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<td>White House Staff</td>
<td>Memo</td>
<td>From &quot;B&quot; to General Haig RE: an attached packet for RN to discuss at a meeting. 1 pg.</td>
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President has attached packet to discuss at 11:30 meeting. Note Brock/Michel at red marker. Watergate related material at blue marker too. See etc. Stone got to remarks Tab 13.
GENERAL HAIG:

Steve gave the original of this paper to the President. Timmons wanted him to bounce some of the comments off Brock and Michel at the 11:30 meeting. The President took it to the EOB to study.

DAVE HOOPES

4/9/73: 10:15 a.m.
BACKGROUND:

Tonight's dinner is a $1,000 a plate Fundraiser for "The New Majority" with proceeds going to the Republican Senate and Congressional Campaign Committees, as well as the Republican National Committee. The dress is Black Tie optional and 1,500 people are expected to attend.

Prior to the dinner portion, there will be a reception from 7 - 8:00 p.m. The Vice President will attend the entire dinner and will introduce you.

Prior to your participation, the following will have taken place:

Welcoming remarks by Senator Brock, Invocation, dinner, introductions of dignitaries and presentation of service plaques by Vice President Agnew to Senators Dominick and Dole and Congressman Bob Wilson.

Although there is no press platform, there is "still photo coverage" with your remarks on the record.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

9:40 p.m. Depart South Lawn via motorcade en route Washington Hilton Hotel.

New Majority Dinner
- 2 - Washington Hilton Hotel
Wednesday - May 8, 1973

9:47 p.m. Arrive Ballroom stage doors. You pause for Honors, announcement and proceed to stage at "Hail to the Chief" by the Marine Band. You take your seat.

Seating from stage left to right is Congressman Michel, George Bush, President, Vice President, and Senator Brock.

Senator Brock introduces Vice President Agnew.

9:50 p.m. Vice President Agnew introduces you.

You proceed to podium and offer remarks. (Suggested remarks attached)

PRESS PHOTO STILLS POOL COVERAGE.
REMARKS ON THE RECORD.

10:00 p.m. Remarks conclude. At "Hail to the Chief" you depart the stage with Senator Brock and proceed to your motorcade.

NOTE: The entertainment portion of the evening will commence shortly after your departure, with the Nashville Brass. (You saw them at the 1971 White House Correspondents' Association Dinner.) You are not expected to stay.

10:05 p.m. Board motorcade and depart en route the White House.

10:10 p.m. Arrive White House.

# # # #
MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: DAVID GERGEN
SUBJECT: Speaking Materials for Campaign Dinner

Attached please find the following materials prepared by John Andrews and others for your appearance Wednesday night at the New American Majority Dinner:

Tab A: Fact Sheet
Tab B: Suggested Remarks of General Nature
Tab C: Summary of Staff, Outside Suggestions on Handling of Watergate; Suggested Remarks on the Subject
Tab D: Summary of Materials Submitted by Paul Keyes and Bruce Herschensohn
FACT SHEET: NEW AMERICAN MAJORITY DINNER

1. The event: This is the annual GOP spring fund-raising gala, jointly sponsored by the RNC, the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. Tickets are $1000 a plate, with a crowd of 1500 expected in the Hilton's International Ballroom. Proceeds benefit the 1974 GOP Hill campaigns. Nearly all House and Senate Republicans are expected to be on hand -- as guests -- the largest Hill representation ever at one of these dinners. Dinners have been held each year for about 10 years.

2. RN's first-term attendance at these events: The dinner is held every year in May and RN has spoken once as President -- May 7, 1969.

3. Ticket sales have lagged, in part because of Watergate. In past years attendance has been closer to 2000, the goal now is 1500. The fund target was recently scaled down from $2 million to $1 million. The three sponsoring committees last week sent out a letter explicitly disavowing party connection with Watergate, plus a special invitational mailing to 10,000 potential contributors, but response so far has been imperceptible.

4. Chairmen of the three sponsoring groups will co-host the event. George Bush became RNC chairman in January, succeeding Bob Dole who had served since 1971. Bill Brock was elected to head the Senatorial Campaign Committee in January, replacing Peter Dominick. Bob Michel, who has represented Peoria since 1957, defeated Clarence Brown of Ohio for the House Campaign chairmanship in March; Bob Wilson retired from the post after serving since 1961, longer than any chairman in the 107-year history of the Committee. The three departing chairmen will be honored in an awards presentation by Vice President Agnew during the program. Brock will emcee.
5. Congressional races in 1972 resulted in the election of 244 Democrats and 191 Republicans for a net Republican gain of 12 seats. (Later changes put the present balance at 242 Dem-192 GOP.) There is 1 vacancy. In the Senate last fall, with 14 Dem and 19 GOP seats at stake, 16 Dems and 17 GOP were elected, for a net GOP loss of 2. Senate balance stands at 57 Dem-43GOP.

In 1974, assuming no shift in the present House lineup, Republicans will need to capture a net of 26 seats to take control. To win the Senate the GOP would need to defend all 15 of its contested seats and pick up 8 of the 19 Dem seats at stake.

# # #
SUGGESTED REMARKS: NEW AMERICAN MAJORITY DINNER

Two years ago, when we dedicated the Eisenhower Center as the new headquarters for the Republican National Committee, we joined in a commitment to make the Republican Party the "party of the open door" in the 1970's.

Few political goals have ever been so richly fulfilled so quickly. In 1972 the GOP did open its door to all Americans and millions of voters entered it.

Now we must make them proud of their choice.

⭐ ⭐ ⭐

Last fall millions of Americans cast their first Republican vote ever and thus became part of a New Majority. But for many of them, the work of complete conversion still remains to be done.

⭐ ⭐ ⭐

Peace abroad, stability and prosperity at home. These things have been achieved by a Republican Administration backed by a strong Republican Party.
We must never forget that we have a proud record to stand on.

In the aftermath of any political campaign, we try to evaluate ourselves and our showing. I've made that kind of evaluation and on television last week I spelled out some of the changes I want to make.

RN's Christmas Eve, 1972, goals for the second term, as presented in April 30 TV address:

To make it possible for our children, and for our children's children, to live in a world of peace.

To make this country be more than ever a land of opportunity -- of equal opportunity, full opportunity for every American.

To provide jobs for all who can work, and generous help for those who cannot work.

To establish a climate of decency and civility, in which each person respects the feelings and the dignity and the God-given rights of his neighbor.

To make this a land in which each person can dare to dream, can live his dreams -- not in fear, but in hope -- proud of his community, proud of his country, proud of what America has meant to himself and to the world.

Some have said we should have done more to make sure that the success enjoyed by the top of the GOP ticket was shared by the lower levels as well.
Next year we're going to do more. The number one committee for election and re-election of Republicans from now on is going to be the National Committee, working in close partnership with your House and Senate groups and with all of the State Committees. That's the formula for victory in 1974.

* * *

Perhaps no party in history has made a greater comeback than the Republicans in the last few years.

Near the beginning of that comeback trail, at the 1968 convention, I suggested that we should begin our efforts to provide new leadership for America by "committing ourselves to the truth -- to see it like it is, and tell it like it is -- to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the truth..."

It is this commitment to truth and to justice, to honor and to principle, which has guided our party these past 5 years -- and must guide us in the future.

* * *

I see that the turnout for this occasion has not met expectations. I can understand that -- it is regrettable, but understandable. But for a moment, let's not think of those who, for whatever reasons, are not here. Let's think of those who are here.
You have come here in a storm, while some wait for clearer weather. You are the ones who have always provided the margin of difference between success and failure for our Party, and you will it again. It is that extra bit of faith, that extra concern, that extra trust and confidence, that extra commitment to what this Party stands for that has kept us going through the lean years and the good.

Let this night be another turning point in our fortunes, when we show that we are not defeated but rather challenged by events. And those whose faith has faltered will envy those who stayed to fight.

# # #
KEY STAFF AND GOP RECOMMENDATIONS ON REFERENCES TO WATERGATE IN DINNER REMARKS

George Bush: RN must mention; it's on everyone's mind and these friends and supporters are suffering the most from it. No need to dwell on Watergate, but important to acknowledge awareness of this audience's grave concern about it and to reiterate pledge of a swift and thorough cleanup.

Bill Brock: Must allude to it in some fashion, emphasizing that it won't divert U.S. from its role in the world or agenda at home. RN's decisive action to deal with the situation puts him in a strong position to address it with total frankness at this dinner, and such an approach would be well-received.

Bob Michel: "Hell's bells yes". RN should meet the subject head on. Emphasize that as captain of ship of state he has moved to deal with "trouble on the bridge", taking helm himself to get us out of rough seas and back on course.

General Haig: May be unnecessary to raise the subject at all. Any reference to it certainly should be oblique, reassuring the audience, emphasizing importance of Nation's larger tasks, but breaking no new ground that would make news.

Bill Timmons: Should mention, in the context of GOP's opportunity to grow stronger through adversity. Darkest hours can provide the greatest insight. Invite the party to "join me in the road back... to an overwhelming expression of support" in '74.

Ray Price: Must acknowledge it, recognizing gravity with which this group views it and stressing that he shares their view. In serious, not light, tone RN should express confidence that the facts will show both GOP and the Presidency untainted, reiterating his determination to unearth all the facts and to make the reforms that will prevent future abuses.
Dick Moore: Perhaps best not to mention Watergate at all. If RN feels some mention is necessary, point out that neither GOP nor New Majority was involved, that '74 elections will turn mainly on individual candidates' records, and that principle of fair play -- innocence till guilt is proven -- must be protected.

[Ron Ziegler will add his recommendation before event; Len Garment declined to recommend.]

* * *

FURTHER SUGGESTIONS FROM GOP LEADERS ON THEMES TO COVER

George Bush: Resentment of CRP among both Hill and contributors remains strong. RN should hit hard on the need to build the party and to work through the RNC from here on out. Many present will be nursing the feeling of a tarnished image from Watergate; stress that nearly all political contributors, and the candidates they give to, mean the contributions support only good government, not influence. Stress that the GOP remains strong and growing, with solid achievements that can't be obscured. Pledge heavy effort in '74 to re-elect incumbents and to recruit strong new candidates.

Bill Brock: This gathering will represent the staunch loyalists who have decided "it's time to rally and put things back together and get on with the job." Some will be present in direct response to an eleventh-hour mailgram appeal from Bush, Brock, and Michel saying that now if ever is the time for Republicans to close ranks. A rousing motivational speech from RN would help a lot.

Bob Michel: "He could make a heck of a lot of points by announcing that CRP is hereby dissolved." Expression of a desire to repair damaged communications with Hill GOP would be most appropriate; WH staff changes make the time right for such a move. Indicate appreciation of support on past and future vetoes, and point out that fashioning of a New Majority and election of a GOP Congress would make vetoes unnecessary, moving GOP from negative into positive position, able to enact signable legislation.

# # #
SUGGESTED REMARKS: WATERGATE-RELATED

I have some news tonight for the obituary writers.

Constitutional government in Washington is alive and well. The Nixon Administration is alive and well. And the Republican Party is alive and well.

We're going to prove it by cleaning up every last bit of the Watergate mess and then getting on with the great work the American people elected us to do last November.

***

As we gather here tonight, we are properly concerned with the political future of our party. I pledge to you that justice will be done, and when it's done, our credibility will not be compromised, our future will not be jeopardized, and the election prospects of our candidates will be as bright as ever.

***

No great political party can afford to grow complacent over past triumphs or to indulge in despair over temporary setbacks -- rather we must keep our sights on our great goals, especially today, when we are closer to achieving them than ever before.

***
I said at the end of my inaugural address last January that any President needs a lot of help to fulfill the trust of his office. During the past weeks, as we have broken open the Watergate coverup, I have received that kind of help from many quarters. Many of you in this room have played leading roles in this process, and I thank you for it.

Let me say to you what I said to the press last week: Just keep giving me hell when I'm wrong. That's one of the things friends are for -- and I feel like a very lucky man tonight to have such friends as you.

* * *

If the phrase had not already been used once or twice, I would be tempted to say tonight that these are the times that try men's souls. What I will say, with gratitude and with pride, is that your souls have stood the trial magnificently.

Ours is not a party of summer soldiers or sunshine patriots; it is a party of Americans for all seasons.

* * *

The reprehensible actions of a few unscrupulous people must not and will not obscure the record of Republicans as the party of
principle, the party of peace, and the party of solid prosperity.
As we build on this record, we can make this the party of the
New Majority at every level in every state in 1974.

###
"I have not prepared jokes, because I feel tomorrow is not a night for jokes. I have instead suggested some upbeat positive statements. Fight lines. Objective, enthusiastic, winning lines. While I have not mentioned the Watergate affair, I have applied a little English to the subject, feeling that if we bounce off it with a positive attitude it will help the cause. I don't think it ever should be mentioned, but on the other hand I don't think in that room on that occasion it can be completely ignored. The bottom line is that we must be positive about the future. I think the use of the word together will be an important word tomorrow night. I throw your own words back at you: 'Don't let the bastards get you down.'"

As we approach the great day when you will be members of the majority party in the Congress, let us remember the great contributions you have made as members of the minority party -- for I view your minority as Winston Churchill once viewed the brave people of his country: "Never have so few done so much for so many".

They say we cannot get a Republican majority in the next Congress. Well, they said we couldn't end the war with honor either. We did one... we'll do the other.

* * *

SUMMARY OF MATERIALS FROM PAUL KEYES
I have read in the papers that I have had my last campaign. Well, I haven’t. I will be out campaigning again for a Republican Congress next year. You keep the faith with me and I will keep the faith with you and together we will keep the faith with the American people. I want to share my last two years in public office with a Republican Senate and a Republican House. If you do your part, I’ll do mine.

* * *

My goal for next year is to see Jerry Ford Speaker of the House and Hugh Scott Majority Leader of the Senate because our Party represents the majority of the American people. I know it. You know it. The American people know it.

They aren’t going to be misled about which is the better Party anymore than John Connally was misled about which is the better Party.

* * *

Don’t let today’s headlines blur the victories we have shared together in the past...or the accomplishments that are within our reach in the future.

You’ll have a record to run on next year. I’ll see to that.

* * *
This Administration will be judged by our accomplishments and not by unfortunate instances caused by a few unthinking vandals. The American people aren't going to let their actions overshadow our new understanding with the Republic of China... our new understanding with the Soviet Union... The successful Salt Talks... the ending of a long war and all we have scheduled to do together in the future. We have been going through some squalls, but they represent the storm before the calm.

# # #
SUMMARY OF MATERIALS FROM BRUCE HERSCHENSOHN

For the first time we have named this annual event, "The New American Majority Dinner", and yet, for the first time in the history of this annual event, there are seats unbought and tables unoccupied. Why is that true? Because of a matter which all of us here feel as much, and perhaps more, than those who are not here.

I commend those who are in this room, not for their purchase of a ticket, but for the symbol of their presence. You have come here in a storm, while some wait for clearer weather....

The Watergate case in no way reflects upon the integrity of the Republican Party, the Republican National Committee, nor upon the New American Majority. The crime was committed by individuals, and they will be brought to justice.

Now we must choose which road we will walk. One is the clear and clean road of justice. It is a long road, but it ends in penalty for the guilty and absolution for the innocent. The second road is the shortcut of inequity where those, regardless of guilt or innocence are condemned and punished. It's the road that leads us to kangaroo courts and witch-hunts.
Many have said that I should have taken the second road last week in my speech on the subject. I did not then. I will not now. I will never do that in the future.

Impatience, unfortunately, is a tradition of mankind, and impatience too often results in injustice. History exemplifies this point; from biblical times when stones were cast, through the days of mobs in Great Britain and France shouting, "Off with their heads", to the days of kangaroo courts, vigilante groups and lynchings within our own country. But the Chief Executive of this Nation must never walk that road.

Our system must endure long after we are gone. That system guarantees every citizen the right to unimpeded justice. No President can or should act in a way that would compromise that right.

Who in the long run, must take the final responsibility for this reprehensible act? I have said before and I repeat tonight that the responsibility is mine. But while the burden is borne the Nation's business will go forward.
One year ago this month, a brave man from another party was struck with tragedy. I have noticed that Governor George Wallace has refused to let that tragedy paralyze his spirit. There is inspiration in that for me. There is inspiration in that for all of us. He has overcome. Let us now all overcome.

This Nation is no stranger to crisis. This President is no stranger to crisis. But more than the crisis itself, it is the reaction to crisis which is the test of all men and the test of all nations.

# # #