom.

V

## A PROUD PAST - A FUTURE OF PROMISE

The four events outlined below are well suited for a look at a past in which Americans can be proud and a future which holds great promise not only for Americans, but all people. The United States is a Nation of great material and intellectual accomplishment. It has a strong moral fiber, a willingness to sacrifice for the sake of others and a proven commitment to the common good of all mankind. The United States is a symbol of promise and hope. Its great physical strength, its still youthful idealism and its human compassion make it capable of extending the promise of peace, prosperity and trust to the four corners of the earth.

- I. MUSEUM THEME: The Progress and Potential in Science and Technology.
  - A. Scientific and technological advances in the United States are unparalleled in history. They represent the American spirit at its best.
  - B. Advancements in just the last three decades are only a hint of what this Nation can accomplish for future generations.
  
- II. NATIONAL ARCHIVES THEME: The Vision of America
  - A. Our founding fathers had a vision of a Republic based on self-government and individual freedoms.
  - B. We must preserve that vision of America and perfect the principles of government which have emanated from it.
  
- III. INDEPENDENCE HALL THEME: The History of America: A Unique Experience
  - A. Young country uninhibited and lacking the staidness of European or Asian tradition.
  - B. A melting pot of civilization united in the quest for personal and national independence.
  - C. A world power set apart from those throughout recorded history by its religious and moral conviction, individual freedom and opposition to world domination.
  - D. Applying the lessons of history to our Third Century.
  
- IV. MONTICELLO THEME: The U.S. and the Family of Nations
  - A. Peace among Nations: We have the resources and the willingness to achieve international peace through communication, commitment and cooperation.
  - B. Peace among Men: We have the moral fiber to seek harmony among men through brotherhood, equality and trust.

## BICENTENNIAL OUTLINE

THEME: The Spirit of America, 1776-1976

We take time in observing our 200th anniversary of independence to consider those elements from our past which make us a unique people, and how we can build upon them to ensure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

SPEECH 1: The Spirit of Learning (Air and Space Museum)

Our ancestors brought with them the love of learning and built schools and universities even before our independence. Knowledge is the necessary launching pad for exploration of the unknown. We have only begun to unlock the treasures of the remaining frontiers of human knowledge.

SPEECH 2: The Spirit of Law (National Archives)

We are a Nation of laws, not men; our revolution was fought to ensure the protection of the law and require all persons, even the King's ministers, to honor it; we have always been ready to change the law to meet changing needs; our liberty remains rooted in respect for equal laws and equal justice.

SPEECH 3: The Spirit of Sacrifice (Valley Forge)

Americans have always been willing to sacrifice their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in the defense of liberty and to ensure a better life for their children.

SPEECH 4: The Spirit of Liberty (Philadelphia)

Based on Ben Franklin's famous saying: "Where liberty dwells, there is my country." Individual liberty our third century goal.

SPEECH 5: The Spirit of Sharing (Monticello)

Americans from the outset have been willing to share their own blessings of liberty with all who came in search of them, and to this day remain the hope of those who yearn for liberty throughout the world. Summary of all the above.



A THEMATIC APPROACH TO BICENTENNIAL EVENTS

The overall theme

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

The great language of the Declaration of Independence, with its memorable words and phrases, offers themes for the President's remarks at the significant events marking this celebration.

There is a need for all Americans to reexamine this great document and the use of key words as topics in the Presidential addresses will assist in this reexamination.

Examples as to how this might be used are set out below:

1. "When in the course of human events"

(Air and Space Musuem)

This theme will trace the progress made by the American people and the meaning of the Declaration not only to Americans but to mankind. Emphasize freedom for exploration and enlightenment and the legacy of freedom described in this document both to the world of knowledge and the world of political affairs.

2. "Governments are instituted among men"

(Ceremoney at the National Archives)

This theme will emphasize the necessity of government to social order and stability. It will stress the three co-equal branches of government to safeguard individual liberties where the governmental powers are drawn from the people.

3. "We mutually pledge to each other"

(Honor America Day)

This theme emphasizes the interdependence of all our people, and our common bond to one another for the security of our nation, and the fulfillment of national purpose.

4. "Protection of devine province"

(Valley Forge National Park)

The relationship of spiritual values to national will, emphasizing the higher purposes of our lives individually and nationally.

5. "We hold these truths to be self-evident"

(Philadelphia -- Independence Hall)

The relationship of the Declaration as meaning not only to America, but to mankind. With the contending meaning of this document to the political affairs of succeeding generation in other countries of the world.

6. "Pursuit of happiness"

(Monticello, Virginia address)

The realization of the American dream, the growth of the American economic and industrial empire. The individual's right to attain. The freedom of opportunity to include education, economic security, home ownership and to achieve a more meaningful life for himself and succeeding generations.

[June 1976]

DRAFT

MEMORANDUM TO: ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
FROM: JIM CANNON  
SUBJECT: Bicentennial Themes



Here are my comments:

GENERAL

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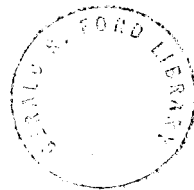
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THEME

The President indicated a preference for the titles of Outline II. Each of these could have two parts:

- a. Where we have been, and
- b. Where we are going.

This would provide an opportunity to carry through these and any other speeches the President might make the idea that America is fulfilling its promise to bring freedom and stability, hope and opportunity to its own people, and, by setting an example, to other people.



[June 1976]

DRAFT



TO:  
FROM: JIM CANNON  
SUBJECT: Bicentennial Themes

Having reviewed the materials included in the Bicentennial Themes package, I offer the following comments:

OVERALL THEME

Since these occasions are of a grand and historically sweeping nature, almost any set of words appropriate to the occasion can sound pretentious and contrived. For that reason, I ~~would strongly endorse~~ the use of quotes from the Declaration of Independence as a thematic framework. All of the other themes and ideas suggested can almost without exception be incorporated in this approach.

PROJECT A VISION

It seems essential to me that in each instance the President should take the thematic framework and project it into the future so as to chart some broad vision of the Third Century.

HIGHLIGHT DIVERSITY

One aspect which I would give great priority is an effort to emphasize the great ethnic, racial, religious, intellectual, and cultural diversity of our people.

TANGIBLE REFERENCES

I would also work to emphasize through tangible references sprinkled throughout the speeches:

- a. the natural heritage of land, air, and water;
- b. the specific simple facts of the average guy's daily life which reflect all the grandiose words.



*file*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT  
FROM: JIM CANNON *Jimi*  
SUBJECT: Mayor Rizzo's Request  
for Federal Troops

Attached is Mayor Rizzo's letter to you requesting 15,000 federal troops to be placed in Philadelphia during the July 4th celebration.

At the present time, the Department of Justice is reviewing this request and will be informing me of their assessment and recommendations. We anticipate their response by the end of this week, and I will keep you informed of their progress.



Attachment



CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

FRANK L. RIZZO  
MAYOR

May 28, 1976

*Attn: Mr. Conroy*

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford  
The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500



Dear Mr. President:

As you well know, the City of Philadelphia will be the focal point of our nation's Bicentennial celebration this July Fourth.

Unfortunately, just as Philadelphia will be a place for joyful celebration, we have learned that it will also be a target for attempts at disruption and violence by a substantial coalition of leftist radicals.

Intelligence estimates developed by the Philadelphia Police Department lead us to the conclusion that we cannot assure the safety and security of the millions of people coming to Philadelphia if we have to rely exclusively on our own resources.

Accordingly, Mr. President, I am requesting that 15,000 Federal troops be placed in our City on July 4th to help deter and defuse the violence which may occur.

The record will show that in spite of previous threats to the security and tranquility of the people of Philadelphia, the City has never requested Federal assistance of this nature. When other cities were going up in flames in the '60's, we kept our house in order by ourselves. The Philadelphia Police Department is one of the very finest in the world, and we have never before found it necessary to ask for aid in the execution of our duty.

However, the extraordinary numbers of people linked with the unique political opportunity afforded by our nation's birthday creates a circumstance that we cannot cope with alone.

I know you must be especially sensitive to the possible political liability of using Federal troops in this manner. It must be painful to you --- as it is heartbreaking to me --- to think that we should be compelled to put Federal troops in the Cradle of Liberty so that we can safely celebrate the 200th anniversary of our nation's freedom.

The Honorable Gerald R. Ford

May 28, 1976

Nevertheless, these considerations must be weighed against the risk to human lives and safety that now exist. Remember, during this historic period we shall have millions of international, national and local visitors here, and it is imperative that we protect them at all possible costs.

Police Commissioner Joseph F. O'Neill is presently conferring with the United States Secret Service and will be meeting with H. Stuart Knight on this matter.

He has, or shortly will, convey to them the extensive documentation which indicates the magnitude of the existing threat.

Considering this request and how it might be implemented, Mr. President, let me say that I have thought long and hard about this situation and have reached the decision to ask for assistance only with great personal anguish. The prospect of Federal troops lining the streets of Philadelphia is not a pleasant one. However, the solution need not be completely objectionable.

Just as the British use military force in dress uniform for security, I believe that if troops were deployed quietly and, ostensibly as part of the pageantry of the day, that we could accomplish our objective. I recommend that the troops be equipped with sidearms, rather than rifles.

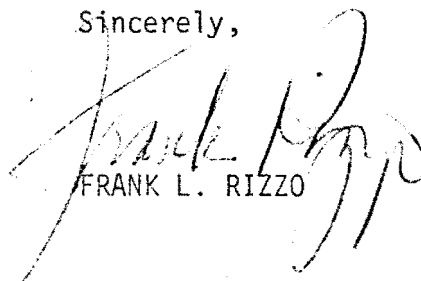
The highest priority must be given to a capacity to act early, rapidly and with precision to avoid ugly incidents that may lead to tragedy. It is for this reason that I believe Federal troops should be used.

Mr. President, the full resources and the full cooperation of the City of Philadelphia are at the disposal of all Federal agencies responsible for acting upon this request for assistance.

I trust that it will be possible to find a solution which will insure that our Fourth of July can be celebrated without serious incidents and without threat to the lives of so many innocent Americans who want nothing more than to gather together here with their families and thank God and our forefathers for the blessing of freedom.

Thank you for your prompt action in this critical matter.

Sincerely,

  
FRANK L. RIZZO



FLR:lv

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JIM CANNON

FROM:

STEVE McCONAHEY

SUBJECT:

Mayor Rizzo's Request for  
Federal Troops

Attached is the original copy of Mayor Rizzo's letter to the President requesting federal troops for the 4th July celebration in Philadelphia.

I have also attached a brief note from you to the President to accompany this letter and to explain the actions being taken.

*Steve*  
*McConahey*  
*Jim*



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1976



MEMORANDUM TO: BOB HARTMANN

FROM: JACK MARSH *J. Marsh*

I suggest that we look for the 4th of July themes in the language of the Declaration of Independence, itself. For example:

- 1) The truths self-evident--the American commitment to freedom, equality and liberty represented in the Declaration, the Constitution, the American Bill of Rights and our system of social justice under law.
- 2) The pursuit of happiness--the realization of the American dream, the growth of the American economic and industrial empire, the individual right of attainment. The freedom of opportunity for education, for economic security, home-ownership, and the achievements of a more meaningful life to succeeding generations.
- 3) The mutual pledge to each other--the interdependence of all our people, and our common bond to one another for the security of our nation, and the fulfillment of national purposes.
- 4) The course of human events--the relationship of the Declaration as meaning not only to America, but to mankind. With the contending meaning of this document to the political affairs of succeeding generations in other countries of the world.
- 5) Protection of Divine Providence--the relationship of spiritual values to national will, emphasizing the higher purposes of our lives individually and nationally.

POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS

- Air and Space Museum
- National Archives
- Honor America event
- Valley Forge signing
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- Monticello
- Proclamation to the Nation honoring the Fourth
- Bicentennial Message to Congress
- Prayer Proclamation
- Address to the Nation the night of the Fourth
- Viking/Mars space shot the night of the Fourth
- Recognition of Happy Birthday USA parade
- Recognition of Fourth of July fireworks
- Medal of Freedom
- Commander-in-Chief message
- Message to foreign governments
- Message to Americans overseas
- Recognition of Fourth of July nation-wide bell ringing
- Recognition of arrival of Freedom Train
- Presidential letters to significant events
- Tree planting.
- Message to United Nations



- 4th of July message to the Governors
- Message for 2076
- Opening of the Centennial Safe



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

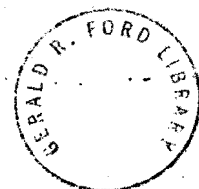
June 7, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BICENTENNIAL PLANNING PURPOSES

FROM: JACK MARSH

In reference to the Bicentennial, and in particular the period July 1-5, 1976, the following questions need to be answered as quickly as possible.

- Should the President issue a national proclamation on the eve of the 4th? To whom should it be directed? What should it say? How should it be delivered?
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- a. Travel to St. Louis and make an address at the Gateway Arch where the America East meets the America West to indicate the common heritage, whether we live on the shores of the Atlantic or the Pacific?
- b. Should he travel to Cape Canaveral to visit the Space Exposition, of which he was the principal sponsor?
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- e. Structure some other event during the day of July 3rd?

-- One of the most significant observances that occurred was the Bicentennial of George Washington's birth. There was a substantial interest by Congress in the early 1930's with the leadership being taken by Congressman Bloom, who chaired the Commemoration Committee. Out of the work of this Committee would flow a substantial number of publications in reference to American history. Additionally, the George Washington Parkway on the Virginia side of the Potomac River was dedicated as a Bicentennial memorial. What other official acts occurred in association with this event?

-- Associated with the above question, in 1926 the nation observed the 150th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. There were official acts undertaken to observe this, and in all likelihood, the events associated with 1926 would carry over to the observance of the Bicentennial of Washington's birth, which Bicentennial event occurred a few years later. In fact, I believe Congressman Bloom was associated with both. What was the official recognition in the 1926 time frame that might shed some light, or give some precedence to what we expect to do now?



- Would it be helpful for the President to, in the holiday period, perform some symbolic act which marked his personal observance of the Bicentennial. In addition to the Medal of Freedom dinner, is there some other act that he might perform which would have continual meaning to the country? For example, could he plant a tree on the White House grounds, or at some other public place, to mark his participation in the ceremonies? Would Valley Forge lend itself to this type of event? Isn't there a history of President's planting trees on the White House grounds?
  
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- Should the President adopt some memento which he uses by way of a favor that lends itself to use by other people? For example, might he give the Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee engraved Jefferson cups and also to the recipients of the Medal of Freedom?
  
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comment on what he has observed in Idaho, Texas and Vermont when he is being covered or ask questions by the media?

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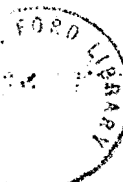
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## A THEMATIC APPROACH TO BICENTENNIAL EVENTS

The overall theme --

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

The great language of the Declaration of Independence, with its memorable words and phrases, offers themes for the President's remarks at the significant events marking this celebration.

There is a need for all Americans to reexamine the meaning of this great document. The use of key phrases as topics in the Presidential addresses will assist in this reexamination.

Examples as to how this might be used are set out below:

1. "When in the course of human events"

(Air and Space Museum)

This theme will trace the progress made by the American people and the meaning of the Declaration not only to Americans but to mankind. Emphasize freedom for exploration and enlightenment and the legacy of freedom described in this document both to the world of knowledge and the world of political affairs.

2. "Governments are instituted among men"

(Ceremony at the National Archives)

This theme will emphasize the necessity of government to social order and stability. It will stress the three co-equal branches of government to safeguard individual liberties where the governmental powers are drawn from the people.

3. "We mutually pledge to each other"

(Honor America Day)

This theme emphasizes the interdependence of all our people, and our common bond to one another for the security of our nation, and the fulfillment of national purpose.



4. "Protection of divine Providence"

(Valley Forge National Day)

The relationship of spiritual values to national will, emphasizing the higher purposes of our lives individually and nationally.

5. "We hold these truths to be self-evident"

(Philadelphia -- Independence Hall)

The relationship of the Declaration as having meaning not only to Americans, but to mankind. With the continuing meaning of this document to the political affairs for succeeding generations including other countries of the world.

6. "Pursuit of happiness"

(Monticello, Virginia address)

The realization of the American dream, the growth of the American economic and industrial empire. The individual's right to attain. The freedom of opportunity to include education, economic security, home ownership and to achieve a more meaningful life for himself and succeeding generations.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CLOSE HOLD

June 8, 1976

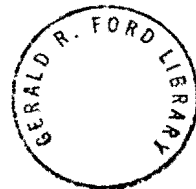
MEMORANDUM FOR: COUNSELLOR MARSH  
MR. CANNON ✓  
MR. CHENEY  
MR. NESSEN

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN *(Signature)*

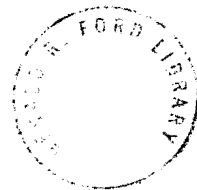
1. On June 1 The President charged me with preparing the timely production of his major Bicentennial speeches, 4 or 5 in number, with a single overall theme to be subdivided in a manner appropriate to, but not exclusively dictated by, the events at which he will speak. None of the addresses will exceed 15 minutes in length and some may be only 5 or 10 minutes. An auxiliary consideration is that the 4 or 5 coordinated speeches would be published in booklet form as a permanent record of his Bicentennial views. The goal would be that they read well 50 or 100 years from now, as well as in 1976.

2. Attached are seven outlines, identified by Roman numerals, which vary considerably in concept. The President asked that Dr. Daniel Boorstin and Dr. Irving Kristol be consulted and, subsequently, that other eminent authorities also be enlisted to assist. Dr. Boorstin's contributions are reflected in one of the outlines. Dr. Kristol sent his suggestions (absent a specific overall theme) in the form of a memorandum which is also attached.

3. The President would like each of you to meet with him tomorrow morning for a small group discussion of thematic options prior to his decision. Once his course is set, it is my intention to assign these guidelines to writers both inside and outside the White House staff for draft development, with a deadline for first draft submission of one week from today, Tuesday, June 15.



Once a general Presidential theme is established, it will also be applied to the lesser Bicentennial remarks, messages and proclamations which are required during the July 1-5 period. We clearly have enough good ideas to take care of all these needs with consistency but without duplication.



CLOSE HOLD

976 JUN 10 AM 8 18

June 9, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
FROM: DAVE GERGEN

I understand that you are in the process of collecting ideas for the July 4th speeches. Attached please find a few thoughts.

cc: Jack Marsh  
Jim Cannon  
Dick Cheney  
Ron Nessen



## AMERICA -- A CONTINUING EXPERIMENT

What makes America such an inspiring ideal is the notion that it is a noble, almost unique experiment in human history -- an experiment that each new generation must continue and pass on to its children. This July 4th speech series provides the President with an excellent opportunity to reflect upon the nature of that experiment and, in so doing, to sketch out his own vision of the future.

Air and Space Museum -- America is one of the only nations on earth founded on the proposition that through knowledge, daring, and a desire to produce a better mousetrap -- all nurtured by a spirit of freedom -- man can shape a better life here on earth. This view took hold in the 18th century, then gave way to the Industrial Revolution and to the enormous changes that have taken place since. America has carried that reach into the unknown farther than any other nation -- witness the marvels housed in the museum. The question now is how to continue shaping a better future: can the resources be developed? Will they be exhausted? Can man remain master of the physical world?

National Archives -- America is also special because it is one of the only nations on earth to construct a successful democracy. Here, as the Declaration asserts, the people govern. And here, as the Constitution shows, the people choose to govern through a system of laws that accords equal rights to every person -- regardless of race, religion, etc. As the American experiment took hold, others tried to become democracies; more often than not, they have failed, so that today America is one of the only nations to carry that torch into the future. This is again part of our continuing experiment.

Independence Hall -- At the heart of our system of democracy is a belief in human freedom -- the freedom of every person to shape his own destiny here on earth and beyond. Certainly the experiment in human freedom has never been more widely challenged around the world than it is today; just as America is one of the only vessels that carries forward belief in democracy and the rule of law, it is also an ark for many of the hopes for personal freedom.



Monticello -- Still another phase of American life that makes ours such a noble experiment is that here we have purposely tried to serve as a melting pot for people of every race and nationality. "Bring me your tired, your hungry, your poor" we told the world, and they came in massive numbers -- over 30 million in a century. There may have been some pains at first, but the absorption with our national life has not only given us enormous vitality and human richness, but it has also set us apart from almost every nation on earth. It is here in America more than anywhere else that we are trying to find ways that people of vastly different backgrounds and beliefs can live happily together. When one looks at the racial and religious strife that divides nations such as Lebanon and Northern Ireland, it is clear that the American experiment is special and that all mankind has a stake in its success

By playing off this theme, the President can show that there is much to be proud of after 200 years but that very heritage also makes special demands of us for the future. Just as we are uniquely blessed, so we also have unique responsibilities that extend beyond our own day. Our challenge is to preserve and enrich the civilization we have inherited -- to perfect the experiment. Each of us is really a signer of the Declaration of Independence.



Breastmilk  
Therapy

6/9/76

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outside

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How far are we from  
goals for the future

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3rd century - off. midwifery

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Just been next week 1.6.76



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

From: Robert T. Hartmann

To: Jim Cannon

Date: June 11, 1976

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

a.m.  
p.m.

CLOSE HOLD

FYI



cc: Queen

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 10, 1976

MEMORANDUM FROM COUNSELLOR HARTMANN

SUBJECT: BICENTENNIAL SPEECHES

The President has considered his participation in major Bicentennial events during the period July 1-5 and has directed me to coordinate the preparation and timely production of his speech drafts within the following thematic guidelines which represent his initial preferences after consultation with senior advisers. They are not intended to be overly rigid or to inhibit creative work, but to subdivide the basic Bicentennial theme into specific areas to be addressed appropriately in the six principal forums that have been identified. At least two and perhaps more individuals, both within and outside of the staff, will be assigned to each major speech, with a deadline for first draft submission by 5:00 p.m. Wednesday, June 16.

The overall theme will be THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE. The time frame for expanding on this theme is not a narrow focus on the events of 1776 nor even limited to the 200 years of national independence we are now marking, but the whole sum of how we got where we are and what made us what we are, the elements that make America and Americans unique, and where we want to go from here. While the American experiment and the American experience are kindred concepts, "adventure" conveys a sense of excitement and of continuation -- the best is yet to be. The phrase "The American Adventure" can be used appropriately -- though not excessively -- throughout all the speech drafts to establish a conceptual unity for the series. It is possible they will be published in booklet form for a permanent record of the President's Bicentennial views.



We should not abruptly abandon the overall theme which the President has been using for the past year -- the "Three Centuries" idea; that America's first century of independence saw the establishment of a free political system; our second century the development of a free economic order made possible by a political climate of freedom; and that the third century ahead should see the restoration of and expansion of independence for the individual, which was where it all began. This last point -- individual freedom as our priority goal for 1976 and beyond, should receive the emphasis from here on out.

In order to provide symmetry and to ensure that each treatment of each subject looks forward more than backward in Bicentennial self-congratulation, it is suggested that the framework for each speech be in three parts: Progress in the past; Challenge of the present; Goals for the future.

All the drafts should be short, taut, and straight-forward. While they of necessity deal with political and economic principles and institutions, there should be no campaign code words or partisan insinuations whatsoever. They should state the President's sincere convictions about America and its future in understandable and acceptable terms. Noble and profound thoughts can be expressed in direct and simple words, as Jefferson and Lincoln did. Any whiff of pomposity or pretentious elegance must be avoided. The President will be speaking for, as well as to, all the people of America. He will have to speak in their language, not that of poets or philosophers.

We must not be carried away by the thought that this July 4 will by virtue of the decimal system and our affinity for anniversaries be a major milestone in human history. Read some of the junk uttered in 1876. It will be nice if some of the President's Bicentennial phrases make Bartlett's Quotations, but that is not his goal. His goal is to speak to Americans today, and in so doing, to articulate for us and for the world what America is, and what America can be.



## THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE

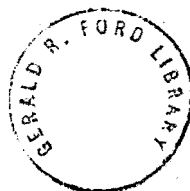
The overall theme is to delineate not only what has made the American adventure successful, but what makes it unique. These elements have brought forth upon this continent not only a new nation, but a new kind of people. What they have in common is not race, religion, ancestral homeland or kinship, but characteristics and values derived from their common experience. By reaching for the unknown while retaining a reverence for the past, exemplified by law and learning; through the joyous pursuit of happiness as well as the somber spirit of sacrifice; Americans have created here a firm foundation for liberty and a haven of opportunity unmatched in human history. As the American Adventure continues into its Third Century of nationhood, our goal is to extend the blessings of liberty "to all the inhabitants thereof" and to reinforce the independence of the individual for his or her fulfillment and realization of rights and responsibilities.

Speech 1. REACHING FOR THE UNKNOWN (Air and Space Museum, July 1)  
(10 mins.)

The hallmark of the American adventure has been a willingness to explore the unknown -- whether it lay across an ocean, a continent, a solar system or the frontiers of human knowledge. Americans have always been ready to try new and untested enterprises; new political, social and economic systems; new inventions in the arts and sciences; and new rights for men. The continuing adventure of exploring the unknown will be dramatized by the landing on Mars of an unmanned U. S. space vehicle on July 4.

Speech 2. REVERENCE FOR THE PAST (National Archives, July 2)  
(5 mins.)

The fixed stars of freedom which have guided the American adventure have been documents and writings that embody the heritage of our past -- the Old and New Testaments, Magna Carta, the colonial declarations of protest and independence, the Declaration, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights and subsequent amendments, the Emancipation Proclamation. Law and learning have been the launching pads



for exploration and experimentation. The Declaration is central; government comes from the people; basic human rights come from God and are inviolate against governments; still the most revolutionary political idea anywhere around.

Speech 3. THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS (Honor America Performance, July 3)  
(10 mins.)

We are the only country whose basic charter gives this equal place with life and liberty among the unalienable and God-given rights of man and woman. Each individual pursues his or her own happiness in his or her own way, but the arts -- especially the performing and participatory arts -- are a major source of happiness in the American Adventure, whether folk art or fine art. American art has also enriched the world. A lighthearted salute to the arts in America is appropriate to the evening of entertainment.

Speech 4. THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE (Valley Forge, July 4)  
(10 mins.)

The American Adventure has been sustained by sacrifice and the willingness to stick to it and see it through. The Continental Army at Valley Forge, the pioneer wagons rolling west, the defense of liberty in war and peace, the care of widows and orphans and less fortunate neighbors, the saving to make our children's lives better than ours, these traits characterize Americans and must not be lost. The challenge to our generation is to continue to sacrifice when necessary to insure the progress of freedom. In the face of adversity, diligence, unselfishness, and strength will be essential now and in the future.

Speech 5. A FOUNDATION FOR LIBERTY (Independence Hall, July 4)  
(15 mins.)

The union of the tried and the untried, the known and the unknown, has created a foundation for American liberty. The true meaning of liberty, embodied in the Declaration of Independence itself, is that men may be masters rather than victims of their destiny. The purpose of our government, embodied in the Constitution, is to preserve this liberty. With our freedom comes the obligation to ensure that all our fellow citizens can have the opportunity to make the most of their lives.



Speech 6. A HAVEN OF OPPORTUNITY (Monticello, July 5)  
(10 mins.)

The American opportunity, the right of individuals to shape their own destiny, is not limited by social, economic or geographic boundaries. The colonists saw their settlement as "a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us;" and we declared our independence "with a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." We shared our destiny of freedom not only with those who came to our shores, but with all people throughout the world who share our ideals. This dynamic element of the American adventure keeps America young and reaching for the unknown as we enter our third century. See also Irving Kristol memo.



MEMORANDUM

June 7, 1976

TO: Robert T. Hartmann  
FROM: Irving Kristol  
RE: The President's bicentennial speeches

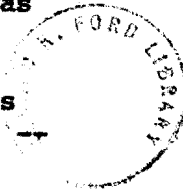
Here, as requested, are some thoughts about the themes the President might evoke in his speeches on or about July 4. I propose them with great diffidence, because I really have no background as a speechwriter and, in addition, do not know President Ford well enough to have a "feel" as to what kind of speech he is comfortable with.

To begin with, I suggest that you and your staff take a look at the collection of lectures published by the American Enterprise Institute under the title America's Continuing Revolution. There are lectures by myself, Martin Diamond, Daniel Boorstin and others of a similar outlook. I suspect you might find them useful in ways which even I cannot foresee.

Let me begin with the Monticello speech, because I find myself with some specific thoughts on this question of "a nation of immigrants." The thoughts have been provoked by my teaching experience -- it is astonishing how little our young people appreciate the uniqueness of the immigrant experience in this country, and I'm sure their elders are no more enlightened. This uniqueness is revealed in two extraordinary facts:

(1) The United States is, to my knowledge, the only nation in history which, during most of its existence, permitted unrestricted immigration. The boldness of this policy has been insufficiently appreciated -- we gambled that we could take in anyone, from anywhere, and that simply by reason of their experience in America these people would become loyal, law-abiding, productive citizens. The gamble worked. And the success of this enterprise reveals both the universality of the political ideals on which the U.S. was founded, and their realism.

(2) The U.S. is, to my knowledge, the first nation, and still remains one of the very few nations -- it may even be the only one: check it out! -- which makes the acquisition of citizenship an automatic proceeding. The



conditions for becoming a citizen are specific, and those who fulfill these conditions have a right to citizenship -- one which the government cannot deny. In all other countries I am familiar with, citizenship is regarded as a privilege, not a right, and the political authorities have final discretion as to whether to bestow or withhold it.

(3) The reason behind both of these phenomena is the fact that the United States is unique among nations in being founded, not on race, not on kinship, not on language, not on religion, but on political values. To be an American is to subscribe to these values. We are uniquely a political community, as distinct from an ethnic community, a religious community, a racial community, or any other kind. Our two key political values are individual liberty (i.e., limited government) and civic liberty (i.e., self-government). Our experience with mass immigration demonstrates that these are not parochial values, not peculiar to Americans, but rather reside in the hearts and minds of men and women all over the world.

For the President's Independence Hall speech, I would suggest the use of the quotation from Lincoln, in a speech also delivered in Independence Hall, as quoted at the opening of Diamond's lecture. That quotation reads:

"I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing here in the place where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live."

These are noble, simple words. They also make an important point: At Independence Hall was born both the Declaration and the Constitution, and these two documents cannot be understood except in the light of one another. The Declaration provides us with the purpose of government, as Americans understand it -- i.e., to secure the rights of the individual, against even government. The Constitution gives us the means to this end -- i.e., a democratic republic, with a decentralized, federal structure, and with checks and balances within this government. The importance of checks and balances certainly needs to be emphasized today. But the importance of a decentralized political structure needs to be emphasized even more. It is healthy and vigorous self-government, on the local level, that is the bedrock of American freedom.



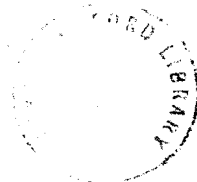
For his Valley Forge speech, I would suggest the President emphasize that, though affluence is a good thing, and the spirit of compassionate reform is a good thing, in the end a nation survives only to the extent that the spirit of self-discipline and self-sacrifice is strong and vital. I would even go so far as to suggest that he ask the question: are we in danger of becoming a nation of cry-babies? Are we becoming a people who panic at the least sign of adversity? Are we becoming a people with a faith, not in God or in ourselves, but in a paternalistic government to shelter us from all of life's hardships and misfortunes?

For his Smithsonian speech, I would suggest that the President make the point that, while technological progress can, in some circumstances, represent a threat to the quality of American life, it is also true -- and we should never forget it -- that this very "quality of life" is itself based on, and has been shaped by, the spirit of scientific and technological progress. A faith in scientific and technological progress is not simple-minded idolatry, but rather expresses a profound American confidence that a free people, freely using their creative talents, can use science and technology to resolve the problems posed by science and technology. If this is not the case, then the argument for freedom itself -- freedom of thought, freedom of intellectual enterprise, freedom to innovate -- is itself brought into question. This is the danger with some of the more extreme versions of "environmentalism": their logic would lead to the government's trying to cope with, not merely the effects of technological innovation (which is proper), but with the sources of scientific and technological innovation.

One little point: I think it would be nice if the President, somewhere, could make the point that both Diamond and I make, to the effect that the American Revolution was a "law-and-order" revolution, in contrast to practically all subsequent revolutions -- and that is one of the secrets of its success. The quote from Tocqueville in Diamond's essay (page 34) is useful here -- also see pages 6-9 of my essay.

I have no idea if these thoughts are in any way useful to you. I hope they are.

Sincerely,  
Jimmy Kestel



To: *Bicentennial*  
*Jim Cannon*

FYI

*Schleede*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 15, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: GLENN SCHLEEDE  
FROM: DENNIS BARNES *DB*  
SUBJECT: President's July 1 Dedication Speech  
for the Air and Space Museum.

Apparently, the speechwriter's office is handling the speech now. The dedication is one of six occasions in a Bicentennial series of speeches which will be prepared for the President.

I gave the information which we received from NSF to David Boorstin, who will be writing the dedication speech. He was not aware of Dillon Ripley's suggestion for a museum-oriented dedication.

Although the lead for the speech now lies with Boorstin, his office is accepting ideas until C.O.B. Wednesday. Unless you suggest otherwise, however, I have dropped any further effort.

I am informing Phil Smith of the above.



*Glenn*

*OK*

*Hartmann has your  
responsibilities now*

*DB*