

Richard Nixon Presidential Library
Contested Materials Collection
Folder List

<u>Box Number</u>	<u>Folder Number</u>	<u>Document Date</u>	<u>No Date</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Document Type</u>	<u>Document Description</u>
51	13	8/17/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Buchanan to the President. RE: The President's Acceptance Speech. 2pgs.
51	13	7/7/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Tex Lezar to Ray Price. RE: Acceptance Speech. 2pgs.
51	13	8/15/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Khachigian to Raymond Price, Jr. RE: Thoughts for Acceptance Speech. 2pgs.
51	13	7/19/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Bill Safire to the President. RE: Acceptance Speech. 2pgs.
51	13	7/20/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Ken Khachigian to Ray Price. RE: Acceptance Speech. 1pg.
51	13	7/18/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Lee Huebner to Ray Price. RE: Acceptance Speech. 1pg.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N-1 [DOC 165]	memo	Buchanan to President, re: The President's acceptance speech	8/17/72	C (mix)
N-2 [DOC 166]	memo	Tex Leger to Price, re: Acceptance speech	7/7/72	C (mix)
N-3 [DOC 167]	memo	Khachigian to Price, re: Thoughts for acceptance speech	8/15/72	C (mix)
N-4 [DOC 168]	memo	Safire to President, re: Acceptance speech	7/19/72	C (mix)
N-5 [DOC 169]	memo	Khachigian to Price, re: Acceptance speech [attached to cover report from Khachigian, "Acceptance speech - suggested summary," 7/20/72]	7/20/72	C (mix)
N-6 [DOC 170]	memo	Wheber to Price, re: Acceptance speech.	7/18/72	C (mix)
N-7 [DOC 171]	memo	[Lore Harris] to [President], "This election is strange..." [attached to cover memo, Colson to President, 8/13/72]	n.d.	C (mix)

FILE GROUP TITLE

PPF

BOX NUMBER

77

FOLDER TITLE

Wednesday, August 23, 1972, Acceptance Speech, II

RESTRICTION CODES

- A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.
 B. National security classified information.
 C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.
 D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.

- E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.
 F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.
 G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
 H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.

Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

Collection: President's Personal Files

Box Number: 77

Folder: Wednesday, August 23, 1972, Acceptance Speech, II

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
165	Return Private/Political
166	Return Private/Political
167	Return Private/Political
168	Return Private/Political
169	Return Private/Political
170	Return Private/Political
171	Return Private/Political

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 17, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

(Per L. Higby)

FROM: PATRICK J. BUCHANAN

The President's acceptance speech should be directed to the whole nation of course, but politically to the voters between RN's rock bottom 40 percent, and his top of 65 percent. That 25 percent of the electorate is our target. It is: not Republican at all; Independent and Democratic, conservative socially, moderate politically; middle income, working income economically; Northern Catholic and ethnic largely but Southern Protestant also; in addition, there are several million young people who are largely apolitical, one would guess -- they are probably not the brightest or best students; they are more likely from Ohio State, SMU, Notre Dame, NYU, than from Harvard and Yale.

This is the segment of the population which is the "swing vote" this fall, where the opportunity is great, where our appeal can and should be made -- without alienation of the 40 percent base, which is essentially Conservative and Republican.

STRUCTURE

The speech in my view, should be essentially of three parts:

1. What the President has accomplished. Foreign policy, Vietnam should dominate here, but the Supreme Court, the efforts against crime and pollution, the new approach to the cities, etc., can all be included.

The purpose of this section simply would be to remind the voters of tremendous accomplishments of RN, and to set the stage, for the last crucial part of the speech -- which deals with RN's Vision of where we should be going. Would argue that RN detail briefly and toughly what was the situation in the nation when we took over the helm in 1968 -- what was it at home; what was it abroad and how all that has changed dramatically.

2. The middle part of the speech should strongly contrast the President's positions and views with those of McGovern -- on Defense, Amnesty, Permissiveness, Welfare, Foreign Policy, Isolationism, Taxes, and Spending. We should draw McGovern's position without naming here in stark terms on one side -- and RN's views on another. This should be interspersed with the strong political material, making clear they are dreadfully wrong in their approach and options, and we should be fairly tough here.

3. The third section is the Vision, RN's view of where we are going if you choose to join us. My view is that this section goes into two parts -- the evils we will continue to halt, and combat, in the society -- but more important the concrete dream of what we and our gathering here intend to do. We are to be the instrument of a new elite or a new order in American society, where the sons and daughters of workingmen and middle class are going to assume the helm of the nation, at every level from that elite which has dominated so long.

We should portray the President and his people as the instrument who are pushing open the door -- not to affluence for these people -- they are fairly well off, but to leadership, to bringing in to Government the successor generation to the New Deal types who did their thing, but who now must give way as the Hoover business types did. We should be concrete here.

And what are the accomplishments of this new generation of leaders to be:

The ending of the agony in Vietnam, the building of a new enduring structure of international relations that can preserve for our children the peace this generation of war veterans has never known. The remaking of American society so that not just the sons of Harvard and Yale, but of SMU, Notre Dame, of NYU and Whittier move into the decision-making positions in American life. They chart the destiny of the nation, henceforth. The President is the John the Baptist of a new leadership emerging in all aspects of national life. The Old Establishment must give way to these new blood, new men, with new ideas and old values.

At home, their jobs are to preserve and protect the environment that has been destroyed, to provide new guarantees for the rights of the victims in society. In any event, this will be spelled out in much more detail in subsequent memoranda and paragraphs. These will be coming up today and tomorrow.

Buchanan

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 7, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: RAY PRICE
FROM: TEX LEZAR
SUBJECT: Acceptance Speech

Just a few quick thoughts I've been mulling over about a possible RN acceptance speech. What I propose is a definite long shot but one with, I believe, quite a few merits.

First, a few guiding principles. It is essential for RN to attract as many Dems and Independents as possible -- not only because for the GOP to win he must, but also because he has a real chance to work a realignment in American politics. To do this, RN should play up the distinctions between him and McG focusing on the way in which the left has taken over the Democratic Party -- which no longer accepts its progressive yet constructive beliefs of former times.

RN could begin with the normal acceptance speech routine but then trail over into an analysis of what the country confronted in 1968. Hit the left very hard as the prime mover behind the difficulties of the 60s. As the WSJ notes in quoting Robert Nisbet today: "I think it would be difficult to find a single decade in the history of Western culture when as much barbarism, as much calculated onslaught against culture and convention in any form, as much sheer degradation of both culture and the individual passed into print, into music, into art, and onto the American stage as the decade of the 1960's . . ." Remember the fears of 1968!

Then go into what RN has tried to do to calm the country and get it moving again. Some good cheer lines, a good general sweep -- strong but with inner calm.

Then the punch line. As we have worked to improve the situation in America, the Left has not sat idly by. They have taken over the Democratic Party at the same time working in a narrowly partisan way in the Congress to delay or prevent passage of many reforms

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proposed by RN. As sorry as RN is to see the grand old Democratic Party taken over by the Left he is in a sense happy that the test is at last coming, the test between Progress based upon the unique and unprecedented qualities for which America has stood over nearly two centuries. It is fitting that now, poised near the beginning of America's third century, our people should confront the issue head on: "Will we turn our back upon the values and system which has done so well, which has been the marvel of the world, to move down the path often tried abroad but always found wanting, or shall we improve upon the system we now have -- building up instead of tearing down." House divided speech.

Direct into George McGovern. McGovern is a good man, but one whose ideas would mean deep trouble for America. McG has been waffling to the center, but the thrust of his ideas are unmistakable, and foolhardy. Then hit the thrust of those ideas comparing them to RN's achievements and the historic character of America. Concentrate on how the programs will hurt real life people -- like FDR, not ideology, people.

This could be a reasonable, sincere, and analytic speech with a rousing conclusion appealing to the character of the America people -- holding out the uphill path which increases everyone's opportunity to become better rather than the downhill path for America to some sociological mean determined by an elite, superbureaucracy in Washington. This could be RN's one really big campaign speech. The setting is perfect. He can appear Presidential by appealing even beyond the Republican Party and Convention to the Nation, yet can be political in this one setting without damaging his sense of being above politics (Even a President can be political in accepting his Party's nomination for the Presidency).

He can even end with a note that he will not be campaigning extensively in the Fall not because he doesn't realize the importance of this election, not because he doesn't like to campaign, but because there is much important work to be done -- internationally and domestically. RN's record of performance is clear, but it is important for members of his own Party and other concerned Americans to be clear about the very different roads for America that this election will determine.

Can't turn back -
we must go a man
works & manufactures
then sell

Stop rail in
get just back
L. Z. together
trucks
trucks
trucks

Democratic Party

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: RAYMOND K. PRICE, JR.
FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN 
SUBJECT: THOUGHTS FOR ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

Basically, here are my thoughts as to the direction of the Acceptance speech after McGovern's last two national performances. Frankly, I would like to see McGovern on the air giving those types of speeches from now till November.

I can't put my finger on it, but it is the whining, whimpering, petulance that seems to me to make the guy sound like, as someone said, a common scold. There is no lift to his speeches, no basic optimism, no relief from the onslaught of national decay.

TIME magazine had an interesting introductory piece this week saying that there was, this summer, "a new summer sweetness, an ease, or apathy, and in some parts of the country a distinct savor of contentment." TIME also said, however, that there were still signs of an "undercurrent of malaise."

TIME is probably right on both counts. As far as the contentment goes, I think RN is right on the money -- the sense of contentment is going to rub off by osmosis to RN's benefit.

The malaise, or alienation, or whatever you want to call it is quite another thing. This is the string McGovern is playing, and he will press it by touching the deepest chords of resentment he can find.

The antidote to this is, as I see it, quite fundamental. It requires an upbeat, optimistic (though not pollyannish), "bully pulpit" approach which will confront the dark thoughts and the sense of foreboding that McGovern is seeking out.

People can be convinced that this disquieting mood is not cause for political upheaval, but rather just the opposite: it is cause to keep the sturdy hand at the rudder, the deft statesmanship, and, yes, the professional President.

Discontent can be channeled toward the up-tightness of McGovern or it can be channeled toward the steadiness of RN. That is our choice to some extent, and the President can make this fairly clear in the Acceptance speech.

The question is do we dwell on our sins, or do we accept our sins and dwell on our virtues (or, as someone said, on the "better angels of our nature").

Frankly, the President needs to stir a lot of people out of the lethargy which causes them to feel sorry for themselves and for the country. That might be the case if we let it slide without confrontation. The national character is just as debatable an issue as the economy or Vietnam. RN has the advantage on this one, and he should use every ounce of moral suasion at his command to mark a retreat from the steady drumbeat of negativism which pervades McGovernism -- the sickly admission that we don't have self-confidence and that we have lost our direction.

As far as I am concerned, this should be the central theme coming out of Miami Beach. Few people can do it as well as RN -- and believe me, there are millions of Americans waiting for their national leader to convince them that they aren't as bad off as everyone seems to say they are.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 19, 1972.

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT (Via Ray Price)
FROM: BILL SAFIRE
SUBJECT: Acceptance Speech

I think we can dispense with the usual stuff about the speech having to be "Presidential" and not strident or overly partisan -- of course that is true, but how can it be Presidential and still be emotionally stirring? How can it express vividly a dimension of the President that people in the middle feel only vaguely?

The target audience, in my view, is more the people at home than the people in the hall, and more the people in the center than the people on the right. A few expected shots can go in ("As long as I am President, the United States will always be ready to sit down and talk, but this Nation shall never be willing to kneel down and beg") and something along that line will tear the convention hall apart, but we must take care not to play to the hall primarily -- we must resist the temptation to slam hard. The speech should be remembered as being reassuring and mature, in stark contrast to the implied radicalism and immaturity of the opposition.

How to go about this? I would center the speech on the theme of peace: First, how necessary is strength of character and strength of arms in negotiating a peace that will last; second, how far we have come in bringing peace to the world already, recalling not only the summits but Berlin and the Middle East; and finally, perhaps most important politically, the domestic meaning of peace -- how peace will affect our pocketbooks at home, our fears for our children, our daily lives. As of now, peace is only a negative blessing -- no war -- but it will also bring positive benefits of a prosperity without inflation, of greater investments in well-being of the elderly and sick, more money available for education and for tax reduction, of a society that replaces disorder and displeasure with affirmation and necessary change.

Keep peace?
How do we use peace?
How do we use peace?

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absence of war = good -
Next great step - the blessing of peace
we have stopped war in our we have brought home war
How to reduce burden of war -
Results job -
Draft
cut taxes
move at home

clean air -
clean water - not free,
must pay for it
must work for it.

Deepening this theme, you should explain to a mature people that peace, like anything worthwhile, cannot be purchased on the cheap. The philosophy of "something for nothing," which has had a revival these days, is still a dangerous illusion, weakening our character, sapping our strength. Nothing comes for nothing -- not even the air we breathe or the water we drink, which have to be preserved by some sacrifice on our part. Praise the work ethic and point to the need to work hard for peace. We have to be strongly for peace.

What are the sacrifices to be made for a peaceful world? What are the new challenges of peace, more subtle and requiring more wisdom than the challenges of war?

Here is the place for a powerful denunciation of isolationism, on practical grounds (leads to war), on moral grounds (no man is an island -- John Donne), and on idealistic grounds (America's message of freedom to people everywhere).

I would summarize near the end by listing the benefits to be brought by "the practical people of peace" (in unspoken contrast to the impractical dreamers who have always failed); with a reminder of how far we have come and how the goal is now within our reach -- if only we do not falter.

I would not hesitate to close on Tanya, which will not be well received by the press, but which has never been given to a wide American audience. Perhaps it can be capped with a reminiscence of a little American girl touched by the tragedy of war, cause for a rededication to peace.

The greatest dangers to an acceptance speech are: (1) cataloggery, when the incumbent feels the urge to mention every achievement he is responsible for, and to dwell on all the things that were wrong when he took over. Audience reaction to that approach is "Thanks, Winston, and now to a Labour government for the future." (2) slashing attack on the opposition, elevating their importance and showing they are worthy of worry by you. (3) Speaking to a large rather than an intimate audience. The people who count are watching in twos and threes; the convention is purely a forum, to be used for reaction-contagion.

avoid

I will submit draft language from time to time, as will others, but I do not think you should focus on writing it until a week or so before delivery. There is much to be said for freshness.

Preparatory Group

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: RAY PRICE
FROM: KEN KHACHIGIAN *ce*
SUBJECT: ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

I have a strong feeling that the Acceptance Speech must reflect the President's own personal dissatisfaction with many things as they are. It will be difficult to do, but it must be written not only to boast of four years of accomplishment but also to indicate that there is some sense of dissatisfaction at that which remains to be done.

The President should try to defend the Establishment (us) without sounding establishmentarian. I believe one of McGovern's strongest campaign assets is his ability to strike out at the establishment, and if we are doing it better than he is, then we give him a moving target instead of a sitting duck.

Also the speech should touch on McGovern's weak points with obvious reference. His welfare giveaway, his weak defense posture, his soak-the-middle-class proposals, and others must be hit at least by reference. I have attached some things which will do that.

As I mentioned to you, it is crucial that a paragraph's reference ought to be made to the farmer and agriculture, McGovern sort of ignored this, and we shouldn't -- also attached.

Finally, I paid most attention to developing an "America is not sick" theme, one which I believe would be a very effective rhetorical theme for the campaign, but must be done skillfully enough so as not to connote "stand-patism."

Attachments

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1972

TO: RAY PRICE

FROM: LEE HUEBNER *LH*

SUBJECT: Acceptance Speech

It seems to me the acceptance speech should try to do three things:

1) Characterize the Nixon approach as one of balance, sophistication, maturity and responsibility. (I have been searching for some pithy way to communicate these qualities.)

2) Imply that the McGovern approach is extreme, simplistic, and irresponsible, without stooping to the petty name-calling as we are often tempted to do.

3) Make dissident Democrats -- who don't feel quite "at home" with the McGovern approach -- feel "at home" with the Nixon approach, despite their old suspicions.

I think all three of these goals could be advanced in a simple, sharp, attention-getting way (one which would surely draw follow-up comment) by specifically using what is probably Adlai Stevenson's most famous single line, the one from his 1952 acceptance speech which says: "Let's talk sense to the American people."

People are fed up with political rhetoric and waiting for candidates to "talk sense." Using the quotation would make the argument -- implicitly -- that McGovern has left the centrist traditions to which his predecessor candidates adhered. And the incongruity of Nixon quoting Stevenson is the very thing which could give it real impact, and help to bring unhappy Democrats in.

Think about it. If the President doesn't do it, some other speaker might.

Talk sense?

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This election is stranger than nearly any other in American history. It is possible for President Nixon to win the popular vote and lose the electoral vote assuming a minimum 60-40 Nixon victory in the South and a McGovern lead of 54-46 in the East, 52-48 in the Mid-West and 54-46 in the West. Nixon can achieve 50.1 percent of the vote and lose the election. This is a direct reversal of the prevalent situation in the 1930s in FDR's time.

McGovern can win in a five-prong campaign. He can use the theme that it is a time of deep change in America, a time to end hypocrisy in high places and a time to end the dominance of the rich and powerful in this country -- especially the dominance of big business. (When we recently asked which is more important, to crack down on big corporations who might evade taxes and cause pollution or to crack down on student, Vietnam and militant black protesters. by 58 to 39 percent the public answered back, crack down on big corporations.)

The five prongs of the McGovern campaign could be:

1. Tax reform with higher taxes for upper income people and corporations, coupled with lower taxes for lower income people (favored by an overwhelming 90-6 percent.)
2. Cut defense spending, favored by 59 to 30.
3. Legalize abortion, favored by 48-43. Significantly the following groups favored legalized abortion up to 4 months of pregnancy: \$15,000+, 62-33; college educated, 62-33; 18-29 year olds, 64-31; Independents, 58-34; Jewish, 72-19; 30-49 year olds, 51-42; union members, 47-43. However, catholics oppose abortion by 54-37 as do Midwesterners by 48-42. The 54-37 catholic opposition is very close to the current 54-36 lead of Nixon over McGovern on the vote. McGovern can claim to be taking a politically courageous stand on abortion and in the process firm up precisely the swing groups which can make the difference. McGovern could go further to show courage in taking an unpopular position by strongly advocating amnesty for draft evaders who fled the country, opposed nationwide by 58-33. However, such amnesty is favored by 18-29 voters 55-39; by Jewish 62-27; and by the college educated 49-46. He could do the same in an even more effective way by advocating and easing the penalties for the use of marijuana, opposed nationally 54-40.

Plain Taxes
U.S. 29
why do these groups
favor Am?
Not because of
Abt, abortion 5 amn?
① Foreign
② Economic

Preservation Club

However, such an easing of penalties is favored by \$15,000 and over by 49-46 percent. Independent voters 51-43; 18-29 voters 61-36; suburban voters 48-45; college educated 57-37; by Jewish 65-32%. In other words, a grave danger is that by taking what seems to be a stand designed to lose him votes, McGovern in fact can be firming up precisely those swing votes which will put him within striking distance of victory.

4. Draw out President Nixon and especially Vice President Agnew to make savage frontal assaults on McGovern, on protesters, amnesty, marijuana and permissiveness -> all of which would firm up the high income, the educated, the suburban, the young and the independent vote to go for McGovern. Then he could come in positively on abortion and defense spending to achieve majority support to go with these key groups.
5. He could make his bread and butter or pork chop appeal among the union vote and Catholic voters on the tax reform issue.

The five-prong strategy can be thwarted in these ways:

1. For Nixon to say that he has dared to try drastic changes abroad in the foreign policy and it has begun to work. He is not afraid of change at home as the price-wage freeze last August indicated. And now he wants to have the chance to do at home what he has done abroad.
2. Put an immediate freeze or crackdown right away on food processors, prices and profits. The public does not blame farmers for high food prices, they do blame food processors and the middle man. In addition, advocate four or five tough tax reform measures that are patently anti-business. This will thwart McGovern's prong of making business the whipping post.
3. Point up how defense spending has come down as a percent of the federal budget. Yet at the same time, point up that this has been done without decimating the U.S. defense shield and guard.
4. Lay off taking McGovern on the amnesty and marijuana issues.
5. Advocate desegregation in education and in other parts of our national life but also say that busing is the wrong way to do it because busing not only will harden the opposition to desegregation but will also delay other effective steps which can increase the likelihood of success for racial progress.

Presentation Copy

- 6. Openly advocate aid to parochial schools, but leave to others to use the abortion issue.
- 7. For union members take the line that in no way will we apologize for the price-wage freeze. Emphasize that the purpose of that freeze and the controls programmed to follow was to protect the pocketbook of the working man by cracking down on excessive prices so that wages and salaries would have some buying power. (Consistently over 80% would rather have price and wage restraint than to take their chances on unrestrained wages and prices.)

How Nixon Can Win

There are two key sets of groups that can overturn this election:

- One, the swing vote made up of independents, the college educated, suburbanites, the young and the \$15,000+ income group.

This group can be worked on by emphasizing that the President has changed the outlook in the world in four years from war to peace. (Note the President's rating on working for peace has gone from 38 to 74% positive among these groups since a year ago July.)

A second approach to this same group is to raise the hope that as much can be done in the next 4 years at home as has been done to produce a beginning toward peace abroad. Fundamentally, this swing group can be affected by an appeal that the quality of life can be improved at home through environmental control, consumer protection, racial and educational progress and welfare reform. Note: almost all of the front and center rhetoric of the campaign should be directed toward these groups.

Quere order?

- Two, traditional Democrats make up the second key group. These are to be found in the South which can be handled essentially quietly simply by having the Vice President campaign continuously but in a low key. He is enough of a symbol there to do the job. The second strand of traditional Democrats are the union members. Here the President must make a pledge to cut unemployment, but also not depart from the basic theme that it is better to get prices down to protect the worth of wages than to allow every man for himself on price and wage increases. A third Democratic group are Catholics who can be directly but quietly appealed to on the aid to parochial schools issue, but again not in a front and center way.

gut issues for

<i>Catholic - labor:</i>	<i>Safe Issues (Independents)</i>
<i>Amnesty -</i>	<i>1. Foreign investment</i>
<i>abortion -</i>	<i>2. Environmt, reform, welfare?</i>
<i>pat -</i>	<i>3. Tax cut - sound economic -</i>
<i>Taxes -</i>	
<i>Defense -</i>	

Basic Nixon Theme

*Reach out toward
Don't turn away
from question⁴*

The President should advocate over and over again that he stands four-square for change -- but change that works. The theme of change that works can be powerful for it sets the change mood of the country and at the same time points up the difference between the practical, pragmatic approach President Nixon makes as opposed to the pie-in-the-sky McGovern's easy promises.

Specifically the President should say that he has promised to work for peace and that he has moved toward a formidable means to achieve peace, but this has not been done through easy promises, but rather by dint of hard, tough negotiation. What is more, this is only the beginning; there is much more ahead. For example, there is a long road to go still on arms control. And we have only begun to take the long positive road to economic growth and the use of American resources in the world through expanded trade for peaceful approach and unbounded good for all of the people of the earth. These beginnings for peace have not been produced by America giving in nor by America begging, but rather through firm negotiations always from strength. We have sought out common areas of agreement with mutual benefit for both ourselves and the communists. But above all else, underlying all of the moves for peace has been the element of mutual respect.

Now, the beginnings made abroad are precisely what must be done in the next four years here at home. First and foremost, the state of the economy. The President got tough last August with the price-wage freeze and is being tough again this August with the food processor crack-down. We have made a start toward recovery of the economy; that is not yet good enough. There could be unbounded hope for economic growth at home in the next four years.

4 (The President should advocate tough tax reform, not of the pie-in-the-sky variety, but change that works. There must be 4 or 5 concrete measures advocating. Warning should be served on business that it will be rewarded as an incentive to produce and grow and to expand, but there will be no incentive for business to fail to share the wealth with all segments of the American people.

7 The President should also pledge in the next four years to improve the quality of life, that we should stop attacking each other and should start attacking our common problems. These include air and water pollution,

Preservation Copy

adequate health care within the means of each family, expanded educational opportunity and progress toward achieving racial equality. A pledge can be made to dedicate the resources which formerly were used for war to improve the quality of life. These would be peace dividends for the American people.

Others may promise the sun and the stars, I'll pledge only to move us forward. Others may talk of sweeping change, I will pledge only to produce change that works. Others may talk of radical income distribution, I will pledge only an economy that works for better living standards for all and keeps open the doors of opportunity for initiative, competence and unstinting effort toward excellence to be rewarded. Others may talk of easy cuts in defense spending, I will only pledge arms reduction that also keeps the peace. Others may talk of telling America to go back home, but I say let us go out America to help ourselves and all the world find peace and a better life.

There is a basic morality at stake in this Presidential campaign. I say the next President must make a moral compact with the American people to achieve peace in the world and a chance to fight for a better quality of life at home. There is a call of greatness in that moral compact. It is not born of ringing words, but of hard won achievements step by step, piece by piece. But, greatness can never be yours to describe the easy promise, only the hard won results. The only change that counts is the change that works.

This election is basic and historic because the American people have a clear choice: between promise of forward progress that works or those who would come in with social and political experimentation, founded on protest, but in fact a retreat from America's role in the world and founded on catering to the fashionable fads of the moment at home. I pledge change, but change rooted in reality, not fantasy, change that changes people's lives for good, not change that ends up pitting one group against another.

I ask a simple compact: give me your trust, your help and a limitless world of hope lies ahead. Mistakes have been made and others will be made in the future. Change that works is not achieved without its failures, but I will not hesitate to try change that works, but always on a sound base. I know what it is to hew out progress for peace. I know it is not easy. I ask for a mandate of change that works. Give me your message. Give me your trust for another moral compact for four more years.

Thurgood Marshall

Caveats:

1. Do not go after McGovern directly or personally.
2. Defuse the tax reform and defense issues.
3. Do not make blatant appeals on what has been done or can be done for various groups.
4. Above all, do not defend the status quo.
5. Do not engage in savage attacks that can be accused of going for the jugular.
6. Always indicate an urgent sense that there is so much yet to do and so little time to do it.
7. Richard Nixon can win with the cleanest campaign in history.

Revised on Copy