

REMARKS TO CALIFORNIA  
REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE WORKSHOP  
PASADENA, CALIF.  
SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1977

I HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF THE CARTER PRESIDENCY TO TRAVEL WIDELY IN ALL SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY, ADDRESSING REPUBLICAN AUDIENCES AND OTHER GROUPS AT AFFAIRS SUCH AS THIS. FOR A PARTY WITH SO FEW TOEHOLDS IN THE SOURCES OF POWER, I FOUND REPUBLICANS WHO ARE FAR FROM DESPONDENT, WHO ARE LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH A SPIRIT OF VIGOR AND OPTIMISM.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION LACKS A UNIFIED SENSE OF WHERE IT IS TRYING TO TAKE THIS COUNTRY--AND THE PEOPLE KNOW IT.

WE LOST LAST YEAR'S NATIONAL ELECTIONS NOT BECAUSE OF THE POSITIONS WE TOOK--AND CERTAINLY NOT BECAUSE OF THE PRINCIPLES WE SHARE AS REPUBLICANS. WE LOST BECAUSE WE DID NOT DO A GOOD ENOUGH JOB OF IDENTIFYING THE POSITIONS WE TOOK WITH THE EVERYDAY INTERESTS OF ENOUGH PEOPLE. THE POSITIONS THAT WE TOOK WERE SOUND. THEY WERE BASED ON SOUND PRINCIPLES. THEY WERE IN TUNE WITH THE VALUES AND THE ASPIRATIONS OF MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT WE DID NOT DO A GOOD ENOUGH JOB OF GETTING OUR MESSAGE ACROSS.

## THE IMAGE OF "AGINNERS"

AMONG SOME GROUPS OF AMERICANS--SIZEABLE GROUPS--REPUBLICANS ARE STILL THOUGHT OF AS "AGINNERS"--A PARTY THAT CARES FOR THE RICH AND NOT THE POOR; THE BUSINESSMAN AND NOT THE CONSUMER; THE INDUSTRIALIST AND NOT THE ENVIRONMENTALIST; THOSE WHO ARE WELL OFF AND NOT THOSE WHO NEED HELP. THERE ARE SOME BUILT-IN REASONS, OF COURSE, WHY THE MINORITY PARTY IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS TENDS TO BE VIEWED IN A NEGATIVIST ROLE. FOR THAT MATTER, SOME OF THE MOST IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS IN HUMAN HISTORY HAVE BEEN "OBSTRUCTIONIST" IN THEIR INTENT--TAKE THE TEN COMMANDMENTS, FOR EXAMPLE.

BUT OUR RECENT EXPERIENCE SHOULD TELL US THAT WHERE THERE ARE PRESSING PUBLIC PROBLEMS, JUST SAYING "NO" WON'T DO. WE'VE GOT TO COME UP WITH SPECIFIC, VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMS, WHICH IS EXACTLY WHAT REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS ARE TRYING TO DO THIS YEAR.

THE JOBS TAX CREDIT AS A PRIVATE SECTOR INCENTIVE SUBSTITUTE FOR THE MAKE-WORK PUBLIC SERVICE JOBS PROGRAMS FAVORED BY THE DEMOCRATS IS AN ILLUSTRATION OF HOW WE CAN PERSUADE MEMBERS OF THE MAJORITY PARTY TO JOIN BEHIND A PROPOSAL THAT MAKES SENSE. INFLATION IS A PROBLEM THAT ALL SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CLASSES UNDERSTAND. THE SITUS PICKETING BILL WAS BEATEN IN THE HOUSE BECAUSE REPUBLICANS WERE ABLE TO MAKE THE CONNECTION BETWEEN IRREGULAR CONSTRUCTION WORK STOPPAGES AND THE HUGE COST OF BUYING A NEW HOUSE TODAY.

BEYOND THAT, I KNOW, AND YOU KNOW, THAT WE CANNOT WRITE OFF ENTIRE GROUPS OF AMERICANS--I'M THINKING NOW OF 10 MILLION MINORITY GROUP CITIZENS--BLACKS AND HISPANIC AMERICANS--AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS. WE CANNOT DISREGARD THESE VOTERS IF WE EXPECT TO BY ANYTHING OTHER THAN A FRUSTRATED, QUIBBLING VOICE IN THE WILDERNESS.

EFFECTIVELY BROADENING THE BASE OF THE PARTY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED BY PRINCIPLE ALONE. ELECTIONS ARE WON BY ENUNCIATING ISSUES THAT TOUCH THE LIVES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE. ELECTIONS ARE WON BY STRONG GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZATION.

### IMPORTANCE OF REACHING NEW VOTERS

IT IS IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE, HOWEVER, THAT THE BEST ORGANIZATION JOB IN THE WORLD WON'T BE ENOUGH IF YOU'RE ORGANIZING A MINORITY OF 18 OR 20 PERCENT OF THE PEOPLE.

WE'VE GOT TO REACH OUT TO NEW VOTERS. IN BLACK AND SPANISH LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES, WE CAN RUN WELL QUALIFIED CANDIDATES AND ORGANIZE NEIGHBORHOODS THAT HAVE NEVER SEEN REPUBLICANS BEFORE--OR SEE THEM ONLY AT THE COUNTRY CLUB IN THEIR JOBS AS A BUSBOY OR DISHWASHER.

THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS SO TRADITION BOUND, SO COMMITTED TO PAST GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS THAT NEVER WORKED, IT IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THAT CAN OFFER INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS AND DOWN-TO-EARTH THINKING. THE TRUTH IS OUR PARTY IS UNDER FEWER CONSTRAINTS THAN IS THE OTHER PARTY. WE CAN OFFER FRESH, EXCITING IDEAS THAT DRAW ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR, REVERSE THE BURGEONING GROWTH OF GOVERNMENT, AND WIND UP COSTING THE TAXPAYERS LESS.

OUR POSITIONS ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE THINKING OF MOST OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. BUT FIRST WE'VE GOT TO SELL THEM WHAT WE STAND FOR. UNTIL WE DO THAT, REPUBLICAN LEADERS CAN KEEP ON TALKING TO ONE ANOTHER ABOUT "GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZATION" UNTIL DOOMSDAY, AND WE'LL GO THE WAY OF THE WHIGS.

SOME OF THE ARITHMETIC IS PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGING THOUGH. WE'RE DOING BETTER AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE.

-7-

### STRENGTH AMONG YOUNG VOTERS

THE OPINION POLLS THAT WERE CONDUCTED FOR OUR CAMPAIGN LAST FALL CONFIRMED WHAT THE PUBLISHED POLLS SHOWED: THAT THE FORD-DOLE TICKET WAS DOING VERY WELL AMONG YOUNGER VOTERS IN BOTH THE COLLEGE AND NON-COLLEGE EDUCATED GROUPS. SOME OF OUR MOST ENTHUSIASTIC RALLIES WERE ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES. WHAT A CONTRAST WITH THE CAMPAIGNS OF FOUR AND EIGHT YEARS EARLIER.

IF WE CAN CONTINUE THIS TREND, ATTRACT STILL MORE YOUNG PEOPLE TO RUN AS REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES, OR TO WORK FOR OTHER REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES; IF WE CAN SELL OUR MESSAGE TO THE EMERGING YOUNGER VOTERS, OUR STRENGTH WILL IMPROVE DRAMATICALLY.

TODAY'S YOUNG PEOPLE DON'T LIKE TO BE HASSLED--BY THE GOVERNMENT OR ANYONE ELSE. THEY ARE TURNED OFF BY FALSE ADVERTISING AND PR GIMMICKRY. THEY BELIEVE IN INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

NO IDEOLOGICAL PLEDGES

WE CANNOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE DISTRACTED BY FACTIONAL STRIFE. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO ENFORCE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS OR INSIST ON IDEOLOGICAL PURITY. IF WE REMAIN TRUE TO OUR COMMON PRINCIPLES, AND DO A MORE EFFECTIVE JOB OF RELATING WHAT WE STAND FOR TO THE EVERYDAY INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, OUR CAUSE WILL PREVAIL-- BECAUSE OUR POSITIONS DO COINCIDE WITH THE INTERESTS OF A VAST MAJORITY OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS.

*Handwritten:*  
D. B. [unclear]  
H. V. [unclear]



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*Handwritten:*  
F. D. Roosevelt  
Sept 27