

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	14	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From John Andrews to the President. RE: Acceptance Speech. 14pgs.

DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
<p>W-1 [Doc 172]</p>	<p>Memo</p>	<p>John Andrews to Price, re: Acceptance Speech, with attachments</p>	<p>7/21/72</p>	<p>(conf)</p>

FILE GROUP TITLE

JPF

BOX NUMBER

78

FOLDER TITLE

Wednesday, August 23, 1972, Acceptance
Speech, III

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- G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.
- H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.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: 78

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

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
172	Return Private/Political

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1972

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
VIA: RAY PRICE
FROM: JOHN ANDREWS
SUBJECT: Acceptance speech

Some of your more seasoned veterans already having submitted full drafts and comprehensive theme/tone proposals, I will focus on a few random notes and angles.

✓ It would be most desirable to evoke in your audience a sense of being swept along on the crest of a great wave in human history a sense of the inevitability of the last four years, the inescapable logic of the next four, and the continuity of all eight with the 20th century's long drive for peace, freedom, plenty and social justice.

Something of this, though not as broad in the time-sweep as it should be, is contained in the long "fragment" attached. (That is really more an exercise in linking the 1960 and 1968 acceptances to 1972, and then paying the whole thing off with the quote from Timothy.)

A better way to get at the same idea might be a thumbnail sketch of the way RN's career overlays the whole postwar era, highlighting the personal involvement in the national quest for peace each step of the way. The subliminal message here is that America has found its Churchill/DeGaulle, the man and the moment have come together, but that America won't throw him away in 1972 as Britain and France did with their great statesmen in 1945.

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optimism ✓ fear - withdrawal -
we can't
quite touch

A good axis of contrast between the RN and McG offerings might be this: The American spirit is expansive, generous, optimistic, adventurous, out-reaching. Our policies, foreign and domestic, fit this mold. McG, on the other hand, tailors everything to limitation, scarcity, fear. His economics is a perfect example -- instead of expanding the pie in order to give everyone a bigger piece, his deficits, punitive taxation, etc. half economic growth and so naturally lead to his confiscatory income redistribution with a static or shrinking pie. Ditto the defense cuts in order to find money for domestic needs. In Vietnam, the past burned us, so we try to punish the past and end up punishing ourselves and 17 million SVNese, rather than doing the best we can, carefully, and compassionately, from where we are here and now. And so on.

I would like to see a really open and daring approach to the disarray of the Democrats. This could be more than just an invitation for the homeless to join us this year only (suggested paragraphs attached) -- it could even sketch the outlines of a new permanent alignment, which in fact has already begun taking shape because RN has not hesitated during the last four years to cross traditional party boundaries in shaping the policies America needs for the Seventies. In terms of years in power, the Dems dominated US's first century, GOP our second; with the third now about to begin, another "new" party may be in prospect -- actually a reborn GOP with new elements, maybe even a new name.

Time for
a new
alignment
what do
we believe?

A strong pitch for both young people and women would surprise many people and I think be very well received. This could be cast not in terms of an appeal for their votes, per se, but more as an appreciation that both are coming into their own as participants in our society, with the observation that each group brings strengths and sensitivities which have already begun to leaven the national consciousness in needed and healthy ways, and which will be very important to the vitality of the American spirit and the American system in the time ahead.

need for
all
American
young
in '66 -
were used
Women not

not
Bueno
People say it
it is right -
a Demo say it -
it is right.
But

Nation work
needs the best
- women -
- young -
- blood -

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As an anecdote tying in with so many key themes -- youth, the hope for peace, idealism, national unity, the calming of the country, the personal side of the Presidency -- I think it is hard to improve on your pre-dawn visit to the Lincoln Memorial at the time of the Cambodia protests two years ago. This could figure very powerfully into the acceptance recipe, and I will be working on some specific language for that purpose.

For a close, I heartily concur with Safire's recommendation of one more outing for the Tanya story. Best of all, we were given a "dream partner" for Tanya when little Jessie, the 8-year-old black girl, was photographed with you on your flood tour in Pennsylvania.

By referring to the two of them, you could bridge naturally from the international and peace emphasis over into the domestic area. From an emotional standpoint, this would beat McG at his own come-home game (see attached paragraphs). Not that we are going to put an end to floods if given a second term, but that we care, RN cares, about kids, black people, unfortunates of all sorts, and from Leningrad to Harrisburg we are going to build a better world for them. Having won that one for Ike, let's win this one for Jessie and Tanya.

for the children of the world

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(Andrews)

July 21, 1972

ACCEPTANCE (FRAGMENT)

I can't do it alone - I need your help - your program - faith

The rhythm of our Presidential elections in this country tends to make us think of American history in neat four-year cycles. But as we look back across the span of decades, we find that no such narrow perspective will do.

For there are larger forces at work, and they are working across a longer sweep of time.

Election by election in the affairs of men, the tides may rise and fall; but beneath it all, ceaselessly and silently, a deeper and a steadier current runs. We must know that current and steer with it, or we are no more than drifters on the trackless ocean of history.

Grand old Party - Just New Party

Many of you -- because this Party of the Open Door is not a party which shuts its veterans out when it welcomes new participants in -- many of you who are delegates here in Miami this week were delegates too at Chicago 12 years ago. You remember our hopes at that convention:

We did not want to see the peace Dwight Eisenhower had won and kept for America dissolve into the tragedy of another distant war. We did not want to see the prosperity Dwight Eisenhower had fostered in our land run out of control and become a ruinous inflation.

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But in the contest that followed we did not prevail, and in the eight years that followed we watched other men and women lead this country ever deeper into the valley of shadow.

Through it all we held to our hopes, we stood by our standard, we stayed the long and grueling course. Not because we felt that God was on our side -- for the blind self-righteousness which can believe that, which can threaten to bolt a party if someone else is nominated, to abandon a foreign commitment if easy victory is not achieved, to flee a homeland if military service is in prospect and then demand forgiveness for that flight -- such self-righteousness, my friends, ~~is not our way, not the Republican way, not the American~~ way.

No, the reason that we persevered as Republicans in defeat and adversity through America's time of trial in the 1960's was that we devoutly prayed and diligently sought to be sure that America was on God's side -- as Lincoln put it in a dark hour of the Civil War and as I echoed in acceptance of your nomination in 1960.

And so as the Vietnam nightmare wore on, as our own cities burned, as our racial tensions worsened, as our government seemed more and more impotent because of its very size and power, as our prices and our taxes climbed, Republicans waited and watched and built for the future.

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✓ We didn't sabotage
I pleased
Thank - James who
stood by us

The opposition which we offered the party in power on domestic and especially on foreign policy was at all points a loyal and constructive opposition -- a record whose contrast with some of the political opportunism and partisanship of these last four years should be to us a source of just and lasting pride.

We believed ^{that} there was a better way to lead America, the American people believed that there was a better way, and when the time came in 1968 it was the Republican Party which pointed the better way.

Many of you here tonight were present in this same hall four years ago when you gave me the high honor of a second nomination for the Presidency, and when I in accepting that great commission called our party and our nation to a new and higher commitment to the truth -- "to find the truth, to speak the truth, and to live the truth."

And it was when the people went to the polls in the fall that we saw our faith confirmed. We saw that the current sweeping America on to greatness was still flowing wide and strong, undiverted and unchecked by the shallow ebb and flow in the fortunes of any one man, any one party. For the voters that year spoke out for America. They spoke out loud and clear, nearly 6 in every 10, writing a mandate for change from the old leadership with its long record of well-intentioned failure to a new set of leaders, leaders whose vision would be wider and whose deeds would live up to their words.

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Tonight, looking back and looking ahead, we can say that we have honored our mandate, we have kept our word, we have begun to make our vision come true. Our stewardship is far from finished. But all America and all the world know this: in its first years that stewardship has been faithful; it has been forceful; it has been fruitful.

We said we would find the truth, and we found it: the truth that prosperity based on war and inflation was a fraud, that social change which triggered anarchy was good for no one, that endless war, hot and cold, was an idea whose time was gone.

We said we would speak the truth, and we have spoken it: the truth that good jobs, decent income, and a sound dollar can be made available to every American, that life can be better when government steps back and sets the people's energies free, that peace can be achieved through negotiation and through strength.

We said we would live the truth, and we are living it: the truth that prosperity is happening now, that reform and a rebirth of freedom are taking place now, that peace is gathering strength now, all across this land.

But there is so much more to do. Much more truth than we have yet discovered lies hidden -- we must find it. . . stands mute -- we

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must speak it . . . waits unused -- we must give it life.

Ours it is to find the true path from poverty and powerlessness up to human dignity and fulfilment for all our brothers and sisters.

Ours it is to seek true equity, and true balance in the workings of the free enterprise economy.

Ours it is to set and to achieve true standards for quality in the lives we live and the surroundings we live them in.

Ours it is to build and to preserve a true structure of peace above the mere absence of war.

Ours it is to be about the urgent business of alleviating tyranny, suffering, and want wherever they afflict the family of man.

It is in this cause that we will take our case to the American people over the weeks and months to come. We do so confident of the outcome and glad of the chance to submit once more to the Nation's judgment at the polling place. For we trust that judgment, we revere its wisdom, we cherish the democracy it represents.

But as I accept for the third time, in gratitude and deep humility, your nomination for President of the United States, it is not to the people alone -- not even to the people first -- that I feel our ticket, our party, our Nation, and our great cause must turn.

No, my friends, I believe that our first prayer must be, as I said from this platform in 1960, that the divine will be done. Or again

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that prayer must be, as I said from this platform in 1968, that the truth may rule in our hearts and so govern in our land.

There is one verse from Scripture that captures all this, a verse that has been much in my thoughts these last few days. In a Quaker home, as my home was, the Bible is quoted often. But abroad in the world, it is different. There the Quaker way is to live the Word and let the lips be silent. Tonight I will break that rule, because I feel that this one thought which my mother gave me so often is one which may serve to guide all Americans in this great year of decision.

It comes from Paul's letter to Timothy, and this is what it says: "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

There, my fellow Republicans and my fellow Americans, there is where our confidence rests; there is where our salvation will be found.

In a year when exotic panaceas are offered to lure the fleeting approval of voting blocs and factions, let each of us so order our lives and so serve our nation as to merit the lasting approval of supreme wisdom and goodness.

In a year when shame is in fashion and work is degraded, let each of us take pride in the workmanship of a new America and a

Preservation Copy

new world which we have well begun these last four years, and which working steadily onward we shall mightily advance in the years to come.

In a year when fantasies, errors, and outright falsehoods fill the political air, let each of us rededicate ourselves to seeing and serving the truth about the rights of man, the ways of nations, and the price of a lasting peace.

This done, we shall not merely win an election -- though surely we shall do that -- but above and beyond that landslide victory ^{we} shall win a world, a world where mankind finds nothing to fear but all things to achieve and to cherish.

Standing before this convention 4 years ago, I ventured the prediction that ages to come will remember 1968 as the beginning of the American generation in world history. Already we have seen much to bear that prediction out. But now, with the first step taken, there comes again a time to choose.

No one who knows the American spirit as you do and as I do can doubt what that choice will be. It will be a choice for the forward and upward path, into peace, into plenty, into brotherhood for all Americans, into a new golden age for the common man and woman in this uncommon land of ours.

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It is with a full heart and a solemn resolve to carry high the banner of that choice that I accept your nomination and take up your trust tonight.

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(Andrews)

July 21, 1972

*Tribute to
Andrew*

ACCEPTANCE SUGGESTIONS:

Invitation to Democrats

The marvelous resiliency and cohesiveness of our American political system come from the common bonds of shared beliefs and convictions which tend to unite us all, far more powerfully than partisan loyalties can divide us.

It was Jefferson, the father of the Democratic Party, coming to the Presidency after a crucial and bitterly contested election victory, who told his countrymen, "We are all Republicans -- we are all Federalists."

became

4

And it remains as true in our day as in his, that there are no party lines when it comes to matters as fundamental as tolerance and fair play in the political process; the workingman's right to keep what he earns secure against arbitrary seizure by the state; the need for sufficiency in national defense; and the imperatives of honor, dignity, and good faith in the conduct of foreign affairs.

Respect for Law

In these things, truly, we are all Republicans, we are all Democrats. In their behalf we can all make common cause, for in their absence we would all be in common danger -- in danger of losing our liberties and our very lives themselves.

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As the Vice President and I stand for re-election this fall, these are some of the cardinal principles and values we will be standing on and standing for.

We ask every American who values the heritage and traditions of the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, and the two-party system as a whole, to stand with us.

* * *

Come Home, America

I do not believe that the siren song, "Come home, come home," will lure this country onto the shoals of a new isolationism. For already, America is at home in the family of nations; Americans are at home in the family of man.

There are still many languages and cultures, many governments and ideologies, in the world of 1972. But there are no foreigners any more. The ^{inter}dependence of progress, of peace, and of survival itself cannot be wished away.

Just as the environmental awakening has taught us that we cannot "throw away" any more, because no place is "away," in the same sense it is no longer possible for a nation, especially the world's most powerful nation, to "go away." There is simply nowhere to go.

Provisional Copy

Of course we could try. Like the Prodigal Son, we could ask for our share of the inheritance, pack up our belongings, and huddle down between our oceans for a while. But sooner or later we would have to come home to the world again.

And in the meantime -- how selfish, how wasteful, how cruelly destructive of all mankind's hopes for peace that escapist indulgence would be!

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