

Wendy - J.M.L.H.

D. C. 1977 REPUBLICAN DINNER
TUESDAY, MARCH 1, 1977

Paul Dwyer.

* = Read
O - Plant

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS NOW COMPLETED ITS FIRST MONTH IN POWER. THE NEW PRESIDENT HAS BEEN OUR CONSTANT COMPANION ON THE TELEVISION SCREEN AND ON THE FRONT PAGES OF OUR NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES AS HE MAKES THE ALWAYS DIFFICULT TRANSITION FROM THE RHETORIC OF THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE TO THE AWESOME RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNING THIS NATION.

Handwritten notes in a box: "Paul Dwyer" and "Dwyer" written vertically.

THOSE OF US IN THE NEW PARTY OF OPPOSITION CAN ONLY WISH HIM WELL.

Handwritten note: "Dwyer" written vertically.

Handwritten notes: "Dwyer" written vertically, "Alex Haley" written horizontally.

1/2 West - 1/2 East

Mondak -

Billy -

W.M. P.A.C. - 6 pages long has in

Tobacco -

Jay Davis - 50-50

Handwritten notes: "Alex Haley" written vertically, "Dwyer" written vertically, "Paul Dwyer" written vertically.

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THE STAGGERING PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE AS A NATION MAKE THIS THE ONLY WISE COURSE FOR OUR PARTY -- OUR PARTY OF THE "LOYAL OPPOSITION." WHETHER TO COMMIT FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPROVED WEAPONS SYSTEMS WHEN WE ARE TALKING ARMS CONTROL WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HOW TO RESPOND TO THE DANGER OF A BLOODY RACE WAR IN AFRICA. HOW TO BALANCE THE GRIM REQUIREMENTS OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE GATHERING WITH THE IDEALS OF AN OPEN GOVERNMENT. HOW TO INCREASE THE SUPPLY OF ENERGY WITHOUT RUNNING FUEL PRICES BEYOND THE REACH OF MIDDLE-INCOME AMERICANS. HOW TO GET THE ECONOMY PERKING AGAIN AND MORE AMERICANS BACK TO WORK WITHOUT SETTING OFF A NEW SURGE OF RUNAWAY INFLATION.

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THESE ARE TOUGH PROBLEMS THAT ARE NOT GIVEN TO SIMPLE, PAT SOLUTIONS. REPUBLICANS CAN SERVE THEIR COUNTRY BEST -- AND MERIT THE CONFIDENCE OF THE VOTERS -- BY OFFERING CONCRETE ALTERNATIVE IDEAS IN A SPIRIT OF CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM, WHENEVER THAT CRITICISM IS CALLED FOR. THERE IS NO CHALLENGE MORE IMPORTANT TO BOTH OF OUR PARTIES TODAY THAN TO PUT ASIDE THE TEMPTATION FOR OVER-SIMPLIFYING OUR PROBLEMS. UNFORTUNATELY, IT HAS BEEN EASIER TO LASH OUT AT THE OIL COMPANIES AND MUNITIONS MAKERS AND OTHER VICARIOUS VILLAINS THAN TO ARRIVE AT SOUND ENERGY AND DEFENSE POLICIES THAT MAY REQUIRE SACRIFICE AND POLITICAL RISK.

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IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT THAT I WISH TO OFFER A COUPLE OF PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS THIS EVENING.

TIME FOR LEADERSHIP

FIRST, I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE PRESIDENT AND HIS STAFF EASE OFF ON THE PUBLIC RELATIONS THROTTLE. NOW IT IS NATURAL FOR A NEW LEADER TO WANT TO MAKE A GOOD IMPRESSION, TO CONVINCЕ EVERYONE OF HIS EARNEST DESIRE TO DO GOOD THINGS. AND IT IS ONLY SENSIBLE, I SUPPOSE, FOR HIM TO WANT TO FEEL HIS WAY FOR A WHILE. WE CAN ALL UNDERSTAND THAT. BUT OUR NATIONAL NEEDS ARE SO CRITICAL, SO DEMANDING, THAT THEY REQUIRE HARD SUBSTANTIVE THINKING AND PLANNING NOW RATHER THAN SYMBOLISM AND PROMOTIONAL RAZZLE DAZZLE.

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IT IS TIME NOW FOR THE HIGHLY IMAGINATIVE THINKING THAT HAS CLEARLY BEEN DEVOTED TO ALL THIS RAZZLE DAZZLE BE APPLIED TO THE REAL CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP. SOME OF THE P.R. HAS REALLY BEEN QUITE IMAGINATIVE. WHEN THE NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL WAS SWORN IN, THE PRESIDENT TALKED OF "SWINGING OPEN THE DOORS" OF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BUILDING SO THAT THE PEOPLE COULD COME IN. FOR SECURITY REASONS, YOU CAN'T GET INTO THE JUSTICE BUILDING WITHOUT GOVERNMENT IDENTIFICATION. SO PHOTOGRAPHERS WERE ON HAND TO RECORD THE SYMBOLIC ACT OF UNLOCKING THE HUGE MAIN DOORS TO THE BUILDING. WELL, THE DOORS ARE OPEN NOW. EXTRA UNIFORMED GUARDS WERE HIRED TO MAKE SURE THAT NO ONE WITHOUT GOVERNMENT IDENTIFICATION ENTERS, SAME AS BEFORE. THE PEOPLE STILL CAN'T GET IN!

NOW THAT WE'VE HEARD THE OVERTURE, LET'S GET ON WITH THE PERFORMANCE.

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DOUBLE STANDARDS

THE EVENTS OF THE LAST FEW WEEKS HAVE DEMONSTRATED SOMETHING ELSE, TOO. AND THAT IS THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF PROPRIETY APPLIED BY THE DEMOCRATIC MAJORITIES IN CONGRESS TO THE CONDUCT OF REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS.

SOON AFTER TAKING OFFICE, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL -- AN OLD FRIEND FROM ATLANTA -- WENT TO SEE THE PRESIDENT ABOUT A POLITICALLY SENSITIVE INVESTIGATION THAT HE HAD INHERITED FROM THE FORD ADMINISTRATION.

THE ALLEGATIONS INVOLVED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND REPORTS OF PAYOFFS FROM THE KOREAN GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO NEWS ACCOUNTS, THE PRESIDENT TOLD THE ATTORNEY GENERAL NOT TO LET THE MATTER DRAG ON TOO LONG -- TO WIND IT UP SOON.

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WHILE I AM SURE HIS INTEREST IN THE MATTER WAS WELL INTENDED, IMAGINE WHAT THE REACTION WOULD HAVE BEEN IF A REPUBLICAN PRESIDENT INVOLVED HIMSELF IN ANY WAY WITH THE CONDUCT OF A CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION BY THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT -- ESPECIALLY ONE WITH POLITICAL OVERTONES SUCH AS THIS. THE DEMANDS FOR A SPECIAL PROSECUTOR WOULD HAVE ECHOED OFF THE CAPITOL DOME.

IN PROTECTING AGAINST POSSIBLE CONFLICTS OF INTEREST, MY IMPRESSION IS THAT THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS HAVE BEEN LESS ZEALOUS THAN BEFORE. ONLY THIS WEEK, SEVERAL WEEKS AFTER HE WAS CONFIRMED AND TOOK OFFICE, DID ANYONE BOTHER TO INFORM US THAT THE SECRETARY OF HEW'S STOCK HOLDINGS -- PLACED IN A BLIND TRUST -- INCLUDED AN INTEREST OF UP TO \$50,000 IN THE STOCK OF A HOSPITAL SUPPLY COMPANY. I DARE SAY A REPUBLICAN WOULD HAVE BEEN REQUIRED TO DISPOSE OF SUCH HOLDINGS.

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OF COURSE, MY DEMOCRATIC COLLEAGUES IN THE SENATE DO HAVE OTHER THINGS ON THEIR MINDS -- LIKE JUDGESHIPS TO FILL. DURING THE CAMPAIGN, MR. CARTER PROPOSED THAT DISTRICT JUDGES BE CHOSEN BY BLUE RIBBON COMMITTEES WITHOUT ANY CONSIDERATION OF POLITICAL ASPECTS OR INFLUENCE.

THAT MADE GOOD CAMPAIGN RHETORIC, BUT IT DIDN'T SET SO WELL WITH THE DEMOCRATIC SENATORS. AT THE FIRST SIGN OF SENATORIAL RESISTANCE, THE ADMINISTRATION ABANDONED THE IDEA.

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NORMAL "POLITICS"

YOU MIGHT SAY THAT ALL THIS IS THE NORMAL OPERATION OF "POLITICS" AT WORK IN WASHINGTON, AND PERHAPS IT IS. BUT, I SUBMIT, IF THE EVENTS OF 1972 AND 1973 TAUGHT US ANYTHING, IT SHOULD HAVE BEEN TO DO WHATEVER WE CAN TO INSULATE THE MACHINERY OF JUSTICE FROM THE ROUTINE MACHINATIONS OF ROUTINE POLITICS. DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS -- AND SOME OF THE NEWS MEDIA AS WELL -- WILL CLOSE THEIR EYES TO CONDUCT THAT AROUSED THEIR INDIGNATION WHEN THE REPUBLICANS WERE IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

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THE LESSON TO BE LEARNED IS AN OBVIOUS ONE, OF COURSE. OUR HISTORY HAS TAUGHT US THAT A BALANCE OF PARTISAN AS WELL AS INSTITUTIONAL POWER IS HEALTHY. PRESIDENT FORD SPOKE OF THE DANGERS OF A VETO-PROOF CONGRESS. OUR DANGER NOW IS A CONGRESS WITH BLINDERS ON -- A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS THAT IS UNWILLING TO EXAMINE OBJECTIVELY THE POLICIES AND DEEDS OF THE DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION. THE SHORT-TERM ANSWER IS TO ELECT MORE REPUBLICANS TO CONGRESS NEXT YEAR -- A GOAL THAT I EXPECT TO BE TALKING ABOUT A LOT FROM NOW ON.

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OUTNUMBERED AS WE ARE, REPUBLICANS ARE TRYING TO DEVELOP SPECIFIC CONCRETE POSITIONS TO DISPEL THE OLD NOTION THAT WE ARE A PARTY OF "AGINNERS" INCAPABLE OF DEALING POSITIVELY WITH VERY REAL PROBLEMS.

FISCAL POLICY IS A CASE IN POINT. THE BUDGET REVISIONS THAT MR. CARTER ^{suggested} LAST WEEK DEFERRED A LOT OF VITAL DECISIONS WHILE CONTINUING A LOT OF QUESTIONABLE SPENDING PROGRAMS AND, INCIDENTALLY, ADDED ABOUT \$10 BILLION A YEAR TO THE PROJECTED BUDGET DEFICIT. IT MAY JUST HAVE BEEN THAT SOME OF THE PROMOTIONAL P.R. -- SUCH AS THE CUTBACK ON THE USE OF WHITE HOUSE LIMOUSINES -- WAS DESIGNED TO SCREEN THE MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR INCREASE IN THE BUDGET.

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BY POSTPONING MANY OF THE MOST PRESSING BUDGET DECISIONS -- ON DEFENSE, SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, ENERGY, WELFARE, AND IN OTHER AREAS -- THE PRESIDENT PROBABLY BOTH UNDERSTATED THE LIKELY DEFICIT AND PUT OFF UNTIL THE END OF THE NEXT FISCAL YEAR -- OCTOBER, 1978 -- HIS OPPORTUNITY TO SIGNIFICANTLY ALTER BUDGET POLICY. BY THEN, HIS TERM WILL BE ALMOST HALF FINISHED.

IN THE MEANTIME, HE IS CLINGING TO TIRED OLD APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT -- TEMPORARY BUT EXPENSIVE PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS AND ABOUT \$2 BILLION A YEAR IN ADDITIONAL PUBLIC WORKS PROJECTS, WHICH IS AN INEFFICIENT DELAYED ACTION WAY OF PUTTING PEOPLE TO WORK. SINCE THE FIRST \$2 BILLION IN PUBLIC WORKS FUNDS WERE MADE AVAILABLE FIVE MONTHS AGO, IT IS REPORTED THAT ONLY 265 JOBS HAVE BEEN CREATED, AND THEY WERE BUREAUCRATIC JOBS TO REVIEW APPLICATIONS, NOT CONSTRUCTION JOBS.

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REPUBLICANS KNOW THAT MORE AND COSTLIER GOVERNMENT NEED NOT BE THE AUTOMATIC RESPONSE TO EVERY PUBLIC CONCERN. THE RISE IN TAXES AND GOVERNMENT SPENDING HAS CONTRIBUTED MORE TO INFLATION THAN ANYTHING ELSE. THAT IS WHY WE ARE FOR PERMANENT TAX CUTS AND THE EMPLOYMENT TAX CREDIT -- A TAX INCENTIVE FOR PRIVATE EMPLOYERS TO HIRE ADDITIONAL WORKERS FOR PERMANENT JOBS.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN PLAY A POSITIVE ROLE IN CONGRESS AND IN THE AFFAIRS OF OUR COUNTRY. AS THE PARTY OF LOYAL OPPOSITION, WE STAND READY TO SUPPORT THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE IS RIGHT AND TO COME UP WITH CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES WHEN HE IS WRONG. WITH ITS PUBLIC RELATIONS TECHNIQUES, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAS DEMONSTRATED A GREAT DEAL OF TALENTED INGENUITY THESE FIRST FEW WEEKS. THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE PRESIDENT TO TURN FROM GESTURES TO LEADERSHIP, FROM GIMMICKS TO GOVERNING.

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