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THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE

The Bicentennial Messages of
Gerald R. Ford

July 1976







BICENTENNIAL INDEPENDENCE DAY

*By the President of the United States of America
a Proclamation*

The Continental Congress by resolution adopted July 2, 1776, declared that thirteen American colonies were free and independent states. Two days later, on the fourth of July, the Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence which proclaimed to the world the birth of the United States of America.

In the two centuries that have passed, we have matured as a nation and as a people. We have gained the wisdom that age and experience bring, yet we have kept the strength and idealism of youth.

In this year of our Nation's Bicentennial, we enter our third century with the knowledge that we have achieved greatness as a nation and have contributed to the good of mankind. We face the future with renewed dedication to the principles embodied in our Declaration of Independence, and with renewed gratitude for those who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to preserve individual liberty for us.

In recognition of the two hundredth anniversary of the great historic events of 1776, and in keeping with the wishes

of the Congress, I ask that all Americans join in an extended period of celebration, thanksgiving and prayer on the second, third, fourth and fifth days of July of our Bicentennial year—so that people of all faiths, in their own way, may give thanks for the protection of Divine Providence through 200 years, and pray for the future safety and happiness of our Nation.

To commemorate the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the Congress, by concurrent resolution adopted June 26, 1963 (77 Stat. 944), declared that its anniversary be observed by the ringing of bells throughout the United States.

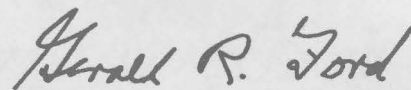
NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that the two hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence be observed by the simultaneous ringing of bells throughout the United States at the hour of two o'clock, eastern daylight time, on the afternoon of the Fourth of July, 1976, our Bicentennial Independence Day, for a period of two minutes, signifying our two centuries of independence.

I call upon civil, religious, and other community leaders to encourage public participation in this historic observance. I call upon all Americans, here and abroad, including all United States flag ships at sea, to join in this salute.

As the bells ring in our third century, as millions of free men and women pray, let every American resolve that this Nation, under God, will meet the future with the same courage and dedication Americans showed the world two centuries ago. In perpetuation of the joyous ringing of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, let us again "Proclaim

Liberty throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants thereof."

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of June in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundredth.



NOTE: The President read the proclamation at a signing ceremony in the Oval Office at the White House at 2:05 p.m., June 29, 1976.

BICENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The President's Fourth of July Bicentennial Message. July 3, 1976

Two hundred years ago we, the people of the United States of America, began a great adventure which stirred the imagination and quickened the hopes of men and women throughout the world. The date was July 4, 1776; the occasion, our Declaration of Independence.

No other nation in history has ever dedicated itself more specifically or devoted itself more completely to the proposition that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with such unalienable rights as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Two centuries later, as we celebrate our Bicentennial Year of independence, the great American adventure continues. The hallmark of that adventure has always been an eagerness to explore the unknown, whether it lay across an ocean or a continent, across the vastness of space or the frontiers of human knowledge. Because we have always been ready to try new and untested enterprises in government, in commerce, in the arts and sciences, and in human relations, we have made unprecedented progress in all of these fields.

While reaching for the unknown, Americans have also kept their faith in

the wisdom and experience of the past. Colonists and immigrants brought with them cherished values and ideals in religion and in culture, in law and learning which, mixed with the native American ways, gave us our rich American heritage.

The unique American union of the known and the unknown, the tried and the untried, has been the foundation for our liberty and the secret of our great success. In this country, individuals can be the masters rather than the helpless victims of their destiny. We can make our own opportunities and make the most of them.

In the space of two centuries, we have not been able to right every wrong, to correct every injustice, to reach every worthy goal. But for 200 years, we have tried and we will continue to strive to make the lives of individual men and women in this country and on this Earth better lives—more hopeful and happy, more prosperous and peaceful, more fulfilling and more free. This is our common dedication, and it will be our common glory as we enter the third century of the American adventure.

NOTE: The President's message was recorded at 2:30 p.m. on June 21, 1976, and made available for later broadcast on radio and television.



THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE

The Bicentennial Messages of
Gerald R. Ford

July 1976

"The American adventure is a continuing process."

GERALD R. FORD

THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE

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I

“REACHING FOR THE UNKNOWN”

The President's Address at Ceremonies Dedicating the National Air and Space Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. July 1, 1976

Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. Vice President, distinguished Members of Congress, Secretary Ripley, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This beautiful new museum and its exciting exhibits of the mastery of air and space is a perfect birthday present from the American people to themselves. Although it is almost impolite to boast, perhaps we can say with patriotic pride that the flying machines we see here, from the Wright brothers' 12-horsepower biplane to the latest space vehicle, were mostly “Made in U.S.A.”

The story of powered flight is an American saga. The wonder is that it has all happened within the lifetime and the memory of living Americans. How many of us remember vividly the thrill of our first take-off? How many recall the first news of Lindbergh's safe landing in Paris? How many saw man's first giant step that planted the American flag on the Moon?

At this moment, an unmanned Viking spacecraft is circling the planet Mars. It has only been 80 years since the Smithsonian's Samuel Langley launched his unmanned “aerodrome” for a half-mile flight before it plunged into the Potomac.

The amazing American achievements in air and space tell us something even more important about ourselves on Earth. The hallmark of the American adventure has been a willingness—even an eagerness—to reach for the unknown.

For three and a half centuries, Americans and their ancestors have been explorers and inventors, pilgrims and pioneers, always searching for something new—across the oceans, across the continent, across the solar system, across the frontiers of science, beyond the boundaries of the human mind.

Confined within these walls and windows are the products of American men and women whose imagination and determination could not be confined. There is nothing more American than saying, “If at first you don't succeed, try, try again.” Nor could Americans be confined to the Atlantic seaboard. The wide open spaces have lured Americans from our beginnings. The frontier shaped and molded our society and our people.

Gertrude Stein once wrote, "In the United States, there is more space where nobody is than where anybody is. This is what makes America what it is." Indeed, the impact of the unknown, of what was dimly perceived to be "out there," has left a permanent mark on the American character.

In the early 17th century, a few fragile vessels—like the *Discovery* in 1607 and the *Mayflower* in 1620—sailed across 3,000 miles of unfriendly sea. Their passengers and crews knew far less about their destinations than the American astronauts knew at lift-off about the lunar landscape, a quarter million miles away.

The Pilgrims feared the perils of the voyage and the misery of the unfamiliar land. But the sentiments that sustained them were recorded by Governor William Bradford ". . . that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. . . ."

Behind them lay the mighty ocean, separating them from the world they knew, and before them lay an untamed wilderness. Three and a half centuries later, that wilderness has been transformed. A continent once remote and isolated now supports a mighty nation, a nation built by those who also dared to reach for the unknown.

The discovery of this continent was unprecedented. It opened the eyes of mankind, showing them the world was bigger than they had thought. Our Nation's birth was unprecedented as well. A new form of government was begun which would allow for change by future generations, yet secure basic rights to men and women. The chance to earn property was given to those who had never had property; education to those who had never been educated.

In the New World, Americans had to be handy. Ours was a do-it-yourself society. Our fascination with machines to lighten labor and increase production began very early. The practical problems of engineering and science required education. The hard life attracted few learned scholars from Europe. Sometimes Americans built their schools before their own rough cabins.

By the time of the Revolution, there were more colleges and universities in America than in the British Isles. The men who wrote our Declaration of Independence were probably the best-educated rebels and revolutionaries history had ever seen. When independence was won, the growth of free public education in the United States amazed the world and quickened our pace in science and technology.

Our Constitution specifically gave Congress power to promote science and useful arts by rewarding inventors and authors with patents and copyrights. While some governments are always fearful of what individuals may write or discover, ours has always encouraged free inquiry, with results that speak for themselves.

It was just a century ago, at Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition in 1876, that Alexander Graham Bell first publicly demonstrated his telephone. Today, millions around the world can see and hear the highlights of history as they are happening. Each new discovery, the result of each experiment, humbles us by showing the dimensions of the unknown. Our progress can be measured not only by the extent of our knowledge, but by increasing awareness of all that remains to be discovered.

To keep reaching into the unknown, we must remain free. We must have freedom to find and freedom to fail.

Like our ancestors, we are always at the edge of the unknown. In the next 100 years, the American spirit of adventure can:

- find out even more about the forces of nature, how to harness them, preserve them;
- explore the great riches of the oceans, still an uncharted frontier;
- turn space into a partner for controlling pollution and instant communication to every corner of the world;
- learn how to make our energy resources renewable and draw new energy from Sun and Earth;
- develop new agricultural technologies so all the deserts of the Earth can bloom;
- conquer many more of humanity's deadly enemies, such as cancer and heart disease.

As Thoreau reminded us, long before the age of air and space, "The frontiers are not east or west, north or south, but wherever man fronts a fact." The American adventure is driven forward by challenge, competition, and creativity. It demands of us sweat and sacrifice and gives us substance and satisfaction. Our country must never cease to be a place where men and women try the untried, test the impossible, and take uncertain paths into the unknown.

Our Bicentennial commemorates the beginning of such a quest, a daring attempt to build a new order in which free people govern themselves and fulfill their individual destinies. But the best of the American adventure lies ahead.

Thomas Jefferson said, "I like to dream of the future better than the history of the past." So did his friendly rival, John Adams, who wrote of his dream, ". . . to see rising in America an empire of liberty, and a prospect of two or three hundred millions of free men, without one noble or one king among them. You say it is impossible. If I should agree with you in this, I would still say—let us try the experiment."

I can only add—let the experiment continue.

Thank you.



II

“LET US LOOK INSIDE OURSELVES”

The President's Remarks at the Centennial Safe Opening in Statuary Hall at the United States Capitol, Washington, D.C. July 1, 1976

Senator Mike Mansfield, Mr. Speaker, Senator Scott, Senator Brooke, Congresswoman Boggs, distinguished Members of the House and Senate, ladies and gentlemen:

Obviously, I am deeply honored to have the opportunity this afternoon to open this historic Centennial safe. It contains many items of interest to us today as we celebrate the completion of our second century. But it symbolizes much more than a valuable collection of mementos—it symbolizes something about the United States of America that is so mighty and so inspiring that it cannot be locked up in a safe. I mean the American spirit.

When this safe was sealed, Americans looked forward to the future, to this year of 1976. There was no doubt in their minds that a President of a free government would participate in a ceremony here in the United States Capitol Building.

Just as American men and women 200 years ago looked to the future, those who sealed this safe 100 years ago also looked to the future.

So it is today with Americans, but there is no safe big enough to contain the hopes, the energies, the abilities of our people. Our real national treasure does not have to be kept under lock and key in a safe or in a vault. America's wealth is not in material objects but in our great heritage, our freedom, and our belief in ourselves.

A century ago, the population of the United States numbered over 40 million. Today, we have more than five times as many. But the growth of our population has not lessened our devotion to the principles that inspired Americans in 1776 or 1876.

In 1876, our immense wealth, both natural and inventive, commanded worldwide attention. We grew from coast to coast in greater industrial and agricultural development than humanity had ever known.

In 1876, America was still emerging from a terrible fraternal war. A lesser people might have been unequal to the challenge, but 1976 finds the confidence of 1876 confirmed. Today, there is far greater equality of opportunity, liberty, and justice for all of our citizens in every corner of America. There is rising prosperity for our Nation and peace and progress for our people.

We look back to the evening of July 4, 1776. It was then, after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, that the Continental Congress resolved that Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson begin work on a seal as a national symbol. We are familiar with the front part of that Great Seal. But the reverse side, which also appears on every dollar bill, is especially instructive. It depicts a pyramid which is not completed and a single eye gazing out radiantly. The unfinished pyramid represents the work that remains for Americans to do. The Latin motto below is freely translated: "God has favored our undertaking."

Two hundred years later, we know God has. Though we may differ, as Americans have throughout the past, we share a common purpose. It is the achievement of a future in keeping with our glorious past. The American Republic provides for continued growth through a convergence of views and interests, but that growth must be spiritual as well as material.

As we look inside this safe, let us look inside ourselves. Let us look into our hearts and into our hopes.

On Sunday, we start a new century, a century of the individual. We have given meaning to our life as a nation. Let us now welcome a century in which we give new meaning to our lives as individuals. Let us look inside ourselves to unleash the God-given treasures stored within. And let us look outside ourselves to the needs of our families, our friends, our communities, our Nation, and our moral and spiritual consciousness.

Thank you very much.

III

"THE FIXED STAR OF FREEDOM"

The President's Address at a Ceremony Honoring the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, at the National Archives, Washington, D.C. July 2, 1976

THE PRESIDENT. *Thank you, Mr. Vice President. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:*

I am standing here before the great charters of American liberty under law. Millions of Americans, before me and after me, will have looked and lingered over these priceless documents that have guided our 200 years of high adventure as "a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Those were Lincoln's words as he looked to the Declaration of Independence for guidance when a raging storm obscured the Constitution. We are gathered here tonight to honor both.

Even the way these parchments are displayed is instructive—together, as they must be historically understood; the Constitution and its first 10 amendments on an equal plane; the Declaration of Independence properly central and above all.

The Declaration is the Polaris of our political order—the fixed star of freedom. It is impervious to change because it states moral truths that are eternal.

The Constitution provides for its own changes having equal force with the original articles. It began to change soon after it was ratified, when the Bill of Rights was added. We have since amended it 16 times more, and before we celebrate our 300th birthday, there will be more changes.

But the Declaration will be there, exactly as it was when the Continental Congress adopted it—after eliminating and changing some of Jefferson's draft, much to his annoyance. Jefferson's immortal words will remain, and they will be preserved in human hearts even if this original parchment should fall victim to time and fate.

Listen: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed. . . ."

The act of independence, the actual separation of colonies and Crown, took place 200 years ago today, when the delegations of 12 colonies adopted Richard Henry Lee's resolution of independence. The founders expected that July 2 would be celebrated as the national holiday of the newborn Republic, but they took two more days to debate and to approve this declaration, an announcement to the world of what they had done and the reasons why.

The Declaration and other great documents of our heritage remind me of the flying machines across the Mall in the new museum we opened yesterday. From the Spirit of St. Louis to the lunar orbital capsules, we see vehicles that enabled Americans to cross vast distances in space. In our archives and in our libraries, we find documents to transport us across centuries in time—back to Mount Sinai and the Sea of Galilee, to Runnymede, to the pitching cabin of the *Mayflower*, and to sweltering Philadelphia in midsummer, 1776.

If we maneuver our time vehicle along to 1787, we see the same chamber of Independence Hall, where the Constitution is being drafted under the stern eye of George Washington. Some other faces are familiar. Benjamin Franklin is there, of course, and Roger Sherman of Connecticut. Thomas Jefferson has gone to Paris; the quiet genius of this Convention is James Madison.

But Jefferson's principles are very much present. The Constitution, when it is done, will translate the great ideas of the Declaration into a legal mechanism for effective government, where the unalienable rights of individual Americans are secure.

In grade school, we were taught to memorize the first and last parts of the Declaration. Nowadays, even many scholars skip over the long recitation of alleged abuses by King George III and his misguided ministers. But occasionally we ought to read them, because the injuries and invasions of individual rights listed there are the very excesses of governmental power which the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and subsequent amendments were designed to prevent.

The familiar parts of the Declaration describe the positives of freedom; the dull part, the negatives. Not all the rights of free people—nor all the necessary powers of government—can be enumerated in one writing or for all time, as Madison and his colleagues made plain in the 9th and 10th amendments.

But the source of all unalienable rights, the proper purposes for which governments are instituted among men, and the reasons why free people should consent to an equitable ordering of their God-given freedom, have never been better stated than by Jefferson in our Declaration of Independence. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are cited as being among the most precious endowments of the Creator—but not the only ones.

Earlier, Jefferson wrote that "The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time." This better explains the bold assertion that "all Men are created equal" which Americans have debated for two centuries. We obviously are not equal in size, or wisdom, or strength, or fortune. But we are all born—having had nothing to say about it at all—and from the moment we have a life of our own, we have a liberty of our own, and we receive both in equal shares. We are all born free in the eyes of God.

That eternal truth is the great promise of the Declaration, but it certainly was not self-evident to most of mankind in 1776. I regret to say it is not universally accepted in 1976. Yet the American adventure not only proclaimed it; for 200 years we have consistently sought to prove it true. The Declaration is the promise of freedom; the Constitution continuously seeks the fulfillment of freedom. The Constitution was created and continues—as its preamble states—"to secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

The great promise of the Declaration requires far more than the patriot sacrifices of the American Revolution, more than the legal stabilizer of the Constitution, more than Lincoln's successful answer to the question of whether a nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure.

What does the Declaration declare?

- that all human beings have certain rights as a gift from God;
- that these rights cannot lawfully be taken away from any man or woman by any human agency, monarchy or democracy;
- that all governments derive their just powers from the people, who consent to be governed in order to secure their rights and to effect their safety and their happiness.

Thus, both rights and powers belong to the people; the rights equally apportioned to every individual, the powers to the people as a whole.

This November, the American people will, under the Constitution, again give their consent to be governed. This free and secret act should be a reaffirmation, by every eligible American, of the mutual pledges made 200 years ago by John Hancock and the others whose untrembling signatures we can still make out.

Jefferson said that the future belongs to the living. We stand awed in the presence of these great charters not by their beauty, not by their antiquity, but because they belong to us. We return thanks that they have guided us safely through two centuries of national independence, but the excitement of this occasion is that they still work.

All around our Nation's Capital are priceless collections of America's great contributions to the world, but many of them are machines no longer used, inventions no longer needed, clothes no longer worn, books no longer read, songs no longer sung.

Not so the Constitution, which works for us daily, changing slowly to meet new needs; not so the Bill of Rights, which protects us day and night in the exercise of our fundamental freedoms—to pray, to publish, to speak as we please.

Above all stands the magnificent Declaration, still the fixed star of freedom for the United States of America.

Let each of us, in this year of our Bicentennial, join with those brave and farsighted Americans of 1776. Let us, here and now, mutually pledge to the ennobling and enduring principles of the Declaration our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Let us do so, as they did, with firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, that the future of this land we love may be ever brighter for our children and for generations of Americans yet to be born.

IV

“THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS”

The President's Remarks at the Honor America Program at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. July 3, 1976

Thank you very much, Bill Marriott. May I express my appreciation and the gratitude of the American people for the wonderful job that you and your associates with the Honor America Committee have done.

There are times for solemn ceremonies and there will be many reverent thanksgivings all over America this week and next. But, we Americans are uncomfortable with too much solemnity. We like to make a joyful noise unto the Lord, to sing our country's praise with grateful hearts.

Laughter and liberty go well together. Ragtime and jazz, marches as well as hymns and spirituals set the beat of the American adventure. We have exported America's happiness to the world with our gramophones, our movies, and our own talented performers.

Americans sang on riverboats, danced around the wagon trains, joked as they marched into battle. We took all of the arts of those who came to join the American adventure and made new arts of our own. No nation has a richer heritage than we do, for America has it all.

The United States is probably the only country on Earth that puts the pursuit of happiness right after life and liberty among the God-given rights of every human being.

When Jefferson wrote that, he pulled off an historic switch. For a long time, English law had used the phrase “life, liberty, and property” to describe the most precious things that couldn't be taken away from anybody without due legal process.

But Jefferson dropped property in the Declaration of Independence and substituted the pursuit of happiness. Like any good politician, Jefferson knew how to say exactly what he meant when he wanted to. So, life and liberty are plain enough to everybody, but Jefferson never did say what he meant by the pursuit of happiness.

If we have liberty, how each of us pursues happiness is up to us. However you define it, the United States of America has been a happy nation over the past 200 years. Nobody is happy all the time, but most of the people have been happy most of the time. Even in our darkest hours, we have managed a little fun.

I knew what happiness was when I was a boy. It was the Fourth of July. For weeks we would save up our pennies, nickels, and dimes, and then at the last moment Dad would come through with a couple of bucks for skyrocket. Then, of course, there would be the big Flag to hang out on the front porch and the ice cream freezer to turn and the first big spoonful that gave you a headache. Then there were parades and bands and those long speeches—this won't be one.

There would be a picnic and softball games, the endless wait until it got dark enough for the roman candles, sparklers for the little ones, who really liked the lightning bugs better. When it was all over, you went to bed happy because you knew it would happen all over again the next Fourth of July.

Here we are on the eve of our 200th, the greatest Fourth of July any of us will ever see. We are a happy people because we are a free people, and while we have our faults and our failures, tonight is not the time to parade them. Rather, let's look to our third century as the century in which freedom finds fulfillment in even greater creativity and individuality.

Tonight, we salute the pursuit of happiness as we listen to our exciting past in song and in story. Two hundred years ago today, John Adams wrote his wonderful wife, Abigail, that he expected the glorious anniversary of independence to be observed down through the ages "with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other."

So, break out the flags, strike up the band, light up the skies, let the whole wide world know that the United States of America is about to have another happy birthday, going strong at 200, and in the words of the immortal Al Jolson, "You ain't seen nothing yet!"

Thank you very much.

V

"THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE"

**The President's Remarks at Valley Forge State Park, Pa.
July 4, 1976**

Governor Shapp, Senator Scott, Senator Schweiker, Governor Ray, Congressman Schulze, Lieutenant Governor Klein, Secretary Kleppe, Administrator Warner, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

They came here in the snows of winter over a trail marked with the blood of their rag-bound feet. The iron forge that gave this place its name had been destroyed by the British when General Washington and his ragged Continental Army encamped here—exhausted, outnumbered, and short of everything except faith.

We gather here today, the 200th anniversary of our independence, to commemorate their sacrifices even before we celebrate the glorious Declaration. Americans will remember the name of Valley Forge as long as the spirit of sacrifice lives within their hearts.

Here the vein of iron in our national character was forged. In the 18th century the colonial American was far more free and far more prosperous than his European cousin. Englishmen regarded us with some envy as appropriate subjects to share their grinding tax burdens.

After Concord Bridge and Breed's Hill, the British generals were impressed with our marksmanship and fighting spirit, but they still dismissed Washington's militiamen as a rabble in arms.

Many years later, when he was 91, a veteran of Concord was interviewed and asked why he took up his rifle against his King. Did he feel intolerably oppressed?

"Nope. Never paid a penny for one of them stamps. Never drank any tea. Never heard of Locke; only read the Bible and the Almanac."

Well, then, what did all the fighting mean?

"Young man," the aging revolutionary said very firmly, "what we meant in going for those Redcoats was this: We had always governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean that we should."

Without Jefferson's eloquence, those are the words of the American people's Declaration of Independence. That was the straight talk that brought some 11,000 ordinary Americans—farmers, workers, tradesmen, and shopkeepers—into this valley of sacrifice in the bitter winter of 1777.

Uncounted hundreds were never to leave.

They did not die amid the banners and the fearful sounds of battle. They weakened slowly and quietly succumbed to cold, sickness, and starvation. Yet, their courage and suffering—those who survived as well as those who fell—were no less meaningful than the sacrifices of those who manned the battlements of Boston and scaled the parapets of Yorktown.

In the battle against despair, Washington and his men kept freedom's lonely vigil. The leader and the led drew strength and hope from one another. Around the winter campfires that dotted these fields, the flame of liberty was somehow kept burning.

Something happened at Valley Forge. That ragged, starving Army here emerged and changed in a way that can be sensed but never fully described. They suffered, they trained, they toughened, they buried their dead, and they stayed. They stuck it out. When spring melted the snows and green returned to this beautiful countryside, a proud and disciplined fighting force marched out of this valley to victory, into the pages of history, unaware of the greatness they had done and oblivious of our gratitude.

As Abraham Lincoln noted long afterwards at another sacred site in Pennsylvania, nothing we can say here today can further consecrate or hallow this ground. But, we can rededicate ourselves to the spirit of sacrifice shown at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, the Argonne Forest, Anzio Beach, and Iwo Jima.

Not all sacrifices are made in war. There are also sacrifices of peace. The sturdy wagon trains that have returned here, the wonderful people who drove them, and those along the way who rededicated themselves to the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, offer heartwarming proof that our American adventure has just begun.

Our Bicentennial is the happy birthday of all 50 States, a commonwealth and self-governing territories. It is not just a celebration for the original 13 colonies. Americans are one people, and we can still hear them saying "We have always governed ourselves, and we always mean to."

The earliest English settlers carried the Bible and Blackstone's Commentaries across the Atlantic among their few cherished possessions and established their own self-governments on a strange and hostile coast. American families in prairie schooners like these took with them on the overland trails the principle of equality and the God-given rights of the Declaration of Independence.

Their restless search for a better life was begun in the spirit of adventure, but it was the spirit of sacrifice that sustained them. They suffered cruel winters, savage attacks, blazing deserts, and bloody feet. Many were buried beside the trail, but many stuck it out, dug in, and built permanent settlements where women stood the same sentry duty as the men. In the West, the Declaration's promise of legal and political equality for women was first broadened.

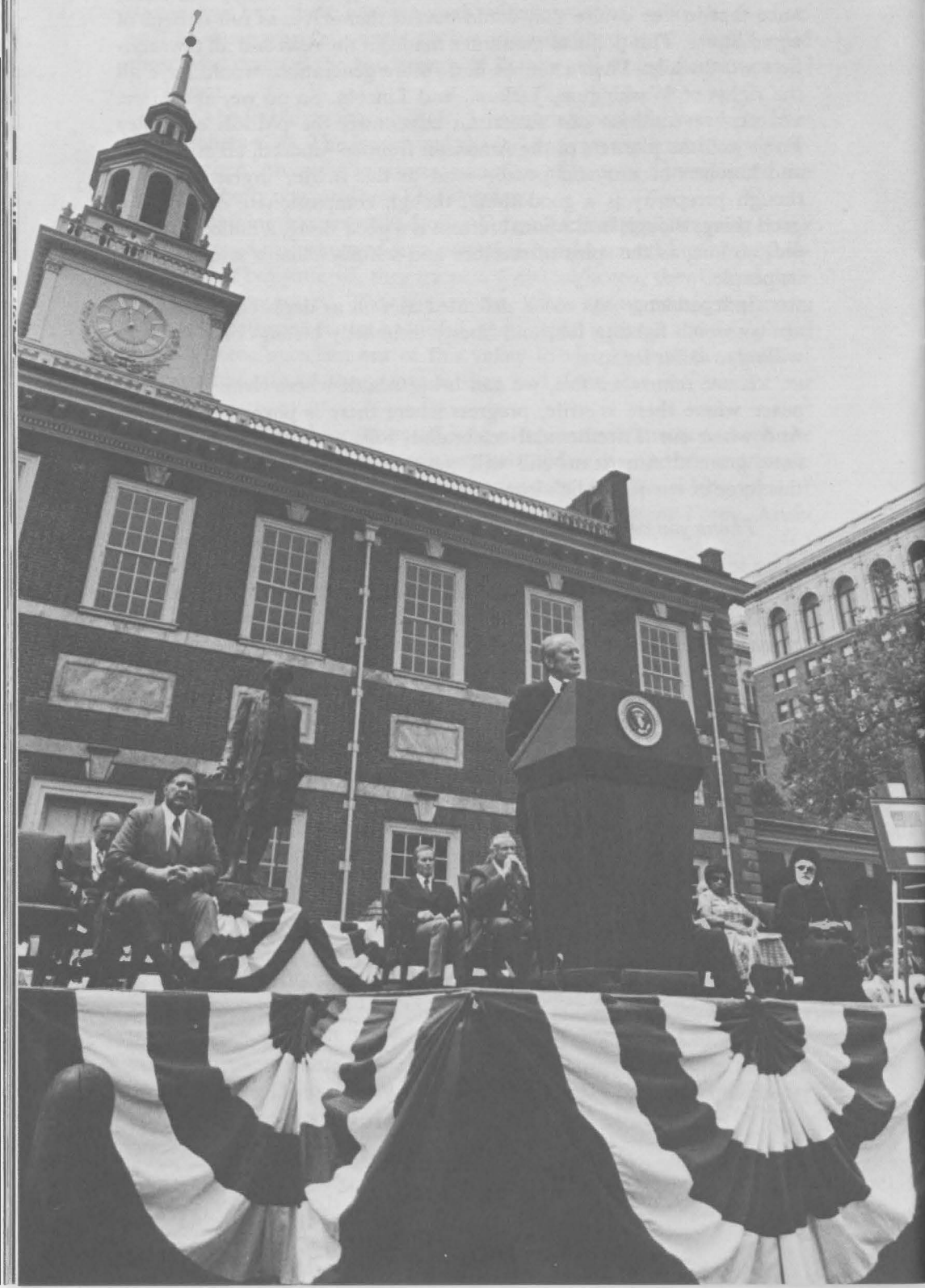
The American pioneers knew that in their wilderness homes they would not be colonials ruled by a distant government. They had assurance that in due course they could govern themselves as full citizens of equal States. This political guarantee made all the risks and all the sacrifices worthwhile. Their children and future generations would have all the rights of Washington, Jackson, and Lincoln. So do we, and more.

As we continue our American adventure, the patriots of Valley Forge and the pioneers of the American frontier—indeed, all our heroes and heroines of war and peace—send us this single, urgent message: though prosperity is a good thing, though compassionate charity is a good thing, though institutional reform is a good thing, a nation survives only so long as the spirit of sacrifice and self-discipline is strong within its people.

Independence has to be defended as well as declared; freedom is always worth fighting for; and liberty ultimately belongs only to those willing to suffer for it.

If we remember this, we can bring health where there is disease, peace where there is strife, progress where there is poverty and want. And when our Tricentennial celebration rolls around 100 years from now, grateful Americans still will come to this shrine of quiet valor, this forge of our Republic's iron core.

Thank you very much.



VI

“PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND”

The President's Address at Independence Hall in Philadelphia.
July 4, 1976

Charlton Heston, Mayor Rizzo, Governor Shapp, reverend clergy, distinguished Members of Congress, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

On Washington's birthday in 1861, a fortnight after six States had formed a confederacy of their own, Abraham Lincoln came here to Independence Hall knowing that in 10 days he would face the cruelest national crisis of our 85-year history.

“I am filled with deep emotion,” he said, “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.”

Today, we can all share these simple, noble sentiments. Like Lincoln, I feel both pride and humility, rejoicing and reverence as I stand in the place where two centuries ago the United States of America was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

From this small but beautiful building, then the most imposing structure in the Colonies, came the two great documents that continue to supply the moral and intellectual power for the American adventure in self-government.

Before me is the great bronze bell that joyously rang out the news of the birth of our Nation from the steeple of the State House. It was never intended to be a church bell. Yet, a generation before the great events of 1776, the elected Assembly of Pennsylvania ordered it to be inscribed with this Biblical verse: “Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.”

The American settlers had many, many hardships, but they had more liberty than any other people on Earth. That was what they came for and what they meant to keep. The verse from Leviticus on the Liberty Bell refers to the ancient Jewish year of Jubilee. In every 50th year, the Jubilee restored the land and the equality of persons that prevailed when the children of Israel entered the land of promise, and both gifts came from God, as the Jubilee regularly reminded them.

Our Founding Fathers knew their Bibles as well as their Blackstone. They boldly reversed the age-old political theory that kings derive their powers from God and asserted that both powers and unalienable rights belong to the people as direct endowments from their Creator. Furthermore, they declared that governments are instituted among men to secure their rights and to serve their purposes, and governments continue only so long as they have the consent of the governed.

With George Washington already commanding the American Continental Army in the field, the Second Continental Congress met here in 1776, not to demand new liberty, but to regain long-established rights which were being taken away from them without their consent.

The American Revolution was unique and remains unique in that it was fought in the name of the law as well as liberty. At the start, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed the divine source of individual rights and the purpose of human government as Americans understood it. That purpose is to secure the rights of the individual against even government itself. But the Declaration did not tell us how to accomplish this purpose or what kind of government to set up.

First, our independence had to be won. It was not won easily, as the nearby encampment of Valley Forge, the rude bridge at Concord, and the crumbling battlements of Yorktown bear witness.

We have heard much, though we cannot hear it too often, about 56 Americans who cast their votes and later signed their names to Thomas Jefferson's ringing declaration of equality and freedom so movingly read to us this morning by Miss Marian Anderson.

Do you know what price the signers of that parchment paid for their patriotism, the devotion to principle of which Lincoln spoke? John Hancock of Massachusetts was one of the wealthiest men who came to Philadelphia. Later, as he stood outside Boston and watched the enemy sweep by, he said, "Burn Boston, though it makes John Hancock a beggar."

Altogether, of the 56 men who signed our great Declaration, 5 were taken prisoner, 12 had their homes sacked, 2 lost their sons, 9 died in the war itself.

Those men knew what they were doing. In the final stirring words of the Declaration, they pledged to one another "our lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor." And when liberty was at stake, they were willing to pay the price.

We owe a great debt to these founders and to the foot soldiers who followed General Washington into battle after battle, retreat after retreat. But, it is important to remember that final success in that struggle for independence, as in the many struggles that have followed, was due to the strength and support of ordinary men and women who were motivated by three powerful impulses—personal freedom, self-government, and national unity.

For all but the black slaves—many of whom fought bravely beside their masters because they also heard the promise of the Declaration—freedom was won in 1783. But the loose Articles of Confederation had proved inadequate in war and were even less effective in peace.

Again in 1787, representatives of the people and the States met in this place to form a more perfect union, a permanent legal mechanism that would translate the principles and purposes of Jefferson's Declaration into effective self-government.

Six signers of the Declaration came back to forge the Constitution, including the sage of Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin. Jefferson had replaced him as ambassador in Paris. The young genius of the Constitutional Convention was another Virginian, James Madison. The hero of the Revolution, Washington, was called back from Mount Vernon to preside.

Seldom in history have the men who made a revolution seen it through, but the United States was fortunate. The result of their deliberations and compromises was our Constitution, which William Gladstone, a great British Prime Minister, called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The Constitution was created to make the promise of the Declaration come true. The Declaration was not a protest against government but against the excesses of government. It prescribed the proper role of government: to secure the rights of individuals and to effect their safety and their happiness. In modern society, no individual can do this all alone, so government is not a necessary evil but a necessary good.

The framers of the Declaration feared a central government that was too strong, as many Americans rightly do today. The framers of the Constitution, after their experience under the Articles, feared a central government that was too weak, as many Americans rightly do today. They spent days studying all of the contemporary governments of Europe and concluded with Dr. Franklin that all contained the seeds of their own destruction.

So the framers built something new, drawing upon their English traditions, on the Roman Republic, on the uniquely American institution of the town meeting. To reassure those who felt the original Constitution did not sufficiently spell out the unalienable rights of the Declaration, the First United States Congress added—and the States ratified—the first 10 Amendments, which we call the Bill of Rights.

Later, after a tragic fraternal war, those guarantees were expanded to include all Americans. Later still, voting rights were assured for women and for younger citizens 18 to 21 years of age.

It is good to know that in our own lifetimes we have taken part in the growth of freedom and in the expansion of equality which began here so long ago.

This union of corrected wrongs and expanded rights has brought the blessings of liberty to 215 million Americans, but the struggle for

life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is never truly won. Each generation of Americans, indeed of all humanity, must strive to achieve these aspirations anew. Liberty is a living flame to be fed, not dead ashes to be revered, even in a Bicentennial Year.

It is fitting that we ask ourselves hard questions even on a glorious day like today. Are the institutions under which we live working the way they should? Are the foundations laid in 1776 and 1789 still strong enough and sound enough to resist the tremors of our times? Are our God-given rights secure, our hard-won liberties protected?

The very fact that we can ask these questions, that we can freely examine and criticize our society, is cause for confidence itself. Many of the voices raised in doubt 200 years ago served to strengthen and improve the decisions finally made.

The American adventure is a continuing process. As one milestone is passed, another is sighted. As we achieve one goal, a longer lifespan, a literate population, a leadership in world affairs, we raise our sights.

As we begin our third century, there is still so much to be done.

We must increase the independence of the individual and the opportunity of all Americans to attain their full potential.

We must ensure each citizen's right to privacy.

We must create a more beautiful America, making human works conform to the harmony of nature.

We must develop a safer society, so ordered that happiness may be pursued without fear of crime or man-made hazards.

We must build a more stable international order, politically, economically, and legally.

We must match the great breakthroughs of the past century by improving health and conquering disease.

We must continue to unlock the secrets of the universe—beyond our planet as well as within ourselves.

We must work to enrich the quality of American life at work, at play, and in our homes.

It is right that Americans are always improving. It is not only right, it is necessary. From need comes action, as it did here in Independence Hall.

Those fierce political rivals—John Adams and Thomas Jefferson—in their later years carried on a warm correspondence. Both died on the Fourth of July of 1826, having lived to see the handiwork of their finest hour endure a full 50 years.

They had seen the Declaration's clear call for human liberty and equality arouse the hopes of all mankind. Jefferson wrote to Adams that "even should the clouds of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and libraries of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore life and liberty to them."

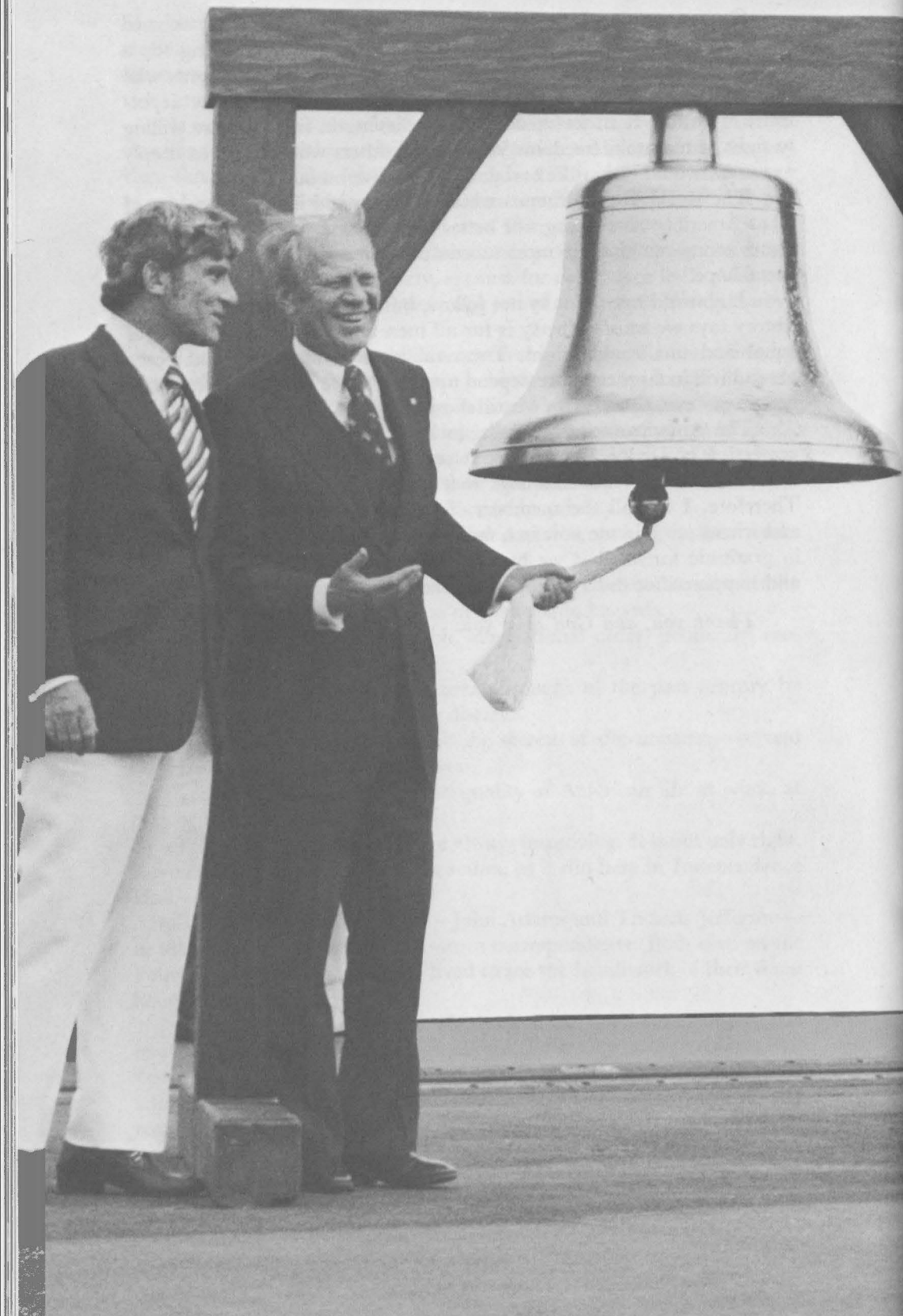
Over a century later, in 1936, Jefferson's dire prophesy seemed about to come true. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking for a mighty nation, reinforced by millions and millions of immigrants who had joined the American adventure, was able to warn the new depotisms: "We too, born to freedom, and believing in freedom, are willing to fight to maintain freedom. We, and all others who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet than live on our knees."

The world knows where we stand. The world is ever conscious of what Americans are doing, for better or for worse, because the United States today remains the most successful realization of humanity's universal hope.

The world may or may not follow, but we lead because our whole history says we must. Liberty is for all men and women as a matter of equal and unalienable right. The establishment of justice and peace abroad will in large measure depend upon the peace and justice we create here in our own country, for we still show the way.

The American adventure began here with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence. It continues in a common conviction that the source of our blessings is a loving God, in whom we trust. Therefore, I ask all the members of the American family, our guests and friends, to join me now in a moment of silent prayer and meditation in gratitude for all that we have received and to ask continued safety and happiness for each of us and for the United States of America.

Thank you, and God bless you.



VII

"THE FUTURE IS A FRIEND"

The President's Remarks Aboard the USS Forrester in New York Harbor During "Operation Sail." July 4, 1976

Secretary Mitterand, Ambassador Mosbacher, Admiral Kidd, Captain Barth, John Warner, Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset, let me express my gratitude and appreciation on behalf of all the American people for everybody who had any part of making Operation Sail a success. I congratulate each and every one of you for a superb job.

It is a great pleasure for me to join my fellow Americans and the citizens of the world in this celebration of America's 200th birthday. No tribute could be more spectacular than the grand international armada which fills this great harbor today.

The magnificent array of tall ships and naval vessels, the proud emissaries of 30 other nations, form an escort of special grace and beauty as the United States of America enters its third century of independence.

As we view this dramatic scene, we are reminded that America is a proud family of many peoples from many lands. We are reminded, as well, how the sea and ships have played a vital role in the life of our country. Our discoverers and explorers were sea voyagers from many nations. Our earliest colonists, seeking a new life in a new land, first had to test their strength and spirit against the Atlantic.

The U.S. Navy and the navies of our allies played a leading part in winning and defending the freedom we celebrate today. That tradition of strength and courage spans two centuries, from the time of John Paul Jones to the battles of Midway and Leyte Gulf.

Since we became a nation, the sea has also been a passageway for millions and millions of people from all over the world who have come to America to share its bounty and its opportunity and to enrich our future in return.

In this harbor stands the Statue of Liberty, herself an immigrant from France, lifting her torch to those who come to join the American adventure.

As we close the log of our second century, we begin an uncharted voyage toward the future. What may lie along that course and where it may finally take us, we cannot know. But we do know this: Americans have always moved ahead with confidence, as we do now, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, and guided by the fixed star of freedom.

So, let us journey together into the seas of tomorrow. For America, the future is a friend.

Thank you very kindly.

NOTE: The President arrived by helicopter on the flight deck of the USS *Forrestal*, the host ship of the International Naval Review in New York Harbor. At 2 p.m., the President rang the ship's bell 13 times—symbolizing the Thirteen Original Colonies—which began the simultaneous ringing of bells across America in commemoration of the Bicentennial.

VIII

“AMERICANS ARE BEAUTIFUL”

The President's Address at Naturalization Ceremonies at Monticello.
July 5, 1976

Thank you very, very much, Governor Godwin, Mr. Justice Powell, Senator Byrd, Ambassador Nolting, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a very great honor and a high privilege, Governor Godwin, to come to the Commonwealth of Virginia and to this beautiful and significant home and to participate in this wonderful ceremony.

I am very proud to welcome all of you as fellow citizens of the United States of America. I invite you to join fully in the American adventure and to share our common goal and our common glory.

Our common goal is freedom—the liberty of each individual to enjoy the equal rights and to pursue the happiness which in this life God gives and self-government secures.

Our common glory is the great heritage from the past which enriches our present and insures our future.

In 1884, France, as a birthday gift, presented the United States with a statue—the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. This year scores of friendly nations have sent us Bicentennial gifts which we deeply appreciate and will long cherish.

But you have given us a birthday present beyond price—yourselves, your faith, your loyalty, and your love. We thank you with full and friendly hearts.

After two centuries, there is still something wonderful about being an American. If we cannot quite express it, we know what it is. You know what it is or you would not be here today. Why not just call it patriotism?

Thomas Jefferson was a Virginia planter, a politician, a philosopher, a practical problem solver, a Palladian architect, a poet in prose. With such genius he became a burgess, a delegate, a Governor, an ambassador, a Secretary of State, a Vice President, and President of the United States. But he was first a patriot.

The American patriots of 1776 who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to declare and defend our independence did more than dissolve their ties with another country to protest against abuses of their liberties.

Jefferson and his colleagues very deliberately and very daringly set out to construct a new kind of nation. "Men may be trusted," he said, "to govern themselves without a master." This was the most revolutionary idea in the world at that time. It remains the most revolutionary idea in the world today.

Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, and all patriots who laid the foundation for freedom in our Declaration and our Constitution carefully studied both contemporary and classic models of government to adapt them to the American climate and our circumstances.

Just as Jefferson did in designing Monticello, they wanted to build in this beautiful land a home for equal freedom and opportunity, a haven of safety and happiness, not for themselves alone, but for all who would come to us through the centuries.

How well they built is told by millions upon millions who came and are still coming. Our first national census in 1790 produced a recorded population just under 4 million. Three-fourths of them traced their ancestry to the British Isles, though most had considered themselves Americans for several generations.

There was already talk about further immigration, proposing it should be selective and restrictive, but this was swept aside by the greatest mass movement of people in all human history.

Immigrants came from almost everywhere, singly and in waves. Throughout our first century they brought the restless drive for better lives and rugged strength that cleared the wilderness, plowed the prairie, tamed the western plains, pushing into the Pacific and to Alaska.

Like the Mayflower Pilgrims and the early Spanish settlers, these new Americans brought with them precious relics of the worlds they left behind—a song, a story, a dance, a tool, a seed, a recipe, the name of a place, the rules of a game, a trick of the trade.

Such transfusions of traditions and cultures, as well as of blood, have made America unique among nations and Americans a new kind of people. There is little the world has that is not native to the United States today.

Unfettered by ancient hates, the people of the young United States really believed that all men are created equal. We admit they had stubborn blind spots in their lofty vision—for blacks, whose forebears had been Americans almost as long as theirs—and for women, whose political rights we took even longer to recognize.

This is not the day, however, to deplore our shortcomings or to regret that not all new citizens have been welcomed as you are here today. The essential fact is that the United States—as a national policy and in the hearts of most Americans—has been willing to absorb anyone from anywhere.

We were confident that simply by sharing our American adventure these newcomers would become loyal, law-abiding, productive citizens, and they did. Older nations in the 18th and 19th centuries granted their nationality to foreign born only as a special privilege, if at all. We offered citizenship to all, and we have been richly rewarded.

The United States was able to do this because we are uniquely a community of values as distinct from a religious community, a racial community, a geographic community, or an ethnic community. This Nation was founded 200 years ago, not on ancient legends or conquests or physical likeness or language, but on certain political values which Jefferson's pen so eloquently expressed.

To be an American is to subscribe to those principles which the Declaration of Independence proclaims and the Constitution protects: The political values of self-government, liberty and justice, equal rights, and equal opportunity.

These beliefs are the secret of America's unity from diversity—in my judgment the most magnificent achievement of our 200 years as a nation.

"Black is beautiful" was a motto of genius which uplifted us far above its intention. Once Americans had thought about it and perceived its truth, we began to realize that so are brown, white, red, and yellow beautiful.

When I was young, a Sunday school teacher told us that the beauty of Joseph's coat was its many colors. I believe Americans are beautiful—individually, in communities, and freely joined together by dedication to the United States of America.

I see a growing danger in this country to conformity of thought and taste and behavior. We need more encouragement and protection for individuality. The wealth we have of cultural, ethnic, and religious and racial traditions, are valuable counterbalances to the overpowering sameness and subordination of totalitarian societies.

The sense of belonging to any group that stands for something decent and noble, so long as it does not confine free spirits or cultivate hostility to others, is part of the pride every American should have in the heritage of the past.

That heritage is rooted now, not in England alone—as indebted as we are for the Magna Carta and the Common Law—not in Europe alone, or in Africa alone, or Asia, or on the islands of the sea. The American adventure draws from the best of all of mankind's long sojourn here on Earth and now reaches out into the solar system.

You came as strangers among us and you leave here as citizens, equal in fundamental rights, equal before the law, with an equal share in the promise of the future.

Jefferson did not define what the pursuit of happiness means for you or for me. Our Constitution does not guarantee that any of us will find it. But we are free to try.

Foreigners like Lafayette, Von Steuben, and Pulaski came to fight in our Revolution because they believed in its principles that they felt were universal. Immigrants like Andrew Carnegie came as a poor boy and created a great steel industry, then gave his fortune back to America for libraries, universities, and museums. Maria Francesca Cabrini came as a missionary sister to serve the sick and the poor. Samuel Gompers worked in a sweatshop, spent his lunchtime helping other immigrant workers learn to read so they could become citizens. We have gained far, far more than we have given to the millions who made America their second homeland.

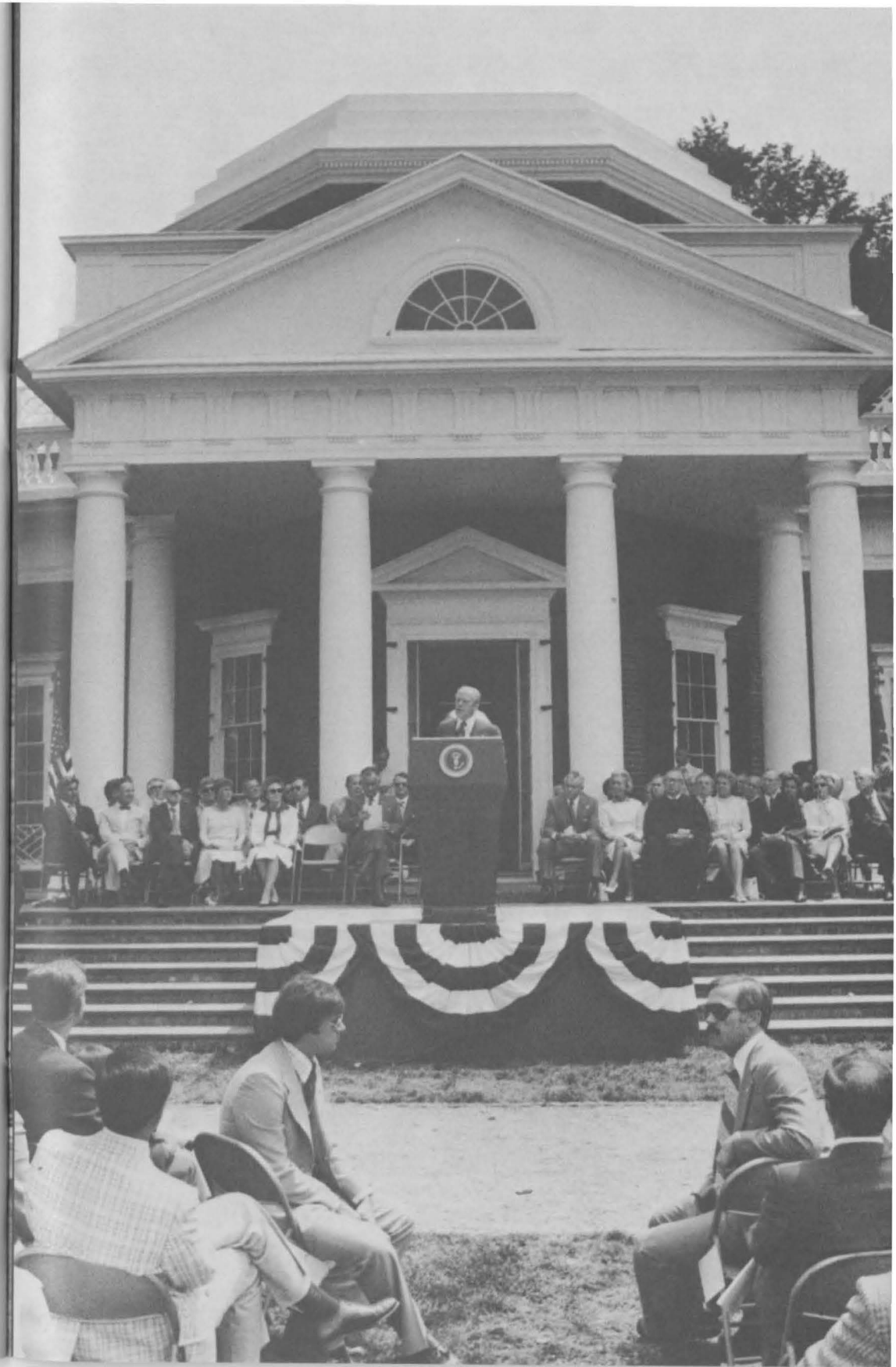
Remember that none of us are more than caretakers of this great country. Remember that the more freedom you give to others, the more you will have for yourself. Remember that without law there can be no liberty.

And remember, as well, the rich treasures you brought from whence you came, and let us share your pride in them.

This is the way that we keep our independence as exciting as the day it was declared and keep the United States of America even more beautiful than Joseph's coat.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: Following his remarks, the President visited Jefferson's tomb, where he paused to pay his respects.



Sent 7/7
Bicentennial

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1976

TO: JACK MARSH
FROM: JIM CANNON

What did the President ever
decide about these?



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 23, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR

JACK MARSH

FROM

JIM REICHLEY

SUBJECT

BICENTENNIAL

Jack
What did
the President
ever write
about this?
Jim

I would like strongly to second Dave Gergen's report on the feeling in support of Paul O'Neill's idea that the President launch a "Clean Up America" campaign as an official means of commemorating the Bicentennial.

The "Clean Up America" idea, as I see it, has several advantages:

- (1) It would give the nation a needed shot in the arm, encouraging us to take pride in ourselves, and bringing us together on a project for the common good.
- (2) It would be addressed in part to the problem of unemployed teen-agers, particularly in the cities. While the economy is recovering, this group is lagging behind, and it would show that the President is directing his concern to this problem.
- (3) It would be directed to the problems of both the environment and the cities -- two areas in which the President needs greater identification.
- (4) The cost, within the bottom limit set by Paul's estimated minimum of \$1 billion, could be held to what we could safely afford. It would be a one-shot effort and need have no future budget impact.

On the con side, it would no doubt be criticized as being both too much and too little. But its very nature as a commemorative expression would largely exempt it from such criticisms.

From the political standpoint, it would give the President an opportunity to act in an imaginative and unexpected way -- giving positive expression of boldness and leadership.

cc: Dave Gergen, Paul O'Neill, Jim Cannon ✓

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

DAVE GERGEN

SUBJECT:

Fourth of July

After you were called out of the meeting late last week on 4th of July activities, I promised that I would give you a brief summary of the ideas that emerged.

Clean Up America -- The idea that attracted the most interest as a Presidential initiative for the 4th is to launch a "Clean Up America" campaign. It is generally agreed that America needs a face-lifting -- we need to clean up the parks, clean up our big cities, and even clean up many of our suburban areas. With a fairly modest amount of Federal funds, we could enlist the talents and energies of young people who can't find jobs, putting them to work in very constructive jobs. It would also give communities a chance to renew themselves, restoring a greater sense of pride. As you will recall, this was a jobs creation proposal that Paul O'Neill and Jim Lynn circulated during the State of the Union period; it was not followed up then, but participants in this meeting thought the time was now ripe. (Could also effect Humphrey-Hawkins, for instance.) Paul estimates that the cost would be a minimum of \$1 billion -- and if you really wanted to alleviate teenage unemployment in the ghettos, it could go three or four times higher.

Designation of Worthy Americans -- You were present for the initial part of the discussion of Paul O'Neill's idea. The sentiment at the end of the meeting was that it might be very good so long as the President could personally have the first group in before the end of this year -- perhaps around Labor Day.



Special Scholarship Program -- Discussion continued on this idea without clear resolution.

Sponsorship of Historical TV Series -- Another idea that came up was to provide the country with a permanent memorial to its history and to great Americans of the past through Federal sponsorship of a series of documentaries and semi-historical accounts on film. They might be similar to the Forsyth Saga or the Alistair Cooke materials. The films would be shown in coming years through the cooperation of the major networks as part of their public affairs programming. Then the films would be donated to schools for educational purposes. Details would have to be carefully worked out, but a majority thought it worth pursuing (one notable exception, Jim Reichley, thought historical material had already been sufficiently done this year on TV).

cc:→ Jim Cannon
Paul O'Neill
Jim Reichley



July 8, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Five Suggested Presidential Initiatives

Five key initiatives following the tremendous national response to the Bicentennial celebrations would dramatize Presidential leadership. The suggested initiatives are in areas of important public concern which you have stressed relating to human and social aspirations, growth, individual opportunity and national security.

Attached are brief outlines of the five suggested initiatives, to bring into focus your deep concerns which have not fully communicated.

Handwritten signature
*TAB A - Unemployment

- ° Focusing on youth (especially urban minority youth) and the development of the work ethic.
- ° Provide \$1 billion for school work and job scholarship programs which could reduce unemployment to below 6.5 percent in a matter of months.

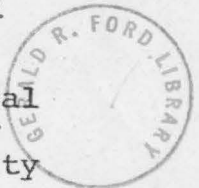
*TAB B - Special one-shot aid to cities and urban counties

- ° Amendment to add \$1 billion to the Revenue Sharing bill.

TAB C - Achieving energy independence while protecting our environment

- ° Thus fostering the growth essential to full employment and prosperity together with improving the quality of life.

* It is desirable to make these initiatives prior to the return of Congress from its recess on July 19.



TAB D - Double national park acreage

- ° A major conservation and recreation initiative.
- Land bank concept.
- Additional funds for development of property.
- Increased staffing to allow greater use of parks.

TAB E - National Security

- ° The necessity of maintaining a strong national defense based on:
 - Scientific and technological leadership.
 - The most recent example is the cruise missile development (we are ten years ahead of the Soviets in this technology).
- Preservation of freedom of the seas essential to economic prosperity and national security, both for ourselves and all free nations.
- A strengthened mechanism for international intelligence, counter-intelligence and covert actions.



Unemployment will be a major campaign issue. The Democrats will continue to push for public service jobs legislation. Carter has indicated general support for the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and recently suggested reconstituting the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Your veto of S-3201 could be strengthened by proposing a new program directed toward unemployment problems among youth.

A positive message on youth employment proposals could point out the following:

- Your economic proposals have been extraordinarily successful and have reduced unemployment by over 1% and the rate of inflation by one half during the past 18 months.

- Unemployment among male workers 20 years old or older was 6.8% in May 1975 and 5.3% in May 1976. Current strategy is solving the problem of unemployment for adult heads of households.

- The unemployment rate for youth between ages 16 and 20 is 20%, and among minorities in that age group it is 40%. There is a need for special programs which focus upon youth unemployment.

- The Job-Scholarship program will open up jobs in the private sector at far less cost than programs which call for public jobs.

- The "School-Work" program would provide students with jobs restoring the damage to schools caused by vandalism. Supervision would be provided by respected authority figures such as coaches and principals.

- This approach would provide jobs that would teach useful skills, discipline, respect for authority, and instill a sense of purpose.

- Placing half of the 1.7 million unemployed youth in useful jobs could reduce the employment rate by another 1%.

The above strategy would position you to emphasize the success of your economic policies, while providing positive initiatives which focus on the critical area of youth unemployment.

COMMUNITY ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACT

Proposal: Authorize \$1 billion for cities and counties with high unemployment to assist in the maintenance of basic municipal services and to aid in stimulating local economic recovery.

Background: As the economy recovers and as the national employment picture improves steadily and substantially, there continue to be selected cities and counties which are lagging behind the nation's economic revitalization.

In these areas recovery becomes increasingly difficult because the maintenance of basic municipal services requires an increased local tax effort which in turn poses an additional obstacle to reviving that local economy. These cities and counties are thus trapped in a vicious cycle of decline.

Purpose: Provide temporary, emergency support to assist these areas during a period of recovery to maintain essential services while avoiding tax increases. This would provide a bridge which would give them an opportunity to participate in the national economic recovery.

Description: The program would be activated when national unemployment averages 7% or more for a quarter. Every city or county which has had an unemployment rate of 6% or greater for that quarter would be eligible. When the national unemployment rate falls below 7%, a supplementary fund would be available on a formula basis to those cities and counties with unemployment rates which continue to exceed 8.5%.

For each quarter with a 7% unemployment, \$100 million would automatically be available. For each one-tenth of a percent over 7%, \$40 million would be added to the amount to be distributed.

Funds would be distributed on the basis of the general revenue sharing formula and unemployment in that community.



ACHIEVING ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

Facts

1. Energy use in the United States is accelerating with improvements in the economy:
 - Gasoline consumption in the first half of 1976 was up an average of almost 5 percent over the equivalent period of 1975.
 - Industrial electric use was up 8 percent in the first quarter over the first quarter of 1975 (second quarter figures are not yet available, but will almost certainly be up substantially).
2. Because of declining domestic oil and natural gas production, imports of oil in the first half of 1976 were up almost 21 percent over the first half of 1975.
3. FEA's projection of growth in oil consumption for 1976 is 4.2 percent, and for growth in imports is 17 percent.
4. FEA also projects that the cost of imported oil will increase to \$35 billion in 1976, an increase of almost 30 percent over the \$27 billion spent for imported oil in 1975.

Analysis

These figures suggest that long-term growth of energy consumption in the United States is accelerating.

With declining domestic production of crude oil, the oil import situation is essentially out of control. By the end of 1976, we will be importing over 40 percent of our oil (against 37 percent in 1975), and spending 30 percent more than last year to get it.

Presidential Initiatives

The President should bring these facts forcefully to the attention of the American people, emphasizing that

Congress has done nothing to deal with this grave problem during the past year.

The clear implication of these figures is that the United States does not have any means to stem the flood of imports, or any long-range plan to come to terms with this problem in the future.

The President has proposed to Congress a balanced program to increase production, reduce demand and provide for the establishment of a strategic reserve. The major elements of this program should be re-emphasized.

At the same time, the President could make the following additional proposals, communicating his concern about the seriousness of the problem:

1. The President can state that he will use his authority to impose oil import quotas to prevent imports from exceeding 50 percent of oil consumption in any year.

[The usefulness of quotas on imports in the context of a shortage of domestic supply is subject to question, especially in the context of price controls. However, the 50 percent figure is a dramatic benchmark, is not likely to be reached for another two years, and emphasizes the relationship between domestic policies which do not encourage production and the constant rise in imports.]

In doing so, the President can call upon Congress to act promptly on the major elements of his program in order to provide the United States with a program for meeting its long-term needs.

The President should stress the Energy Independence Authority as part of his program. FEA has estimated that the \$100 billion provided by EIA to construction of energy production facilities will result in 3,439,600 man-years of work during the life of the EIA program.

2. The President could announce that he has directed an interagency task force (under the Energy Resources Council) to undertake a study of the organization of the Federal Government to deal with the energy crisis.

Stressing that energy problems are likely to afflict this nation for 50 years, the President can say that he envisions a substantial reorganization of all Federal Government activities concerned with energy, to mobilize the full resources of the Government to focus on the nation's energy needs.

The President can compare this reorganization with the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in the early 1970s. This was an earlier effort (perhaps too successful) to focus attention and resources on the environmental problem.

[A study of the organization of the Federal Government to deal with energy has in fact been underway for many months. The task force is required to report to the President late in August. There have been small references to this project in the press, but none linking it directly to an initiative by the President.]

MAJOR CONSERVATION AND RECREATION INITIATIVES

The National Parks System currently manages 29.3 million acres to protect natural, scenic, and historic resources, and to provide visitor services. FY 1977 budget of \$390 million includes an increase for additional maintenance and staffing (400 more employees). Yet, more and more newspaper and magazine articles are appearing pointing out the overcrowding of the parks, the lack of facilities and the lack of services. As the recreational needs of the country grow, we should upgrade our current facilities and provide for future demands.

PROPOSALS

- Double the National Park Acreage (\$500 million)

Offer a ten year program to incorporate into the National Park System an additional 30 million acres from existing Federal lands, state owned park and recreation areas and from highly desirable private acquisitions.

- Add Funds for Park and Recreation Development (\$75 million/year)

Park Service construction funds in FY 1976 totaled \$110 million, but dropped to \$41 million proposed in FY 1977 because of completion of Bicentennial facilities. Historic preservation dropped from \$25 million to \$15 million. Yet the Park System is falling into disrepair with visitations increasing.

- Provide Needed Staffing for Park Service and Fish and Wildlife Programs (\$25 million/year)

Although the Park Service will add staff under FY 1977 Budget, the public perceives the need for services at current levels of operations. With



the proposed additions of acreage, even more staffing would be required. Fish and Wildlife Service, currently managing 33.6 million acres, is under staffed. Additional personnel and research funds should be provided, with emphasis on suburban and urban potential.

-- Initiate Urban Park Rehabilitation Program (\$200 million)

Provide a one-shot grant to cities, counties and towns to upgrade present park areas in disrepair. Could be aimed as needed, and could provide jobs for lower skilled labor.

-- Initiate A National Land Bank Program

Develop an acquisition program to hold as public lands for future use the key green spaces that must be preserved "now or never". Lands could be subject to lease back arrangements for low-density projects. Funding could be accomplished through some sort of Federal Land Bonds or by a type of "Fannie Mae" approach.

NOTE:

The Congress is currently proposing a increase in the Land and Water Conservation Funds from the present level of \$300 million a year. The bill will probably provide for yearly increments to a maximum of \$900 million by 1980. The fund provides for acquiring Federal recreational areas (40%), with 60% of the fund apportioned to state and local governments as matching grants for acquisition of outdoor recreation areas.

The Administration has opposed this increase. If we are to consider these major initiatives, we should review our stance on the level of funding for this very popular program.



NATIONAL SECURITY

- We face a growing threat to our security as the Soviets substantially strengthen their strategic and conventional military capabilities.
 - In unsophisticated arguments, Governor Reagan has charged that we are not doing enough.
 - The Democratic Platform asserts that a \$5 - \$7 billion cut in the defense budget is achievable (a politically vulnerable Democratic position).
- The price of liberty in this dangerous world is not cheap. There are no cheap solutions to maintaining our future freedom.
- A decade of shrinking U.S. defense budgets and large Congressional cuts has been reversed.
- Our security alliances are essential, but there is no substitute for the strength of the U.S. which provides the free world's strategic deterrent; an essential portion of naval, air and land capabilities; and the leadership in technological development.
- Three areas require special emphasis:
 1. Science and Technology. A major advantage is our innovative and management genius in scientific research and technological development.
 - This has given us an essential edge militarily.
 - We must stop apologizing for our leadership in this vital area and capitalize on it.
 - The cruise missile is the latest example of our technological potential.
 - It has applications in all areas of warfare and we have caught up with the Soviets and could exploit a ten-year technological lead.
 2. Freedom of the Seas. We must take those initiatives necessary to preserve freedom of the seas, which is essential to the economic prosperity and security of our nation and the entire free world.



- We must meet the challenge posed by growing Soviet naval, air and satellite capabilities.
3. Intelligence. Intelligence is vital to our national defense and our ability to cope with challenges in the complex grey area between diplomacy and war.
- We must stop tearing down our vital intelligence agencies and revitalize them.
 - We need a strengthened mechanism for international intelligence, counterintelligence and covert actions.

Bicentennial

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JIM CONNOR
FROM: JIM CANNON *Jai*
SUBJECT: Lynn Memorandum Regarding Bicentennial
Declaration Conservation

The attached paper describes in greater detail the concept of doubling the nation's parks as a bicentennial gift. I would recommend that it be sent in with the Lynn memorandum. We are continuing to develop this concept and believe that a distinct initiative is needed.

attachment



DOUBLE THE NATION'S PARKLANDS
AND RECREATION AREAS

PROPOSAL: Establish a ten-year program to double America's heritage of national parks, recreation areas, wildlife refuges, urban parks, and historic sites, excepting Alaska.

OBJECTIVE: To double the nation's parklands, wildlife refuges and recreation areas. This new commitment will be a bicentennial gift that the American people will give to this and future generations of Americans.

BACKGROUND: Today's citizens have inherited vast and irreplaceable gifts of parks, historic sites, wildlife sanctuaries and recreation areas. The National Park Service's 287 units comprise 31.0 million acres of which 7.5 million acres are in Alaska. The Wildlife Refuge System's 378 units comprise 32.2 million acres of which 22.3 million acres are in Alaska. Yet with our nation's growth, these resources are often overcrowded and overused. At the same time many areas which would make superb parks, sanctuaries, or recreation areas are being lost forever because land values often make other uses more attractive in the short term.

The proposed initial commitment of \$1.5 billion over ten years would be a sound investment in America's priceless natural resources and avoid loss forever of an American heritage that cannot be replaced. It would mark again this nation's commitment to preserve the best of our vast and beautiful continent. It would expand permanently the natural treasures future generations of Americans will inherit before these resources are priced out of the public domain. This program does not include Alaska inasmuch as the Administration has already proposed to the Congress a major conservation initiative to protect in perpetuity 83 million acres of the public domain in that State. The President reiterates the need for Congress to act quickly on the Alaska proposals before the temporary protection afforded by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act expires in December 1978.

DESCRIPTION: Legislation will be submitted to establish a \$1.5 billion, ten-year program to:

- provide \$500 million to be used to acquire new parks, wildlife refuges, and recreation areas and historic sites.
- provide \$300 million to develop these new acquisitions into recreation and conservation resources ready to serve the public.
- provide \$200 million for one-shot grants to cities to upgrade present park areas in disrepair.



- provide \$100 million for upgrading and increased staffing of current system of national parks and wildlife refuges.
- provide \$400 million to develop parklands and refuges which are currently owned by the Federal government but are without the facilities needed to make them usable.



DOUBLE THE NATION'S PARKLANDS
AND RECREATION AREAS

DESCRIPTION OF COMPONENTS:

1. Acquisition of new parks, wildlife refuges, recreation areas and historic sites. (\$500 million immediate appropriation to remain available for ten years over and above other funds such as the Land and Water Conservation Fund).

Additions to the National Park System, \$200 million for parks, national rivers, recreation areas, and historic sites.

Additions to the National Wildlife Refuge System, \$200 million for the preservation of natural areas and habitat for migratory birds and endangered species.

Additions to the Wild and Scenic River System and the National Trails System, \$100 million. This includes a commitment to expedite the current and future studies on trails and rivers.

The National Park Service currently purchases approximately 60,000 acres annually utilizing approximately \$77 million from the Land and Water Conservation Fund. At this time, 559,608 additional acres and \$449,631,713 are required to acquire lands in Congressionally authorized park and recreation areas and historic sites of the National Park System. In addition, there are thousands of acres of spectacular areas that are suitable for inclusion in the National Park System.

The Fish and Wildlife Service currently acquires approximately 85,000 acres annually utilizing funds available from the Migratory Bird Conservation Account (\$19.5 million in '76) and the Land and

Water Conservation Fund (\$9.4 million in '76). At this time, approximately 5-million additional acres estimated at \$2.5 billion are necessary for the preservation of natural areas and habitat for migratory birds and endangered species.

2. Development of these new acquisitions into recreation and conservation resources ready to serve the public. (\$300 million immediate appropriation to remain available for ten years over and above existing development programs and funding for units already in the National Park and Wildlife Refuge Systems).

Such funds are generally to be used to implement park and refuge master plans, which include visitor facilities, road and trails, resource management tools, and such additional improvements as may be necessary for effective park and refuge management.

3. One-time grants to cities to upgrade present park areas in disrepair. (\$200 million for fiscal year 1977).

To be administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation and apportioned among the major cities (utilizing the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) on the basis of population and need with no city entitled to more than 3 percent. The President will ask the Congress for the necessary legislative authority to implement this new program well before the 1977 summer season.

4. Upgrading and increased staffing of current systems of national parks and wildlife refuges. (\$100 million for fiscal year 1977 and each year thereafter).



Upgrading -- \$80 million for rehabilitation of deteriorated facilities with \$60 million for national parks and \$20 million for wildlife refuges with preference to be given to those areas having significant public visitation.

Increased staffing -- \$20 million and approximately 1500 permanent positions with 1000 for national parks and 500 for wildlife refuges to bring the present field employment up to a level that will insure the protection of the natural resource and meet the increasing public demand.

5. Development of parklands and refuges currently in the Federal systems but without the necessary facilities for proper resource management or public use. (\$400 million immediate appropriation to remain available until expended).

National park units -- recently authorized areas at which little or no development has been provided -- \$300 million.

National wildlife refuges -- \$100 million.

The fiscal year '76 appropriation amounts to \$11.4 million for development of National Park units and \$500,000 for Wildlife Refuges.

THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.:

Date: July 14, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

Jim Cannon

Max Friedersdorf

Jack Marsh

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: Immediate Turnaround Time:

SUBJECT:

James T. Lynn memo (undated) re:
Bicentennial Declaration for Conservation

ACTION REQUESTED:

☐ For Necessary Action	☒ For Your Recommendations
☐ Prepare Agenda and Brief	☐ Draft Reply
☒ For Your Comments	☐ Draft Remarks

REMARKS:

The President asked Jim Lynn about this memorandum today --- therefore we must have your comments quickly. Thanks.

Attached to Max Friedersdorf copy - copy of
Jim Cannon memo to Jack Marsh dated June 18, 1976.

PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate
delay in submitting the required material, please
telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.

Jim Connor
For the President



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES A. LYNN

SUBJECT: Bicentennial Declaration for Conservation

Jim Cannon has proposed that you make a Bicentennial declaration for conservation that would affirm the values embodied in our parks, wilderness, etc., and which might be backed by a commitment of money.

While I do not recommend it, should you wish to make such a declaration, I offer two specific proposals for your consideration.

(1) A five-year plan for our National Parks.

Some critics believe conditions are deteriorating in our National Parks due to:

- . Rapid expansion of the park system since 1970 which has led to transfer of personnel and dollars from old parks to gear up the new ones.
- . Many new parks authorized over five years ago have made little progress in land acquisition or development, and are not yet fully operational.
- . Recent construction funding emphasis on Bicentennial facilities and required pollution control facilities has decreased funding for standard construction and rehabilitation.

A program could be developed to put national parks in very good shape within five years. The five-year program would include:

Current Budget \$450 M

2

1. Completion of acquisition of all land within park boundaries. Can be done within National Park Service land acquisition funding levels deriving from a continued \$300 million Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF).
2. New facility construction, especially at new parks. Provide increase of roughly \$30 million/year (over \$70 million/year present level).
3. Greater effort in maintenance and rehabilitation to bring older park facilities to high quality standards. Increase of roughly \$30 million/year (over \$120 million/year current base).
4. Increased operating funds to bring all new parks to full operation. Provide increase of roughly \$20 million/year.

The total cost of this program over five years, would be roughly \$400 million. This would average \$80 million per year over the current Park Service budget of \$340 million (budget authority), excluding about \$75 million which the Park Service gets from the Land and Water Conservation Fund.

*By Dan
Presided Grant
1872
Yonah
Yonah
Grant*

(2) Legislative proposals.

Standard procedures are being used to identify and protect additional natural and historic treasures. Congress could be urged to enact earlier Administration proposals or new ones. These include:

- Numerous proposals for wilderness, parks, national trails, wild and scenic rivers, etc.
- Administration proposals pending in Congress for Alaska D-2 withdrawals (parks, forests, scenic rivers, etc.).
- Specific items of interest to conservationists, such as the New River proposal, deauthorization of Tocks Island Dam, increasing the authorization for grants to States for preservation of historic properties, and resubmitting the proposed Organic Act for the Bureau of Land Management.

Other Considerations

Should you decide to issue a declaration for conservation, I recommend that there be certain limits to the actions proposed:

- . Any increase in funds proposed should be directed at capital improvement or land acquisition efforts, not at operating programs which can be satisfactorily budgeted for through the annual budget process with perhaps an exception for National Parks. Capital improvements will show lasting results, as opposed to the transient benefits of increasing an operating program.
- . We do not believe the Park Service needs a large increase in funds, but land acquisition and capital improvements would be visible and useful to the increasing numbers of visitors.
- . You recently transmitted to the Congress a Forest and Rangeland Renewable Resources Program which set forth alternative goals and funding levels for Forest Service Programs. Consideration could be given to some increased funding there.
- . Wildlife refuges, while popular in some quarters, are considered by us to be of lower priority than some of the other natural resources programs.
- . Any financial commitment should be so as to preserve your future budget flexibility.
- . I specifically recommend against any increase in the Land and Water Conservation Fund. At its present \$300-million level it is adequate to meet land acquisition needs on a reasonable timetable.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT T. HARTMANN
FROM: JIM CANNON
SUBJECT: The Presidential Bicentennial Messages

Per your memorandum of July 22, I recommend that copies of the President's bicentennial messages go to the following:

- Every member of Congress
- Every public library
- Every high school and college library
- Every editor of daily and weekly newspapers



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMO FOR: ROBERT T. HARTMANN
FROM: JIM CANNON
SUBJECT: The Presidential Bicentennial
messages

*Per your memo, I recommend that copies
of the 11 — 2nd 201.*

copies should go to the following:

Every member of Congress

Every public library

Every high school and college library

Every editor of daily and weekly newspapers

also, check with McConahey on a list of Governors
and Mayors to recieve the booklet.

Monday, July 26, -- called McConahey's Off
they will get together for us a definite
list of Gov.'s and Mayors.

cameron



MEMORANDUM

McConahay - G's + M's
Jmc note

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES M. CANNON

FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMAN 

SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENTIAL BICENTENNIAL MESSAGES

Enclosed is a booklet collecting the various President's Bicentennial messages.

I would appreciate your suggestions for possible distribution of the booklet. If additional copies should be ordered I would like to do so as soon as possible, and we would need an estimate of the total number requested.

