

The original documents are located in Box 5, folder “Monticello Drafts (1)” of the Robert T. Hartmann Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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We have the same capacity for discipline and sacrifice.

Let us show the world, and ourselves, that quality of American and its people has not changed in 200 years.

Thomas Jefferson said: "I like to dream of the future
better than the history of the past."

Let us do more than dream. Let us show the way to a tomorrow worthy of all our yesteryears.

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Speech 6. Monticello

Goldwin

Kristol's suggestions for this speech are very good and definitely should be used. (I did something like it, on the theme of Joseph's coat, for Ron Nessen in March, but to the best of my knowledge it was not used. Copy attached.) I would suggest adding a foreign-policy theme, somewhat as follows.

What we established for ourselves 200 years ago, we were sure we were doing not only for ourselves but for all mankind. Our hopes for the spread of political liberty have not been fulfilled, but the ideas are still powerful and attractive to men and women all over the world. There are not many free governments in the world, but the longing for freedom is still strong.

There are some who think that political liberty can be achieved only by certain kinds of people with certain kinds of ethnic and racial characteristics, but I disagree. Americans know from experience that there is no race or nationality incapable of self-government, given the opportunity to practice it.

I find it hard to believe, all Americans find it hard to believe, that other peoples do not want political freedom, free elections, free discussion of political issues, a free press, protection against political arrest and detention without charges and trial in open court, and freedom to choose one's own occupation.

We find it difficult to believe, in fact inconceivable, that people in other countries would not choose these things for themselves in place of what they have: staged elections with no real choices, no freedom of dissent, a government-controlled press, secret police, prison camps filled with political prisoners held indefinitely without having charges brought against them, secret trials, and a controlled economy with workers assigned to jobs and places to work and live.

We cannot believe, we do not believe, that the peoples of the world who are not free do not long for the freedom we have and take too much for granted. We know that they would choose freedom if they were given a choice. But they are not given that choice because their leaders are afraid of the consequences.



MEMORANDUM TO ROBERT T. HARTMANN

FROM: IRVING KRISTOL

RE: The President's Bicentennial Speeches

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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



There is in the world still a powerful latent force for freedom. So long as this nation and the other free nations preserve essential freedoms, we keep alive the hopes of oppressed peoples everywhere. We owe it to them to stand fast for freedom. We are still, after 200 years, mankind's best hope for freedom and decency on earth.

MONTICELLO SPEECH, July 5

MISCELLANEOUS POINTS

In the speech relating to the arts and the pursuit of happiness, care should be taken that the focus on the arts does not trivialize the basis of the arts. The pursuit of the arts ~~is~~ the main basis for the President's emphasis on individual liberty. The arts are a part of this but should not be allowed to pre-empt the pursuit of happiness theme.

Regarding the Monticello speech: The proposed theme here (as elaborated by Kristol) is surely sound but should not be exaggerated. "Open" citizenship is difficult.

- A. Problems with our Blacks (see below)
- B. Immigration is not now and has not been for many years perfectly open
- C. Citizenship even for resident aliens is not simply a right; it depends upon qualifications and political commitments.

The question of American blacks: I think that the President should acknowledge ~~of~~ American Blacks in this celebration. It is not easy (but it is altogether possible) to do this well. But to omit the matter altogether from the President's account of the significance of the Bicentennial would be a serious injustice to our past and to our present.

But how?

1. The basic point is that the American revolution was based on the notion of universal human rights and that the American founders did think that that included Blacks. For that reason the founders understood and often spoke of the injustice of slavery, at the same time that they could not see a way of getting rid of the institution immediately.
2. One way of making this point would be to let an outstanding Black ~~to~~ make it. I have had sent to you a copy of a marvelous Fourth of July Speech by Frederick Douglass (1854 I think). Some of the reflections on and praise of the American Founders by this great Black Abolitionist might well be quoted in one of the President's speeches.
3. In the speech at Monticello I think some reference should be made to the question of citizenship for Blacks. The essential point here is that we have significantly improved on the work of our fathers, though there is still much to do. They were on the whole very doubtful, not about the right of every man to be free, but about the possibility of building a bi-racial political society. We have committed to that and we have gone

ourselves

very far in achieving it -- much further than most of the early American statesmen, Black as well as white would have thought possible.

(I could help work some of this out next week if that would be possible.)



FROM HERBERT J. STORING, ED.,

WHAT COUNTRY HAVE I: POLITICAL WRITINGS BY
BLACK AMERICANS

(NEW YORK: ST. MARTIN'S PRESS, 1970)

PP 27-38

Frederick Douglass

The career of Frederick Douglass represented the depths and the heights of the career of the black American during the nineteenth century. Struggling to be a man while yet a slave; escaping to the North and joining the abolitionists; establishing his own abolitionist newspaper; securing for blacks a share in the honor of defending Union and liberty; agitating for full political and civil rights as well as freedom for blacks; and serving at last as Marshall of the District of Columbia and Minister to Haiti, Douglass more than anyone else represented the aspirations and achievements of the nineteenth century black American. He was not, of course, an "average" black or an "average" man. He was extraordinary as a political leader, as a writer and orator, as a thinker, as a human being. He was without question one of the great men of his generation.

The chief theme of Douglass' thought is that the black man is in the United States to stay. "We shall neither die out nor be driven out, but shall go with this people, either as a testimony



against them, or as evidence in their favor throughout their generations." While Douglass insisted upon fundamental political and civil rights for all, he acknowledged that the United States was and, in a sense, would always be, the white man's country. The blacks were stepchildren of Abraham Lincoln and of the United States, he said in his speech at the dedication of the Freedman's Monument in Washington, D.C., one of the most profound statements ever made on the relation of blacks and whites in America. These stepchildren were, in Douglass' view, determined to remain in America, determined to make Americans live up to their own principles, and determined to fit themselves for the benefits America offered. Few men have understood the American principles, and their shocking betrayal, so well. Douglass' Fourth of July Oration in Rochester in 1852 is, in both substance and rhetoric, quite possibly the best speech of its kind ever given by a black American.

Although one of the great men of his race, Douglass was not a "race" man. His platform was the individualism of the Declaration of Independence, and he was consistent in urging the American government and society to abolish distinctions based on race and

Fourth of July Oration

. . .

This, for the purpose of this celebration, is the 4th of July. It is the birthday of your National Independence, and of your political freedom. This, to you, is what the Passover was to the emancipated people of God. It carries your minds back to the day, and to the act of your great deliverance; and to the signs, and to the wonders, associated with that act, and that day. This celebration also marks the beginning of another year of your national life; and reminds you that the Republic of America is now 76 years old. I am glad, fellow-citizens, that your nation is so young. Seventy-six years, though a good old age for a man, is but a mere speck in the life of a nation. Three score years and ten is the allotted time for individual men; but nations number their years by thousands. According

Oration Delivered in Corinthian Hall, Rochester, by Frederick Douglass, July 5, 1852. Published by Lee, Mann & Co., 1852. (Abridged)



in urging blacks to eschew "race" organizations and principles and values, except to the extent that they were forced on them by circumstances. His emphasis was on the individual—individual rights and individual duties. While demanding the removal of the external obstacles of discrimination and civil wrongs, Douglass emphasized the very great responsibility of the black to remove the inner obstacles of ignorance, sloth, and moral corruption, which enslaved and degraded too many blacks, while providing plausible justification for prejudice and discrimination.

Additional Readings: Douglass published a series of autobiographical writings during his life, the fullest of which is the *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, finished in 1892. The shorter *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* was first published in 1845. It covers mainly Douglass' life as a slave and is an excellent introduction to the character of Frederick Douglass and to the inner workings of slavery. The most complete collection of Douglass' writings is Philip Foner's four-volume *Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass*, now available in paperback. Carter G. Woodson's *Negro Orators and their Orations* contains much Negro thought and argument from the Douglass period.

to this fact, you are, even now only in the beginning of your national career, still lingering in the period of childhood. I repeat, I am glad this is so. There is hope in the thought, and hope is much needed, under the dark clouds which lower above the horizon. The eye of the reformer is met with angry flashes, portending disastrous times; but his heart may well beat lighter at the thought that America is young, and that she is still in the impressible stage of her existence. May he not hope that high lessons of wisdom, of justice and of truth, will yet give direction to her destiny? Were the nation older, the patriot's heart might be sadder, and the reformer's brow heavier. Its future might be shrouded in gloom, and the hope of its prophets go out in sorrow. There is consolation in the thought, that America is young.—Great streams are not easily turned from channels, worn deep in the course of ages. They may sometimes rise in quiet and stately majesty, and inundate the land, refreshing and fertilizing the earth with their mysterious properties. They may also rise in wrath and fury, and bear away, on their angry waves, the accumulated wealth of years of toil and hardship. They, however, gradually flow back to the same old channel, and flow on as serenely as ever. But, while the river may not be turned aside, it may dry up, and leave nothing behind but the withered branch, and the unsightly rock, to howl in the



abyss-sweeping wind, the sad tale of departed glory. As with rivers so with nations.

Fellow Citizens, I am not wanting in respect for the fathers of this republic. The signers of the Declaration of Independence were brave men. They were great men too—great enough to give fame to a great age. It does not often happen to a nation to raise, at one time, such a number of truly great men. The point from which I am compelled to view them is not, certainly the most favorable; and yet I cannot contemplate their great deeds with less than admiration. They were statesmen, patriots and heroes, and for the good they did, and the principles they contended for, I will unite with you to honor their memory.

They loved their country better than their own private interests; and, though this is not the highest form of human excellence, all will concede that it is a rare virtue, and that when it is exhibited, it ought to command respect. He who will, intelligently, lay down his life for his country, is a man whom it is not in human nature to despise. Your fathers staked their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, on the cause of their country. In their admiration of liberty, they lost sight of all other interests.

They were peace men; but they preferred revolution to peaceful submission to bondage. They were quiet men; but they did not shrink from agitating against oppression. They showed forbearance; but that they knew its limits. They believed in order; but not in the order of tyranny. With them, nothing was "*settled*" that was not right. With them, justice, liberty and humanity were "*final*," not slavery and oppression. You may well cherish the memory of such men. They were great in their day and generation. Their solid manhood stands out the more as we contrast it with these degenerate times.

How circumspect, exact and proportionate were all their movements! How unlike the politicians of an hour! Their statesmanship looked beyond the passing moment, and stretched away in strength into the distant future. They seized upon eternal principles, and set a glorious example in their defence. Mark them!

Fully appreciating the hardships to be encountered, firmly believing in the right of their cause, honorably inviting the scrutiny of an on-looking world, reverently appealing to heaven to attest their sincerity, soundly comprehending the solemn responsibility they were about to assume, wisely measuring the terrible odds against them, your fathers, the fathers of this republic, did, most deliberately, under the inspiration of a glorious patriotism, and with a sublime faith in the great principles of justice and freedom, lay deep, the corner-stone of the national superstructure, which has risen and still rises in grandeur around you.



Of this fundamental work, this day is the anniversary. Our eyes are met with demonstrations of joyous enthusiasm. Banners and pennants wave exultingly on the breeze. The din of business, too, is hushed. Even mammon seems to have quitted his grasp on this day. The ear-piercing fife and the stirring drum unite their accents with the ascending peal of a thousand church bells. Prayers are made, hymns are sung, and sermons are preached in honor of this day; while the quick martial tramp of a great and multitudinous nation, echoed back by all the hills, valleys and mountains of a vast continent, bespeak the occasion one of thrilling and universal interest—a nation's jubilee.

My business, if I have any here to-day, is with the present. The accepted time with God and his cause is the ever-living now.

Trust no future, however pleasant,
 Let the dead past bury its dead;
 Act, act in the living present,
 Heart within, and God overhead.

We have to do with the past only as we can make it useful to the present and to the future. To all inspiring motives, to noble deeds which can be gained from the past, we are welcome. But now is the time, the important time. Your fathers have lived, died, and have done their work, and have done much of it well. You live and must die, and you must do your work. You have no right to enjoy a child's share in the labor of your fathers, unless your children are to be blest by your labors. You have no right to wear out and waste the hard-earned fame of your fathers to cover your indolence.

Fellow-citizens, pardon me, allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here to-day? What have I, or those I represent, to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? and am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions! Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For *who* is there so cold, that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish, that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude



had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man. In a case like that, the dumb might eloquently speak, and the "lame man leap as an hart."

But, such is not the state of the case. I say it with a sad sense of the disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you, this day, rejoice, are not enjoyed in common.— The rich inheritance of justice, liberty, prosperity and independence, bequeathed by your fathers, is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you, has brought stripes and death to me. This Fourth July is *yours*, not *mine*. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, were inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak to-day? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct, And let me warn you that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin! I can today take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people!

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down. Yea! we wept when we remembered Zion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there, they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they who wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion. How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

Fellow-citizens; above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions! whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are, to-day, rendered more intolerable by the jubilee shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not faithfully remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world. My subject, then, fellow-citizens, is AMERICAN SLAVERY. I shall see, this day, and its popular characteristics, from the slave's point of view. Standing there, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this 4th of July! Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future. Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion,



I will, in the name of humanity which is outraged, in the name of liberty which is fettered, in the name of the constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery—the great sin and shame of America! “I will not equivocate; I will not excuse;” I will use the severest language I can command; and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgment is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some one of my audience say, it is just in this circumstance that you and your brother abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more, and denounce less, would you persuade more, and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed. But, I submit, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is a man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it. The slaveholders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws for their government. They acknowledge it when they punish disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia, which, if committed by a black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of the same crimes will subject a white man to the like punishment.— What is this but the acknowledgement that the slave is a moral, intellectual and responsible being. The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that Southern statute books are covered with enactments forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read or to write.— When you can point to any such laws, in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle on your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from a brute, *then* will I argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present, it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the negro race. Is it not astonishing that, while we are ploughing, planting and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver and gold; that, while we are reading, writing and cyphering, acting as clerks, merchants and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators and teachers; that, while we are engaged in all manner of enterprises common to other men, digging gold in California, capturing the whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep



and cattle on the hill-side, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives and children, and, above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian's God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave, we are called upon to prove that we are men!

Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty? that he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for Republicans? Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to be understood? How should I look to-day, in the presence of Americans, dividing, and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom? speaking of it relatively, and positively, negatively, and affirmatively. To do so, would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding.— There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven, that does not know that slavery is wrong *for him*.

What, am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood, and stained with pollution, is *wrong*? No! I will not. I have better employment for my time and strength, than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman, cannot be divine! *Who* can reason on such a proposition? They that can, may; I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would, to-day, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer; a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice



and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every day practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

. . .

Americans! your republican politics, not less than your republican religion, are flagrantly inconsistent. You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization, and your pure christianity, while the whole political power of the nation; as embodied in the two great political parties, is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen. You hurl your anathemas at the crowned headed tyrants of Russia and Austria, and pride yourselves on your Democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere *tools* and *body-guards* of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina. You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land, you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot and kill. You glory in your refinement, and your universal education; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful, as ever stained the character of a nation—a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty. You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen and orators, till your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against her oppressors; but, in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make those wrongs the subject of public discourse! You are all on fire at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland; but are as cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America.—You discourse eloquently on



the dignity of labor; yet, you sustain a system which, in its very essence, casts a stigma upon labor. You can bare your bosom to the storm of British artillery, to throw off a three-penny tax on tea; and yet wring the last hard earned farthing from the grasp of the black laborers of your country. You profess to believe "that, of one blood, God made all nations of men to dwell on the face of all the earth," and hath commanded all men, everywhere to love one another; yet you notoriously hate, (and glory in your hatred,) all men whose skins are not colored like your own. You declare, before the world, and are understood by the world to declare, that you "*hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; and that, among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;*" and yet, you hold securely, in a bondage, which according to your own Thomas Jefferson, "*is worse than ages of that which your fathers rose in rebellion to oppose,*" a seventh part of the inhabitants of your country.

Fellow-citizens! I will not enlarge further on your national inconsistencies. The existence of slavery in this country brands your republicanism as a sham, your humanity as a base pretence, and your christianity as a lie. It destroys your moral power abroad [;] it corrupts your politicians at home. It saps the foundation of religion; it makes your name a hissing, and a bye-word to a mocking earth. It is the antagonistic force in your government, the only thing that seriously disturbs and endangers your *Union*. It fetters your progress; it is the enemy of improvement, the deadly foe of education; it fosters pride; it breeds insolence; it promotes vice; it shelters crime; it is a curse to the earth that supports it; and yet, you cling to it, as if it were the sheet anchor of all your hopes. Oh! be warned! be warned! a horrible reptile is coiled up in your nation's bosom; the venomous creature is nursing at the tender breast of your youthful republic; *for the love of God, tear away, and fling from you the hidious monster, and let the weight of twenty millions, crush and destroy it forever!*

But it is answered in reply to all this, that precisely what I have now denounced is, in fact, guaranteed and sanctioned by the Constitution of the United States; that, the right to hold, and to hunt slaves is a part of that Constitution framed by the illustrious Fathers of this Republic.

Then, I dare to affirm, notwithstanding all I have said before, your fathers stooped, basely stooped

To palter with us in a double sense:
And keep the word of promise to the ear,
But break it to the heart.



And instead of being the honest men I have before declared them to be, they were the veriest imposters that ever practised on mankind. *This is the inevitable conclusion, and from it there is no escape; but I differ from those who charge this baseness on the framers of the Constitution of the United States. It is a slander upon their memory, at least, so I believe.* There is not time now to argue the constitutional question at length; nor have I the ability to discuss it as it ought to be discussed. The subject has been handled with masterly power by Lysander Spooner, Esq., by William Goodell, by Samuel E. Sewall, Esq., and last, though not least, by Gerritt Smith, Esq. These gentlemen have, as I think, fully and clearly vindicated the Constitution from any design to support slavery for an hour.

Fellow-citizens! there is no matter in respect to which, the people of the North have allowed themselves to be so ruinously imposed upon, as that of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution. In *that* instrument I hold there is neither warrant, license, nor sanction of the hateful thing; but interpreted, as it *ought* to be interpreted, the Constitution is a GLO-RIOUS LIBERTY DOCUMENT. Read its preamble, consider its purposes. Is slavery among them? Is it at the gateway? or is it in the temple? it is neither. While I do not intend to argue this question on the present occasion, let me ask, if it be not somewhat singular that, if the Constitution were intended to be, by its framers and adopters, a slaveholding instrument, why neither slavery, slaveholding, nor slave can anywhere be found in it. What would be thought of an instrument, drawn up, legally drawn up, for the purpose of entitling the city of Rochester to a track of land, in which no mention of land was made? Now, there are certain rules of interpretation, for the proper understanding of all legal instruments. These rules are well established. They are plain, common-sense rules, such as you and I, and all of us, can understand and apply, without having passed years in the study of law. I scout the idea that the question of the constitutionality, or unconstitutionality of slavery, is not a question for the people. I hold that every American citizen has a right to form an opinion of the constitution, and to propagate that opinion, and to use all honorable means to make his opinion the prevailing one. Without this right, the liberty of an American citizen would be as insecure as that of a Frenchman. Ex-Vice-President Dallas tells us that the constitution is an object to which no American mind can be too attentive, and no American heart too devoted. He further says, the constitution, in its words, is plain and intelligible, and is meant for the home-bred, unsophisticated understandings of our fellow-citizens. Senator Berrien tells us that the Constitution is the fundamental law, that which controls all others. The charter of our liberties, which every citizen has a per-



sonal interest in understanding thoroughly. The testimony of Senator Breese, Lewis Cass, and many others that might be named, who are everywhere esteemed as sound lawyers, so regard the constitution. I take it, therefore, that it is not presumption in a private citizen to form an opinion of that instrument.

Now, take the constitution according to its plain reading, and I defy the presentation of a single pro-slavery clause in it. On the other hand it will be found to contain principles and purposes, entirely hostile to the existence of slavery.

I have detained my audience entirely too long already. At some future period I will gladly avail myself of an opportunity to give this subject a full and fair discussion.

Allow me to say, in conclusion, notwithstanding the dark picture I have this day presented, of the state of the nation, I do not despair of this country. There are forces in operation, which must inevitably, work the downfall of slavery. "*The arm of the Lord is not shortened,*" and the doom of slavery is certain. I, therefore, leave off where I began, with *hope*. While drawing encouragement from "the Declaration of Independence," the great principles it contains, and the genius of American Institutions, my spirit is also cheered by the obvious tendencies of the age. Nations do not now stand in the same relation to each other that they did ages ago. No nation can now shut itself up, from the surrounding world, and trot round in the same old path of its fathers without interference. The time *was* when such could be done. Long established customs of hurtful character could formerly fence themselves in, and do their evil work with social impunity. Knowledge was then confined and enjoyed by the privileged few, and the multitude walked on in mental darkness. But a change has now come over the affairs of mankind. Walled cities and empires have become unfashionable. The arm of commerce has borne away the gates of the strong city. Intelligence is penetrating the darkest corners of the globe. It makes its pathway over and under the sea, as well as on the earth. Wind, steam, and lightning are its chartered agents. Oceans no longer divide, but link nations together. From Boston to London is now a holiday excursion. Space is comparatively annihilated. — Thoughts expressed on one side of the Atlantic, are distinctly heard on the other.

The far off and almost fabulous Pacific rolls in grandeur at our feet. The Celestial Empire, the mystery of ages, is being solved. The fiat of the Almighty, "Let there be Light," has not yet spent its force. No abuse, no outrage whether in taste, sport or avarice, can now hide itself from the all-pervading light. The iron shoe, and crippled foot of China must be seen, in contrast with nature. *Africa must rise and put on her yet unwoven garment. "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God."* . . .



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June 17, 1976

Robert T. Hartman
Counsellor to the President
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Hartman,

Professor Herbert Storing asked that I send you this copy of a speech by Frederick Douglas. He thought that you might find this useful in the preparation of the President's speeches to be delivered around the Fourth of July.

Professor Storing will be communicating with you further, but suggested in the meantime that the material on page 30 seems especially pertinent.

Sincerely,

Joseph M. Bessette
Joseph M. Bessette

for

Professor Herbert Storing

Proorsten - Pat & David
pop songs
best th in life
are free

Whenever you go
you see DM movies

~~1~~ Sacrifice

#1
The Exploring Smith

#5 - det our own dest
The earth belongs to
the living - Jeff



"What we obtain too cheaply, we esteem too lightly. It is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods, and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated."

Good luck to all of you.

(Storing)

MONTICELLO SPEECH, July 5

Miscellaneous Points

In the speech relating to the arts and the pursuit of happiness, care should be taken that the focus on the arts does not trivialize the basis of the arts. The pursuit of the arts is the main basis for the President's emphasis on individual liberty. The arts are a part of this but should not be allowed to pre-empt the pursuit of happiness theme.

Regarding the Monticello speech: The proposed theme here (as elaborated by Kristol) is surely sound but should not be exaggerated. "Open" citizenship is difficult.

A. Problems with our Blacks (see below).

B. Immigration is not now and has not been for many years perfectly open.

C. Citizenship even for resident aliens is not simply a right; it depends upon qualifications and political commitments.

The question of American blacks: I think that the President should acknowledge American Blacks in this celebration. It is not easy (but it is altogether possible) to do this well. But to omit the matter altogether from the President's account of the significance of the Bicentennial would be a serious injustice to our past and to our present.

But how?

1. The basic point is that the American revolution was based on the notion of universal human rights and that the



American founders did think that that included Blacks. For that reason the founders understood and often spoke of the injustice of slavery, at the same time that they could not see a way of getting rid of the institution immediately.

2. One way of making this point would be to let an outstanding Black make it. I have had sent to you a copy of a marvelous Fourth of July Speech by Frederick Douglass (1854 I think). Some of the reflections on and praise of the American Founders by this great Black Abolitionist might well be quoted in one of the President's speeches.

3. In the speech at Monticello I think some reference should be made to the question of citizenship for Blacks. The essential point here is that we have significantly improved on the work of our fathers, though there is still much to do. They were on the whole very doubtful, not about the right of every man to be free, but about the possibility of building a bi-racial political society. We have committed ourselves to that and we have gone very far in achieving it -- much further than most of the early American statesmen, Black as well as white would have thought possible.



MONTICELLO SPEECH

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

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

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

authorities have final discretion as to whether to bestow or withhold it.

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

ROSTOW

MONTICELLO

CONTRIBUTION FOR THE BICENTENNIAL SPEECHES

One of the most powerful feelings of the Founding Fathers, and especially, of Thomas Jefferson among them, was that the United States was something new on earth, a Republic among the monarchies, a vision whose message extended far beyond our own boundaries. Their dream in this regard has been fulfilled. The idea of the United States is a living part of Western Civilization with a compelling and altogether special history which belongs not only to us but to all who cherish human liberty. America is more than a superpower. Jefferson and Lincoln are not revered throughout the world because the United States has been concerned, as every state must be concerned, with the balance of power in world politics as the ultimate assurance of its safety. The memory of what the great American leaders said and did remains a force in the tradition of freedom. The ultimate mission of our foreign policy is not order alone, but peace -- not simply a balance of terror, but a world in which the values embodied in the United Nations charter are respected by all the states and peoples of the world. The essence of Jefferson's vision was that peace is necessarily an achievement of law. Just as the Founding Fathers devised the Constitution to achieve a state of

domestic tranquility governed by the principles of liberty, so they conceived of international peace as a condition of tranquility governed by the principles of international law. This condition of peace, was the only alternative to anarchy on the one hand and tyranny on the other. In this regard, their dream is more compelling today than it was in the turbulent age in which they lived.



(GOLDWIN)

Speech 6. MONTICELLO

Kristol's suggestions for this speech are very good and definitely should be used. (I did something like it, on the theme of Joseph's coat, for Ron Nessen in March, but to the best of my knowledge it was not used. Copy attached.) I would suggest adding a foreign-policy theme, somewhat as follows.

What we established for ourselves 200 years ago, we were sure we were doing not only for ourselves but for all mankind. Our hopes for the spread of political liberty have not been fulfilled, but the ideas are still powerful and attractive to men and women all over the world. There are not many free governments in the world, but the longing for freedom is still strong.

There are some who think that political liberty can be achieved only by certain kinds of people with certain kinds of ethnic and racial characteristics, but I disagree. Americans know from experience that there is no race or nationality incapable of self-government, given the opportunity to practice it.

I find it hard to believe, all Americans find it hard to believe, that other peoples do not want political freedom, free elections, free discussion of political issues, a free press, protection against political arrest and detention without charges and trial in open court, and freedom to

choose one's own occupation.

We find it difficult to believe, in fact inconceivable, that people in other countries would not choose these things for themselves in place of what they have: staged elections with no real choices, no freedom of dissent, a government-controlled press, secret police, prison camps filled with political prisoners held indefinitely without having charges brought against them, secret trials, and a controlled economy with workers assigned to jobs and places to work and live.

We cannot believe, we do not believe, that the peoples of the world who are not free do not long for the freedom we have and take too much for granted. We know that they would choose freedom if they were given a choice. But they are not given that choice because their leaders are afraid of the consequences.

There is in the world still a powerful latent force for freedom. So long as this nation and the other free nations preserve essential freedoms, we keep alive the hopes of oppressed peoples everywhere. We owe it to them to stand fast for freedom. We are still, after 200 years, mankind's best hope for freedom and decency on earth.



THE BEAUTY OF JOSEPH'S COAT

As a very young child, I learned in Sunday school that the beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors. Perhaps the lesson of that story has remained so vivid in my memory because, through the decades of my life in public service, it has seemed more and more appropriate as a lesson for this nation and its people: The strength of America has always been the diversity of our people--one people out of many.

The peoples of many other nations are so uniform in their origin, religion, habits, and thoughts that their progress is held back by unchanging traditions and static ideas.

Some times they save themselves from smothering in uniformity by seeking abroad for new ideas and stimulating thoughts, as a way of adding variety in their lives.

But from the very beginning of the settlement of America, this country has had such a multiplicity of national, religious, and racial sources that promoting diversity has never been a problem for us. We were born in diversity; unity is what we had to struggle to achieve.

We become discouraged at times by the strife among us and discrimination against one or another minority, but we have not given up the struggle to learn to live together in harmony and justice. We should not be surprised at how difficult the task is. If we put the problem in its true perspective, we see that the American people are attempting something absolutely unprecedented in history.

If our territory were smaller, or if there were less diversity, the task would be demanding, but manageable. And if we had no concern for liberty and equality, achieving unity would be much, much easier: With unlimited power and a ruthless

will, a dictator can impose on hundreds of millions of persons the unity and equality of the penitentiary.

But no nation before us has ever tried to unify as one people over so vast a territory, out of such a large and diverse population, with such a multiplicity of nationalities, religions, and races, under a government founded on the principles of liberty and equality.

The Declaration of Independence, whose 200th Anniversary we celebrate this year, describes us as "one people," but that was for a long time more of an aspiration than a reality. Even today, although we have made truly great advances, we have not yet finished the task.

We may be the only nation that has a word like "Americanization," that is, a word to describe the process of adopting great numbers of people who are outsiders and making them fully part of ourselves.

Sixty, eighty, a hundred years ago, wave after wave of foreigners reached our shores, by the millions. We took



them in not as foreigners but as new Americans. Our view was that what would make these newcomers American was not nationality as ordinarily understood, but allegiance to our founding principles, the principles of liberty, equality, justice, and representative government.

There was a fear on the part of many that such huge numbers of persons could not be assimilated, that they could not become sufficiently Americanized, that their loyalty to the ways of "the old country" would endanger or weaken the commitment of loyalty to America. President Theodore Roosevelt, for example, insisted that there was no room for hyphenated Americans, that it was necessary for all American citizens to become "American--and nothing else."

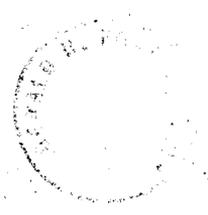
But decades of experience have shown us that it is possible to be American and something else, to be completely loyal to American political principles and still retain attachment to the traditions, language, religion, music, foods, fashions, and customs of a distant homeland. These have persisted for generations, through family and neighborhood influences, even among third and fourth-generation Americans who may never have seen, with their own eyes, "the old country."

For decades we fought against this tendency. We deplored foreignness. Children were ashamed of their immigrant parents, and tried to be "100 per cent American."

But those attitudes seem misguided today. Now we have a growing appreciation for variety among us. Living samples of the whole world dwell in our midst, foreign and American at the same time. Tulip festivals in Michigan rival those of the Netherlands. Polish sausage in Chicago tastes like Warsaw's. More than 450 foreign language newspapers and periodicals are published in 40 languages. There is little in the world that is not native to us.

"Black is beautiful" was a motto of genius, and it had a powerful effect on us all. Once America got over the shock of that bold and true pronouncement, there began to be a realization by other Americans that so is Irish beautiful, so is Slavic beautiful--and Italian, and Spanish, and Jewish, and German, and Chinese, and Japanese, and so on and on in an almost endless list.

I want to guard against making things sound rosier than they



are. Not all Americans love differentness. There is a growing danger in this country of conformity of thought and taste and behavior. In my speeches I have warned repeatedly against the powerful forces that tend to push us in that direction: mass media, mass education, big government, big business, big labor, and mass production, mass distribution and mass consumption. They generate a tendency to overwhelm individual differences, individual liberties, individual rights, individual tastes, and, ultimately, individual self-respect.

We need protections and encouragement of individuality, and some of the best have proved to be, I think, the cultural, ethnic, religious, and racial differences I have been talking about. The sense of belonging to a group that stands for something decent and noble, so long as it does not become confining or hostile to others, bolsters individual self-assurance. That is one good reason for protecting and encouraging the multiplicity of groups of all sorts within our society.

Americans must face candidly the bitter and unhappy truth about ourselves that as a nation we have often been harsh, even

ruthless, in our treatment of new Americans. The way we treated the Irish, for example, a hundred years ago, was a national disgrace. Subsequently, many others have suffered similarly: the Chinese, the Italians, the Jews, the Slavs -- and during World War II, the Japanese. In their history-- and many others'---there is a sorrowful record of suffering from prejudice and cruelty.

The story would be too ugly, we would be unable to hold up our heads as a nation claiming to be based on principles of equal justice, if it were not also true that, to a large extent, these peoples have fought their way clear, and have achieved respect and equality and a place of deserved honor in our land, as an integral part of the American people.

But the worst stain on the national honor of the United States is the oldest and most persistent, and that is our treatment of black Americans. Almost 150 years of human slavery was followed by another century of abuse, intolerance, and discrimination.

Perhaps the first great step was ending segregation in the



armed forces. But in 1954, the Supreme Court, greatly to their credit, took the step that began the process irrevocably, of opening the way for black Americans to achieve what scores of other identifiable groups have achieved for themselves in America. The Supreme Court struck down the hypocritical "separate but equal" school doctrine, which had kept schools racially separate but not equal. That decision made it possible for blacks Americans to begin freely "to assume," to paraphrase the Declaration of Independence, "the separate and equal station" among the American citizenry that every other racial, religious, or ethnic group is entitled to--to be fully and equally a distinguished part of the unity of the "one people" who constitute America.

As important as the black-white problem has been for hundreds of years, we nevertheless make a serious mistake in thinking of ourselves strictly in terms of black and white. There is diversity among blacks; there are millions of Americans who are neither white nor black; and white Americans are not one homogeneous group, but an incredible multiplicity of ethnic and religious groups.



The American population is made up of groupings, voluntarily bound together by shared origins, or interest, or religion, or tastes, or customs. These things they share and value make them want to be in each other's company. They want to live near each other, near parents and other relatives, go to church together, join clubs together, vacation at resorts together, listen to music and dance together, eat together, donate to charity together, and in general jointly separate themselves from others, by choice, for many--but definitely not all--of their important activities.

Most of our major cities have ethnic neighborhoods of long standing. These ethnic groups may have been herded together originally, however long ago, by the hostility of others, but after the prejudice abated, they remained together by preference. They bought homes, built neighborhoods, established shops, and made a distinctive way of life. And even when these groups grow affluent, studies show that they tend to move together to the suburbs.

It is also true that many individuals of these groups have exercised their freedom to leave the old neighborhoods, to live elsewhere, to give up the old traditions, and not to teach their children the language and ways of the old country.

Still others have accomplished a kind of combination, cutting loose and coming back, from time to time, at will. They may still think of themselves as Italian-Americans, Lithuanian-Americans, or Greek-Americans, but they are indistinguishable in their dress, their homes, their speech, their civic activities, from other Americans whose forebears have been here so long that the national origins are either completely mixed or else lost to memory.

This picture of a great multiplicity of distinct groups is an accurate depiction, I think, of the American people. As President, I have met with hundreds of such groups. I know it is an oversimplification to think of white Americans as all cast in the same mold. The diversity that existed before we were a nation has persisted and increased.

We have to rethink what it means to be an integrated nation, to be "one people." I do not think there is harm in having, as we do, natural groupings of people as long as they are voluntary groupings. Some voluntary separation of people according to their bonds of special affinity is actually beneficial--with two very important provisos: that all of the people are bound together by an overarching allegiance

to the principles of liberty and equality, and that these groupings are not used as an excuse for abusing the rights and opportunities of others.

It follows, then, as a matter of public policy, that public officials should do nothing that would have the consequence of breaking up groups that desire to remain together, and do nothing that favors members of one group over another.

Official action should not deprive or unfairly assist any individual in his efforts to share in a good thing simply because he is, or is not, part of some group.

Our love of diversity is one of our best defenses against a drab, suffocating uniformity, provided that we all firmly adhere to the fundamental political principles that bind us together as a nation. We must never become so dazzled by the splendid colors of Joseph's coat that we forget that their beauty is the result of their being combined in a harmonious and integrated pattern.

The beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors, but it is one coat. Diversity is a blessing only among a unified people.



~~(Secret)~~

RTF

June 11, 1976
SECOND DRAFT

O.C.

PRESIDENT'S BICENTENNIAL TELEVISION MESSAGE, 1976

America's Bicentennial is a time for celebration. But

~~it should be much more than that.~~ ^{between parades} Beyond the speeches and the fireworks,

beyond the joyousness of our two hundredth birthday, ^{we} Americans should ^{pause} take

^{and} ~~time~~ to consider what ^{our} their country means ^{to us} ~~to themselves~~ and to the world. ^{what it means}

The ^{virtues} ~~qualities~~ of strength and of patriotism, of freedom and

~~self~~ sacrifice have been shared ⁱⁿ to varying degrees by many ^{other} nations, ^{past and present.}

America's Bicentennial ^{is a good time to think about} year is a time for us to ^{pause and consider} ~~step back and look at what~~ ^{ask}

^{ourselves what}

is unique about ~~our experience~~ the American adventure.

The hallmark of the American adventure has been an

^{eagerness} ~~willingness~~ to explore the unknown. Americans have never hesitated to

face the unfamiliar -- whether it lay across an ocean or a continent, across

the vastness of space or the frontiers of human knowledge.

Americans have always been ready to try new and untested

enterprises -- in government, in business, in the arts and sciences, and in

human ^{relations} ~~rights~~



While reaching for the unknown, Americans have also kept
their faith in ~~human traditions~~ ^{the wisdom and experience of the past x}. Colonists and immigrants brought with them

~~cherished values~~ ^{cherished values} familiar ~~objects~~ ^{and culture, in} and ideals -- in religion, law and learning -- which ~~have~~ ^{mixed with the}
~~ative American ways,~~ ^{ative American ways,} gave us our rich American heritage.
~~given us a rich inheritance.~~ ^{given us a rich inheritance.}

~~It is~~ ^This unique combination of the tried and the untried,
the known and the unknown, ~~which~~ has been the foundation for American

liberty. The true meaning of that liberty, embodied in our Declaration of

Independence, is that ~~people~~ ^{individuals can} may be masters rather than ~~victims~~ ^{helpless} of their ~~own~~

destiny. The purpose of ~~our government~~ ^{all} ~~embodied~~ ^{of us} in our Constitution,

is to preserve this liberty.

We must ^{now} ensure that all our fellow citizens share this ~~personal~~ ^{personal}
~~Americans~~ ^{Americans} freedom, and that all ~~have~~ ^{all} the opportunity to make the most of their lives.

And to all people throughout the world who ~~share our ideals,~~ ^{long for liberty,}
we ~~must~~ ^{ardently freedom, the continuing goal of} extend our invitation to share in the American adventure. In this
way we will keep America ~~young~~ ^{and strong} as we enter our third century.



A HAVEN OF OPPORTUNITY - - PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AT
MONTICELLO, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA JULY 5, 1976

I am proud to welcome you as new Americans who now
share our common challenge and our common glory.

The common challenge is to continue the quest for responsive
self-government which began 200 years ago.

The common glory is our legacy of the past which must
constantly be applied to the circumstances of the present.

Two hundred years ago, all Americans were new Americans.
A torrent of individual energies was unleashed by the American system.
Just as new ideas built America, new Americans built America.

Today's proceedings represent the finest Bicentennial gift
that you, new Americans, could possibly bestow. You offer us yourselves --
your faith in America, your patriotism, your love, your courage, your
energy, your determination, and your ability. You are showing the world
and all of your fellow citizens how much you believe in America.

You have chosen United States citizenship in preference to that of any other nation. You have chosen well. I congratulate you.

Too many Americans now take our national heritage for granted. Our real treasures are not our great cities or material achievements, but the freedom and dignity America accords to every citizen.

Although you have been citizens for only a few minutes, you can teach us many things. You can explain the real meaning of America to those who see only hypocrisy and frustration in our own nation and only good in nations with other systems.

The United States of America remains the one nation which more than any other in the world symbolizes man's request for political freedom, religious liberty and economic prosperity.

The concepts of our Republic are constantly renewed by infusions of new faith and new strength such as you, our newest citizens, give us today.



America has given a home to millions. In giving, we received the qualities and energies that made us unique among the nations of the world.

You are now free to exercise all the rights of free Americans. You have also assumed the responsibilities that accompany those rights.

To qualify for naturalization, you have shown an understanding, as required by law, of the fundamentals of the history and the principles of our government. After 200 years, there is still something very wonderful about being an American. This continues to be the land of miracles. We continue to change, to grow, to improve, to demand more and more of the good things of life, to solve economic and employment problems, and to fervently believe that there is no problem that Americans cannot and will not solve.



The United States, distinct from other societies, began with a philosophic statement: "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." This creed does not stipulate how men shall use their lives and liberty, nor how they shall define happiness. All that, in the finest American tradition, is left to individuals, with an important qualification.

The idea that rights are granted by a "Creator" introduces a basis for restraint, a framework of order and purpose to limit liberty and impose bounds upon the pursuit of happiness.

Thomas Jefferson was explicit on this point. "Men may be trusted," he said, "to govern themselves without a master." He referred to political government. Yet he was deeply aware of other restraints, including moral and ethical guidelines. He knew that liberty had its limits.



As America marched to the Pacific, technology expanded.

Knowledge, wealth, and power surged forth. A torrent of individual energies was unleashed by the American system.

Our system became a marvel of world history -- its impact reaching every corner of the earth. Life on this planet was never again the same. Within two hundred years, mankind moved from apathy to activism, from resignation to hope. And America's example, the working of our system, was a powerful influence in this transformation to a new age.

The American system is essentially a network of limits, true to the spirit of the Founding Fathers. They were practical men -- farmers, lawyers, and merchants. They had no utopian illusion that men and women were so naturally good and reasonable that the removal of all restraints would automatically produce the happiest results.



Even Jefferson, the most libertarian of our founders, was no anarchistic utopian. He spent his life not only in protest movements and revolution, but, more importantly, in constructing and operating an effective government.

In recent years, our nation has been wrenched by upheavals as test after test was made of the outer limits of the American system. There was crime and corruption at the highest levels of government -- as well as in the streets. There was test after test of how much could be gotten away with, of how much radical change the system could stand, of how many responsibilities could be abandoned and of how many rights could be exaggerated.

Today we face a situation in which public confidence in government -- legislative, judicial, and executive -- and all institutions of society has eroded. This takes place at a time when individual demands and expectations have escalated. Candidates for office promised more and more of what they were less and less able to deliver.

We have now reached the limits of a national binge that included the government as well as those governed. Our Bicentennial marks a new realism. It can bring a new meaning to our lives -- and to the fulfillment of our aspirations.

The time has come for a new reality in our view of the Constitution of the United States. My view calls for emphasis on the principle of limitation to balance the endless pursuit of special privileges. I see a tendency running through every segment of American society to encourage the growth of multiple centers of power, initiative, knowledge, and action -- and to contain the conflicts among them by checks and balances and other devices of limitation and cooperation.

Abraham Lincoln said the Founders meant "to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the



happiness and value of life to all people of all colors everywhere."

The main reason that the "perfect maxim" can be "never perfectly attained" is that we keep raising our sights. That is as it should be.

But just as unrestrained pressures can strain even the strongest economy, so the surge toward new "rights", which only yesterday were merely glimmers of hope, can outrun the practical possibilities of legal innovation. Most progress can only be achieved in an orderly, step by step manner, not by instant demands for total change. There must be rational restraints based upon feasibility -- whether in our school system or any other institution of American life.

The strongest element in our society is not our institutional framework, public or private. It is the people themselves. As people acquire more power, more responsibility falls upon them. And if the people are unwilling to place reasonable limits on their own actions, the system will bog down.



Individuals are today aware of the power of institutions -- including all the branches of the Federal government. But they are less aware of their own power. Today, American power has moved from the White House into the hands of 215 million power brokers. The Bicentennial challenge lies in how that power will be used. Will individuals demand more of the system -- or demand more of ourselves?

Our system has accomplished miracles in 200 years in ~~terms~~ of the unfolding of the human spirit. Yet we cannot assure a better life for our children or their children. They will have to take responsibility for themselves. Every generation of Americans will live in a new episode of a suspense story. As freedom expands and action is stimulated to change life, America will put ever -new burdens on the intelligence and moral fibre of individual men and women.

As Bicentennial President, I have confidence in you and in all our people. You will meet the challenge.

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A HAVEN OF OPPORTUNITY - - PRESIDENT'S REMARKS AT
MONTICELLO, CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA JULY 5, 1976

I am proud to welcome you as new Americans who now
share our common challenge and our common glory.

The common challenge is to continue the quest for responsive
self-government which began 200 years ago.

The common glory is our legacy of the past which must
constantly be applied to the circumstances of the present.

Two hundred years ago, all Americans were new Americans. A
torrent of individual energies was unleashed by the American system.
Just as new ideas built America, new Americans built America.

Today's proceedings represent the finest Bicentennial gift
that you, new Americans, could possibly bestow. You offer us yourselves --
your faith in America, your patriotism, your love, your courage, your
energy, your determination, and your ability. You are showing the world
and all of your fellow citizens how much you believe in America.



You have chosen United States citizenship in preference to that of any other nation. You have chosen well. I congratulate you.

Too many Americans now take our national heritage for granted. Our real treasures are not our great cities or material achievements, but the freedom and dignity America accords to every citizen.

Although you have been citizens for only a few minutes, you can teach us many things. You can explain the real meaning of America to those who see only hypocrisy and frustration in our own nation and only good in nations with other systems.

The United States of America remains the one nation which more than any other in the world symbolizes man's quest for political freedom, religious liberty and economic prosperity.

The concepts of our Republic are constantly renewed by infusions of new faith and new strength such as you, our newest citizens, give us today.



America has given a home to millions. In giving, we received the qualities and energies that made us unique among the nations of the world.

You are now free to exercise all the rights of free Americans. You have also assumed the responsibilities that accompany those rights.

To qualify for naturalization, you have shown an understanding, as required by law, of the fundamentals of the history and the principles of our government. After 200 years, there is still something very wonderful about being an American. This continues to be the land of miracles. We continue to change, to grow, to improve, to demand more and more of the good things of life, to solve economic and employment problems, and to fervently believe that there is no problem that Americans cannot and will not solve.



The United States, distinct from other societies, began with a philosophic statement: "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." This creed does not stipulate how men shall use their lives and liberty, nor how they shall define happiness. All that, in the finest American tradition, is left to individuals, with an important qualification.

The idea that rights are granted by a "Creator" introduces a basis for restraint, a framework of order and purpose to ^{enable} limit liberty and impose bounds upon the pursuit of happiness.

Thomas Jefferson was explicit on this point. "Men may be trusted," he said, "to govern themselves without a master."

He referred to political government. Yet he was deeply aware of other restraints, including moral and ethical guidelines. He knew that liberty had its limits.



As America marched to the Pacific, technology expanded.

Knowledge, wealth, and power surged forth. A torrent of individual energies was unleashed by the American system.

Our system became a marvel of world history -- its impact reaching every corner of the earth. Life on this planet was never again the same. Within two hundred years, mankind moved from apathy to activism, from resignation to hope. And America's example, the working of our system, was a powerful influence in this transformation to a new age.

The American system is essentially a network of limits, true to the spirit of the Founding Fathers. They were practical men -- farmers, lawyers, and merchants. They had no utopian illusion that men and women were so naturally good and reasonable that the removal of all restraints would automatically produce the happiest results.



Even Jefferson, the most libertarian of our founders, was no anarchistic utopian. He spent his life not only in protest movements and revolution, but, more importantly, in constructing and operating an effective government.

In recent years, our nation has been wrenched by upheavals as test after test was made of the outer limits of the American system. There was crime and corruption at the highest levels of government -- as well as in the streets. There was test after test of how much could be gotten away with, of how much radical change the system could stand, of how many responsibilities could be abandoned and of how many rights could be exaggerated.

Today we face a situation in which public confidence in government -- legislative, judicial, and executive -- and all institutions of society has eroded. This takes place at a time when individual demands and expectations have escalated. Candidates for office promise more and more of what they are less and less able to deliver.



We have now reached the limits of a national binge that included the government as well as those governed. Our Bicentennial marks a new realism. It can bring a new meaning to our lives -- and to the fulfillment of our aspirations.

The time has come for a new reality in our view of the Constitution of the United States. My view calls for emphasis on the principle of limitation to balance the endless pursuit of special privileges. I see a tendency running through every segment of American society to encourage the growth of multiple centers of power, initiative, knowledge, and action -- and to contain the conflicts among them by checks and balances and other devices of limitation and cooperation.

Abraham Lincoln said the Founders meant "to set up a standard maxim for free society which should be familiar to all and revered by all; constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained, constantly approximated, thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the

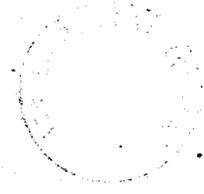


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12

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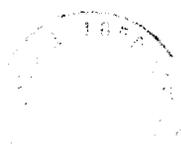
When our Declaration of Independence was signed 200 years ago, our founding fathers did more than break from the tyranny of our mother country. They set out to make a home for you and all others who believe in individual liberty.

JOHNSON

Jefferson, like the other giants of his time, saw this as a land of opportunity and a land of security from oppression not merely for those who were here, but for those who would come to us down through the centuries.

~~existence there were no limitations. What~~ **WE OPENED OUR DOORS TO THE WORLD AND WHAT** ensued was the greatest mass movement of people in the history of the world. They came here from everywhere with the strength and ruggedness to clear a new frontier. They gave us the knowledge and the know-how to build factories, grow food, develop new tools and educate our children. ~~They brought us rich traditions, history and culture.~~ They made this land unique among nations.

JOHNSON



AT TIMES >

There was a fear on the part of ~~many~~^{some} that such huge numbers of persons could not be assimilated, that they could not become sufficiently "Americanized," that their loyalty to the ways of "the old country" would endanger or weaken the commitment of loyalty to America.

600011

But decades of experience have shown us that it is possible to be American and something else, to be completely loyal to American political principles and still retain attachment to the traditions, language, religion, music, foods, fashions, and customs of a distant homeland. These have persisted for generations, through family and neighborhood influences, even among third and fourth-generation Americans who may never have seen, with their own eyes, "the old country."

600011

Living samples of the whole world dwell in our midst, foreign and American at the same time. Tulip festivals in Michigan rival those of the Netherlands. Polish sausage in Chicago tastes like Warsaw's. More than 450 foreign language newspapers and periodicals are published in 40 languages. There is little in the world that is not native to us.

600011

"Black is beautiful" was a motto of genius, and it had a powerful effect on us all. Once America got over the shock of that bold and true pronouncement, there began to be a realization by other Americans that so is Irish beautiful, so is Slavic beautiful--and Italian, and Spanish, and Jewish, and German, and Chinese, and Japanese, and so on and on in

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

You can make your fortune here. You can drink in all of the knowledge and learning which we have accumulated. You can enjoy our natural resources and feel welcome in our society. You can fulfill your ambitions and turn your dreams into reality.

We offer you the rights of citizenship and ask that you ~~do~~ ^{HONOR} ~~not infringe on~~ the rights of others. We offer you freedom and ask that you involve yourself in the process of self-government. We offer you our hand in friendship and ask that you extend it to others.

But We ask all of those who come to these shores to remember

FRIEDMAN

JOHNSON

that we are no more than caretakers of this great land. Among
the responsibilities of citizenship in America is the preservation
of what we have and the improvement of it.

DOUGLASS

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~~that~~ ~~ultimately,~~
a better life for our children or their children, ~~they will have~~

~~to take responsibility for themselves~~ Every generation of Americans
will live in a new episode of a suspense story.

Today I welcome you as our newest Americans,
to share our responsibilities, to share our sacrifices,
to share our rewards, and to share our future.

Join us in our American adventure.

I know that you and all who share this adventure will
meet the challenge. Thank you very much.

FRIEDMAN

JOHNSON

FRIEDMAN