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53	46	7/21/1972	<input type="checkbox"/>	Campaign	Memo	From Andrews to Nixon RE: "Acceptance Speech" 14pg
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**DOCUMENT WITHDRAWAL RECORD [NIXON PROJECT]**

DOCUMENT NUMBER	DOCUMENT TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE OR CORRESPONDENTS	DATE	RESTRICTION
N-1 [DOC # 145]	memo	Andrews to RN re: "Acceptance Speech".	7/21/72	C
N-2 [DOC # 146]	memo	Khachigian to Price re: "Acceptance Speech".	7/20/72	C

FILE GROUP TITLE **STAFF SECRETARY** BOX NUMBER  
**135**

FOLDER TITLE **Presidential Speeches July 1972-August 1972 [III]**

RESTRICTION CODES

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| <p>A. Release would violate a Federal statute or Agency Policy.</p> <p>B. National security classified information.</p> <p>C. Pending or approved claim that release would violate an individual's rights.</p> <p>D. Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of privacy or a libel of a living person.</p> | <p>E. Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information.</p> <p>F. Release would disclose investigatory information compiled for law enforcement purposes.</p> <p>G. Withdrawn and return private and personal material.</p> <p>H. Withdrawn and returned non-historical material.</p> |
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Presidential Materials Review Board

Review on Contested Documents

**Collection:** Staff Secretary  
**Box Number:** 135

**Folder:** Presidential Speeches July 1972 - August 1972 [III]

<u>Document</u>	<u>Disposition</u>
145	Return Private/Political
146	Return Private/Political

[Item N-1]  
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.

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.

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.

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.

ACCEPTANCE (FRAGMENT)

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.

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.

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.

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 <sup>that</sup> 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.

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

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

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 <sup>lasting</sup> 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

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.

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.

# # #

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."

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.

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.

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 <sup>inter</sup>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.

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!

# # #

[I 1/2 hr 11-22]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: RAY PRICE

FROM: KENKHACHIGIAN *Q*

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

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH - SUGGESTED REMARKS  
(Insert Before Peroration)

My fellow Americans, four years ago before this great convention, I spoke of our nation's 200th birthday -- a day when the world could again look to America as the shining example of hopes realized and dreams achieved.

I am not here to report that day has arrived. I am here to report that day is coming. We did not promise the millenium in the morning, but we asked to begin on a long road to a new day for America.

Yet, as we travel that road today we see self-doubt and a questioning of America's will.

There are those who proclaim America is sick and decadent, with goals unmet and problems unsolved.

Others say that America has lost her way, that our society is repressive and racist or imperialistic and reactionary. It is said that we are so tainted by national illness that we have lost our will to be great.

And still others look at America as corrupt and rotten, our values distorted, our institutions crumbling, and our determination defeated.

What nonsense!

What a waste it is to wallow in guilt and self-flagellation, to tear at our confidence and stain our resolve.

Some see war and think that peace is but the absence of war.

Some see honest disagreement and confuse it with division.

Some see preparedness and call it militarism.

My fellow Americans, America did not come all this way on the energy of defeatism and despair.

For too many in our country, the wish is father to the thought. If they speak long enough and loudly enough of decadence, we will believe ourselves to be decadent. If they tell us often enough that we are sick, we truly may think so.

Weep for America? I don't agree.

We have far to go for we are still a young country. We have obstacles to confront and barriers to overcome.

We must work still harder for peace at home and abroad.

A full prosperity is never around the corner; it only comes with hard endeavor.

Our air and our water must be made cleaner. Our streets, safer. Our cities, more liveable. Our sick, healed. Our hungry, fed. Our unsheltered, housed. Our young, educated. Our countryside and farms made vital. And most importantly, our selves fulfilled.

But consider this for a moment; if we had but half our wealth; if our cities did not gleam with tall buildings and our farms produce in full abundance; if we did not have high technology and sophisticated

machinery; if we did not have all these, we would still have our most precious asset -- the will and tenacity of the American people to take themselves beyond limiting boundaries.

If we lose our will, if we weaken our resolve, we do not deserve the mantle of greatness.

But if we retain our self-confidence -- the confidence that carried us from a hot summer's day in Independence Hall to the marvel of Apollo XVI -- the future will hold still more promises of majesty for this great and good nation of ours.

So my fellow Americans, we must enter this election campaign with the counsel of that wise injunction by a man who shared the high office I hold -- that we shall not fear fear.

The Vice-President and I are going to campaign not just for ourselves but for America.

We are going to every citizen with the message: we don't love America because she is perfect; we love her because she is perfectable.

We are going to talk to the millions of Americans who work hard and pay their taxes and raise their children and tell them: "Keep going, there is work to be done."

We are going to the people who have built this country with their sweat, their hands, and their prayers and tell them: "Come with us; our work must continue."

We are going to the young and the old; the black, brown, red, yellow and white and tell them: "If we do not work for America now, when will we ever work for her?"

We will go to Republicans, Democrats, and Independents and tell them: "Our work is not partisan; it is America's work. Come join us."

And we will not stop until we have shined a beacon from coast to coast and border to border: "The work we do is for tomorrow, the day after, and for the history which generations from now might ultimately judge us as gracious and good, but humble and thankful.

So let us resolve in this great assembly tonight -- and my fellow Americans, I ask you to join us in that resolve -- that we are going to put our doubts on the run.

I am not satisfied with where we are, but rather, I am concerned about where we are going. And on our way there, let us proceed with confidence, compassion, fortitude and love.

We still see that day which is four years hence, and we will not stop working until that day is here.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH - SUGGESTED REMARKS  
(One-liners and Phrases)

All the wishful thinking in the world will not preserve our freedom if we do not make clear that our national strength is the first principle of our freedom.

\* \* \* \* \*

The promises we kept are important, but more important is that we did not make promises we knew we could not keep.

\* \* \* \* \*

If in four years I could have solved all of America's problems, I would not be here asking for another term of leadership. And I say to you, those who claim they can solve all our troubles in four years don't deserve to be our leaders.

\* \* \* \* \*

We must seek change without throwing out our most cherished traditions -- the suffering and happiness; the sadness and laughter; the heartbreak and triumph; and above all the wisdom of our heritage. These standards of the American experience are too valuable to be thoughtlessly discarded. Progress means learning from the past, not just cursing it.

\* \* \* \* \*

The state of our welfare system is not going to be improved by ushering in the welfare state.

\* \* \* \* \*

We don't need to hand out money, we need to hand out  
opportunity.

\* \* \* \* \*

Unilaterally stripping our national defense may save money,  
but will squander our ability to secure peace.

\* \* \* \* \*

The answer to big problems is not bigger government.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH - SUGGESTED REMARKS  
(Welfare)

Four years ago I said that we needed to do something about a welfare system which perpetuates itself, discourages work and demeans the recipient.

We do not intend to deny the needy. Americans can truly pride themselves on being the most unselfish people on earth. We have never questioned the need to help dependent children, the disabled, the blind and the elderly.

But when a system such as we have gives out money without giving out dignity; when it discourages work while weakening our families; when it reduces the dignity of the recipient in his own eyes and the eyes of his family; when it fails to stop the perpetual cycle of welfare; then I say it is time to throw out such a system and replace it with one that works.

Three years ago, I proposed a new system, and in three years the Congress of the United States has not brought this legislation to my desk -- legislation which would reform our welfare system, encourage families to stay together rather than drift apart, and get people on to payrolls and off welfare rolls.

So when we hear about the welfare mess this year, let's remember one thing: for three years Congress has had an opportunity to stop the mess, now let's get on with doing it.

And when someone says that the answer to the welfare problem is more welfare, our answer is more workfare.

No job is more demeaning than having a check delivered into the mail or having a welfare investigator probing into the personal lives of our citizens. Let no one complain if a job makes him or her a productive member of society and provides for a shelter for the family and food for little children.

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH - SUGGESTED REMARKS  
(Agriculture)

The American farmer has been central to our economy, and he will continue to be the foundation of our prosperity.

So tonight, let's give farmers and rural America the vote of thanks they so richly deserve.

Agriculture has been the most productive industry in America. While I will not be satisfied until prices have stabilized on all fronts, let us be mindful that in the last \_\_\_\_\_ years farm prices have gone up only \_\_\_\_\_%.

Let us also remember that food is still a great buy in the United States. Today, Americans spend 15.6¢ of their after-tax income dollar on food compared with 20¢ in 1960. The British spend 24¢ per dollar, the Italians 37¢ and in Ghana it is 60¢.

Finally, let me say one thing about a promise I made four years ago and a promise I kept. We now have a Secretary of Agriculture in Washington who talks to the President for the farmer, not the other way around -- and believe me, the farmer has a good advocate in their Secretary of Agriculture.