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SPEECH BEFORE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

COLO. SPRINGS, COLO. - FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1966

MY GOOD FRIENDS AND FELLOW REPUBLICANS--AND I THINK THAT'S REDUNDANT.

I'M ^{very} HAPPY AND HONORED TO HAVE THE CHANCE TO SPEND A FEW HOURS WITH YOU, FIRST OF ALL TO CONGRATULATE YOU-- THOSE WHO WERE ELECTED OR RE-ELECTED LAST NOVEMBER 8--AND TO THANK ALL OF YOU, WHETHER YOU WERE CANDIDATES OR NOT, FOR THE KEY ROLES YOU PLAYED IN THE GREAT RESURGENCE OF REPUBLICANISM WHICH WE HAVE WITNESSED AND WHICH IS STILL IN MOTION.

IF I CAN CLEAR MY DESK OF THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS THAT HAVE PILED UP IN ANTICIPATION OF THE NEW CONGRESS, I AM COMING BACK TO ^{The Rockies} ~~COLORADO~~ WITH MY WHOLE FAMILY LATER THIS



John, the Fords

MONTH FOR THE RELATIVELY SAFE SPORT OF SKIING. ~~WE~~ ALL
the rocks + this
LOVE ~~THIS~~ STATE. THERE IS SOMETHING ABOUT THESE MAJESTIC
MOUNTAINS THAT REDUCES MAN TO HIS PROPER SIZE, ~~AND I THINK~~
IT WAS A WONDERFUL CHOICE FOR REPUBLICANS TO GATHER HERE
IN THE FLUSH OF LAST MONTH'S SWEEPING SUCCESSES. *Despite our collective impression* WE STILL *propose*
HAVE A WAY TO GO *in the months ahead.* 1

YOUNG LT. ZEBULON PIKE, WHEN HE FIRST LOOKED AT THE
PEAK THAT BEARS HIS NAME, SUPPOSEDLY SAID IT WOULD "NEVER
BE SCALED BY MORTAL MAN." ONLY A FEW YEARS LATER, OF COURSE,
IT WAS. I THINK WE MIGHT CONSIDER SETTING UP A ZEBULON
PIKE AWARD FOR ALL THE POLITICAL PUNDITS WHO TWO YEARS AGO
WERE DOLEFULLY PREDICTING THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD
GO THE WAY OF THE WHIGS, AND AS LATE AS THE END OF OCTOBER
CONCLUDED THAT THE REPUBLICANS HAD FAILED TO FIND ANY
SIGNIFICANT CAMPAIGN ISSUES IN 1966 AND THAT THE ELECTION



WOULD PRODUCE NO APPRECIABLE CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL
COMPLEXION OF THE COUNTRY OR THE CONGRESS.

NOW THESE SAME PROGNOSTICATORS ARE SAYING WE REPUBLICANS
WILL GET SO EMBROILED AND ^{for} ENMESHED IN OUR OWN IDEOLOGICAL
AND PERSONAL ARGUMENTS THAT WE WILL DEFEAT OURSELVES BEFORE
1968 WITHOUT ANY HELP FROM THE OUTSIDE. I THINK/WE OUGHT
TO SEND THIS WARMED-OVER DISH RIGHT BACK TO THE KITCHEN.
I THINK/THEY ARE TALKING ABOUT THE WRONG PARTY! DURING
THE PAST TWO YEARS, I HAVE MADE ONE OR MORE VISITS TO SOME
44 STATES, AND ~~AND~~ I CAN REPORT ~~IS~~ THAT I NEVER HEARD ANY
REPUBLICAN TALKING ABOUT ANY OF YOU THE WAY SENATOR FULBRIGHT
AND PRESIDENT JOHNSON ARE ALLEGED TO TALK ABOUT EACH OTHER.
AND I NEVER CAUGHT ANYBODY EYEING ME THE WAY HUBERT LOOKS
AT BOBBY, AND VICE VERSA.



THE MAIN REASON I'M HERE IS TO REPORT TO YOU BRIEFLY AS MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND IT SHOULDN'T SURPRISE YOU THAT WITH A NET REINFORCEMENT OF 47 MORE REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE, I DO FEEL A LOT MORE LIKE A LEADER AND A LOT LESS LIKE A MINORITY.

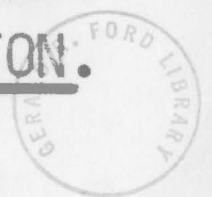
IN THE UPCOMING 90TH CONGRESS, WE WILL HAVE 187 SEATS-- OUR HIGHEST FIGURE SINCE 1958. THIS IS STILL 31 VOTES SHORT OF THE MAJORITY WE'D LIKE, BUT IT'S A WHOLE LOT DIFFERENT FROM BEING OUTNUMBERED BY TWO TO ONE WITH 15 VOTES TO SPARE.

PRELIMINARY FIGURES INDICATE THAT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WON CLOSE TO 49 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL CONGRESSIONAL VOTE NATIONWIDE. THIS WOULD BE OUR BEST OFF-YEAR SHOWING SINCE 1950.



THE TOTAL VOTE FOR REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES IN HOUSE CONTESTS WAS MORE THAN 25 MILLION, WHICH WOULD APPEAR TO BE A RECORD FOR A NON-PRESIDENTIAL YEAR. YOU GENTLEMEN RIGHTFULLY SHARE IN THE CREDIT FOR THIS TURNOUT AND FOR THE ENCOURAGING FACT THAT REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES OUTPOLLED DEMOCRATS IN HOUSE RACES IN 26 STATES -- ALASKA, ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, DELAWARE, IDAHO, ILLINOIS, INDIANA, IOWA, KANSAS, KENTUCKY, MICHIGAN, MINNESOTA, MONTANA, NEBRASKA, NEW HAMPSHIRE, NEW JERSEY, NORTH DAKOTA, OHIO, OREGON, PENNSYLVANIA, SOUTH DAKOTA, TENNESSEE, UTAH, VERMONT, WISCONSIN AND WYOMING.

NOT TO PAINT TOO ROSY A PICTURE, WE DID LOSE HOUSE SEATS IN MAINE, MISSISSIPPI AND ALABAMA. AND WE FAILED TO GAIN BACK HOUSE SEATS LOST IN 1964 IN NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON.



BUT JUST AS THE SCOPE OF OUR SUCCESS WAS NATIONWIDE, SO THE FEW DARK CLOUDS WERE NOT CONFINED TO ANY PARTICULAR REGION. THERE WAS ENOUGH HAPPINESS FOR ALL TO SHARE.

PERSONALLY, I STARTED THE ^{political} GUESSING SEASON SAYING WE ^{had} COULD PICK UP 30 TO 40 HOUSE SEATS, BUT AS THE PRESSURE FROM THE PRESS INCREASED, PARTICULARLY AFTER MY GOOD FRIEND SENATOR DIRKSEN LAID \$100 ON THE TABLE TO BACK HIS FORECAST OF 75 SEATS, I TOOK TO SAYING "40 OR MORE." TOWARDS THE END, I KEPT LAYING A LITTLE LOUDER STRESS ON THE "OR MORE" AND THUS I DISQUALIFIED MYSELF FOR THE ZEBULON PIKE AWARD.

BUT I WILL VENTURE ONE MORE PROPHECY. IF WE ALL HANG TOGETHER IN SUCCESS AS WELL AS WE DID IN ADVERSITY, WE ARE NOT GOING THE WAY OF THE WHIGS. WE ARE GOING THE WAY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FOR WHOSE SPEEDY



RECOVERY FROM SURGERY WE SHOULD ALL PRAY TODAY.

YOU GENTLEMEN ALL WANT TO KNOW IN A NUTSHELL HOW THE 90TH CONGRESS WILL DIFFER FROM THE UNLAMENTED 89TH.

AS I SEE IT, THE DIFFERENCE WILL BE SIMPLY THIS:
REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE BACK
IN THE BALLGAME.

THE MINORITY PARTY WILL AGAIN BE IN A POSITION TO SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, AND THAT IS THE WAY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS SUPPOSED TO WORK. IT HASN'T FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE NEXT CONGRESS WON'T SIMPLY GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OF RECEIVING, APPROVING AND RETURNING PRESIDENTIAL PROPOSALS FOR SIGNATURE, WITHOUT HEARING OPPOSING OPINIONS OR ADEQUATE FLOOR DEBATE. WE WILL REALLY BE LEGISLATING AGAIN, IN COMMITTEES AND ON THE



FLOOR--AND THE COUNTRY WILL BENEFIT, AS THE VOTERS KNEW.

BUT WITH INCREASED INFLUENCE, WE REPUBLICANS IN THE HOUSE WILL HAVE TO BEAR INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY, AND THE VOTERS WILL BE WATCHING THIS, TOO. WE WERE RESPONSIBLE, I BELIEVE, AND WE TRIED TO BE CONSTRUCTIVE IN THE 89TH CONGRESS; BUT WITH THE LOPSIDED LINEUP, WE DIDN'T WIND UP WITH TOO MUCH TO SHOW FOR IT. NEXT YEAR I THINK YOU WILL FIND MANY DEMOCRATS, MAYBE INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT, PUSHING FOR THE VERY THINGS WE KEPT URGING BE DONE IN 1965 OR '66.

IT WOULD BE EASY FOR US JUST TO SIT BACK AND SAY "WE TOLD YOU SO" OR "WE SAID IT FIRST" -- BUT THAT WON'T DO! INSTEAD WE PROPOSE TO START RIGHT OFF WITH A POSITIVE REPUBLICAN PROGRAM IN THE SECOND "STATE OF THE UNION" APPRAISAL WHICH SENATOR DIRKSEN AND I PLAN TO MAKE WHEN CONGRESS CONVENES.



WHILE IT'S TOO EARLY TO REVEAL ALL THE PROPOSALS WE ARE CONSIDERING FOR THIS PRESENTATION, WHICH WILL AGAIN BE NATIONALLY TELEVISED ACCORDING TO CURRENT PLANS, IT CERTAINLY WILL INCLUDE A FORM OF FEDERAL-STATE TAX SHARING AND INCREASED SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS TIED PERMANENTLY TO COST OF LIVING AND INFLATIONARY INCREASES.

IT'S NOT TOO EARLY, EITHER, TO MAKE IT ^{crystal} CLEAR THAT WE IN THE HOUSE ARE NOT MAKING ANY AUTOMATIC ALLIANCES OR COALITIONS SIMPLY FOR POWER OR OBSTRUCTION. WE WILL WELCOME THE SUPPORT OF LIKE-MINDED DEMOCRATS IN ADVANCING MEASURES THAT ARE GOOD FOR THE COUNTRY OR RESISTING THOSE THAT ARE UNWISE OR UNTIMELY--BUT WE ARE GOING TO CALL OUR OWN PLAYS AND WILL BE GLAD TO HAVE THE HELP OF ANY DISCERNING DEMOCRATS.



I EARNESTLY HOPE, AND I SPEAK NOW FOR ALL MY REPUBLICAN
COLLEAGUES IN THE HOUSE, THAT YOU REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS AND
INDEED REPUBLICAN OFFICIALS AT ALL ECHELONS OF GOVERNMENT
WILL FIND THE TIME AND TAKE THE TROUBLE TO FORWARD YOUR
SUGGESTIONS AND IDEAS TO US. WE WOULD LIKE THESE DURING
THE DRAFTING OF OUR FORTHCOMING STATE OF THE UNION APPRAISAL,
AND WE WANT TO SUSTAIN A CLOSE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION WITH
REPUBLICAN STATE CAPITOLS THROUGHOUT THE NEXT TWO YEARS.
WE ALL SUBSCRIBE AS REPUBLICANS TO THE THEORY THAT ALL
WISDOM DOES NOT REPOSE IN WASHINGTON. THIS THEORY SHOULD
FIND CONCRETE EXPRESSION IN CONTINUING COMMUNICATION ON
MATTERS AFFECTING YOUR STATES OR THE FEDERAL-STATE RELATION-
SHIP IN GENERAL.

WE HOPE DURING THE 90TH CONGRESS TO HAVE EACH OF YOU



AS OUR GUEST TO ADDRESS OUR HOUSE REPUBLICAN CONFERENCE
OF ALL 187 REPUBLICAN MEMBERS IN WASHINGTON. WE WOULD
LIKE TO SEE INCREASED PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION
OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS ON THE REPUBLICAN COORDINATING
COMMITTEE. AND, ALTHOUGH THE DEMOCRATS ARE STILL IN
CONTROL, WE FEEL YOU COULD CONTRIBUTE MUCH-NEEDED INFORMA-
TION AND VIEWS AS EXPERT WITNESSES BEFORE THE VARIOUS
COMMITTEES OF THE CONGRESS.

WE, IN TURN, ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN THE COMPOSITION
OF THE CONGRESS, AND I AM REMINDED THAT BETWEEN NOW AND
1968 SEVEN STATES WITH A TOTAL OF 110 HOUSE SEATS MUST BE
REDISTRICTED--INCLUDING CALIFORNIA, WHICH I AM DELIGHTED
TO SEE REPRESENTED AGAIN AT A REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' MEETING.
AS THE DEMOCRATS GROW A LITTLE LESS POSITIVE ABOUT BEING



A PERMANENT MAJORITY PARTY IN THE NATION, THERE IS A DANGER THAT THEY MAY TRY TO SHORTCHANGE US IN SOME STATE LEGISLATURES.

I HAVE TAKEN TOO MUCH OF YOUR TIME ALREADY, BUT MAY I SPEAK VERY BLUNTLY AND EARNESTLY BEFORE I CLOSE. I AM SICK OF HEARING THAT WE REPUBLICANS CAN SURVIVE ANYTHING EXCEPT SUCCESS. I AM TIRED OF READING HOW WE ARE GOING TO FLY OFF INTO ALL KINDS OF COLLISION COURSES, THE GOVERNORS VERSUS THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS, THE EASTERNERS VERSUS THE WESTERNERS, THE LIBERALS VERSUS THE CONSERVATIVES, THE URBANITES VERSUS THE SUBURBANITES, AND THE SUBURBANITES VERSUS THE FARMERS, AND SO FORTH AD NAUSEUM.

THAT ISN'T THE MESSAGE I READ IN THE 1966 RETURNS.

I THINK OUR REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH



IS MEETING AGAIN NEXT MONDAY UNDER THE ABLE CHAIRMANSHIP OF RAY BLISS, HAS DONE A MARVELOUS AND ALMOST MIRACULOUS JOB OF UNIFYING OUR PARTY AND HAMMERING OUT RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICAN POSITIONS ON CURRENT ISSUES. THIS BODY WAS AN EXPERIMENT HARDLY ANYONE THOUGHT WOULD WORK, BUT IT HAS WORKED, AND IT HAS WORKED BECAUSE WE ALL WANTED THIS RESULT. CONCURRENTLY, IT HAS BEEN THE DEMOCRATS WHO HAVE BEEN ON ALL SIDES OF EVERY ISSUE, CUTTING EACH OTHER UP FOR PERSONAL SPIRE OR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE, CAUSING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO WONDER IF THEY REALLY DESERVE TO DIRECT THEIR DESTINIES.

I SAY LET'S LET THE DEMOCRATS CONTINUE TO ENJOY THESE CANNIBALISTIC EXERCISES. IF WE ARE RESPONSIBLE REPUBLICANS, IF WE ARE A MEANINGFUL MINORITY, AND ABOVE ALL IF WE CONTINUE TO SHOW THE COUNTRY A PICTURE OF CLEAR UNITY AND



COMMON PURPOSE ON THE GREAT ISSUES OF THESE DIFFICULT
TIMES, 1966 WILL BE JUST A PRELUDE TO VICTORY.

THANK YOU-----

---END---



REMARKS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, MINORITY LEADER,

U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AT THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS' ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO. - DEC. 9, 1966



I am happy and honored to have the chance to spend a few hours with you, first of all to congratulate you--those who were elected or re-elected last November 8-- and to thank all of you, whether you were candidates or not, for the key roles you played in the great resurgence of Republicanism which we have witnessed and which is still in motion.

Young Lt. Zebulon Pike, when he first looked at the peak that bears his name, supposedly said it would "never be scaled by mortal man." Only a few years later, of course, it was. I think we might consider setting up a Zebulon Pike Award for all the political pundits who two years ago were dolefully predicting that the Republican Party would go the way of the Whigs, and as late as the end of October concluded that the Republicans had failed to find any significant campaign issues in 1966 and that the election would produce no appreciable change in the political complexion of the country or the Congress.

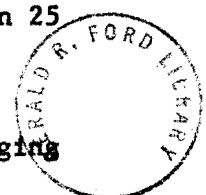
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The main reason I'm here is to report to you briefly as Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, and it shouldn't surprise you that with a net reinforcement of 47 more Republicans in the House I do feel a lot more like a leader and a lot less like a minority.

In the upcoming 90th Congress we will have 187 seats--our highest figure since 1958. This is still 31 votes short of the majority we'd like, but it's a whole lot different from being outnumbered by two to one with 15 votes to spare.

Preliminary figures indicate that Republican candidates for the House of Representatives won close to 49 percent of the total Congressional vote nationwide. This would be our best off-year showing since 1950.

The total vote for Republican candidates in House contests was more than 25 million, which would appear to be a record for a non-Presidential year. You gentlemen rightfully share in the credit for this turnout and for the encouraging



fact that Republican candidates outpolled Democrats in House races in 26 states-- Alaska, Arizona, California, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Not to paint too rosy a picture, we did lose House seats in Maine, Mississippi and Alabama; and we failed to gain back House seats lost in 1964 in New York and Washington. But just as the scope of our success was nationwide, so the few dark clouds were not confined to any particular region. There was enough happiness for all to share.

Personally, I started the guessing season saying we could pick up 30 to 40 House seats, but as the pressure from the press increased, particularly after my good friend Senator Dirksen laid \$100 on the table to back his forecast of 75 seats, I took to saying "40 or more." Towards the end I kept laying a little louder stress on the "or more" and thus I disqualified myself for the Zebulon Pike Award.

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But with increased influence we Republicans in the House will have to bear increased responsibility, and the voters will be watching this, too. We were responsible, I believe, and we tried to be constructive in the 89th Congress, but with the lopsided lineup we didn't wind up with too much to show for it. Next year I think you will find many Democrats, maybe including the President, pushing for the very things we kept urging be done in 1965 or '66.

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We, in turn, are vitally interested in the composition of the Congress; and I am reminded that between now and 1968 seven states with a total of 110 House seats must be redistricted--including California, which I am delighted to see represented again at a Republican governors' meeting. As the Democrats grow a little less positive about being a permanent majority party in the nation, there is a danger that they may try to shortchange us in some state legislatures.

May I speak very bluntly and earnestly before I close. I am sick of hearing that we Republicans can survive anything except success. I am tired of reading how we are going to fly off into all kinds of collision courses--the governors versus the Congressional leaders, the Easterners versus the Westerners, the liberals versus the conservatives, the urbanites versus the suburbanites, and the suburbanites versus the farmers, and so forth ad nauseum.

(More)

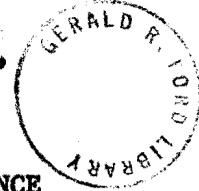
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I think our Republican Coordinating Committee, which is meeting again next Monday under the able chairmanship of Ray Bliss, has done a marvelous and almost miraculous job of unifying our party and hammering out responsible Republican positions on current issues. This body was an experiment hardly anyone thought would work, but it has worked. And it has worked because we all wanted this result. Concurrently, it has been the Democrats who have been on all sides of every issue, cutting each other up for personal spite or political advantage, causing the American people to wonder if they really deserve to direct their destinies. I say let's let the Democrats continue to enjoy these cannibalistic exercises. If we are responsible Republicans, if we are a meaningful minority, and above all if we continue to show the country a picture of clear unity and common purpose on the great issues of these difficult times, 1966 will be just a prelude to victory.

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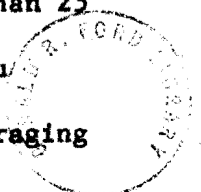
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