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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1976

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: JAMES M. CANNON  
FROM: JAMES E. CONNOR *JEC*  
SUBJECT: Craig Smith Memorandum Concerning  
Specific Issue Speeches

The attached memorandum was returned in the President's  
outbox with the following notation directed to you:

"One of our new speech writers did the attached.

Has some good ideas.

Ties in with V.P.'s thoughts on Parks.

How are we coming? "

Please follow-up with the appropriate action.

cc: Dick Cheney

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Jim Cannon

One of our new  
speech writers did the  
attached.

I has some good ideas.

Tips in with V. P.'s  
thoughts on Parks.

How are we coming?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR: ROBERT ORBEN

FROM: CRAIG SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: Specific Issue Speeches

In past Presidential speaking, the approach to specific issues of a substantive nature has been guided by several factors:

- 1) issue importance to voters: (Throughout this memo voters and audience are treated as the same.) Voters, as audiences for speeches, expect candidates to address major issues.
- 2) audience positions on substantive issues: If the American or local audience for a speech is sharply divided, raising the divisive issue can alienate voters. If, however, there is some unanimity, a candidate can use the issue to his advantage.
- 3) generating issues: A good speech can make an issue more important in a campaign. Such speeches often put the candidate on the offensive thereby giving him more control of the campaign. (e.g. Reagan on the Canal.)
- 4) linkage of issues: Too often, candidates treat issues as discrete, when in fact they are interrelated. (e.g. Busing and government interferences.)

In light of these four factors, I suggest that the President employ two strategies which have only begun to emerge in his speech making.

First, the President should argue that his administration, unlike the opposition, has taken a comprehensive approach to substantive issues. (This is touched upon in the State of Union Address.) He realizes that better housing is as much a deterrent to crime as gun control; that an end to government interference begins not only with revenue sharing but with an end to unnecessary busing; that land conservation is as much a result of planning urban growth as of maintaining farm productivity. In this way, specific issues could be developed as part of a network that represented the unique, integrated approach of this administration.

Lesser issues would be elevated in importance by their connection to the entire network. Controversial issues would be tempered by their association with more desired positions.

Second, the President should claim his constituency by demonstrating that for twenty-seven years he has stood for what Americans now see as a sensible approach to problems. The shift right in American thinking (less government, less inflation, less intanglement abroad, common sense solutions) has accelerated since 1970. Democrats have already moved to steal away this historically Republican position. The President should tie his issue-positions to the "growing American consensus" so that he is identified with the majority of voters. One way to accomplish such identification is to give a speech describing this "consensus" or at least to make it a theme in a major speech. Touching on motivations and values of this audience, would not be difficult. Such persuasion could serve as a backdrop to the issue speeches.

In short, these issue speeches need to be linked to a comprehensive administrative policy. That policy then needs to be linked to the aspirations of the American voter. Such a strategy would allow for the consistent development of several more specific speeches.

RE: Speech Proposal #1 -- THE GROWING AMERICAN CONSENSUS

Purpose: To identify a constituency that is capable of producing a majority at the polls. To outline motivations and values of the American voters in such a way as to reveal that they are consistent with the values of the President.

Problem: President Ford has a large, potential constituency. His speeches and legislative initiatives are in tune with a growing American consensus. But no clear effort has been made to identify and claim this consensus. Therefore, others have raided the majority consensus and taken it from the President. (The party of McGovern is now the party of Carter; that is, the party of liberal congressional spenders is the party of anti-Washington reformers.) As a pragmatist and realist in government for over a quarter of a century, the President has watched the voters return again and again to his pragmatic principles. But at no time since World War II have these principles been embraced by a larger segment of the voters.

Americans are finally realizing that the question is not whether we embrace truisms, but how we implement them that is important. Too often politicians have promised to solve our problems only to create new ones. The President is a doer, not a promiser. He saves money, restores the economy, restores the peace, and returns confidence to the Presidency. These are real accomplishments, not vague promises.

Solution: The Administration must make clear its accomplishments in the frame work of the majority's values and sensibilities. "Of course, we need to live within our means. Of course, we need to provide civil justice in every way we can. Of course, we need to keep America strong in the face of foreign challenge. Of course, we need to maintain a sound educational system. On these issues and others, the American public has reached a consensus and this administration has followed that mandate. From this consensus, it is possible to move forward to take care of unfinished business. We can bring health where there is disease, peace where there is strife, progress where there is poverty.

Aside from programs, the new American consensus is manifesting itself in a spirit of renewal. During the bicentennial celebration on the fourth of July, millions of New Yorkers crowded around their historic harbor to see the tall ships; they returned the next day unsatisfied with only a day of celebrating. Hundreds of thousands of Philadelphians stood in silence, as the President led them in prayer. A million citizens came to Washington D. C. that evening to celebrate America's 200th birthday; with no problem more serious than a traffic jam, they cheered a renewed faith in country.

Americans want diligence, not dissent; they want progress, not protest; they want spirit, not strife. The Republican party has never out promised the Democratic, but it has always out performed them. It has been no different with this administration.

The American people are wise enough to know which party and which candidates have sincerely held pragmatic and realistic positions over time and which have only recently seen fit to embrace them.

## Speech Proposal #2 -- A COMMUNITY OF THE LAND

Purpose: To outline the President's position on land use control. To identify the President with American's natural ties to the land.

Problem: American culture and society have been shaped by the land. Key phrases in our heritage begin to tell us how dependent on the land we are: "New World," "Property rights," "Frontier spirit," and "A place of our own."

But through time we have often abused the land. Robert Frost put it best when he said, "The land was ours before we were the lands." He understood, as we all must, that the land is no longer unlimited and that its uses are not limitless.

The incredible growth of our cities, the astronomical increase in property values, and farm land shrinkages are but clues to a major problem. Today, soil erosion from wind and water continues unabated. Urban sprawl eats up valuable agricultural land. We may soon face a shortage of crop land which will mean we will have trouble feeding our own citizens, let alone the starving abroad.

This uncontrolled growth, and unwarranted neglect have resulted in several secondary problems. Mass transit systems have failed to keep pace with urban development. Congestion, pollution, and city center decay have resulted.

Solution: "Our country was founded on a healthy respect for the land. If we return to the early principles of our forefathers, we will regain a new sense of community with the land. The administration has taken several steps to solve the problem: We have proposed and passed several viable housing policies. Among them is one for \$20.8 million which encourages local experimentation with rent rates, resident management, and housing reform. We have sponsored grants for urban redevelopment of center cities. And we have done a good deal to encourage the

preservation of the farm family. In this way we have tried to create a sense of neighborhood in the city, and a community of the land in the country.

But more needs to be done in the future. Our revenue sharing is only the beginning of a list of reforms needed to bring back a system of creative federalism. We propose a system wherein localities can experiment with property tax relief, zoning regulation, appreciation recapture, and transit efficiency.

We note that farmers produce more and at lower prices when they do not face the entanglements of government regulation. We have proposed legislation to make it rewarding to be a farmer. We have asked Congress to approve our taxing system which would make it easier for small farms and small businesses to continue to be productive.

All of these measures are aimed at a more controlled and sensible use of America's greatest resource, land. These measures also encourage more local experimentation, which in turn should help to develop a better sense of community in our cities and on our farms."

### Speech Proposal #3 -- A COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT NATIONAL HEALTH

Purpose: To convey the President's integrated approach to the problem of national health care. The opposition has considered the question of health in isolation. This administration has consistently taken the position that the physical well-being of our citizens is related to several programs. There is more to health care than medical insurance and hospitalization.

Problem: America faces a crisis in health care for both specific and general reasons. Specifically, government intervention has deterred the development of adequate, economical, private insurance programs. Useless paper work, personnel, and grant monies have resulted from the array of legislation forced through Democratic administrations and Congresses.

Generally, major causes of health problems have been improperly dealt with by the opposition. Unlike them, we analyze the relationship between health and crime prevention, urban blight, and environmental protection.

2) Food production is not keeping pace with population growth. Vital crop land is being destroyed by urban growth and erosion. While adequate food supplies exist now, future generations face massive inflation at best, and major food shortages, at worst.

3) Mineral demands are outstripping domestic supply. We continue to increase our reliance on foreign resources. Such a policy produces inflated prices and may lead to the cut off of vital materials.

4) The energy situation continues to deteriorate. Reliance on foreign oil has increased since the 1973 crisis. Development of alternate energy sources is slow and uncompetitive.

Solution: This administration has argued for an integrated view of problem areas. Our energy needs relate to economic productivity. Land use planning affects food supplies as well as the construction industry.

"Given the interrelated nature of these problems, I propose that we abandon the crisis mentality that characterizes the opposition's approach to problems. We need to begin now to solve problems that will affect generations to come.

Specifically, my energy proposals would, through deregulation, encourage the search for gas and oil, while making alternate fuel sources more competitive. My farm program would preserve the crop land that now exists and give incentives for the development of untouched areas.

For the future, I recommend that the federal government:

1) Work with states and localities to coordinate urban growth. Neighborhoods and crop land should be preserved consistent with pollution regulations and transportation needs.

2) Initiate a food program to stabilize prices, maintain adequate reserves, and expand our food for peace program.

3) Initiate a coordinated program of mineral preservation and ocean resource recovery.

The problems of the future must be solved now if we are to avoid serious crises. The solutions may be costly, the answers may be hard, but it is better to leave a bountiful nation to our children than to have them pay the cost of our lethargy."

Solution: "This administration has consistently proposed a two fold attack on health care problems. Specifically, we have cut back useless spending and involvement in state affairs, where the opposition has not overruled us. For the future, we will continue to support catastrophic health insurance for everyone on medicaid, scrutiny of research grants, competitive rates among private health insurance companies. Furthermore, we need to offer more middle income families high quality health service at prices they can afford.

Generally, we seek the opportunity to continue to deal with the major causes of poor health. Threats to health such as crime have been a consistent target of this administration. Through international diplomacy and federal assistance programs, we have tried to reduce drug abuse. Through the Department of Housing and Urban Development we have tried to reduce overcrowding and poor quality housing. Through other administrative agencies we tried to maintain a clean, and healthy environment.

It is my belief that health care becomes a national responsibility when the causes of the problem are of national dimension. Where that has occurred, my administration has implemented programs to deal with the problem. Where health care has local causes, we have through revenue sharing and other assistance encouraged local remedies. In all cases, we have examined the larger picture to see how various other problems and programs affect health care. This integrated approach marks our suggestions with a realism and pragmatism which guarantees success in our battle to end disease and health related problems in America."

#### Speech Proposal #4 -- PRESERVING AMERICA FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

Purpose: To reveal the President's approach to problems likely to develop in the next few generations. To argue that continuity in office is essential to the solving of major problems.

Problems: Too often the Democratically controlled Congress takes up problems after a crisis has developed. This practice is costly and inefficient; it becomes more dangerous as we move into our third century. The serious nature of the problems we face, demands long range planning, not stop gap, last minute programs.

- 1) Urban growth needs coordination if we are to prevent further financial and physical decay in our cities. Pollution and mass transportation are but two of the problems arising out of unplanned urban expansion.