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(Speeches: Miss Liberty Torch Lighting, New York, 07/03/1986;
Operation Sail 86, New York, 07/04/1986;
Statue of Liberty Lighting, New York, 07/03/1986)

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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

SIGNED

ACTION

June 24, 1986

431236

1110

SP1077

TR163

140064

PA002

MEMORANDUM FOR RODNEY B. McDANIEL

FROM: TYRUS W. COBB *TC*

SUBJECT: Additions to the Statue of Liberty Speech

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memo at Tab I to *Dolan* Chew forwarding our suggested additions to the President's Statue of Liberty speech.

Approve *WPC*

Disapprove _____

Michael Castine concurs.

Michael Castine

Attachments

Tab I Memo to *Dolan* David Chew

Tab A Suggested Additions to Statue of Liberty Speech

N.C. 860-1816

HSL

National Security Council
The White House

86 JUN 24

PI2: 43

System # _____

Package # 4816

DOCLOG HSL AIO _____

	SEQUENCE TO	HAS SEEN	DISPOSITION
Bob Pearson	<u>1</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>A A</u>
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
Don Fortier	_____	_____	_____
Paul Thompson	_____	_____	_____
Florence Gantt	_____	_____	_____
John Poindexter	_____	_____	_____
Rodney McDaniel	_____	_____	_____
NSC Secretariat	<u>2</u>	<u>BTM</u>	<u>J</u>
Situation Room	_____	_____	_____

I = Information

A = Action

R = Retain

D = Dispatch

N = No further Action

cc: VP Regan Buchanan Other _____

COMMENTS

Should be seen by: _____

(Date/Time)

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

June 24, 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR TONY DOLAN

FROM: RODNEY B. McDANIEL *But for*
SUBJECT: Additions to the Statue of Liberty Speech

Attached are suggested additions to Tony's excellent draft of the President's "Statue of Liberty" remarks. Our recommended additions draw attention to France's special role in conceiving of and presenting the statue to the United States.

Attachment

Tab A Suggested Additions to the Statue of Liberty Speech

cc: David Chew

Tonight we begin this celebration of two magnificent events: the birth of American independence, 210 years ago, and the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty. The statue, like the declaration of America's independence, was the product of a remarkable group of people: Auguste Bartholdi, the sculptor; Gustave Eiffel, the architect; and Edouard de Laboulaye, the man who conceived the idea of the statue and who did not rest until he was able to bring his dream to fruition.

To these men, the Statue of Liberty was a gift from the people of France to the people of the United States. In the 100 years since, that gift has come to symbolize much more than the historic friendship between our two nations. The statue reflects the yearning to live free that is the common bond of all men and women in all parts of our globe. Now, a hundred years later, many of the elements of that original gift live on: France and the United States continue to serve as beacons to the world for their shared values of democracy and liberty. Like the original project for the construction of the statue, the tremendous effort to refurbish and rededicate the statue has been a private initiative, in keeping with the French and American traditions of individual liberty and enterprise. And, finally, we have with us today Francois de Laboulaye, a former Ambassador from France to the United States and a great-grandson of Edouard de Laboulaye who has been instrumental in organizing this celebration. Just as the original gift of the statue affirmed the friendship between our two countries, the rededication of the statue will reaffirm our continued common commitment to liberty.

NSC/S PROFILE

UNCLASSIFIED

ID 8604816

RECEIVED 24 JUN 86 13

TO

MCDANIEL

FROM COBB

DOCDATE 24 JUN 86

BURGHARDT

24 JUN 86

KEYWORDS: SPEECHES

SUBJECT: STATUE OF LIBERTY SPEECH / ADDITIONS

ACTION: FOR SIGNATURE

DUE:

STATUS C

FILES WH

FOR ACTION

FOR CONCURRENCE

FOR INFO

MCDANIEL

COMMENTS

REF#

LOG

NSCIFID

(AK TC)

ACTION OFFICER (S)

ASSIGNED

ACTION REQUIRED

DUE

COPIES TO

C 6/24 Pearson Signed Memo

RBM, TC

DISPATCH

✓ BTM 6/24

W/ATTCH

FILE

(C)

NOTED BY DT

sg
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 30, 1986

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FB006-01

Solar, Tony

Dear Tom:

Just a note on the President's July 4th speech at the Lighting of the Statue.

I hear there's some feeling that the remarks be shorter. I think this would be a mistake. It's not just that I like Tony's speech as it is now. I think it's actually important that the speech not be too short, that it is felt to be substantial. Otherwise, I'm afraid, the press will take the attitude that the President is being run by his advance men; that the ceremony is all glitz, and no substance.

I believe the American people would be disappointed, as well. Too much is made of Americans' short attention spans. They've been looking forward to this event for months. They want the glitz, sure, but they also want to spend some time with Ronald Reagan, to hear him talk to them about America, about what it all means. They don't want him to just zip by in the parade.

Well, just my thoughts. As the speech is now, I think it will beautifully cap what should be a glorious evening.


Joshua Gilder

NOTED BY DTR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. Regan,

Josh's views were unsolicited; he left me this note he sent to Tom Dawson. He makes a couple of excellent points.

By the way, anything can be cut and every writer loves his copy too much. And the fella running this department (of all people) better keep his objectivity.

So that's very much in mind.

Still in all, I know you never mind hearing from one of your NCOs. I just think it's part of my job to point out the difference between 6 or 7 minutes and 10 minutes in an event like this is not incremental, it's quantum. People will be disappointed if Ronald Reagan fits into the show; if he doesn't carpe diem. David Wolper, above all, should understand this. Let him visualize it: the four workers on stage, the emotional words to Mitterand, the quotes from the immigrants and Harry Truman and, above all, Ronald Reagan's words (not some speechwriters') about America i.e. the Arabella, mysticism.etc.

After an incredible three weeks, RR sums it all up and puts DW in the history books. He should go

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

for that.

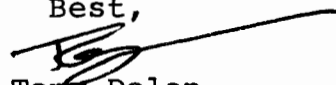
Anyway, a lot of people (most?) won't be watching the show; the networks will be cutting to the President. 10 minutes is hardly a long talk. Not by a long shot.

Been doin this for a while and on length I'm fairly certain about my instincts -- you may remember the National Review dinner and OSS and a bunch of others saw the same discussion and they all came off with a bang.

By the way, the lighting of the torch remarks do need a second look. They're brief enough but the poem is long and difficult; he shouldn't do it. Anyway, he should be reading his own stuff not a part assigned to him like everybody else in the show.

Thanks for the hearing. It's great to be part of an outfit where even the gunny gets his say with the CO.

Best,


Tony Dolan

P.S. We're having a ball here; come see us.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 22, 1986

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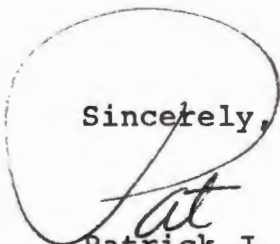
Dear Bryce:

Appreciated the early warning on that "city
on a Hill." Have sent it on to Agnes
Waldron -- who is running research again --
and to Tony Dolan.

Hope this note finds you feeling better old
friend.

Best.

Sincerely,



Patrick J. Buchanan

Assistant to the President

The Honorable Bryce N. Harlow
Route 3, Box 588
Harpers Ferry, West Virginia 25425

Dear Bryce:

Appreciated the early warning on that "city on a Hill."
Have sent it on to Agnes Waldron---who is running research
again---and to Tony Dolan. Hope this note finds you ~~well~~ feeling better
old frkend,

Best



BRYCE N. HARLOW

10-14

Pat -

RE likes this "shining city" bit
so much - rightly - that methinks
his word butchers had better note
this analysis of it and protect
against it.

I recall the Reasonance of this
at the 1976 Convention, when
Ford invited him to the
podium after the Ford nomination.
Deeply moving. He shouldn't
jettison it, obviously - just
adjust it here and there!

I gather you're working a little
overtime these days. Looks like
fun, seen from my little idyll - !
Bryce

compared with 460 five years ago), and the public remains blissed out, dreamily optimistic. A *Business Week*/Harris 7, taken just after the mid-September plunge, reported that Americans who think the market will be higher by the end of the year outnumber doubters 3-to-1.

To play the stock market successfully, you have to find bargains in individual stocks. If you find something that's been overlooked and undervalued by investors, then buy it. The problem is that, in a time like this, there aren't many bargains, only a lot of explanations.

JAMES K. GLASSMAN

The real 'city on a hill.'

WINTHROP V. REAGAN

FOR SIX YEARS President Reagan has repeatedly dragged out the trope of the "shining city on a hill" to celebrate the miracle his administration has worked for America and the world. He used it in his bombastic remarks at the Statue of Liberty celebrations on July 4:

I've spoken before of the tiny *Arabella*, a ship at anchor just off the Massachusetts coast. A little group of Puritans huddled on the deck. And then John Winthrop, who would later become the first Governor of Massachusetts, reminded his fellow Puritans there on that tiny deck that they must keep faith with their God, that the eyes of all the world were upon them, and that they must not forsake the mission that God had sent them on, and they must be a light unto the nations of all the world—a shining city upon a hill.

Reagan's imaginative approach to facts has long been seen as one of his peculiar charms. Thus no one thought twice when he got the name of the ship wrong (it was the *Arbella*, not the *Arabella*), and no one's bothered to correct him for using the word "shining," which does not appear in the original. Still, the president shouldn't get away with his misinterpretation of one of the earliest and most powerful visions of the American community.

Winthrop's sermon, entitled "A Model of Christian Charity," is a detailed and complex analysis of theological questions that had bearing on the Puritan errand into the wilderness of the New World. Like most newcomers, the Puritans hoped for economic success in their colony. It was, after all, at least in part a commercial venture by the Massachusetts Bay Company. Knowing that his people would meet disappointments and that the poor would always be among them, Winthrop sought to prepare his flock for mixed times ahead. "God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence," he declared, "hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power, and dignity, others mean and in subjection."

Winthrop's premise sounds like a cross between pre-

destination and social Darwinism—themes appropriate enough for Reagan. But his response to the inequities of life in a free enterprise society is hardly one that Reagan has championed. At the end of the sermon, in the very passage that the president cited on the Fourth of July, Winthrop reminded his people that they had a covenant to build a full community based on the best of their Judeo-Christian heritage. He went on to outline what sounds like a Puritan New Deal. "We must be knit together in this work as one man," he proclaimed. "We must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities." In a crescendo that any White House speechwriter would envy, he said: "We must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body."

WINTHROP DECIDEDLY did not say that the new settlers must—as Reagan puts it, "be a light unto the nations of the world—a shining city upon a hill." He said that if the members of the new community upheld their covenant with God and with each other, even in the times of greatest adversity, then God would bless them and make them powerful. If they did not live up to their ideals, they would not deserve emulation. "For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill," said Winthrop, "... so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story, and a by-word through the world. . . . [W]e shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it."

Winthrop took the "city on a hill" phrase from the Sermon on the Mount, where Christ—another oft-abused source of Reagan quotations—warned that even the salt of the earth could be cast out and trodden upon. In praising the virtues of poverty and peacefulness, Christ said that "a city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid." Reagan brags about success. Christ and Winthrop preached humility and communal responsibility.

As William Bennett and Ed Meese constantly stress, it is important to immerse ourselves in American history. By going back to our roots, to the original principles of our Founders, we will renew ourselves as a nation. This exercise reveals the critical difference between Reagan's vision and Winthrop's. Reagan says that if we grow rich and powerful, we will become a glorious city to which the world will look in admiration. Winthrop declared that, like it or not, we already are up there, our failures as visible as our successes.

PAUL D. ERICKSON

Paul D. Erickson, the author of *Reagan Speaks: The Making of American Myth* (New York University Press), teaches speechwriting at the Kennedy School of Government.