

REPUBLICAN WOMENS' FEDERAL FORUM  
CAPITOL HILL CLUB  
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1974

*I did  
send it  
Don't  
forget*

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY, NEXT DOOR TO THE  
BUILDING THAT HOUSES TWO YEARS OF VIVID MEMORIES FOR ME FROM MY DAYS  
AS REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CHAIRMAN.

IN A POSITION LIKE THAT, IN A PERIOD LIKE THAT, IT ISN'T EASY  
TO MAKE EVERYONE HAPPY. BUT I CAN SAY THIS. WHATEVER ELSE WE MIGHT  
HAVE DONE AT THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE — WE DID ONE THING RIGHT. WE  
ASKED ANNE ARMSTRONG TO SERVE AS CO-CHAIRMAN. AND I'M SURE YOU ALL  
JOIN ME IN WISHING HER THE BEST IN THE FUTURE AND THANKING HER FOR  
HER OUTSTANDING SERVICE BOTH TO OUR PARTY AND OUR COUNTRY.

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IT WOULD BE A PLEASURE, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE POLITICS OF THE RECENT PAST AND ABOUT WHAT MAY BE AHEAD.

AS A REPUBLICAN WINNER IN A GENERALLY GRAY REPUBLICAN YEAR, IN ONE SENSE IT IS A PARTICULAR PLEASURE.

AFTER NOVEMBER -- WHAT?

BUT VICTORY FOR A REPUBLICAN IN 1974 IS A BITTER-SWEET EXPERIENCE. IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE, WE LOST SOME OF OUR VERY BEST

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REPUBLICAN OFFICE-HOLDERS. AND APART FROM DEPRIVING US OF SOME FINE CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS, THE RESULTS OF THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS HAVE BADLY SHAKEN THE PARTY AND SET OFF A NEW ROUND OF DEBATE WITHIN AND WITHOUT PARTY CIRCLES ABOUT THE HEALTH AND FUTURE OF THE GOP.

DOES THE MEANING OF THE NOVEMBER VOTE DICTATE A REPUBLICAN MOVE TO THE LEFT? TO THE RIGHT? DOES IT DICTATE HOLDING TO THE STATUS QUO? OUR DEATH? RESURRECTION? WHAT?

REPUBLICAN -- WIN OR LOSE

IN MY OWN CASE, I RAN AS A REPUBLICAN. I BELIEVE ALMOST ALL OF OUR CANDIDATES RAN NOT AS LIBERALS PRIMARILY, NOR AS CONSERVATIVES, PRIMARILY, BUT THEY RAN -- AND WON OR LOST -- AS REPUBLICANS SIMPLY.

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AND, AS I SAID MANY TIMES DURING THE CAMPAIGN, THIS WAS A TOUGH YEAR TO BE A REPUBLICAN. THE ELECTION RESULTS -- AND MY OWN EXPERIENCE -- DEMONSTRATED THAT ADEQUATELY.

BUT THEY DID NOT DEMONSTRATE TO MY SATISFACTION THE CURRENT PROPOSITION THAT THE VOTERS SPOKE WITH ONE VOICE AND WERE EQUALLY AS HARD ON CANDIDATES BECAUSE OF ANY PARTICULAR IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION, BE IT LIBERAL OR CONSERVATIVE.

#### PRIME QUESTIONS

THE PRIME QUESTIONS ARE, WHAT DID THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT IN 1974. WHAT DO THEY THINK THEY GOT. AND WILL THEY BE HAPPY WITH IT?



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WELL, FIRST OF ALL, WHAT THEY WANTED AND STILL WANT, IS AN  
END TO THEIR FRUSTRATION. THEY WANT AN END TO THE FEELING OF "DRIFT"  
THAT IS WIDESPREAD IN THEIR COUNTRY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT LEADERSHIP AND A SENSE OF DIRECTION.

#### PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP

ON THE PRESIDENTIAL SIDE OF THIS EQUATION, ONE THING CAME  
THROUGH VERY CLEARLY TO ME DURING MY CAMPAIGN.

AMERICA HAS LOST ITS LAST THREE PRESIDENTS UNDER EXTRAORDINARY  
CIRCUMSTANCES. IN A PERIOD OF TIME WHEN THEY MIGHT HAVE EXPECTED THE  
WHITE HOUSE TO CHANGE HANDS ROUTINELY ONLY TWICE, IT HAS HAD FOUR  
OCCUPANTS.

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THEY WANT GERALD FORD TO SUCCEED. THEY WANT HIM TO BE THE STRONG AND EFFECTIVE LEADER THAT THEY THINK -- AND I KNOW -- HE IS AND CAN BE.

AND, LET'S FACE IT, THE FORTUNES OF OUR REPUBLICAN PARTY, IN LARGE MEASURE, RISE OR FALL WITH HIS SUCCESS.

WITH CONTROL OF THE WHITE HOUSE, BUT IN SEVERELY WEAKENED MINORITY STATUS IN THE CONGRESS, THE REPUBLICAN BANNER IS CLEARLY THE PRESIDENT'S TO CARRY.

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NO DEMOCRAT ALTERNATIVE

THE VOTERS MAY HAVE THOUGHT THEY ELECTED NOT JUST INDIVIDUAL DEMOCRATS, BUT A DEMOCRAT PROGRAM -- AN ALTERNATIVE POLICY APPROACH -- TO SOLVING OUR PRESSING DOMESTIC AND ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THEY DID NOT. THE CLOSEST THE DEMOCRATS HAVE YET BEEN ABLE TO COME TO DISPLAYING A SERIOUS ANTI-INFLATION EFFORT HAS BEEN THEIR GATHERING SUPPORT FOR A RENEWAL OF THE ONE APPROACH THAT HAS BEEN MOST SEVERELY DISCREDITED IN RECENT YEARS -- WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS.

SO, THOUGH THE VOTERS MADE THEIR CHOICES, I'M NOT SURE THEY HAVE WHAT THEY HOPED FOR. BECAUSE OF DISAPPOINTMENT WITH REPUBLICAN EFFECTIVENESS BY THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, BECAUSE OF DISILLUSIONMENT WITHIN REPUBLICAN PARTY CIRCLES THE VOTERS WHO WENT TO THE POLLS OPTED FOR WHAT THEY THOUGHT WAS A "DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE."

I SAY, "THE VOTERS WHO WENT TO THE POLLS," THOUGH I DON'T MEAN TO ABSOLVE FROM BLAME THOSE -- AND ESPECIALLY THOSE MANY REPUBLICANS -- WHO STAYED AWAY AND BY DOING SO CAST AS EFFECTIVE A VOTE FOR DEMOCRATS AS THOSE WHO WENT INTO THE BOOTHS AND PULLED THE LEVERS.



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SO, IN TERMS OF WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT IN 1974 --  
LEADERSHIP -- THEY MAY FIND IN SPITE OF THE ELECTION RESULTS, THAT  
THE WHITE HOUSE IS STILL GOING TO BE THE PRIME SOURCE.

IN TERMS OF WHAT THEY THINK THEY GOT IN 1974, IT'S ANOTHER  
QUESTION ENTIRELY.

LIBERAL LANDSLIDE?

ON THE FACE OF IT, OF COURSE IT LOOKS LIKE A LIBERAL LANDSLIDE.  
THE MAKE-UP IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES HAS CHANGED SUBSTANTIALLY  
AND THE SHIFT WAS A SHIFT TO THE LEFT.

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BUT I THINK YOU HAVE TO LOOK BEYOND THE NAMES AND THE FACES,  
THE ADA RATINGS AND EVEN THE IDEOLOGICAL LEANINGS OF THE MEMBERS  
OF THE NEW CONGRESS TO GET A BETTER AND MORE ACCURATE LOOK AT WHAT  
MAY HAVE REALLY HAPPENED IN 1974.

APPEARANCE AND REALITY

PERHAPS SOME OF THE SENATE RACES OFFER THE BETTER ILLUSTRATION.  
AS WITH THE HOUSE, THE GENERAL DRIFT OF COMMENT HAS BEEN TO THE EFFECT

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THAT THE SENATE IN THE 94TH CONGRESS WILL BE FAR MORE LIBERAL THAN THAT OF THE 93RD. BUT DO WE HAVE A MORE LIBERAL SENATE?

YES, SAY THE PUNDITS. NO, SAY THE CAMPAIGN STATEMENTS OF MANY OF THE DEMOCRAT WINNERS.

AGAIN, IN MY OWN CASE, I FOUND MYSELF IN A TIGHT RACE WITH A KANSAS DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMAN, WHO, THOUGH GENERALLY REGARDED AS LIBERAL, OFTEN SOUNDED MOST "UN-LIBERAL" DURING OUR CAMPAIGN. IN FACT, HE WAS THE FIRST ARCH-CONSERVATIVE I'D COME ACROSS WITH AN 80 PLUS ADA RATING.

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ALL AROUND US, IN KANSAS, IN SOUTH DAKOTA, COLORADO, MISSOURI, AND ELSEWHERE, REPUBLICANS FOUND THEMSELVES OPPOSING MIRROR IMAGES OF THEMSELVES ON ISSUE AFTER ISSUE.

AS AN EXAMPLE, THAT OLD CONSERVATIVE WHO WON IN COLORADO CAMPAIGNED OF ALL THINGS, AGAINST THE NEW DEAL AND PROPOSED THAT "THE FEDERAL BUDGET SHOULD BE TRIMMED TO HALT INFLATION... AND REDUCE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACIES WHICH NO LONGER RESPOND TO PEOPLE'S NEEDS."

REPUBLICANS, WEIGHED DOWN BY WATERGATE, OR IN SOME STATES BY THE ECONOMY, OR BY THE MORE GENERALIZED PROBLEM OF REPUBLICAN



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ORGANIZATIONAL PARALYSIS RESULTING FROM APATHY AMONG PARTY WORKERS,  
FOUND THEMSELVES BEING BEATEN BY THEIR OWN ISSUES.

REPUBLICAN ISSUES

THE POINT I MAKE IS THIS. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S LOSSES THIS  
YEAR WERE SUBSTANTIAL BUT IT WAS A CASE, AS OFTEN AS NOT, OF REPUBLICAN  
CANDIDATES RUNNING AGAINST OPPONENTS ESPOUSING REPUBLICAN POSITIONS.

CUTTING FEDERAL SPENDING, MAKING THE BUREAUCRACY SMALLER AND  
MORE RESPONSIVE, DECENTRALIZING POWER AND MAXIMIZING INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

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ARE ALL PAGES OUT OF THE REPUBLICAN BOOK THAT WERE LIFTED, WORD FOR WORD, BY MANY DEMOCRAT CANDIDATES IN THIS YEAR 1974.

GROUND'S FOR OPTIMISM?

IN LIGHT OF ALL THIS, ARE THERE ANY GROUND'S FOR OPTIMISM? I BELIEVE SO. THEY ARE TWO:

FIRST, THOUGH THE PREDICTIONS OF THE DEATH OF THE GOP ARE WIDESPREAD, WE HAVE BEEN THROUGH ALL THAT BEFORE. IN FACT, LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO, IF I RECALL CORRECTLY, IT WAS THE DEMOCRATS WHO DIED. BUT THEY'RE BACK.

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NO, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ISN'T DEAD. BUT IT IS TRUE THAT IN ALL TOO MANY STATES, THIS PAST CAMPAIGN, THE PARTY AND ITS STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS WERE DORMANT, WHETHER BECAUSE THEY WERE LULLED INTO PESSIMISTIC APATHY OR DISILLUSIONMENT BY WATERGATE OR FOR WHATEVER REASON. AND WHILE THE REPUBLICANS SLEPT, DEMOCRATS SNUCK IN AND STOLE AWAY SOME OF THEIR ISSUES.

THE SIMPLE ANSWER IS FOR REPUBLICANS TO WAKE UP AND MOVE OUT ON AN OFFENSIVE AGAIN. I DON'T WANT TO OVERSIMPLIFY. THE PROBLEMS RUN DEEPER THAN THAT. THERE HAS BEEN TALK OF THIRD PARTIES, OF A

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WITHERING AWAY OF THE GOP, AND A NOSE-TO-THE-GRINDSTONE, STIFF UPPER LIP SORT OF PEP-TALK ISN'T ALL THAT WE NEED. AS MUCH AS ANYTHING, WE NEED A FEW BREAKS. BUT THE WAY THINGS HAVE BEEN GOING FOR THE LAST TWO YEARS, IT'S OBVIOUS WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO MAKE OUR OWN BREAKS.

BUT IN ANY EVENT, THE WORST YOU CAN SAY ABOUT THE DEPTH AND DIMENSION OF REPUBLICAN TROUBLES AT THIS TIME IS THAT IT'S TOO SOON TO TELL. THE BEST YOU CAN SAY -- AND WORK FOR -- IS THAT AS WE HAVE BEFORE, AND AS THE DEMOCRATS DID THIS YEAR, WE'LL COME BACK.



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DEMOS DISUNITY

IN SPITE OF THEIR VICTORIES THIS YEAR, THE OTHER SIDE'S SITUATION ISN'T REALLY ALL THAT HEALTHY. TRUE TO FORM, DEMOCRATS ALL OVER THE COUNTRY ARE HOLDING THEIR BREATH RIGHT NOW, BECAUSE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL WINGS OF THEIR PARTY ARE GATHERING, STRANGE TO TELL, IN ONE PLACE AT ONE TIME FOR A WEEK-END MEETING IN KANSAS CITY. AND NOBODY'S SURE WHETHER ANYONE CAN KEEP THE PEACE BETWEEN THEM. THERE AREN'T MANY RECENT PRECEDENTS FOR IT, IN ANY EVENT.

THEY ARE DISORGANIZED, WITHOUT AGREED UPON LEADERSHIP, AND WITHOUT A PROGRAM. I DON'T WANT TO SOUND POLLYANNISH, BUT ALL THEY REALLY HAVE IS A MAJORITY AND IT'S DEVOID OF CONSENSUS. LET'S SEE WHAT THEY CAN DO WITH IT BEFORE ANYONE SERIOUSLY DECIDES TO COUNT REPUBLICANS OUT FOREVER.

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