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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 2, 1975

MR. PRESIDENT:

Don asked that I send the  
attached to you for your  
overnight reading.

*Nice this?*  
*Thanks*

  
Jerry H. Jones  
Staff Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 5, 1975

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM FOR: MAX FRIEDERSDORF

FROM: JERRY JONES 

The attached was returned in the President's outbox with the following notation:

-- Nice letter of thanks.

Would you please prepare an appropriate response for the President's signature and return it to this office.

Thank you.

cc: Donald Rumsfeld

JACOB K. JAVITS  
NEW YORK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN....

*pull*

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

April 28, 1975

Dear Don:

I am attaching a copy of a speech delivered Saturday in New York before the Ripon Society. I think you will be interested in the text and I hope you will pass it along to the President.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Javits', with a large, sweeping loop at the end.

The Honorable  
Donald Rumsfeld  
Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

FOR RELEASE: After 2:00 p.m.  
Saturday, 26 April 1975

CONTACT: Peter Teeley  
202: 224-8352  
75: 4/26/75

JAVITS CALLS ON ALL TOP ELECTED GOP OFFICIALS  
TO SUPPORT FORD-ROCKEFELLER TICKET IN 1976  
BLASTS CONSERVATIVES' CRITICISM OF PRESIDENT

New York Senator Calls for Broadening Base of Republican Party

NEW YORK -- Republicans must make sure that "every member of our party who holds high public office rallies behind the ticket of Gerald R. Ford as President and Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President", U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits (R-NY) said Saturday.

Addressing the second annual Conference for New York State Republicans sponsored by the Party's moderate to liberal Ripon Society, Javits said the Republican Party has withstood "the enormous strain of the Watergate scandal, the trauma of defeat in Vietnam and even the tragic reality of a deep recession." Javits warned however, "We are confronted with still another challenge that is perhaps most threatening of all."

"For if the Republican Party permits itself to be reduced to an appendage of extreme conservatism - even of reaction - our chances for survival, revival and victory will have been almost irretrievably lost," Javits said.

Javits strongly criticized attacks by Republican Conservatives at President Ford and Vice President Rockefeller. "Even as a Republican President of unblemished character attempts to grapple with problems rarely faced before in the nation's history, he is confronted with an unrelenting challenge from the right wing of his own party," Javits said.

"There is every reason for us to presume that if we permit a neanderthal wing in our party to dominate its processes, we can count on only one outcome -- defeat, defeat, defeat" Javits warned.

The senior New York Senator who was re-elected to his fourth six-year term last November called it "absurd reasoning that the Republican Party suffered a humiliating defeat in 1974 because its candidates failed to communicate conservative thinking. "It was the Conservatives who were clobbered by the voters and not the moderate and liberal Republicans," Javits added.

"It makes no sense whatsoever for the losers in this party to attempt to read out of the party the winners," Javits continued.

"The way to rebuild now is not to repeat the mistakes of the past but to avoid them. The Republican Party must broaden its base to include the mainstream of American life that has so enriched its heritage since the time of Lincoln," Javits added.

The full text of the Senator's speech is attached.

# # # #

GOP SURVIVAL LINKED TO PROGRESSIVE BROAD-BASED PARTY  
U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits  
April 26, 1975

The Ripon Society represents the moderate to liberal wing of our party and I am very much at home with you, my friends.

While I would like to take the time to reminisce with you about some of our great and victorious political battles here in New York State, I think you would agree with me that the political times are too strained to dwell upon the past. For the future is now upon the Republican Party. The decisions that our party makes during the next 18 months may well determine whether the two-party system will survive in the U.S. and thus set the course for our growth, prosperity - or perhaps even our security.

Republicans of greatness, ideals, dedication to nation and principle have been in our party for more than one hundred years. It remains to be seen, however, if the Republican Party possesses enough Republicans of greatness, ideals, and dedication to nation and principle to set the course for our party in national affairs and reassert our rightful place in the two-party system.

It is in this context that we must learn from the past and plan for the future.

The Republican Party has withstood the enormous strain of the Watergate scandal, the trauma of defeat in Vietnam, and even the tragic reality of a deep recession. And politically we are confronted with still another challenge that is perhaps most threatening of all. For if the Republican Party permits itself to be reduced to an appendage of extreme conservatism - even of reaction - our chances for survival, revival and victory will have been almost irretrievably lost.

Yet, that is the prospect before us.

Even as a Republican President of unblemished character attempts to grapple with problems rarely faced before in the nation's history, he is confronted with an unrelenting challenge from the right wing of his own party.

I think we have the right to ask the question what kind of a party are we? Must we reach the conclusion that the Republican Party is incapable of rallying during a time of great trouble, a time of trial, to bid effectively for a mandate that reflects the people's belief in equal opportunity, the productivity of the American private enterprise system and the need for being hard headed about money.



I don't believe that most Republicans are ready to sell out their reliance on the principles of Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, Tom Dewey, Wendell Wilkie and Dwight Eisenhower. And I don't believe that most Republicans are ready to sell out their reliance on the team of Ford and Rockefeller.

Look around at the political results of the 1974 elections and what do they show?

They show that the Republican Party can be a victorious party in 1976. Why? Because in the overwhelming tide following the Watergate scandals and despite a deep recession - Republicans were elected in states that are considered democratic. And those states that are considered essential if any party is to be victorious in a Presidential race elected such men as Schweiker of Pennsylvania, Milliken of Michigan, Mathias of Maryland, Rhodes of Ohio and . . . Javits of New York. It takes 270 electoral votes to win a Presidential election and in those states alone you have 158 electoral votes - more than half the number required.

I suggest that it would be a weird sort of political thinking by design to abandon those states in 1976 - but we may do just that if this party is about to succumb to some of the political thinking reflected in attacks by a collective group of Conservatives whose states have a total electoral vote less than a New York, an Illinois or an Ohio.

Why then must one wing of the Republican Party confront the Party with internal challenges which can do nothing but destroy chances for victory in '76.

Despite absurd reasoning that the Republican Party suffered a humiliating defeat in 1974 because its candidates failed to communicate conservative thinking -- it was the Conservatives who were clobbered by the voters and not the moderate and liberal Republicans.

The most rational voice in the Conservative wing of the Party seems to be New Jersey's Charles Sandman -- himself a victim of the 1974 elections.

In a fundraising letter for Ronald Reagan, Mr. Sandman referred to the '74 elections in the following manner: "1974 was a bad year for Conservatives in the East."

I suggest that it was a bad year for Conservatives in the East, West, North and South. And it makes no sense whatsoever for the losers in this party to attempt to read out of the party the winners.

The way to rebuild now is not to repeat the mistakes of the past but to avoid them. The Republican Party must broaden its base to include the mainstream of American life that has so enriched its heritage since the time of Lincoln.

We are a party that may well become a species in danger of extinction unless we face the reality that we must include in our party women, members of minorities, youth, people with wide and varying economic backgrounds and wide and varying social and political aspirations. We are a party that must include under its broad umbrella a consensus about the needs of American working men and women, our elderly, our poor, the business and financial community -- in short, Americans.

There is every reason for us to presume that if we permit a neanderthal wing in our party to dominate its processes, we can count on only one outcome - defeat, defeat, defeat!!! And that is not the reason why we are gathered in this room. It is not why men and women throughout this country have devoted their lives to the Republican Party. We have to win if we are to put the ideals in which we believe into effective practice. Winning is the name of the game.

We cannot win if we subscribe to principles which only a small number of the American people subscribe to. We should not win if we do that.

We are a great national party, but we have every reason to believe that we may follow the paths of other great parties that have written other segments of the American record - the Federalists, the very party which created the concept of a United States of America, lasted only ten years; the Whigs which dominated American political life for three quarters of a century passed into history with the creation of our own party. Do we want to follow the same path into the history books? I don't think that now is the time to permit that to happen. I think that there is a vital life process which the Republican Party has yet to fulfill. We should be a party in its prime. How can we achieve it?



We must first open our ranks to every citizen. We must appeal to mainstream America. That is the America that will support sober, responsible, human and thinking Republicanism - and that is the Republicanism that will elect Ford and Rockefeller in 1976.

The Republican Party must be an advocate party on the issues. That is our heritage - conceived and born in Lincoln - nurtured by Roosevelt and matured by the peaceful Eisenhower. The public wants to know where we stand on issues and that is the reason for so much independent voting in the country. Advocacy is part of our American political heritage and we would not be a party worthy of our name if we did not assume such a position.

Remember, the Republican Party was formed as an advocate party - even at the risk of civil war. Our first Republican President was one of our nation's greatest advocates for the cause of free labor and equal opportunity which remains one of the tenets of our party.

So too, during these times, we as members of the Republican Party must be advocates for the specific principles we believe in, and we must embrace those principles because they benefit our people and because they give us the basis for our appeal to the electorate.

Some may be surprised by what I have to say regarding an issue which I feel to be uniquely that of the Republican Party. We have been labelled as the party of business, if you will, by our political opponents. It is a label some would have us run away from.

The fact is that I believe the Republican Party is and should be the party of business; provided, that we sustain the responsibility for getting the American business system to operate in the public interest. The American business machine is the most productive machine ever developed by man. Indeed, the business system is capable of stabilizing prices, halting the recession and giving full employment. It can stabilize the monetary and trade systems of the world and make the just contribution of the U.S. to narrowing the gap between the developed and developing nations.

Let us not forget as Republicans that 90 percent of all Americans earn their living in the private sector and those Americans wish to continue to do so. That is why the future of the Republican Party is important to the national welfare.

How are we going to put this grand design into action?

Well, examples of such partnership between government and industry have enlisted them in the areas of social security, pension reform, unemployment compensation, occupational health and safety and small business enterprise. Government and business must continue in the reform of worker's compensation, and in stock ownership and profit-sharing. Industry and government can provide additional benefits for the American working and business men and women in the future.

Also, the private sector can be much more effective in helping developing Third World nations much faster than any programs of U.S. foreign aid.

I have fathered several programs that attempt to put the initiative and strength of the private sector to work to assist the economic progress of the developing countries. One such instrument is ADELA which seeks to foster indigenous private investment in Latin America through an investment company that promotes genuine economic development through the private sector and that produced a profit. This has been a singularly successful idea, which I have proposed be extended on a world-wide basis.

A second example is the establishment of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, which insures U.S. private foreign investment in developing countries. OPIC has been an outstanding success, especially in light of attacks on it in the Senate and the burden of expropriation it has borne in Chile. It has come out of both these attacks strengthened and on a sound financial footing. While we must recognize that there are aspects of our aid program in health, education and food production that cannot successfully be transferred to private sector responsibility, we should nevertheless continue to seek ways to get private initiative to operate in those areas where that system will do more for development than a declining and top heavy aid program.



These are examples of the cooperation of business and government in both the domestic and international areas that we as Republicans should espouse. I believe that if we become advocates of issues such as these, and I mean true advocates, we will get the message across to the American people. We will be recognized as the party of reason, the party of American traditions of building for the future for the benefit of our people and our nation. And we will be rewarded by the American people for our efforts -- at the polls giving us further opportunity to serve in public office in the public interest.

In order to be worth of that opportunity we must be strong in our views.

This is no time for fence-sitting. This is a time for decision. Every one of us should stand up and be counted. As Republicans, as citizens of the Empire State, we must make sure that every member of our party who holds high public office rallies behind the ticket of Gerald R. Ford as President and Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice President of the United States. It is an easy decision for Republicans to make.

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