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Which always find us young,  
And always keep us so.  
*Poems. Ode to Beauty*

Give all to love;  
Obey thy heart;  
Friends, kindred, days,  
Estate, good fame,  
Plans, credit and the Muse,  
Nothing refuse.  
*Ib. Give All to Love, st. 1*

Heartily know,  
When half-gods go,  
The gods arrive. *Ib. st. 4*

Love not the flower they pluck, and  
know it not,  
And all their botany is Latin names.  
*Ib. Blight*

By the rude bridge that arched the  
flood,  
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,  
Here once the embattled farmers stood,  
And fired the shot heard round the  
world.  
*Ib. Hymn Sung at the Com-  
pletion of the Battle Monu-  
ment, Concord [July 4, 1837],  
st. 1*

Hast thou named all the birds without  
a gun? <sup>1</sup>  
Loved the wood-rose, and left it on its  
stalk? <sup>2</sup> *Ib. Forbearance*

"Pass in, pass in," the angels say,  
"In to the upper doors,  
Nor count compartments of the floors,  
But mount to paradise  
By the stairway of surprise."  
*Ib. Merlin I*

God said, I am tired of kings,  
I suffer them no more;  
Up to my ear the morning brings  
The outrage of the poor.  
*May-Day and Other Pieces  
[1867]. Boston Hymn,<sup>3</sup> st. 2*

<sup>1</sup> See S. W. Foss, p. 846a.

<sup>2</sup> See Lytton, p. 741b.

<sup>3</sup> Read at a celebration in Boston of Emanci-  
pation Day, January 1, 1863.

Today unbind the captive,  
So only are ye unbound;  
Lift up a people from the dust,  
Trump of their rescue, sound!  
*May-Day and Other Pieces.  
Boston Hymn, st. 17*

Oh, tenderly the haughty day  
Fills his blue urn with fire.  
*Ib. Ode, st. 1*

Go put your creed into your deed,  
Nor speak with double tongue.  
*Ib. st. 5*

I think no virtue goes with size.  
*Ib. The Titmouse*

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,  
So near is God to man,  
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must,*  
The youth replies, *I can.*  
*Ib. Voluntaries, III*

Nor sequent centuries could hit  
Orbit and sum of Shakespeare's wit.  
*Ib. Solution*

Born for success he seemed,  
With grace to win, with heart to hold,  
With shining gifts that took all eyes.  
*Ib. In Memoriam E.B.E.*

Nor mourn the unalterable Days  
That Genius goes and Folly stays.  
*Ib.*

Fear not, then, thou child infirm,  
There's no god dare wrong a worm.  
*Ib. Compensation, I*

He thought it happier to be dead,  
To die for Beauty, than live for bread.  
*Ib. Beauty*

Wilt thou seal up the avenues of ill?  
Pay every debt, as if God wrote the bill.  
*Ib. "Suum Cuique"*

Too busied with the crowded hour to  
fear to live or die. *Ib. Nature*

Daughters of Time, the hypocritic  
Days,  
Muffled and dumb like barefoot  
dervishes,

And marching single in an endless file,  
Bring diadems and fagots in their  
hands. *Ib. Days*



## AGAINST CENSORSHIP

*John Milton*

I deny not, but that it is of greatest concernment in the church and commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves, as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors; for books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a potency of life in them to be as active as that soul was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth: and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet, on the other hand, unless wariness be used, as good almost kill a man as kill a good book: who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were, in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the earth; but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life. It is true, no age can restore a life, whereof, perhaps, there is no great loss; and revolutions of ages do not oft recover the loss of a rejected truth, for the want of which whole nations fare the worse. We should be wary, therefore, what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom; and if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays an immortality rather than a life.

(From *Areopagitica*)

## PAUL REVERE'S RIDE

*Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*

Listen, my children, and you shall hear  
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,  
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;  
Hardly a man is now alive  
Who remembers that famous day and year.

He said to his friend, "If the British march  
By land or sea from the town tonight,  
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch  
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,—  
One, if by land, and two, if by sea;  
And I on the opposite shore will be,  
Ready to ride and spread the alarm  
Through every Middlesex village and farm,  
For the country folk to be up and to arm."

Then he said, "Good night!" and with muffled oar  
Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,  
Just as the moon rose over the bay,  
Where swinging wide at her moorings lay  
The *Somerset*, British man-of-war;  
A phantom ship, with each mast and spar  
Across the moon like a prison bar,  
And a huge black hulk, that was magnified  
By its own reflection in the tide.

Meanwhile, his friend through alley and street  
Wanders and watches, with eager ears,  
Till in the silence around him he hears  
The muster of men at the barrack door,  
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,  
And the measured tread of the grenadiers,  
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed the tower of the Old North Church,  
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,  
To the belfry-chamber overhead,  
And startled the pigeons from their perch  
On the sombre rafters, that round him made  
Masses and moving shapes of shade,—  
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,  
To the highest window in the wall,  
Where he paused to listen and look down  
A moment on the roofs of the town  
And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath in the churchyard, lay the dead,  
In their night-encampment on the hill,  
Wrapped in silence so deep and still  
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,

The watchful night-wind, as it went  
Creeping along from tent to tent,  
And seeming to whisper, "All is well!"  
A moment only he feels the spell  
Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread  
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;  
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent  
On a shadowy something far away,  
Where the river widens to meet the bay,—  
A line of black that bends and floats  
On the rising tide, like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,  
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride  
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.  
Now he patted his horse's side,  
Now gazed at the landscape far and near,  
Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,  
And turned and tightened his saddle girth;  
But mostly he watched with eager search  
The belfry's tower of the Old North Church,  
As it rose above the graves on the hill,  
Lonely and spectral and sombre and still.  
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry height  
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!  
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,  
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight  
A second lamp in the belfry burns!

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,  
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,  
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark  
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;  
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,  
The fate of a nation was riding that night;  
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,  
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.  
He has left the village and mounted the steep,  
And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,  
Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;  
And under the alders that skirt its edge,  
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,  
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.

It was twelve by the village clock,  
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.  
He heard the crowing of the cock,  
And the barking of the farmer's dog,  
And he felt the damp of the river fog,  
That rises after the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock,  
When he galloped into Lexington.  
He saw the gilded weathercock  
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,  
And the meeting-house windows, blank and bare,  
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,  
As if they already stood aghast  
At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock,  
When he came to the bridge in Concord town.  
He heard the bleating of the flock,  
And the twitter of birds among the trees,  
And felt the breath of the morning breeze  
Blowing over the meadows brown.  
And one was safe and asleep in his bed  
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,  
Who that day would be lying dead,  
Pierced by a British musket-ball.

You know the rest. In books you have read,  
How the British Regulars fired and fled,—  
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,  
From behind each fence and farmyard wall,  
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,  
Then crossing the fields to emerge again  
Under the trees at the turn of the road,  
And only pausing to fire and load.

So through the night rode Paul Revere;  
And so through the night went his cry of alarm  
To every Middlesex village and farm,—  
A cry of defiance, and not of fear,  
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,  
And a word that shall echo for evermore!  
For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,

Through all our history, to the last,  
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,  
The people will waken and listen to hear  
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,  
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

### THE SUICIDE'S GRAVE

*Sir W. S. Gilbert*

On a tree, by a river, a little tom-tit  
Sang "Willow, titwillow, titwillow!"  
And I said to him, "Dicky-bird, why do you sit  
Singing 'Willow, titwillow, titwillow?'"  
"Is it weakness of intellect, birdie?" I cried,  
"Or a rather tough worm in your little inside?"  
With a shake of his poor little head, he replied,  
"Oh, willow, titwillow, titwillow!"

He slapped at his chest as he sat on that bough,  
Singing "Willow, titwillow, titwillow!"  
And a cold perspiration bespangled his brow,  
Oh, willow, titwillow, titwillow!  
He sobbed and he sighed, and a gurgle he gave,  
Then he threw himself into the billowy wave,  
And an echo arose from the suicide's grave—  
"Oh, willow, titwillow, titwillow!"

Now I feel just as sure as I'm sure that my name  
Isn't Willow, titwillow, titwillow,  
That 'twas blighted affection that made him exclaim,  
"Oh, willow, titwillow, titwillow!"  
And if you remain callous and obdurate, I  
Shall perish as he did, and you will know why,  
Though I probably shall not exclaim as I die,  
"Oh, willow, titwillow, titwillow!"

\* \* \*

They never taste who always drink;  
They never talk who always think.

—Matthew Prior

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

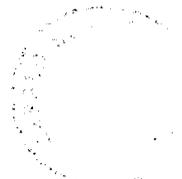
TO: JAMES CAVANAUGH  
JERRY JONES  
PAUL THEIS  
MILTON FRIEDMAN  
RONALD NESSEN ✓  
RICHARD CHENEY  
PHILIP BUCHEN  
PAUL O'NEILL  
JAMES LYNN  
JACK MARSH  
JAMES CANNON  
WILLIAM BAROODY  
ALAN GREENSPAN

FROM: ROBERT GOLDWIN *RG*

SUBJECT: Bicentennial Themes

Ron Nessen saw an earlier version of these thoughts on Bicentennial themes and urged me to circulate it to others in the White House who might find it helpful.

Attachment



In thinking and talking about the Bicentennial, it is important to emphasize the future. We are ending our first two centuries; that means we are beginning our third century. The importance of the past is that we learn from it. We mustn't dwell in the past, we must build on it.

The great progress we have made in this country has been based on allegiance to our founding principles. The times when we have slipped backwards have been the times when we have lost sight of those principles. Lincoln's hope for "a new birth of freedom" was based on a return to the good old principles of liberty and equality for all.

We have one official motto that I like because, unlike many slogans, it cannot be a substitute for thinking--it almost forces you to think: E pluribus unum, one out of many. Originally, it meant that we were making one nation out of many former colonies, one nation out of many states. It took us about 100 years to do that in a solid way, but I think it is safe to say that the task is behind us.

Now "One out of Many" means that we are striving to become one people out of a great diversity of peoples--a multiplicity of races, ethnic groups, and religious sects. The great national task we face is to achieve and maintain unity and at the same time to encourage and protect diversity. Unity is easy to achieve by itself, if the rulers are ruthless enough. Diversity is easy, too, by itself--you just let everyone do as he or she pleases. But achieving unity and diversity together is what is difficult. The American people are attempting to do that on an unprecedented scale.

Because it is so difficult, it is small wonder that sometimes we make mistakes and go too far in one direction or the other. Fifty or sixty years ago, speakers used to denounce "hyphenated Americans" and say that people of different ethnic origins had to be American, and nothing else. Now we see the possibility that Americans can be good Americans, proud Americans, patriotic and loyal Americans--and something else. The many national origins, religions, and races of the American people, like the many colors in Joseph's coat, help to make our national life rich and beautiful. But diversity is a blessing only so long as our differences don't become divisive, only so long as we remain truly "one people," as the Declaration of Independence says.

"One out of many" also can mean the unending task of making one nation out of hundreds of millions of individual human beings while protecting and encouraging their individuality. The Declaration speaks of the rights of every human being and says that governments are established to secure those rights. The American credo begins with the individual person. Our task for the third century is to make sure that individual freedom is enhanced and not overwhelmed by big government, big industry, mass media, mass education, or any other form of the tyranny of bigness.

America is big and powerful and we have to stay that way. We are the mainstay of all who strive for the survival of political freedom everywhere in the world. Our job always is to combine national strength and individual freedom. Many other nations have given up on trying to achieve that combination, usually by sacrificing the freedom of the individual. We must never give up on it.

We make other sorts of unusual combinations in America. For example, we are celebrating the 200th anniversary of a revolution-- which means we are glorifying revolution and stability at the same time. In my opinion, the American Revolution was the best and most successful revolution in history exactly because it led to such stability, without stifling freedom and without a reign of terror.

Most revolutions consume their leaders. The leaders of our Revolution were moderate men, not given to excesses, and certainly not bloody-minded. The American Revolution did not consume its leaders. They subsequently became the leaders of the government. Their good character had much to do with shaping the nation.

The American Revolution did not consume its ideals, either, as has happened in many other revolutions since 1776. The ideals of our Revolution became the founding principles of our Government, embodied in the written Constitution.

In one sense, the Constitution is only a piece of paper. In a truer sense, it tells how the American people constitute them-

selves. The Framers tried to make a system of government that fitted the character of the American people. The fact that it has lasted so long, essentially unchanged, attests to how well they did. It still fits us, and it also keeps on shaping us.

It is interesting to recall that there was opposition to adopting the Constitution by some very patriotic men--Patrick Henry, for example. Different opponents had different objections, but the most interesting, I think, was the criticism that the Constitution tried, by institutional arrangements like separation of powers and checks and balances, to substitute for good character. These opponents thought there was no substitute for good character in the people and the officials, and that good character would wither away under the Constitution.

The supporters of the Constitution emphasized that men and women are not angels. They did not ignore the importance of good character, but they thought it was essential to design our institutions so that they would check each other's powers, would provide protection from corruption and abuse of power, and would be self-cleansing when necessary.

After 200 years, we see that they were both right. We see that our institutions do help to control power and punish abuse. We also see that good character is essential to our national well-being, at every level and in every facet of our lives.

The people of the entire world face tremendous challenges in the years ahead. Sometimes there is a tendency to despair. But I am hopeful, and I think the American people have good reason to be hopeful, that the future will be brighter.

We have made mistakes time and again in our history; we have gone down false paths; we have lost our way. We definitely are not angels. But our principles are sound--the ones the Bicentennial celebrates--and that is our real source of strength. Our goals are still equality and liberty, and our style is still moderation and hard work. That's why I think there is reason still to be hopeful about the future of decency and peace for America and the world.

"A BICENTENNIAL DECLARATION"

FEBRUARY 15, 1975

I AM PLEASED TO HELP LAUNCH THIS PROGRAM TONIGHT . . .

ON HOW BEST TO CELEBRATE OUR NATION'S TWO HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY.

THE CONCEPT OF A "BICENTENNIAL DECLARATION," WHICH  
IS SUPPORTED BY AMERICANS FROM MANY WALKS OF LIFE, SUGGESTS  
THAT THE BIRTHDAY PARTY WE ARE PLANNING FOR NEXT YEAR SHOULD  
LAUNCH A PERIOD OF ACHIEVEMENT BEYOND 1976.

THIS CHALLENGE SPEAKS TO ALL OF US, BECAUSE THERE  
CAN BE NO BETTER WAY TO HONOR THE PAST . . . THAN BY WORKING  
TO IMPROVE THE FUTURE.

THE PERIOD OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION REMINDS US  
AS A PEOPLE OF HOW DIFFICULT PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED THROUGH  
HARD WORK AND UNITY. BY LOOKING BACK AT OUR HISTORY,  
WE SHOULD BE INSPIRED TO NOT ONLY SOLVE OUR PRESENT PROBLEMS  
BUT TO LOOK NOW TOWARD LONG-RANGE SOLUTIONS . . . AND TOWARD  
A GREATER AMERICA BEFORE THE END OF THIS CENTURY.

DURING THE HISTORY OF THE NATION, AMERICANS HAVE  
TRANSLATED IDEALS INTO WORKING REALITIES . . . AND IN THE PROCESS,  
THEY HAVE MADE THE GREAT EXPERIMENT OF DEMOCRACY WORK.  
WE CAN DO NO LESS.

TONIGHT, LET US RENEW OUR COMMITMENT TO THE IDEALS  
ON WHICH THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED THROUGH "A BICENTENNIAL  
DECLARATION."

END OF TEXT

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 4, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FROM: JACK MARSH 

As you may know, Ted Marrs, Special Assistant to the President, has taken over the Bicentennial responsibilities previously accomplished for me by Dick Lukstat, who has now joined the staff of Secretary Dunlop at the Department of Labor.

In connection with this additional responsibility, Dr. Marrs serves as liaison between the White House, the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration and the individual Departments and Agencies.

If you have any matters relating to the Bicentennial, they may be forwarded directly to Dr. Marrs in care of Sandra Drake, Room 191, Extension 2800.

APRIL 19, 1975

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY  
(Bedford, Massachusetts)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE  
OLD NORTH BRIDGE

CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

9:54 A.M. EDT

Thank you very, very much, Mr. Suter, Governor Dukakis, Mr. Ambassador, Senator Brooke, Senator Kennedy, Members of the House of Representatives, distinguished guests and fellow Americans:

Two hundred years ago today, American Minutemen raised their muskets at the Old North Bridge and answered a British volley. Ralph Waldo Emerson called it "the shot heard 'round the world."

The British were in full retreat soon afterwards and returned to Boston. But there was no turning back for the colonists. The American Revolution had begun.

Today, two centuries later, the President of the 50 United States and 213 million people stand before a new generation of Americans who have come to this hallowed ground.

In these two centuries, the United States has become a world power. From a new-born Nation with a few ships, American seapower now ranges to the most distant shores. From a militia of raw recruits, the American military stands on the front lines of the free world. Our fliers and our planes eclipse one another in power and in speed with each succeeding new breed of airmen and aircraft.

From a Nation virtually alone, America is now allied with many free worlds in common defense.

The concepts of isolationism and fortress America no longer represent either the reasoning or the role of the United States foreign policy.

World leadership was thrust upon America and we have assumed it. In accepting that role, the United States has assumed responsibility from which it cannot, and will not, retreat. Free nations need the United States and we need free nations. Neither can go it alone.

MORE

There are some in the world who still believe that force and the threat of force are the major instruments of national and international policy. They believe that military supremacy over others is logical and legitimate of their revolutionary doctrines. Such aims have left a trail of tyranny, broken promises and falsehood.

Tyranny by any other name is still tyranny. Broken promises in any other language are still promises unkept and falsehood by any other description is still a lie.

This is not the rhetoric of the past. It is reason about the present because history keeps repeating itself. Force as an instrument of national and international policy continues to be a major instrument of change in the world. Reasonable societies and reasonable people must do all in their power to reconcile all threats to peace.

Now is a time for reconciliation, not recrimination. It is a time of reconstruction, not rancor.

The world is witnessing revolutionary technological, economic and social change -- a massive and rapid breaking of barriers.

We -- all men and women of all lands -- must master this change. We must make this revolution an evolution -- to make and accept change with greater order and greater restraint.

How can we achieve, how can we accomplish this evolution? It is not enough to call upon material resources. No material resources are sufficient to themselves to inspire the continued confidence of men in reasonable change. We must summon higher, greater values as we proceed.

These higher values are found in the principles of this Republic forged by our forefathers in the Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Jefferson wrote of change in the light of American principles and he said, "Nothing, then, is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man."

Jefferson accepted change in the ordinary course of human events but he rejected any fundamental change in the principles of our Republic, the inalienable rights of man.

MORE

Often change is healthy for a people and a nation. That is why America has always been a land of new horizons and new hopes. Free choice, the consent of the governed, represent the American philosophy of change.

Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are sacred rights, not to be given or not to be taken by shifting winds or changing moods. It is important to recall these truths because the men and women of America must renew that faith, their courage and their confidence.

Our belief, our commitments to human rights, to human liberties, must also represent belief and commitment to ourselves.

It is a time to place the hand of healing on the heart of America -- not division and not blame. When all is said and done, the finest tribute that may ever be paid this Nation and this people is that we provided a home for freedom.

Freedom was nourished in American soil because the principles of the Declaration of Independence flourished in our land. These principles -- when enunciated 200 years ago -- were not a dream, not a reality.

Today, they are real. Equality has matured in America. Our inalienable rights have become even more sacred. There is no government in our land without the consent of the governed.

Many other lands have freely accepted the principles of liberty and freedom in the Declaration of Independence and fashioned their own independent republics.

It is these principles, freely taken, and freely shared, that has revolutionized the world. The volley fired here at Concord two centuries ago, the shot heard round the world still echoes today on this anniversary.

One hundred years from now, a new generation of Americans will come here to rededicate this Nation and renew the spirit of our people and the principles that inspire us on this occasion.

Let it be said that those of us who came to Concord today reaffirm these final words of the Declaration of Independence: "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Thank you very, very much.

END

(AT 10:03 A.M. EDT)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY  
(Boston, Massachusetts)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT  
AT THE  
OLD NORTH CHURCH

8:25 P.M. EDT

Bishop, Vicar, dear friends:

Two hundred years ago tonight two lanterns hung in the belfry of this Old North Church. Those lanterns signaled patriots on the other side of the Charles River British troops were moving by water.

As Longfellow said in his poem: "One if by land and two if by sea."

Paul Revere, William Dawes and Samuel Prescott rode into the night, alerting the colonists the British were coming. When day broke, according to the diaries of the time, the sky was clear and blue. British troops had crossed the Charles River.

They marched all night, and after a skirmish at Lexington, the Redcoats arrived at Concord. There a volley was fired by our Minutemen, what Emerson called "The shot heard round the world." The American war for independence had begun.

Tonight, we stand in tribute to those who stood for liberty and for us two centuries ago. Tonight, we bow our heads in memory of those who gave their lives, their lands, their property for us during that historic struggle because tonight we begin as a Nation and as a people the celebration of our Bicentennial.

Alexis de Tocqueville, the French historian, wrote of our beginnings: "In that land, the great experiment was to be made, by civilized men, of the attempt to construct society on a new basis."

Over the decades, there were challenges to that experiment. Could a nation half slave and half free survive? Could a society with such a mixture of peoples and races and religions succeed? Would the new nation be swallowed up in the materialism of its own well being?

The answers are found in the history of our land and our people. It is said that a national character is shaped by the interplay of inheritance, environment and historical experience.

MORE



Our inheritance is basically that of Western Europe. From the English we received the tradition of liberty, laws, language and customs.

The American inheritance has been constantly enriched by people from Western and Eastern Europe, from Asia, and Africa, as well as Latin America and many other parts of this great globe.

Over 200 years some 50 million emigrants have been absorbed in our society. Though our national origins are not forgotten, all of us are proud to be simply called Americans.

Our environment includes every variety of climate, soil and resources. The American historical experience has been brief compared to many, many other nations. We are the new world, but we are the world's oldest republic.

The most distinguished characteristics of our American way is our individualism. It is reflected in our frontier spirit, our private enterprise and our ability to organize and to produce.

Our ability to adopt new ideas and to adapt them to practical purposes is also strikingly American. But now we ask ourselves, how did we come to be where we are tonight? The answer is found in the history of the American experience. It teaches us that the American experience has been more of reason than of revolution, more of principles than passions and more of hope than hostilities or despair.

But our history is also one of paradox. It has shown us that reason is not without its moments of rebellion, that principles are not without passion and hope is not without its hours of discouragement and dismay.

It is well to recall this evening that America was born of both promise and protest: The promise of religious and civil liberties and protest for representation and against repression.

Some of our dreams have at times turned to disappointment and disillusionment, but adversity has also driven Americans to greater heights.

MORE



George Washington marched from the anguish of Valley Forge to the acclaim of final victory. Reason and hope were the twin lanterns of Washington's life. They enabled him to prevail over the day-to-day doubts and defeats. They have been the lamps that have lighted the road of America toward its ultimate goals -- dignity and yes, self-fulfillment -- and pride in country.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of reason and a man of hope. He acknowledged the grave flaw of our first 87 years -- slavery.

Over 110 years ago, the American Civil War ended with our Republic battered and divided. Many people talked more of survival than of union. One-half of the Nation was on its knees in ruin. Nearly 2 million had been killed and wounded. The war had uprooted the lives and the fortunes of millions more.

Its end was marked by more tears than cheers. But it was also the birth of a new Nation freeing itself from human slavery. Just before the war ended on March 4, 1865, President Abraham Lincoln stood on the East Portico of the Capitol in Washington and delivered his second inaugural address.

He extended the hand of friendship and unity when he said, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds."

President Lincoln had relit the lamps of reason and the lamps of hope. He had rekindled pride in America.

Over 100 years ago, as the Nation celebrated its centennial, America looked to the future. Our Nation had emerged from an agricultural frontier society into an industrial age. Our towns were beginning to evolve into the cities of the 20th century. Rail transportation and the telegraph were tying this vast continent together.

When we celebrated our 100th birthday, one of the themes was: "While proud of what we have done, we regret that we have not done more."

There was certainly more to do and more people to do the job. Immigrants were pouring into America. They were welcomed by these words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty: "I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

The great increase in the number of Americans, may I say, made us a formidable force in the world. That force was soon needed. World War I saw American troops fight and die in Europe for the first time.

MORE

Many Americans were disappointed and disillusioned by the aftermath of the war. They found the causes for which they fought unachieved.

The American people rejected foreign entanglements and withdrew into a separate existence. They wanted to be left alone.

In 1941, the United States was attacked and once more we went to war. This time across the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. We were proud of this country and what it was achieving for liberty around the world.

Yet, still another time, following victory over our enemies, the American public was jarred and disillusioned by the postwar years. They discovered there would be no real peace. Europe was divided in two on V-E Day.

In the words of Churchill, "An iron curtain has descended across the continent." America had become the stronghold of liberty.

President Truman instituted a bipartisan foreign policy of containment, cooperation and reconstruction. The Marshall Plan moved to reconstruct a free world. The United Nations was born but the cold war had already begun. Soon-- all too soon--America was again at war under the banner of the United Nations in Korea.

Little did we know then that American troops would only a decade later be fighting in still another war in Asia, culminating in a broken peace agreement in Vietnam.

MORE

- In the two hundred years of our existence, it is not war and disillusionment which have triumphed. No. It is the American concept and fulfillment of liberty that have truly revolutionized the world. America has not sought the conquest of territory but instead the mutual support of all men and women who cherish freedom.

The Declaration of Independence has won the minds, it has won the hearts of this world beyond the dreams of any revolutionary who has ever lived. The two lanterns of the Old North Church have fired a torch of freedom that has been carried to the ends of the world.

As we launch this Bicentennial celebration, we Americans must remind ourselves of the eternal truths by which we live. We must be re-inspired by the great ideals that created our country. We must renew ourselves as a people and rededicate this nation to the principles of two centuries ago.

We must revitalize the pride in America that has carried us from some of our darkest hours to our brightest days.

We must once again become masters of our own destiny. This calls for patience, for understanding, for tolerance and work toward unity -- unity of purpose. A unity based on reason, a unity based on hope.

This call is not new. It is as old as the Continental Congress of two hundred years ago, as legendary as Lincoln's legacy of more than one hundred years ago, and as relevant as today's call to Americans to join in the celebration of the Bicentennial.

Perhaps national unity is an impossible dream. Like Permanent peace, perhaps it will prove to be a never-ending search. But today we celebrate the most impossible dream of our history, the survival of the Government and the permanence of our principles of our founding fathers.

MORE

America and its principles have not only survived, but flourished far beyond anyone's dreams. No nation in history has undertaken the enormous enterprises of the American people. No country, despite our imperfections, has done more to bring economic and social justice to its people and to the world.

Yet, we have suffered great internal turmoil and torment in recent years. Nevertheless, in all the explosive changes of this and past generations, the American people have demonstrated a rich reserve of reason and hope.

There are few times in our history when the American people have spoken with more eloquent reason and hope than during the tribulations and tests that our Government and our economic system have endured during the past year. Yet, the American people have stood firm.

The Nation has not been torn with irresponsible reaction. Rather, we are blessed with patience, common sense and a willingness to work things out. The American dream is not dead. It simply has yet to be fulfilled.

In the economy and energy and the environment, in housing, transportation, in education and communication, in social problems and social planning, America has yet to realize its greatest contribution to civilization.

To do this, America needs new ideas and new efforts from our people. Each of us, of every color, of every creed, are part of our country, and must be willing to build not only a new and better Nation, but new and greater understanding and unity among our people.

Let us not only be a Nation of peace, but let us foster peace among all nations. Let us not only believe in equality, but live it each day in our lives. Let us not only feed and clothe a healthy America, but let us lend a hand to others struggling for self-fulfillment.

Let us seek even greater knowledge and offer the enlightenment of our endeavors to the educational and scientific community throughout the world. Let us seek the spiritual enrichment of our people more than material gains.

Let us be true to ourselves, to our heritage and to our homelands, and we will never then be false to any people or to any nation.

MORE

Finally, let us pray here in the Old North Church tonight that those who follow 100 years or 200 years from now may look back at us and say:

We were a society which combined reason with liberty and hope with freedom.

May it be said above all: We kept the faith. Freedom flourished. Liberty lived.

These are the abiding principles of our past and the greatest promise of our future.

Good evening, and may God bless you all.

END

(AT 8:45 P.M. EDT)

# Bicentennial: A Political Potential for Ford

By R. W. APPLE JR.

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, April 20 — This weekend's events in Boston and environs demonstrated, to the surprise of many who took part, the tremendous political potential of the nation's 200th birthday celebration. Kevin H. White, the city's Mayor, remarked on what he called "this whole new factor," and so did several members of President Ford's entourage.

For Mr. Ford, who happens through a series of extraordinary accidents to be the nation's Bicentennial President, the opportunities are great.

Beginning with this weekend's commemorations of the initial skirmishes of the Revolution, and reaching a culmination with the commemoration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence next July, hundreds of ceremonies will be held around the country. Mr. Ford can be the central figure in any that he chooses; the sponsors will cover his presence, not that of former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California or of the President's pack of potential Democratic challengers.

Thus, while Mr. Ford was at Lexington and Concord yesterday, one of his rivals, Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, went all but unnoticed campaigning in Boston's Italian North End.

To the already awesome advantages of incumbency enjoyed by every President, Mr. Ford is in a position to add more, not only in his campaign for the Republican nomination but also, if he wins that, in the campaign against the Democrats.

## Change to Rebuild

In a larger sense, the Bicentennial gives the President a chance to rebuild the national unity that has been disrupted by the civil rights revolution, by the war in Vietnam and now by economic and social dislocation.

If his speech Friday night was any guide, Mr. Ford fears that a period of national trauma may follow the denouncement in Indochina, although he did not make the point explicitly, he traced the times of troubles that followed the Civil War, World Wars I and II and the Korean war. As he said of the era following V-J Day, "the American public was jarred and disillusioned by the postwar years."

The Bicentennial would seem to provide perfect symbols and forums for a national reunion and reconciliation, if effectively used.

But there was strong indication during Mr. Ford's first Bicentennial trip that he and associates may not have quite grasped all of this, decided precisely the message they want to convey or settled on the means of doing so.

## Moving Scenes

On a simple technical level, for example, the White House appeared to have missed an obvious bet by not pressing the television networks to carry the Friday night ceremonies in Christ Church, with its moving evocation of Paul Revere's heroism and its relighting of the lanterns that signaled the imminent British attack.

The local television production was spectacular, with shots of the President, framed in a Palladian window as he stood in the pulpit beneath a suspended sounding board, that would have delighted any image-maker. In retrospect, Ron Nessen, the press secretary, agreed when he said that the Ford staff had had no idea

how spectacular the ceremony would be until they arrived at the church.

Beyond such technical considerations, there are those of substance.

In both major speeches here, Mr. Ford appealed for unity, but in both he dwelt on the military aspect of the American past and present. Reviewing American history at the church, for example, he made far more of the nation's wars than of its progress toward economic, social and racial justice.

## Military Aspect

And at the Concord Bridge, he preceded an appeal for "reconciliation, not rancor," with a passage of conventional cold-war rhetoric in which he celebrated the fact that "American sea power now ranges to the most distant shores" and "the American military stands on the front lines of the free world."

Especially in the state that led the antiwar movement, especially at a moment when Vietnam passions have been reawakened, and especially in the presence of a large gathering of anti-establishment protesters, Mr. Ford's comments seemed less than conciliatory to some, regardless of his call for a "hand of healing."

The President clearly has no stomach for those who would emphasize the fact that the na-

tion is celebrating a revolution by starting a new revolution; his vision is the conservative vision of "reason" and "order" — words he used repeatedly this weekend.

## Two Choices

The question is whether he will go to the other extreme and content himself with the safe rhetoric of a hundred Fourth of Julys past, in which Washington and Jefferson and the Adamses are celebrated as patriots without much attention to their ideals, or whether he will try to achieve a national reconciliation based on a frank acknowledgment that new common goals must be found to erase fragmentation and bitterness.

"The American dream," said Mr. Ford at Christ Church, "has yet to be fulfilled."

But he had little to say about why and he outlined no new thrusts beyond observing that "new ideas and new efforts" were needed.

The point was dramatized by the remarks of Robert W. Gollidge, the articulate young vicar of the church, who spoke of Old North's tradition of religious and racial pluralism, and then commented that "our people are distrustful, divided and empty of clear commitment and confidence in our society, our sources and our purposes."

If Mr. Ford is to make the

most of the Bicentennial, from both a personal and national viewpoint, it would appear that he must find some way of articulating a vision that combines his reverence for the past with an agenda for controlled change. It is difficult to achieve unity without such change when the status quo has produced disunity.



## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR:                   RON NESSEN

FROM:                               JIM SHUMAN

SUBJECT:                           TREND ANALYSIS: THE BICENTENNIAL  
AND THE AMERICAN FUTURE

With the opening celebrations last weekend in Massachusetts, and with the approach of 1976, the Bicentennial celebration of the declaration of American independence is creating growing interest. Newsweek calls this interest "a Bicentennial fever breaking out all over." States, countries, and towns throughout the United States are planning a wide range of activities, as varied as old-time fiddlers' contests; the commissioning of original plays, ballets and symphonies; the paving of roads; and improvement of parks and playgrounds. Newspapers, too, are giving the Bicentennial increasing coverage, and voicing growing editorial concern about the nature of the celebration.

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#### DISPUTES

There are two major areas of concern.

One is commercialization. In Miami, Florida, for example, Steve Nostrand, executive director of Third Century, a Miami group sponsoring Bicentennial celebrations, told the Miami Herald last week that overcommercialization was turning the event into a "Buy Centennial," a term which has been used frequently in the Wall Street Journal and other publications. "The market is so inundated with junk that it is reflecting on the Bicentennial itself," Nostrand said.

(Note: This junk ranges from patriotic red, white, and blue toilet seats and plastic shopping bags to a 100-foot high rubber statue of Uncle Sam, which can be bought for \$25,000.)

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The Louisville Courier-Journal, picking up the same theme, worried that "the historic event may come and go next year with plastic shopping bags remaining as the only monuments of the celebration."

The other concern is over politics. There is a growing fear that politics may enter the celebration. "The line between political and non-political speechmaking is a fine one, especially in the months before an election," the Baltimore Sun warned in an editorial this week. "We could end up with a lot of self-serving oratory, rather than the re-examination of our heritage that we need."

Similarly, Alistair Cooke writing in the Los Angeles Times, warns of "orgy of self-congratulations which will make us look very foolish around the world, since we are now at the nadir of our power and our glory."

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### Cancel the Bicentennial?

Added to these concerns is the sense of demoralization that some Americans feel because of Watergate, the economic recession, and the problems in Indo-China. There is little evidence in the press that this sense of demoralization has yet transferred itself to the Bicentennial. But Max Lerner, the syndicated columnist, may have provided a rallying point for some of it when he suggested that there be no Bicentennial celebration. "No one really wants it; no one's heart is in it," he wrote (4-18-75). "There is nothing to cheer about and little to celebrate. So why go through the motions."

There also are dissident groups, such as the People's Revolutionary BiCentennial Commission, which have their own agenda for the Bicentennial, or the American Indian Movement (AIM), which has announced that it will try to counteract Bicentennial festivities with protest demonstrations.

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#### Recommendations

Given the present mood of America, of uneasiness, of discouragement, of disenchantment with politics, the Bicentennial provides an ideal vehicle to

--restore America's sense of purpose, progress and self-esteem.

--set new directions for quiet, non-disruptive change which would re-affirm the founding values and beliefs that led to the American experiment two hundred years ago.

It also provides a vehicle to cast The President as a thoughtful leader, a man of convictions rooted in the best of the American dream and experience, who would like to see the country return to some of the founding beliefs, and who in the coming months will be making proposals to congress based on those convictions.

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I would therefore, suggest that as soon (or perhaps on July 4, 1975) as a suitable forum can be found, and it could be as simple a one as a televised address from the White House, the President make a speech, announcing the opening of the Bicentennial Era and making the following points:

--He said in New Orleans that the Vietnam War was over. With it an era is over, too, and most Americans are now wondering where we go from here.

--When any period ends, it is a good time to take stock, to re-evaluate your strenghts and weaknesses, to see where you have drifted from your original goals, and how you can return to them, and even if they are still valid. This is particularly true now that we are about to celebrate our 200th birthday as an independent nation.

--Look first at our strengths

The most important is the founding dream of this nation: the experiment that America represented - a land of opportunity, of freedom, of human dignity, where every man would rise or fall on his own merits. It is a national

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dream unique in the history of man, and one that has since been emulated by hundreds of other nations, and is still being emulated.

How have we done? On the whole, well. It has been a long, 200 year struggle, that began at that "rude bridge" at Concord, first creating an independent nation, then taming a continent, adapting the Industrial Revolution, spreading its benefits, fighting wars to preserve our way of life. And these sacrifices have paid off: We now, despite present economic setbacks, the drain of an expensive war, and so on, are the richest, most productive nation in the world. A huge majority of us live well; people are still trying to emigrate here because we offer the best opportunities., etc., etc.

But there still are problems, as there have been throughout the American experiment, because we have not yet reached perfection, if we ever can.

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There still is poverty, and injustice for some of us; there are side-effects of industrialization, such as pollution and the loss of identity that many citizens feel; there is government which has, to many people, become not the servant but the threatening master etc., etc.

But we have always had the capacity for self-examination and self-renewal, and we can solve those problems, and others, if we agree on the founding dream.

Do we really believe in freedom - and its support: responsibility? Do we believe in the dignity of man, etc., etc.? "I do and I think most Americans do. In fact, the only real question in our whole history may have been, and still be, how to achieve those goals." The speech should make recommendations. The obvious ones are setting up of study commissions. (Such as another Hoover-type commission on government), but staff discussions can doubtless bring out better ideas.

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Then the speech should say that we must realize we cannot do this all in a day, but we can begin to discuss it, to decide again, as we enter 200 years of existence, what type of government we want and how best to bring the benefits of our founding dream and our 200 years of experiment to all our citizens. And that may take a Bicentennial Era -- the time between the signing of the Declaration of Independence and the ratification of the constitution (13 years) to achieve. "But let this journey begin with this single step tonight."

Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

We stand tonight at an important threshold.

Within the next few hours, we will usher in not only a New Year, not only the final quarter of the 20th century, but a fresh, new chapter in American history: our third century as a nation.

Behind us lie 200 years of toil and struggle, 200 years of accomplishment and triumph. We remain, in Lincoln's words, "the last, best hope of earth."

But what lies ahead?

Shall we let the coming year slip into the record books virtually unnoticed and undistinguished except for the fanfare of a gigantic birthday party?

Or shall we make 1976 and the years that follow something very special-- a time that sparks a renaissance of the American spirit, a time when the greatness of our past illuminates a new path into the future, a time that inaugurates a new century of liberty and hope?

That is the central question we face tonight.

Let each of us in the days ahead consider what answer we shall give in our own personal lives.

Let us remember the heritage of our forefathers and ask what we shall leave to the generations to come.

And then let us resolve that 1976 shall be the year when the American people united once again to remain "the ark that bears the liberties of the world."

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Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

In the year 1776, the people of our land dedicated themselves in word and deed to the principles of liberty, equality, individual dignity, and representative government. It was a hectic but heroic beginning of a process which led to the creation of a great Republic symbolizing then, as it does today, the hope of the future.

The year 1776 was a year of revolution, not merely in the rejection of colonial rule, but in the thoughtful, eloquent, and enduring expression of a government to foster and perpetuate the development of a free and independent people.

Now, two hundred years later, we have settled our continent and turned our vision to the limits of the universe. We are the richest nation in the world -- rich in our resources, rich in our creativity, rich in our strength, and rich in our people -- from our Native Americans to those who have come from every country on earth to share in the hope, the work, and the spirit of our Republic.

The challenges faced by our forebears were not only to their physical capabilities but also to their faith in the future. Their response to these challenges affirmed their deep belief that by their actions they could create a better world for themselves and those that would follow. As we enter America's third century, let us emulate in word and deed, their resolve and vision.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-six as The Bicentennial Year. Let 1976 be a year of reflection, a year of sharing, and foremost, a year of achievement.

I urge all Americans to reflect, from time to time during this Bicentennial Year, on the historic events of our past, on the heroic deeds of those whose legacy we now enjoy, and on the compelling visions of those who helped shape our constitutional government.

I call upon educators, clergy and labor, business and community leaders, as well as those in the communications media, to review our history and publicize the shaping events, people, and ideas of our historic beginnings.

I call upon every man, woman, and child to celebrate the diversity of tradition, culture and heritage that reflects our people and our patrimony. Let each of us resolve to cherish and protect what we have achieved in

more

the United States of America and to build upon it in the years ahead, not by words alone, but by actions which bespeak a continuing commitment to a heritage of individual initiative, creativity, and liberty.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundredth.

GERALD R. FORD

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