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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1976

file
ATTACK
Speech

MEMORANDUM FOR: DICK CHENEY
FROM: DAVE GERGEN
SUBJECT: Speech Idea for Texas

This is a rough cut at the kind of speech that Bryce Harlow and I discussed last night. I would appreciate it if you could review it and we could show it to the President -- with the understanding that it would have to be carefully checked out.

I am sending copies to a few others for their thoughts.

cc: Foster Chanock
Jim Connor
✓ Mike Duval
Jerry Jones
Jack Marsh



(Gergen)

April 26, 1976

POSSIBLE SPEECH FOR TEXAS

Somewhere between the snows of New Hampshire and the sunny climes down in Florida, the focus of the Republican campaign for the Presidency this year began to shift away from the economy to a new and more complex issue: concern over American military strength in the world.

Now, I've been down the campaign trail before and I know why a challenger will often try to shift his attack. When he finds that one horse isn't strong enough to carry him into office, he will shift to another to see if it will run any faster.

But my friends, I can assure you today that this matter of America's strength in the world is a very poor nag to ride into the White House.



The central thrust of my opponent's argument is that the United States has become inferior to the Soviet Union, especially in military strength. His answer, apparently, is to change our force structure so that it matches the Soviets -- weapon for weapon, ship for ship, man for man.

Let's ask ourselves for a moment what it would be like if we were to recast the face of America so that we were a mirror image of the Soviet Union -- not only in the military field but in our economic strength, our industrial strength, our political strength, and -- one of our greatest resources of any nation -- in our spiritual strength as a people. What would it really be like?

For us to enjoy all of the glories of Soviet life, we would have to begin by tearing up 13 of every 14 miles of paved highway in the United States.

We would have to scrap 19 out of every 20 cars that we own.

We would have to destroy half of our steel capacity, one half of our petroleum capacity, three out of every five hydroelectric plants.

About a hundred million television sets would have to go, more than 90 percent of our telephones would have to be ripped from the walls, over 70 percent of our single-family homes would be demolished.

Many of our most talented young people would no longer be in school but out on a collective farm or under force of arms. Over two thousand colleges would have to be razed and over 80 percent of our museums.

No less than 70 million people would have to be taken out of our cities and put out on the farm. Our farmers



would be required to reduce their level of productivity by a staggering ____ percent.

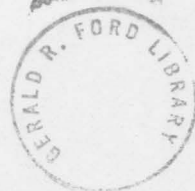
And the wrenching changes would certainly not be confined to our industrial and economic life.

Over 90 percent of our churches would have to be closed down.

We could write off the Bill of Rights.

And we could cancel elections here in Texas and elsewhere for the rest of our lifetimes.

Obviously, my challenger has never implied or suggested that we should do any of these things. But the point to remember is that it would be foolhardy in the extreme for the United States to try to copy the Soviet Union in any area of our national life.



Throughout our history, the people of this country have been proud of America and proud to be Americans. That was true yesterday. It's true today. And it will be true tomorrow.

But let us look more closely at this issue of whether, as my honorable opponent does seem to imply, that we should try to rebuild our armed forces so that they are in exact parallel to the Soviet Union -- ship for ship, weapon for weapon, man for man.

To do that, I would suggest to you that we would have to start by putting most of our Naval fleet into mothballs. The _____ aircraft carriers that now ply the seas flying the American flag would all have to be retired. The Soviets have no vessels that match them in either size or firepower.

After we mothballed these huge carriers -- the Enterprise, the Nimitz, the Forrestal, and the like -- we would have to

bring into port our _____, our _____, and our _____.

In their place, we would have to substitute other ships -- larger in number, I grant you -- but smaller in size, less sophisticated in technology, and inferior in their ability to conduct modern warfare.

Do any of you truly believe that this would be the best way to protect America and defend our freedoms in the world?

Now let's look at our air force and ask what it would be like to recreate it so that it was a mirror image of the Soviet air force. We would have to begin by grounding most of our B-52 bombers and calling off the progress we are making in developing a new, more capable B-1 bomber. Then we would have to _____, and _____.

But, my opponent says, you have left out the point that Soviet armed forces are twice as large as those of the United States. They have over four million men under arms, we have



just over two million. Doesn't that mean that we are inferior in military power?

The short answer is that it certainly does not. The Soviets have always had more personnel because their military needs are different from ours. In recent years in particular, they have felt the need to put a force of some 500,000 on their Chinese border. The border that they defend against the West is in Europe and there, if our troop strength is added to that of other NATO forces, we are every bit their match. I say that with special appreciation that to me, the American fighting man -- when you count his training, his sophistication, his courage -- makes the finest soldier anywhere in the world.

But I don't think the issue should be left there. It is only fair to ask that the critics of our armed forces answer a few questions of their own.

Question 1 -- If they think we must double the size of our defense forces so that we copy the Russians, how do they propose to do it? The only conceivable answer is to start drafting young men again. Is that what they propose -- res instituting the Selective Service System and compelling two million young people to join our armed forces?

Question 2 -- How do these critics propose to pay for this reconstitution of the American armed forces? How many billions upon billions of dollars would they add to the U.S. defense budget?

Question 3 -- How do these critics plan to remake the U.S. military forces so that they are a carbon copy of the Soviets and to balance the Federal budget at the same time? How much more inflation are they willing to inflict upon the American people? How much more of a tax burden do they want to impose?



Question 4 -- Finally, what good will all this do anyway? The armed forces of the United States are capable today of carrying out every foreign policy and defense objective of our nation. We are capable of annihilating anyone who attacks us or an ally. We are unsurpassed in military power, and as long as I am President, we will never become second to anybody -- period.

As far as I am concerned, I wouldn't trade the United State Army, the United States Navy, the Air Force or the Marines for any other fighting force anywhere in the world.

My friends, when you add up all the strengths of the United States -- our economic strength, our industrial strength, our intellectual strength, our military strength, and our moral strength -- I believe there is no question that we are the most powerful nation on earth. And that's the way we're going to stay -- not because we try to copy the

Soviet Union, but because we're Americans. We believe in America. We believe in the American way of life. And we believe in a higher being that watches over us all.

Sure, we have our flaws. We always have, we always will. And we must be aggressive about overcoming them.

But I say, let's stick with what we've got. The American way of life has brought us through 200 years with greater glory and greater progress than our forefathers could ever dream of.

Let us resolve now to build on those strengths so that 100 years from now, our great grandchildren can look back and say that they, too, are proud of America and proud to be Americans.

Thank you very much.

File
Campaign
(ATTACK speech)

April 27, 1976

CONCLUDING STATEMENT FOR PRESIDENT'S Q&A SESSIONS

Ladies and Gentlemen: It has been a privilege to meet with you here today and to answer a few of your questions.

If I may, I would like to close by leaving a few questions of my own that I hope you will consider as you decide how to cast your ballot this Saturday.

These are very serious questions because the issues that face us in this Bicentennial year are very serious. They transcend personalities and even parties because they go directly to the heart of what this country's future will be like for years to come.

Let me ask you then:

On our relationship with the Soviet Union:

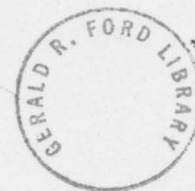
-- Do you want to continue negotiating with the Soviets in an effort to reduce tensions in the world; or,



-- Do you want to go back to the confrontations of the Cold War and all that that implies in the Nuclear Age?

I favor making every effort to negotiate with the USSR. So long as we remain strong, so long as we remain unsurpassed in military strength -- as we are today -- I believe we can make progress toward a more secure world for our children. I will never recommend an agreement that is not in the best interest of the United States.

On our economy:



-- Do you want to continue the policies that are ending the worst recession in 40 years and the worst inflation in our peacetime history; or,

-- Do you want to risk an unknown policy tied to an unknown program to cure a so-called "false" economic recovery?

I favor our present course; our economy is increasingly strong; it will continue its improvement. It will allow us

to balance the Federal budget within 3 years, to cut taxes, and to preserve the free enterprise system. Our recent economic success in large part is based on a steady policy, patiently pursued. And I can tell you now that it's a lot better for us than the snake oil some other folks are peddling.

On Social Security:

-- Do you want to put our Social Security system on a sound financial basis so that your retirement benefits will be there when you need them; or,

-- Do you want to make Social Security voluntary, invest its funds in the stock market and run the risk that it will evaporate before you retire?

I believe that we must restore the integrity of the Social Security Trust Fund by enacting a small increase in social security taxes; our working and retired citizens

cannot be sacrificed on the election year altar. All the schemes to dodge the need for integrity in the system are totally unacceptable.

On the right to work:

-- Do you want to continue safeguarding an individual's right to work; or,

-- Do you want to leave this matter to a man who has waltzed around the issue over the years?

On our next President:

-- Do you want a candidate who can win in November, who can make his vetoes stick in the Congress, and continue fighting for balanced, reasoned policies to guide our economy, our foreign policy, and our military strength; or,

-- Do you want to put up an inexperienced, unpredictable man and run a serious risk of turning the White House over to the Democratic Party in November?



All of these questions, I believe, must be answered with great responsibility, with reason, with an understanding of complex problems and the often complex answers they require. We cannot afford leaders who have less than the best understanding of our current situation and who have simple and incomplete answers to them. Glibness on the campaign stump is not good enough for the Presidency; superficiality is not good enough. A man who seeks the highest office of the land must be equal to its burdens.

I am confident about the next four years, and about our future ability to meet their challenges. In the last two years, we have shown that the peace, the prosperity, and the progress of our past can once again be the promise of America's future. This is the future I want for all of us, and I ask for your help this Saturday to make that come true.

Thank you very much.

* * * * *

The United States can only remain strong and independent if each of you participate in developing our foreign and domestic policies with your vote in this election year. To do this, you need the same hard facts and honest arguments I need as President. Fuzzy, superficial thinking and inadequate statements can never lead to sound judgment -- not by you and not by me.

The real issues facing this Nation are tough and complex. They are not susceptible to simplistic characterization or quick solutions. Thus, in order to judge the candidates appealing for your vote, you must critically analyze not only the substance of their positions on the issues, but also the accurateness and completeness of their statements.

For example --

- Can you accept as a national leader a person who incorrectly claims that the Panama Canal is sovereign, and that the ~~President~~^{leader} of that country is a "tin horn dictator"? I have adopted a policy which has twin objectives: first, I will negotiate with the Panamanians as Presidents Roosevelt and Eisenhower did in similar circumstances in order to avoid a massive commitment of American troops to protect our interests and to protect good relations between our countries. Second, I will insist on full use of the Canal consistent with the American investment in it.

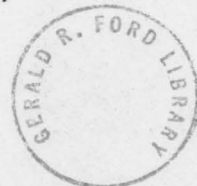


• Do you want a President who claims he can hold taxes down but whose record is one of increasing state and local taxes and ~~proposals~~ ^{proposing plans} which would shift the tax burden from the federal taxpayer to the state? Under my leadership as President, taxes have been reduced by _____, federal spending has been cut back by \$ _____ billion by my use of the veto, and state and local control over certain programs has been increased without adding at all to their financial burden.

• Why should you vote for a President who has taken no firm position on the Nation's crime and drug problems, on the national policy concerning health care, on [add additional examples]? For my record, you have two State of the Union Addresses, two national budgets submitted to Congress, _____ special Messages containing specific legislative proposals and countless other specific statements of policy and legislative proposals.

• Can you really accept a leader who once said he would repeal the right to work law and more recently has said [insert]? For my part, I have said [insert] concerning right to work laws, and I vetoed the common situs picketing bill, notwithstanding massive pressure from certain leaders of organized labor.

• Do you believe the superficial rhetoric of someone who ^{military} claims that we are second in/strength to the Russians, based on selective use of statistics without an overall assessment



of their strength compared to ours? [insert line from Gergen draft].

| Remember, national leaders are not the ultimate source of strength which this country needs to maintain its preeminent position as the guarantor of world peace and prosperity for each ~~xxx~~ American. The people are the source of this strength, and they must participate in the decision process along with their leaders. To do this, they need the plain truth. They need the facts. They don't need the superficial rhetoric of competing politicians.

Demand the facts. Look at what my opponent ~~has said~~ ^{has said.}
Look at what I have said, and I'm confident your judgment will be to support ~~my election effort.~~ ^{me.}