

**The original documents are located in Box 21 folder “1/31/76 - Williamsburg, Virginia”
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For Possible Inclusion in Williamsburg Speech:

*Given to grow by Isabella
Shelton - composed by
women journalists*

Here in this historic town -- where so much of the thinking behind the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution began to take shape 200 years ago -- is a good time for us to remember the Founding Fathers knew, as they wrote out the basic documents bringing the United States into being, that we were not a static people. That much would be forgotten then, and gaps must be filled in later.

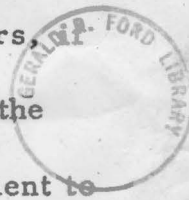
That is why they provided a procedure in Article V of the Constitution for amendments to meet changing times and needs.

Twenty-six times that has been done. And so, let us remember today and particularly here where the Virginia Assembly is against considering the Equal Rights Amendment, that this is one further step in helping an unfinished America meet our aspirations.

Even the original U.S. Constitution had its difficulties in getting ratified. In New York it passed by only three votes. Virginia, which produced so many of the statesmen of the Republic, was the ninth state to ratify the original Constitution, and then only by 10 votes after long debate.


I do not fear new amendments to the Constitution. That is as it should be. I do fear the segments of our society that spread myths and despair over orderly, timely change.

What a Bicentennial tribute to our daughters and granddaughters. Virginia would again take a leadership role for the South in passing the ratification of Equal Rights this year. All women need this amendment to be full, operating citizens.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: S. WEIDENFELD
FROM: RED CAVANEY 
SUBJECT: THE PRESIDENT & MRS. FORD'S
VISIT TO WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA
Saturday, January 31, 1976

You are manifested on Mrs. Ford's Jetstar and are requested to be in the Distinguished Visitors Lounge at Andrews AFB 1:30 pm. Departure from Andrews is scheduled for 1:50 pm with an arrival at Langley AFB, Langley, Virginia at 2:25 pm.

Attire for Williamsburg is Black Tie.

WEATHER REPORT: Partly cloudy with scattered showers and winds northwest 15-25 knots, temperature in high 40s-low 20s.

There will be no baggage pick-up in the West Basement - take your baggage to Andrews and hand carry on Jetstar.

A Detailed Guest & Staff Schedule will be available upon arriving in Williamsburg.



Shute

1/23/76
5:00 pm

PROPOSED SCHEDULE

THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO
DEARBORN, MICHIGAN
AND
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

Saturday, January 31, 1976

8:45 am The President boards helo on South Lawn.

HELO DEPARTS South Lawn en route Andrews AFB.

[Flying time: 15 minutes]

9:00 am HELO ARRIVES Andrews AFB.

9:05 am The President boards Air Force One.

AIR FORCE ONE DEPARTS Andrews AFB en route
Detroit Metropolitan Airport (American Airlines
Maintenance Ramp), Detroit, Michigan.

[Flying time: 1 hour, 15 minutes]
[No time change.]

10:20 am AIR FORCE ONE ARRIVES Detroit Metropolitan
Airport, Detroit, Michigan.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

10:25 am The President boards motorcade.

MOTORCADE DEPARTS Detroit Metropolitan
Airport en route Hyatt Regency Hotel, Dearborn,
Michigan.

[Driving time: 15 minutes]

10:40 am MOTORCADE ARRIVES Hyatt Regency Hotel, Dearborn,
Michigan.

The President proceeds to Holding Room.

10:42 am The President arrives Holding Room.

10:55 am The President departs Holding Room en route
Midwestern Republican Conference.(Hubbard Ballroom).



11:00 am Announcement.

11:00 am The President proceeds onto stage and is seated.
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 1,500

11:03 am Introduction of the President.

11:05 am Presidential remarks.
FULL PRESS COVERAGE

11:25 am Remarks conclude.

The President departs Midwestern Republican
Conference en route reception.(Regency Room).

11:30 am The President arrives reception and informally
greets assembled guests.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 1,500

12:30 pm The President departs reception en route motorcade
for boarding.

12:35 pm MOTORCADE DEPARTS Hyatt Regency Hotel en route
Detroit Metropolitan Airport.

[Driving time: 15 minutes]

12:50 pm MOTORCADE ARRIVES Detroit Metropolitan
Airport.

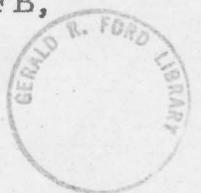
OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED DEPARTURE

12:55 pm The President boards Air Force One.

AIR FORCE ONE DEPARTS Detroit Metropolitan
Airport en route Langley Field, Langley AFB,
Virginia.

[Flying time: 1 hour, 25 minutes]
[No time change.]

2:20 pm AIR FORCE ONE ARRIVES Langley Field, Langley AFB,
Virginia.



PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

2:30 pm The President proceeds to motorcade for boarding.

MOTORCADE DEPARTS Langley Field en route
Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

[Driving time: 35 minutes]

3:05 pm MOTORCADE ARRIVES Colonial Williamsburg,
Virginia, East Wing, Williamsburg Inn.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
OPEN ARRIVAL

The President will be met by:
Governor Mills Godwin (R-Va)
Lewis Powell, U.S. Supreme Court Associate
Justice, Williamsburg Foundation
Board Chairman

The President proceeds to entrance of Williamsburg
Inn, East Wing and boardhorse carriage.

3:10 pm CARRIAGES DEPART Williamsburg Inn en route
Colonial Williamsburg Capitol Building.

[Riding time: 10 minutes]

3:20 pm CARRIAGES ARRIVE Capitol Building, Colonial
Williamsburg Capitol Building.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
OPEN ARRIVAL

The President proceeds through Colonial Color Guard
en route Royal Governor's Council Chamber holding
area, second floor, Capitol Building.

3:25 pm The President arrives Royal Governor's Council
Chamber holding area and greets State Leaders.

OFFICIAL PHOTO COVERAGE



- 3:30 pm The Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, John Warren Cooke, calls for the President from the Hall of Burgesses.
- 3:32 pm The House of Burgesses delegation proceeds to the Royal Governor's Council Chamber to invite the President to the Hall of Burgesses.
- 3:35 pm The President, escorted by the House of Burgesses delegation, departs the Royal Governor's Council Chamber holding area en route the Hall of Burgesses to speak to the Joint Session of the Virginia Assembly.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE

- 3:37 pm The Head of the delegation announces the President's arrival to the Speaker of the House.
- 3:38 pm Speaker John W. Cooke, invites the President forward to take his seat on the platform.
- 3:40 pm The President proceeds to platform and takes his seat.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 250

- 3:43 pm Introduction of the Chairman of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Justice Lewis Powell, by Speaker Cooke.
- 3:45 pm Justice Powell delivers brief remarks.
- 3:50 pm Speaker Cooke introduces Governor Godwin.
- 3:52 pm Governor Godwin delivers brief remarks.
- 3:58 pm Speaker Cooke introduces the President.
- 4:00 pm Presidential remarks.

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

- 4:20 pm Remarks conclude.



The President returns to his seat.

4:21 pm Speaker Cooke thanks the President and
adjourns the Session.

4:25 pm The President, accompanied by Governor Godwin,
departs the Hall of Burgesses en route carriage for
boarding.

4:30 pm CARRIAGES DEPART Capitol Building en route the
Williamsburg Inn.

[Riding time: 10 minutes]

4:40 pm CARRIAGES ARRIVE Williamsburg Inn.

PRESS POOL COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

The President proceeds to Suite.

4:45 pm The President arrives Suite.

PERSONAL/STAFF TIME: 2 hours, 35 minutes

7:20 pm The President departs Suite en route reception.

NOTE: Attire is Black Tie.

7:25 pm The President arrives reception and greets the
assembled Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
officials and Virginia elected officials.

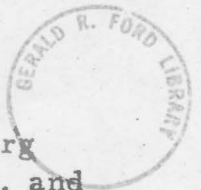
PRESS POOL COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 400

7:55 pm The President departs reception en route Chamber
of Commerce dinner.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
ATTENDANCE: 400

8:00 pm The President arrives Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation dinner, proceeds to Head Table, and
takes his seat.

Dinner begins.



9:00 pm Dessert is served.

9:14 pm Introduction of the President.

9:15 pm Brief Presidential remarks.

FULL PRESS COVERAGE

9:20 pm Remarks conclude.

The President returns to his seat.

9:45 pm The President departs Colonial Williamsburg Foundation dinner en route motorcade for boarding.

9:50 pm MOTORCADE DEPARTS Williamsburg Inn, Colonial Williamsburg, en route Langley AFB, Virginia.

[Driving time: 35 minutes]

10:25 pm MOTORCADE ARRIVES Langley Field, Langley AFB, Virginia.

OPEN PRESS COVERAGE
CLOSED ARRIVAL

10:30 pm The President boards Air Force One.

AIR FORCE ONE DEPARTS Langley AFB en route Andrews AFB.

[Flying time: 35 minutes]

11:05 pm AIR FORCE ONE ARRIVES Andrews AFB.

The President boards helo.

11:10 pm HELO DEPARTS Andrews AFB en route South Lawn.

[Flying time: 15 minutes]

11:25 pm HELO ARRIVES South Lawn.



O.C.

VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY

WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31

I AM HONORED TO SPEAK BEFORE THIS
SPECIAL JOINT SESSION OF THE VIRGINIA GENERAL
ASSEMBLY -- MY FIRST ADDRESS OF 1976 DEVOTED TO THE
NATIONAL BICENTENNIAL.



YOUR ASSEMBLY IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE
FORUM IN AMERICA FOR A DISCUSSION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT
IN THE 200th YEAR OF OUR NATIONHOOD. TODAY, IN THIS
HALL OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES, YOU CONTINUE OUR OLDEST
REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATIVE BODY -- A LIVING SHRINE OF THE
AMERICAN HERITAGE.

THERE WOULD BE NO BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT
THE CONCEPT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT WHICH BEGAN IN VIRGINIA

IN 1619. WE MEET TODAY WHERE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF

perfected America's
THE PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA, ~~HELD ACCOUNTABLE BY THEIR ELECTORS,~~

legislative process.
~~ATTENDED THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES AND LEARNED THE ELEMENTS~~

~~OF SELF GOVERNMENT.~~



IT WAS HERE THAT BRAVE VIRGINIANS CHALLENGED THE
OPPRESSION OF A DISTANT AND UNRESPONSIVE REGIME /
THAT SOUGHT TO IMPOSE TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION,
AND GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

THE CONCEPT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FLOWED
FROM STIRRINGS OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL LIBERTY IN
THE MOTHER COUNTRY, FROM MAGNA CARTA AND FROM
CROMWELL'S COMMONWEALTH.

THE VIRGINIANS CREATED A NEW WAY OF LIFE /

STRIKINGLY DIFFERENT FROM THE LIVES OF THE COMMON PEOPLE
OF EUROPE OF THAT DAY.

WHEN THE FIRST SETTLERS LANDED AT NEARBY
JAMESTOWN, THEY BROUGHT THE SEEDS OF AN IDEA THAT WOULD
MAKE MEN STRIVE FOR LOCAL CONTROL OVER THE FATE OF
LOCAL PEOPLE.

AMERICA'S MOST MOVING CHRONICLE IS HOW

~~COURAGEOUS~~ VIRGINIANS DEFIED THE CENTRALIZED AUTHORITY /

REPRESENTED BY ROYAL GOVERNORS AND TAX COLLECTORS

APPOINTED BY A KING ON ANOTHER CONTINENT.

THE MOMENTOUS EVENTS THAT BEGAN IN

VIRGINIA CULMINATED ~~TODAY~~ IN THIS GREAT BICENTENNIAL.

THE PROCESS THAT STARTED HERE IN 1619
LED TO PATRICK HENRY'S DEFIANT OUTCRY FOR LIBERTY OR
DEATH, TO GEORGE MASON'S VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS,
TO THOMAS JEFFERSON'S ROLE IN FORMULATING OUR DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE, AND TO THE SERVICE OF YET ANOTHER MEMBER
OF BURGESSES, GEORGE WASHINGTON, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
AND THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AS 38TH PRESIDENT, I COMMEND THOSE WHOSE
INITIATIVE AND PATRIOTISM HAS PRESERVED AND RESTORED
COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG. THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG
FOUNDATION SERVES THE WORLD BY VIVIDLY RECONSTRUCTING
AMERICA'S HERITAGE.

TOGETHER WITH THE HISTORIC COLLEGE OF WILLIAM & MARY --

AN INSTITUTION WHICH ACTUALLY HELD A SEAT IN THIS

HOUSE OF BURGESSES -- THE FOUNDATION EDUCATES A

NEW GENERATION●

YET, IN THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR, WE MUST DO
MUCH MORE THAN MAINTAIN THE TREASURED STRUCTURES OF OUR
NATIONAL LEGACY. WE MUST REVIVE THE CHERISHED VALUES
OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WITH A RESURGENCE OF THE SPIRIT
THAT RANG FORTH IN THE ~~THE~~ STREETS OF WILLIAMSBURG /
IN COLONIAL TIMES.

I COMMEND THE INSTRUCTIVE CREED OF THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG
FOUNDATION: "THAT THE FUTURE MAY LEARN FROM THE PAST."

WE VENERATE THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FOUNDING
FATHERS WITH TIMELY AND APPROPRIATE WORDS OF TRIBUTE.

YET ~~IF WE ARE~~ TO KEEP FAITH WITH ~~THEIR LEGACY~~, WE MUST
STRIVE FOR THE RESPONSIBLE SELF-GOVERNMENT THEY SOUGHT.



PATRICK HENRY, ADVOCATING NATIONAL UNITY

IN PHILADELPHIA, SAID "I AM NOT A VIRGINIAN, BUT

AN AMERICAN." I BELIEVE THAT PATRICK HENRY WOULD TAKE

ONE LOOK AT TODAY'S AMERICA AND PROCLAIM: "I AM NOT ONLY

AN AMERICAN/BUT ALSO A VIRGINIAN WHO BELIEVES IN THE ~~SANCTITY~~

~~OF~~ LOCAL CONTROL OVER THE FATE OF LOCAL PEOPLE."

GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNED AGAINST THE DANGER
OF THE CENTRALIZED POWER OF GOVERNMENT. YET WE FIND
OURSELVES IN A BICENTENNIAL YEAR WHEN WE LOOK BACK,
WITH SOMETHING LESS THAN PLEASURE, AT THE EROSION
OF STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITY.

INDEED, AMERICA HAS NOW REACHED THE POINT WHERE
THE FEDERAL ESTABLISHMENT EMPLOYS OVER THREE MILLION PEOPLE.
THIS IS MORE THAN THE COMBINED POPULATIONS OF ALL THE
13 ORIGINAL STATES / WHEN THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION RESERVED
TO YOUR PEOPLE AND YOUR STATE GOVERNMENT / ALL POWER
NOT BESTOWED UPON THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS UNDERSTOOD THAT
A SELF-GOVERNING REPUBLIC COULD NOT EXIST IF PEOPLE DID NOT
POSSESS THE TRADITIONAL VIRTUES OF SELF-DISCIPLINE,
SELF-RELIANCE, AND A PATRIOTIC CONCERN FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.
"REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT," SAID JAMES MADISON,
"PRESUPPOSES THE EXISTENCE OF THESE QUALITIES IN A HIGHER
DEGREE THAN ANY OTHER FORM."

IN EARLIER YEARS, THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM
WORKED SO WELL THAT WE ACCEPTED IT AS A TRADITION.
WE DID NOT QUESTION WHY IT WORKED. WE ASSUMED ONLY
THAT ITS MAGICAL PROVIDENCE WOULD CONTINUE FOREVER.

IN THE 18TH CENTURY, JEFFERSON AND ADAMS AGREED

THAT SELF-GOVERNMENT, AS THEY UNDERSTOOD IT,

~~PRESUPPOSED~~ INVOLVED A LIFESTYLE DEPENDENT UPON QUALITIES THEY CALLED.

"REPUBLICAN VIRTUES" -- ATTRIBUTES THAT WOULD MAKE

SELF-GOVERNMENT POSSIBLE.

WHEN OUR STATE CONSTITUTIONS WERE ADOPTED,
GREAT CARE WAS TAKEN TO PRESERVE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES
OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. THE STATES DEMONSTRATED
THAT THE REAL STRENGTH OF AMERICAN SELF-RULE/IS THAT
TRULY FREE PEOPLE DO NOT MAKE A CONTRACT WITH A CENTRALIZED
GOVERNMENT/BUT ONLY AMONG THEMSELVES.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS FAVORED WHAT THEY CALLED

"MILD GOVERNMENT." THEIR PREMISE WAS THAT YOU CAN ONLY

ACHIEVE "MILD GOVERNMENT" IF YOU MAINTAIN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

SO RESPONSIVE THAT NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IS LIMITED IN SCOPE.

THEY HAD
~~AND THEIR PREMISE WAS ONE OF~~ CONFIDENCE IN THE ABILITY

OF INDIVIDUALS TO GOVERN THEMSELVES.

IN RECENT YEARS, DURING AN ERA OF RAPID CHANGE,
MORE AND MORE PEOPLE LOOKED TO WASHINGTON TO SOLVE
LOCAL PROBLEMS. THE VIEW OF TOO MANY WAS THAT THE
WORLD'S RICHEST AND MOST POWERFUL NATION COULD DO ANYTHING --
AND DO IT INSTANTLY. TOO MUCH WAS EXPECTED --
AND TOO MUCH WAS PROMISED.

CAN YOU REALLY EXPECT A HUGE GOVERNMENT TO GIVE
YOU EVERYTHING -- BUT TO TAKE AWAY NOTHING?

CAN WE AFFORD MASSIVE TAXES TO FINANCE / NOT ONLY RISING
EXPECTATIONS / BUT ALSO RISING ENTITLEMENTS? I REFER TO

THE ESCALATION OF MATERIAL THINGS SOME CITIZENS FEEL

AUTOMATICALLY ENTITLED TO, WITHOUT REGARD TO THEIR OWN

~~PRODUCTIVITY~~ ^{EFFORTS} / OR TO THEIR PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMY.

FREEDOM IS NOW MISINTERPRETED BY TOO

MANY ~~TO~~ MEAN THE INSTANTANEOUS ^{REFORM} ~~REPAIRS~~ OF ALL SOCIAL

AND ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES, AT THE PUBLIC EXPENSE,

THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF THE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

IN PURSUIT OF THAT QUEST, THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY
WAS EXPANDED, POWER WAS DRAINED AWAY FROM THE
TOWNS, FROM THE CITIES, AND FROM THE STATES TO AN
INCREASINGLY CENTRALIZED NATIONAL GOVERNMENT/ALWAYS
BIGGER AND MORE POWERFUL -- THOUGH NOT ALWAYS
MORE EFFICIENT.



IF THIS COURSE IS PURSUED, IT WILL MEAN MUCH
LESS INCENTIVE TO CREATE CAPITAL AND MUCH MORE INFLATION.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, MEN OF VISION UNDERSTOOD

THAT POVERTY IS ABOLISHED BY ECONOMIC GROWTH, NOT
BY ECONOMIC REDISTRIBUTION.

THEY KNEW THAT ONLY A SELF-DISCIPLINED PEOPLE CAN
CREATE A SOCIETY IN WHICH ORDERED LIBERTY WILL
PROMOTE BOTH ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND POLITICAL
PARTICIPATION AT EVERY LEVEL.

THE FOUNDING OF AMERICA WAS MORE THAN A
POLITICAL EVENT. IT WAS AN ACT OF POLITICAL FAITH --
A PROMISE TO AMERICANS AND TO THE ENTIRE WORLD.

INHERENT IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WAS THE

MESSAGE: PEOPLE CAN GOVERN THEMSELVES. THEY CAN LIVE

IN FREEDOM WITH EQUAL RIGHTS. THEY CAN ALSO ACT IN

ACCORD WITH REASON, AND RESTRAINT, AND RESPECT FOR THE

RIGHTS OF OTHERS AND THE TOTAL COMMUNITY.

AS WE CELEBRATE THIS BICENTENNIAL SOME
CITIZENS CONTINUE TO GLORIFY INSTANT GRATIFICATION OVER
EVERYTHING ELSE, SOME SEEK CHANGE MERELY FOR THE SAKE
OF CHANGE, AND SOME HEED IMPETUOUS DESIRE / RATHER
Common sense
THAN ~~THOUGHTFUL REFLECTION~~.

OUR NATION'S FOUNDERS BELIEVED THAT CIVIC VIRTUE
WAS A WILLINGNESS TO SUSPEND THE PURSUIT OF IMMEDIATE
PERSONAL INTEREST AND PERSONAL GAINS FOR THE COMMON GOOD.
AN EXCELLENT THEME FOR THIS BICENTENNIAL WOULD BE
THE REVIVAL OF CIVIC VIRTUE.

AMERICAN SELF-GOVERNMENT IS THE MOST STIRRING --

AND SUCCESSFUL -- POLITICAL EXPERIMENT IN HISTORY.

BUT ITS ULTIMATE SUCCESS REQUIRES NEW CONCENTRATION

ON DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES / AS WELL AS DEMANDS AND DESIRES.

WE MUST REGAIN THE SAME WILLINGNESS TO WORK

AS THOSE WHO BUILT A COLONIAL CAPITAL ON THIS SITE,

THE SAME OPEN MIND AS THOSE WHO ENVISIONED OUR FREEDOM,

THE SAME SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AS THOSE WHO PRESERVED IT.

WE MUST ENSHRINE OUR RIGHTS, BUT CARRY OUT OUR DUTIES.

LET US EVALUATE WHAT IS POSSIBLE WITH THE

COMMON SENSE BALANCE OF WHAT IS PRACTICAL.

AS A YOUNG CONGRESSMAN, I LISTENED IN THE 1950'S
TO THE WARNINGS OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER. HE SAID THAT
UNLESS WE PRESERVED THE TRADITIONAL POWER AND BASIC
RESPONSIBILITIES OF STATE GOVERNMENT, WE WOULD NOT RETAIN
THE KIND OF AMERICA PREVIOUSLY KNOWN. WE WOULD HAVE,
INSTEAD, / QUITE ANOTHER KIND OF AMERICA.

THE PENDULUM HAS SINCE SWUNG VERY FAR IN THE DIRECTION

THAT PRESIDENT EISENHOWER FEARED. BUT I AM TODAY

CONFIDENT THAT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, VOICED HERE AND

ALL ACROSS AMERICA, IS BEGINNING TO BRING THE PENDULUM

OF POWER BACK TO A BALANCED CENTER.

THE PRESERVATION OF THE 50 STATES AS
VIGOROUS UNITS OF GOVERNMENT IS VITAL TO INDIVIDUAL
FREEDOM AND TO THE GROWTH OF REAL NATIONAL STRENGTH
AND CHARACTER. YET IT IS USELESS TO ADVOCATE
STATES' RIGHTS / WITHOUT SIMULTANEOUSLY HONORING THE
RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE STATES.

AN OBJECTIVE REASSESSMENT OF STATE RESPONSIBILITIES

CAN REDUCE CENTRAL AUTHORITY WHILE STRENGTHENING STATE AND

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS. THE STATES CAN REGAIN AND REASSERT

TRADITIONAL RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES / IF WE REMOVE

FEDERAL BARRIERS TO RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT, RESTORE

RESPONSIBLE TAXING AND FISCAL SYSTEMS, / AND ENCOURAGE

LOCAL INITIATIVE.

BUT IF THE STATES FAIL TO ACT, FEDERAL POWER WILL MOVE
EVEN MORE DEEPLY INTO A NEW VACUUM CREATED BY POLITICAL
EXPEDIENCIES AND PRESSURES.



WE MUST, ABOVE ALL, SEE THAT GOVERNMENT
REMAINS RESPONSIVE TO THE REAL AND LEGITIMATE NEEDS
OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND WE MUST MAKE SURE THAT,
IN MEETING THOSE NEEDS, EACH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT PERFORMS
ITS PROPER FUNCTION -- NO MORE AND NO LESS.

THIS IS ESSENTIAL TO PRESERVE OUR SYSTEM AND
TO DRAW NEW ENERGY FROM THE SOURCE OF ALL GOVERNMENTAL
POWER -- THE PEOPLE.

WHEN THE KING'S AGENTS DISSOLVED THE HOUSE OF
BURGESSES PRIOR TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, ITS MEMBERS
OFTEN DISAGREED. BUT THEY SHARED A COMMON FAITH
THAT LED TO A COMMON GLORY. IT DID NOT MATTER WHETHER
THEY MET IN RALEIGH'S TAVERN OR IN THE DESIGNATED CHAMBER.

THEY TRUSTED ONE ANOTHER AND WORKED TOGETHER IN THE COMMON
INTEREST. THEY SHARED THEIR CONFIDENCE WITH LIKE-MINDED
PEOPLE IN EVERY OTHER COLONY.

THIS TRUST IS MANIFEST IN OUR FLAG WITH ITS
ALTERNATE STRIPES AND STARS WHICH SHARE THE SAME GALAXY.

IT IS INHERENT IN EVERY PRESUMPTION ON WHICH OUR FREE SYSTEM
IS BASED. / MUCH HAS CHANGED IN AMERICAN LIFE.

YET THE BICENTENNIAL CAN REMIND US OF THOSE VALUES

WE MUST PRESERVE, AND THE MUTUAL COOPERATION AND CONFIDENCE

WE MUST RESTORE.

ANY REAL BICENTENNIAL OBSERVANCE DEMANDS

THE CAPTURE OF A NEW SPIRIT FROM THE OLD.

IT IS THE REDEMPTION, IN A NEW REALITY, OF THE ESSENCE

OF THE VIRGINIA DECLARATION OF RIGHTS -- OF THE DECLARATION

OF INDEPENDENCE -- AND OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

THESE DOCUMENTS ARE SOMETHING MORE THAN COMPACTS
OF GOVERNMENT. THEY WERE, AND STILL ARE, EXPRESSIONS
OF THE WILL AND THE SPIRIT OF A PEOPLE.



IF THE BICENTENNIAL IS TO BE MORE THAN A COLORFUL
HISTORICAL PAGEANT, WE MUST RESTORE ON A LOCAL AND STATE
LEVEL / THE OPPORTUNITY FOR INDIVIDUALS TO HAVE MORE SAY IN HOW
THEIR TAXES ARE SPENT, IN HOW THEY LIVE, HOW THEY WORK,
HOW THEY FIGHT CRIME AND HOW THEY GO TO SCHOOL.

SHOULD THE BICENTENNIAL ACCOMPLISH NOTHING ELSE,

THIS ALONE WOULD BE A RESOUNDING TRIUMPH --

A FITTING TRIBUTE TO OUR ^{HERITAGE} ~~FOREFATHERS~~.

I BELIEVE IN AMERICA.

I REAFFIRM MY FAITH

IN THE UNIQUE VALUE OF A GOVERNMENT OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITY.

I BELIEVE IN OUR CAPACITY TO FOSTER DIVERSITY WITHIN UNITY,

TO ENCOURAGE INNOVATION AND CREATIVITY/BOTH PRIVATELY

AND PUBLICLY,/ AND TO ACHIEVE A PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN

THE NATIONAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS.

THE VISION OF THIS HOUSE OF BURGESSES,
FIRST EXPRESSED 355 YEARS AGO IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA,
REMAINS VIVID. IT IS A VISION OF A STATE AND A NATION
WHERE THE GOVERNMENT SERVES / AND THE PEOPLE RULE.

AS GEORGE MASON, AUTHOR OF THE IMMORTAL
DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, SAID OF THIS HISTORIC PLACE
WHERE WE MEET TODAY: "WE SEEM TO HAVE BEEN TREADING
ON ENCHANTED GROUND."

THANK YOU FOR ALLOWING ME TO SHARE THIS ENCHANTED
GROUND WITH YOU / IN THIS ENCHANTED YEAR.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.

END OF TEXT

C-14

Reagan tripped

Ronald Reagan stumbled into a political brier patch when he said that if he became president he would shift welfare from the federal government to the states.

Some states would not or could not keep up welfare payments at their present level. Misery could descend on many of the poor.

Reagan last Friday conceded that the poor or minority groups might have difficulty. But he offered southern blacks a solution, while he was in Dublin, N. H.

He said: "Vote with your feet. You can pack up and move."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., called that "the most callous, brutal political statement I've heard in the 20th century."

We have said editorially that Reagan's proposal to shift welfare to the state governments is wrong. It would surely impose the same suffering that poor Americans went through in the depression of the 1930s when states, cities and charities all were broke.

Welfare needs to be reformed but not the Reagan way.

Let Them Eat Cake

This month's Marie Antoinette Award, with Chocolate Icing. Cluster, goes to Ronald Reagan for his marvelously simple solution to the problem of inadequate housing, health care, nutrition and financial assistance for the poor. Asked in New Hampshire what poor people would do in those states that refused to maintain the social welfare services Mr. Reagan wants the Federal Government to abandon, the Republican presidential candidate said they could move.

Apparently it has not occurred to Mr. Reagan that one reason the Government pays a substantial portion of social welfare costs is to equalize benefits so that some states will not carry a disproportionate share of the burden of aiding the poor and the jobless. Even so, disproportions exist and poor people do move to the states with more generous assistance, and Mr. Reagan's solution would only aggravate the problem. Indeed, it could end up putting the states into a cruel competition to drive poor people away. There is a big difference between eradicating poverty and relocating it, and the latter, contrary to Mr. Reagan's implied view, is not an acceptable substitute for the former.

Ohio Plain Dealer, 1/20/76

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 1/21/76



Reagan Disparages Own Funds Shift List as 'Some Stuff the Economists Gave Me'

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CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Ronald Reagan said Tuesday that he had had no intention last September of providing details concerning his plan to shift certain federal programs to the states.

In an exclusive interview with The Times during a campaign stop here, the former California governor said, "I simply announced a broad program last September. I made no pretense of fleshing it out."

As for a detailed list of federally funded programs he gave to newsmen at the time he disclosed his proposal—a list designed to show the scope of his plan—Reagan snorted:

"I never did pay any attention to that list. That was just some stuff the economists gave me. I didn't even agree with all the things on that list."

He suggested that newsmen should discard the September list of prospective targets for the shift of programs from the federal government to the states, and he explained that he probably would not express his own opinion on which of the programs should be junked rather than continued by state and local governments.

In September, when he announced the plan, Reagan talked about balancing the federal budget by cutting up to \$90 billion from federal expenditures by transferring programs to the states.

Today, he talks about the shift only in general terms.

And, he no longer talks about achieving a balanced budget as a direct result of the shift, or of granting an average 23% personal income tax cut or of making a \$5 billion payment on the national debt.

What caused him to change his approach?

"You can't expect a man to have a plan all worked out in detail," he said Tuesday. There are more than 1,000 separate programs in the social welfare field, and there may be some he would want to continue under Washington's control, he added.

When he first disclosed his program, Reagan said, his objective was "to tie spending and taxing functions together wherever feasible, so that those who have the pleasure of giving away tax dollars will also have the pain of raising them."

But today, he steadfastly refuses to discuss how the states would pay for the programs now funded by Washington, except to suggest that some taxes now levied and collected by the federal government might be collected at the state and local levels "without making the roundtrip to Washington and back minus a heavy freight charge."

Last September, Reagan said, "An immediate (federal income) tax cut, some of which might have to be balanced by tax rises in the states, would only be the beginning of the savings that could be achieved."

Today, Reagan admittedly gets explosively angry when his critics suggest that the Reagan plan inevitably would result in higher state and local taxes.

"That's the same kind of crap I heard when I proposed welfare reform when I was in Sacramento," he said. His critics then feared a sharp rise in local general relief costs if welfare recipients were cut off by the state, and it proved to be a groundless fear, he said.

Similarly, Reagan added, there is a broad fear in the states today that, if he becomes President, state and local

governments will be stuck with tough decisions on how to pay for programs currently financed by Washington—or whether to finance them at all.

When asked how he was going to deal with this fear of his program, Reagan responded:

"I'm going to keep doing just what I'm doing, and put the monkey back and let those bastards in Washington tell me how they can keep on talking about decentralization and never come up with any way of doing it."

He blamed President Ford's supporters and campaigners for spreading these fears.

"All of our polls show that the people want control of these programs at the local level," he said.

He named Carla A. Hills, secretary of housing and urban development in the Ford Administration, as one of the fear-spreaders because she criticized the Reagan plan in a Washington news conference earlier this month.

But he became particularly excited and angered when he accused Ford campaigners of preceding him (Reagan) into a campaign state and giving local politicians or officeholders figures supporting to show what the Reagan plan would mean in each particular state.

Reagan said he was angered by "the thing of going into a state and getting a state senator and priming him then before I arrive to hold a press conference and to say that I'm going to raise his state's sales tax by 12%."

His major premise, in his current campaigning, is that perhaps the cost of the shifts programs could be met by state and local governments by simply subtracting their cost of the programs from taxes currently levied and collected in the states by the federal government.

A federal excise tax, such as on alcohol, might be used in some instances, he said, although he conceded that this would involve persuading Congress to give up the current revenue yield and persuading the states that this was the proper way to meet their own new costs.

"There might have to be a bridge of continued federal funding until the people (in the states) decide," Reagan said.

When asked how, as President, he would balance the federal budget if revenues declined as the programs were shifted, Reagan simply said: "I recognize that we must go along with a planned balancing of the federal budget, a systematic schedule for achieving a balanced budget."

But he did not offer details on how he would achieve this.

Social Security would not be one of the programs shifted to the states in the Reagan plan, but the Californian has made Social Security part of his current campaign rhetoric.

He got into the issue last December when, in a Houston speech, he lauded Barry Goldwater for questioning the validity of the Social Security system during the 1964 presidential campaign. Reagan mentioned also that Goldwater had been right and then said there are several plans worth studying involving a form of voluntarism.

This prompted at least one newspaper to suggest Reagan was flirting with the "voluntarism" issue.

Since then, Reagan has insisted in almost every speech that, although the system is badly out of actuarial balance, no changes should be made that would deprive present beneficiaries of their monthly checks.

When President Ford in his State of the Union message last week proposed another increase in payroll deductions,