

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR DICK CHENEY
FROM JIM REICHLEY
SUBJECT THEME SPEECHES



I think it is urgently necessary that the President during the next few weeks should give a series of talks setting forth his views and proposals for the next four years in a number of major policy areas. Inevitably, a good deal of attention is going to be focused on the scramble for the remaining delegates to the Republican Convention. But it would be fatal for the fall if the President during this period were perceived entirely in a political rather than a governmental role. The conference in Puerto Rico and the visits by the foreign dignitaries will help. But at the same time the President should be seen as a leader with a well thought-out government philosophy and a definite program for the next four years. Actually, this is probably almost as essential to winning the nomination as it is to winning the election in November -- our delegates need to be motivated positively, not merely through respect for incumbency or through the "Reagan can't win" argument.

The talks that I have in mind -- I am not sure what the medium should be -- should be aimed at giving substantive content to the campaign, somewhat as the series of radio talks that Nixon gave in 1968 did for his campaign that year. They should be directed at a fairly high level -- at opinion-makers in the press, and in the business and university communities, as well as at moderately well informed members of the general public. I think we need some comment from the Restons, Sideys, et al that "President Ford, in the midst of the battle for the Republican nomination, is saying some thoughtful things about the American future, etc..." The July 4 speech in Philadelphia is in a class by itself -- it will have a large mass audience, and should be a real blockbuster. It must have a catchy theme, with a patriotic flavor, that can be summed up in a single phrase. The TV that night and newspapers the next day should say, "President Ford called for..." I still like my idea for a "New Bill of Rights," but whatever the theme is, it should be something that will light up the future.

The rest of the talks I am thinking about do not have to be so dramatic, and may be somewhat more thoughtful (though the July 4 speech should have plenty of thought content, too -- nothing could be more disastrous than a typical patriotic stemwinder.)

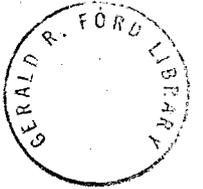


One of the talks, probably early on, should deal in a general way with the qualities that the President would like to see in the American society of the future. We do not believe in a "planned society", but we do seek a society in which certain values, such as freedom, justice, morality and abundance can flourish, and aim to use the influence of government in a positive way to encourage their growth. I will give you some ideas for such a talk in a separate memo. Beyond this, the President should set forth his ideas in individual talks on a number of specific subjects, such as:

FOREIGN POLICY. The harmonious interweaving of the themes of national self-sufficiency and international interdependence. A description of the major goals of American foreign policy, with some examples of how the President has pursued these goals in actual practice and plans to pursue them in the future.

ECONOMIC POLICY. Our general commitment to a free-market approach as the best way to achieve material prosperity and maintain political freedom. The dangers of government intervention of the kind embodied in the Humphrey-Hawkins bill -- citations of both conservative and liberal economists. The British example of the bad effects of "democratic socialism" -- economically disastrous in overall direction, and socially repressive in administration. The proper role of government in helping to deal with problems that the market unaided does not solve or does not solve very well: structural unemployment; financial assistance to those kept out of the work force by age or incapacity; removal of discrimination in employment. A job-oriented approach to welfare. Taxation that is both fair and conducive to economic growth. The need for capital formation -- which translated means, job formation.

THE FEDERAL SYSTEM. The proper roles for federal, state, and local governments. The federal government's role in foreign policy and defense, in overall economic policy, in research and development, in protection of civil liberties and civil rights, in maintenance of basic standards in human services. The states as instruments for regional approaches to problems such as transportation and environmental protection, as innovators in human service programs, as agents of balanced growth among rural, urban, and suburban areas, as primary administrators of criminal and civil justice. The local governments as detailed administrators of human service programs and preservers of a sense of community. The problem of financing -- the revenue sharing approach. The fallacy of routing too large a share of financing through the federal government. The federal system: maintains national standards of justice and social development, provides flexible administration, meets special regional and local problems, protects pluralism, prevents government from becoming a threat to individual freedom.



ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE. Objectives of the system of justice: social order, individual security, enforcement of contracts, protection of personal liberties. The federal role in helping local police forces deal with street crime and robbery, in weeding out corruption, in reestablishing respect for law, in fighting organized crime, in improving our system of corrections. What the federal government should do and should not do. The effect of narcotics. The importance of law in maintaining all other values.

OPPORTUNITY FOR YOUTH. Freedom for young people to find their own way. Where conservatives and liberals meet: the revolt against bureaucratic controls. The Administration's program for reform of the education grant system. Revitalizing the sense of community at the local level. The stake of youth in a growing economy. The need for dedicated and idealistic young people to advance the goals of a free society.

CONTINUED FULFILLMENT FOR THE AGING. The promise of America for its older citizens. The contribution older Americans can make to fulfillment of national goals. Preserving traditional freedoms. The importance of family to our social system. Protecting the fiscal integrity of Social Security. Protection against the financial effects of catastrophic illness. Estate tax relief to secure the work of one generation for the next.

Some of these topics may not be appropriate for the kind of development I have in mind, and of course others could be added -- dealing, for instance, with health care, community development, tax reform, or protection of the family institution. But I think we should concentrate on not more than four or five.

Let me know if you want me to work on developing any or all of the above.

