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APRIL 19, 1968

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY --
A MINORITY FOREVER?"

WHENEVER A PERSON IS CALLED UPON TO MAKE
A SPEECH, THE FIRST QUESTION THAT ENTERS HIS
MIND IS...WHAT SHALL I TALK ABOUT. AND SO HE
CASTS ABOUT IN HIS OWN MIND FOR A TOPIC, OR
MAYBE HE GETS SOME IDEAS FROM FRIENDS, OR
PERHAPS THOSE WHO HAVE SCHEDULED HIM AS A
SPEAKER INDICATE WHAT SUBJECT THEY WOULD LIKE.
In a new
thought
series TODAY I AM GOING TO BE EXPLORING A TOPIC
SUGGESTED BY OTHERS. I HAVE BEEN ASKED TO
DISCUSS THE SUBJECT: "THE REPUBLICAN PARTY --
A MINORITY FOREVER?" THERE ARE ONLY TWO WAYS
FOR A REPUBLICAN TO REACT TO A SPEECH TITLE
LIKE THAT. EITHER YOU'RE DEPRESSED OR YOU COME
OUT FIGHTING. I AM NOT DEPRESSED.



NOT LONG AFTER I BECAME REPUBLICAN
LEADER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ^{by landslide margin 7³/67} I WAS
ASKED THIS QUESTION: "WHAT IS THE MISSION OF
THE MINORITY?"

IT WAS ONE OF THESE "GIVE-YOUR-REPLY-
IN-TEN-WORDS-OR-LESS" SORT OF QUESTIONS, POSED
BY A REPUBLICAN PARTY NEWSLETTER EDITOR.

MY ANSWER WAS: "THE MISSION OF THE
MINORITY IS TO BECOME THE MAJORITY."

IMMEDIATELY THERE WERE OUTRAGED SCREAMS
FROM SEVERAL DEMOCRATS IN THE HOUSE. THIS,
THEY SAID, WAS A NARROWLY PARTISAN POINT OF VIEW.
THIS WAS EVIDENCE THAT I WAS SO HUNGRY FOR POWER
THAT I WOULD PLACE PARTY ABOVE COUNTRY. I
PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE SIMPLY
STARTLED TO FIND A REPUBLICAN WITH THE AUDACITY
TO THINK HIS PARTY COULD REGAIN CONTROL OF THE
CONGRESS AND TO SET ABOUT ^{constructively} TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH
THAT OBJECTIVE.

^{Recent history shows}
YOU KNOW, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BEEN



IN CHARGE OF THE COUNTRY FOR 27 OF THE LAST 35 YEARS. ^{after these many years of stewardship} YET THEY KEEP TELLING US HOW IMPERFECT AMERICA IS. TWENTY-SEVEN YEARS IS A LONG TIME TO BE WRESTLING WITH THE SAME PROBLEMS AND TO ^{these crises at home & abroad} FIND THEY HAVE RESISTED ALL THE FEDERAL BILLIONS POURED INTO THEM. COULD IT BE THAT THE DEMOCRATS ARE TRYING TO TELL US SOMETHING?

ONE OF THE THINGS I LIKE ABOUT COLLEGE AUDIENCES IS THAT THEY LIKE YOU TO TELL IT LIKE IT IS. THAT'S WHY I HAVE NO HESITANCY IN REMARKING THAT THE WAY AMERICA ^{tried to} GOT OUT OF THE BIG DEPRESSION ^{in the 1930s} WAS BY ELECTING NEW MEN AND EXPERIMENTING WITH NEW POLICIES.

I THINK THAT SAYS SOMETHING TO US TODAY WHEN WE ARE FACED WITH THREE GREAT CRISES -- VIETNAM, RACIAL TURMOIL AND THE THREAT OF FISCAL CHAOS.

SO I THINK THE DEMOCRATS IN CONGRESS WHO ATTACKED ME WHEN I SAID THE MINORITY'S MISSION WAS TO BECOME THE MAJORITY DID SO FOR

GOOD REASON: THEY WERE WORRIED.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CHAIRMAN JOHN BAILEY IS WORRIED, TOO -- BUT OF COURSE HE PRETENDS NOT TO BE. BAILEY SAYS CONCERN OVER THE REPUBLICAN TREND IS LESSENING IN THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP. WHAT HE MEANS IS THAT THERE ARE A LOT FEWER DEMOCRATS ^{officer-holders today} TO WORRY ABOUT IT THAN THERE WERE BEFORE THE LAST ELECTION ^{in Nov. 1966}.

BUT, SERIOUSLY, THIS IS NO TIME TO BE PARTISAN IN THE NARROW SENSE. I CITE THE LAST ELECTION ONLY AS RINGING PROOF OF THE FACT THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS ON ITS WAY TO BECOMING THE MAJORITY PARTY IN THE NATION ONCE AGAIN.

YOU MAY RECALL THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SCORED A NET GAIN OF 47 SEATS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THIS BRINGS US TO WITHIN 31 SEATS OF A HOUSE MAJORITY FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1953--54. ^{BROOD/BROAD}

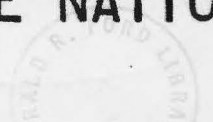
IN THAT SAME ELECTION WE ADDED THREE SEATS -- NET -- IN THE SENATE.

AFTER THE 1964 ELECTION THERE WERE ONLY 17 REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS. NOW THERE ARE 26, A MAJORITY OF THE 50. ALREADY, IN THIS POLITICAL ARENA, THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS BECOME THE MAJORITY PARTY.

A FACT MANY PEOPLE DO NOT REALIZE IS THAT A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ^{today} LIVE IN THE REPUBLICAN-ADMINISTERED STATES.

ANOTHER FACT NOT GENERALLY KNOWN IS THAT REPUBLICANS GAINED 503 SEATS IN STATE LEGISLATURES IN THE 1966 ELECTIONS. AS A RESULT OF 1966 AND SUBSEQUENT BY-ELECTIONS, REPUBLICANS CONTROL BOTH HOUSES OF LEGISLATURES IN 17 STATES AND HAVE A MAJORITY IN ONE HOUSE IN EIGHT OTHER STATES. THIS MEANS THAT REPUBLICANS CONTROL AT LEAST ONE OF THE HOUSES IN 25 OF THE 48 STATES WHICH HAVE PARTISAN LEGISLATURES.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR AND SENATOR ALSO RECEIVED A MAJORITY OF THE NATIONAL VOTE -- IN THE AGGREGATE -- IN 1966.



THE FACT THAT THIS REPUBLICAN RESURGENCE IS CONTINUING WAS ATTESTED TO IN 1967 WHEN LOUIE NUNN WAS ELECTED GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY TO BECOME THE 26TH GOP GOVERNOR IN THE NATION AND GIVE US A MAJORITY OF THE STATEHOUSES.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS HAVE MOVED FORWARD WITH IMPRESSIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS. THEY HAVE ADVANCED FRESH AND EXCITING IDEAS AND PROGRAMS. ^{They have made cons} THE VOTERS HAVE RESPONDED.

I BELIEVE THAT IN 1968 THAT RESPONSE WILL BE NATIONWIDE. IT WILL MARK THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA OF CREATIVENESS IN WASHINGTON.

WHEN THE VOTERS TURN TO THE OUT-PARTY FOR HELP, THEY DO SO FOR TWO BASIC REASONS: THEY HAVE LOST FAITH IN THE "IN-PARTY," AND THEY HAVE HOPES THE OTHER PARTY CAN DO BETTER. THIS IS THE REASON FOR POLITICAL CHANGE, / MOST SIMPLY PUT.

BOTH OF THOSE BASIC POLITICAL FACTORS ARE AT WORK IN 1968. THEY MAY NOT PRODUCE

CATAclysmic CHANGE -- AN OVERWHELMING
REPUBLICAN SWEEP IN '68 -- BUT THEY MAY WELL
BRING ABOUT A REPUBLICAN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
AND PUT A REPUBLICAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

YOU KNOW IT'S DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND
WHY BOBBY KENNEDY AND GENE McCARTHY SHOULD WANT
THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION THIS
YEAR. WITH THE COUNTRY IN THE MESS IT'S IN,
THIS IS LIKE COMPETING FOR THE JOB OF CAPTAIN
OF THE TITANIC WHEN YOU KNOW IT'S GOING TO HIT
AN ICEBERG.

SERIOUSLY, THERE IS SOLID REASON TO
BELIEVE THAT THE VOTERS WILL GIVE THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY THE JOB OF RUNNING THE COUNTRY AGAIN.

PERHAPS MOST BASIC TO THAT CONCLUSION
IS A GALLUP POLL OF LAST NOVEMBER WHICH FOUND
THAT FOR THE FIRST TIME IN 10 YEARS THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE VIEW THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS
BETTER ABLE THAN THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO DEAL
WITH CRITICAL PROBLEMS.

OTHER GALLUP SURVEYS SHOW THAT WHEREAS 53 PER CENT OF THE VOTERS CONSIDERED THEMSELVES DEMOCRATS IN 1964 WHEN LYNDON JOHNSON FIRST RAN FOR THE PRESIDENCY, 42 PER CENT CONSIDER THEMSELVES DEMOCRATS TODAY. AT THE SAME TIME THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS RISEN FROM 25 TO 31 PER CENT, AND THOSE WHO RANK THEMSELVES AS INDEPENDENTS NOW MAKE UP NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF THE ELECTORATE.

SO THERE ARE MANY MORE SWING VOTERS NOW, AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S HOLD ON THEM HAS WEAKENED.



THERE ARE MANY REASONS FOR THIS DEMOCRATIC DECLINE, THIS REPUBLICAN RESURGENCE AND THIS GROWING INDEPENDENCE AMONG THE NATION'S VOTERS.

THERE IS THE VIETNAM WAR -- AN AMERICAN DISASTER IN TERMS OF ^{for the last 3 1/2 years} THE U.S. ROLE IN THAT CONFLICT, ^{the} MASSIVE ¹ INVOLVEMENT IN A LARGE LAND WAR ON THE CONTINENT OF ASIA. I DO NOT QUARREL WITH THE BASIC DECISION AIMED AT THWARTING COMMUNIST EXPANSION INTO SOUTH VIETNAM BUT I ALSO AGREE WITH THE LATE GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, WHO SAID: "ANYBODY WHO COMMITS THE LAND POWER OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE CONTINENT



OF ASIA OUGHT TO HAVE HIS HEAD EXAMINED." AND I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE GENERALLY FEEL THE SAME WAY.

Errors -
① Increase in U.S. manpower - 700 to 14000 to 540,000
② Failure to use air & sea power
③ Gradualism
④ Failure to get South Vietnamese & other allies

NOW THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION HAS PUT A LID ON THE AMERICAN TROOP COMMITMENT TO VIETNAM AND IS SEEKING TO INITIATE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH LIMITATIONS ON THE BOMBING OF NORTH VIETNAM. THIS DOES NOT ALTER ANY OF THE NUMEROUS ERRORS ^{that I've recently cited as} MADE BY THE JOHNSON-HUMPHREY ADMINISTRATION IN VIETNAM. NOR DOES IT ERASE THE CRUSHING THOUGHT THAT THOUSANDS OF AMERICANS MAY HAVE DIED IN ^{8000 miles} VAIN THERE.

THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EUPHORIA IN THE NATION TODAY ABOUT VIETNAM. THIS MERELY REFLECTS THE INDICATION THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAS MADE A BASIC POLICY CHANGE IN FAVOR OF DE-ESCALATION AND OF GRADUALLY SHIFTING THE BURDEN OF THE FIGHTING TO THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE. THERE IS NO OTHER BASIS FOR OPTIMISM.

RECENTLY THE NATIONAL ATTENTION WAS

DIVERTED FROM VIETNAM BY THE MURDER OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING AND THE RIOTS WHICH HAVE SWEEPED ACROSS THE NATION. BOTH THE ASSASSINATION AND THE RIOTS WERE SENSELESS ACTS. THEY POINTED UP AGAIN THE STARK TRUTH IN ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S WORDS: "A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND."

THIS GIVES NEW URGENCY TO PROGRAMS WITH PROMISE FOR HEALING THE SICKNESS OF THE CITIES. AND IT ATTESTS TO THE FAILURE OF THE ADMINISTRATION NOW IN POWER, THE FAILURE OF THE MULTI-BILLION-DOLLAR FEDERAL PROGRAMS WHICH MAY BE LIKENED TO WAVES DASHING AGAINST AN UNYIELDING ROCK.

ALL OF THE TALK ABOUT REWARDING THE RIOTERS IS NONSENSE. A FRUITFUL ATTACK UPON OUR URBAN ILLS HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH EITHER PENALTIES OR REWARDS. THE LONGER THESE PROBLEMS REMAIN UNSOLVED THE LONGER ALL AMERICA SUFFERS.

THIS IS ANOTHER REASON I BELIEVE THE

REPUBLICAN PARTY WILL BECOME THE MAJORITY PARTY -- BECAUSE THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL LOOK TO THE GOP TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES. THE TRUTH IS THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IS UNABLE TO HEAL AMERICA'S SOUL.

*Recognize problems
that exist / Eisenhower
constructive alternatives*

I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THE REASON FOR THIS IS THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS BEEN BYPASSED BY TIME. IT IS STILL THE PARTY OF THE NEW DEAL -- USEFUL DURING THE 1930's BUT NOW SOMETHING OF AN ANACHRONISM. IT IS STILL THE PARTY WITH LEADERS WHO DO NOT REALLY BELIEVE IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, AND THEREFORE IT IS A PARTY WHICH IS OUT OF STEP WITH AN AMERICA MADE AFFLUENT BY FREE ENTERPRISE.

I SAY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY DOES NOT BELIEVE IN THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM BECAUSE IT IGNORES THE BEST HOPE FOR CURING THE SICKNESS OF THE CITIES -- AND IT IGNORES THAT REMEDY BECAUSE IT IS ROOTED IN FREE ENTERPRISE. I REFER TO FEDERAL INCOME TAX CREDITS AS AN

INCENTIVE TO GET INDUSTRY INVOLVED IN JOB TRAINING, JOB DEVELOPMENT AND PLANT CONSTRUCTION OR RENOVATION IN URBAN AND RURAL POVERTY AREAS.

THIS APPROACH TO SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDEREMPLOYMENT HAS BEEN URGED FOR YEARS BY THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. ^{It was initiated better than 4 years ago + appropriately labelled the Human ~~Investment~~ ^{act}} NOW IT HAS RECEIVED THE ENTHUSIASTIC ¹ ENDORSEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS, HEADED BY THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS. YET THE WHITE HOUSE REMAINS SILENT, AND DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN CONGRESS OPPOSE IT.

THE VOTERS WILL TURN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY BECAUSE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY APPEARS LOCKED INTO THE PAST, TIED TO DEPRESSION-ERA THEORIES THAT HAVE NO RELEVANCE AS WE APPROACH THE SEVENTIES, AFRAID OF EVEN SUPPLEMENTING THE OLD PROGRAMS WHICH RELY ON TOTAL FEDERAL DIRECTION, FEARFUL OF EMBRACING NEW PROGRAMS WHICH DEPEND UPON NEW LEADERSHIP AND INDIVIDUAL

INITIATIVE FOR SUCCESS.

THE OLD PROGRAMS ARE NOT WORKING, AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE KNOW THIS. THE PEOPLE KNOW, TOO, THAT IT IS RIDICULOUS TO TALK OF POURING ADDITIONAL BILLIONS OF PRINTING PRESS DOLLARS INTO URBAN PROBLEMS AT A TIME WHEN EUROPEANS HAVE LOST CONFIDENCE IN THE DOLLAR, WHEN THE DOLLAR STEADILY DROPS IN VALUE AT HOME, WHEN INTEREST RATES CONTINUE TO SOAR, AND WHEN THE TAX BURDEN CONTINUES TO MOUNT.

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+ abroad
Bur. of Int. Rev.

POLITICALLY SPEAKING, "FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY" IS NOT A VERY EXCITING PHRASE. BUT IT'S BIG WITH THE VOTER WHO KNOWS THERE CAN BE NEITHER SOCIAL PROGRESS NOR INDIVIDUAL PROGRESS IN A NATION WITH UNSOUND MONEY.

I'M TOLD THAT INFLATION DOESN'T BOTHER TODAY'S YOUNG PEOPLE. THEY HAVE NOT LIVED THROUGH THE GREAT DEPRESSION. THEY HAVE NOT SEEN THE ECONOMY GO SMASH. BUT A LEADING POLLSTER REPORTS THAT 60 PER CENT OF AMERICANS

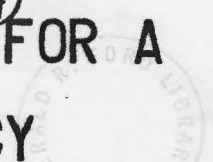
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

GENERALLY FEEL THAT INFLATION IS A MAJOR CONCERN. THEY KNOW THAT INFLATION IS A FANCY WORD FOR "HIGH PRICES," AND THAT THE DOLLAR JUST DOESN'T BUY MUCH ANY MORE.

I HAVE CITED FOR YOU SOME OF THE REASONS WHY I BELIEVE THIS WILL BE A REPUBLICAN YEAR IN AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FRUSTRATED AND UNHAPPY. THEY WILL BE VOTING AGAINST THE WAR, AGAINST CIVIL DISORDER AND CRIME, AGAINST RISING PRICES IN THE CITIES AND AGAINST LOW FARM INCOME IN THE COUNTRY.

AND THEY WILL BE VOTING FOR -- FOR NEW MEN AND NEW DIRECTION, ^① FOR SENSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CITIES AND OUR ^{such as those proposed by John F. Kennedy} IMPOVERISHED RURAL COMMUNITIES, ¹ ② FOR FEDERAL REVENUE-SHARING AND THE ELIMINATION OF WASTE AND OVERLAPPING IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, ^③ FOR JOB-ORIENTATION IN THE POVERTY PROGRAM, ^④ FOR A BETTER WAY OF HANDLING NATIONAL EMERGENCY



LABOR-MANAGEMENT DISPUTES, FOR REMOVAL OF
POLITICS FROM THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,^⑥ FOR
ELECTION REFORMS,^⑦ FOR IMPROVED LAW ENFORCEMENT,
^⑧ FOR NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY,^⑨ FOR AN EFFECTIVE
FOREIGN POLICY, FOR A CHANGE WHICH WILL MAKE
THEM PROUD OF AMERICA AGAIN.

*cut
REVENUE
SHARING* THIS IS WHY I WAS HAPPY TO TALK WITH YOU
TODAY ABOUT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS THE MINORITY
PARTY -- BECAUSE I FEEL CERTAIN THAT SOON THE
VOTERS WILL ENTRUST THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WITH
THE TASK OF BUILDING A NEW AND BETTER AMERICA,
AN AFFIRMATIVE AMERICA, AN AMERICA THAT LOOKS
TO THE FUTURE WITH EYES THAT ARE CLEAR AND
UNAFRAID.

-END-



An Address by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

Office Copy
Delivered April 19, 1968
Friday, 8:00 p.m.
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY -- A MINORITY FOREVER?"

Whenever a person is called upon to make a speech, the first question that enters his mind is...what shall I talk about. And so he casts about in his own mind for a topic, or maybe he gets some ideas from friends, or perhaps those who have scheduled him as a speaker indicate what subject they would like.

Today I am going to be exploring a topic suggested by others. I have been asked to discuss the subject: "The Republican Party--A Minority Forever?" There are only two ways for a Republican to react to a speech title like that. Either you're depressed or you come out fighting. I am not depressed.

Not long after I became Republican leader of the House of Representatives, I was asked this question: "What is the mission of the minority?"

It was one of these "give-your-reply-in-ten-words-or-less" sort of questions, posed by a Republican Party newsletter editor.

My answer was: "The mission of the minority is to become the majority."

Immediately there were outraged screams from several Democrats in the House. This, they said, was a narrowly partisan point of view. This was evidence that I was so hungry for power that I would place party above country. I personally believe that they were simply startled to find a Republican with the audacity to think his party could regain control of the Congress and to set about trying to accomplish that objective.

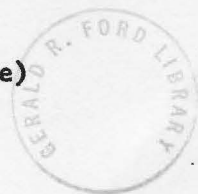
You know, the Democratic Party has been in charge of the country for 27 of the last 35 years. Yet they keep telling us how imperfect America is. Twenty-seven years is a long time to be wrestling with the same problems and to find they have resisted all the federal billions poured into them. Could it be that the Democrats are trying to tell us something?

An election year is accounting time in America. That is when the American people ask the party in power for an account of its stewardship. It follows that the party in power is held responsible for all of its mistakes and failures.

I think that says something to us today when we are faced with three great crises--Vietnam, racial turmoil and the threat of fiscal chaos.

So I think the Democrats in Congress who attacked me when I said the minority's mission was to become the majority did so for a good reason: They were worried.

(more)



Democratic National Chairman John Bailey is worried, too--but of course he pretends not to be. Bailey says concern over the Republican trend is lessening in the Democratic camp. What he means is that there are a lot fewer Democrats to worry about it than there were before the last election.

But, seriously, this is no time to be partisan in the narrow sense. I cite the last election only as ringing proof of the fact that the Republican Party is on its way to becoming the majority party in the Nation once again.

You may recall that the Republican Party scored a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives. This brings us to within 31 seats of a House majority for the first time since 1953-54.

In that same election we added three seats--net--in the Senate.

After the 1964 election there were only 17 Republican governors. Now there are 26, a majority of the 50. Already, in this political arena, the Republican Party has become the majority party.

A fact many people do not realize is that a majority of the American people live in the Republican-administered states.

Another fact not generally known is that Republicans gained 503 seats in State legislatures in the 1966 elections. As a result of 1966 and subsequent by-elections, Republicans control both Houses of legislatures in 17 States and have a majority in one House in eight other States. This means that Republicans control at least one of the Houses in 25 of the 48 states which have partisan legislatures.

Republican candidates for governor and senator also received a majority of the national vote--in the aggregate--in 1966.

The fact that this Republican resurgence is continuing was attested to in 1967 when Louie Nunn was elected governor of Kentucky to become the 26th GOP governor in the Nation and give us a majority of the statehouses.

Republican governors and local officials have moved forward with impressive accomplishments. They have advanced fresh and exciting ideas and programs. The voters have responded.

I believe that in 1968 that response will be nationwide. It will mark the beginning of a new era of creativeness in Washington.

When the voters turn to the out-party for help, they do so for two basic reasons: They have lost faith in the in-party, and they have hopes the other party can do better. This is the reason for political change, most simply put.

Both of those basic political factors are at work in 1968. They may not

(more)

produce cataclysmic change--an overwhelming Republican sweep in '68--but they may well bring about a Republican House of Representatives and put a Republican in the White House.

You know it's difficult to understand why Bobby Kennedy and Gene McCarthy should want the Democratic presidential nomination this year. With the country in the mess it's in, this is like competing for the job of Captain of the Titanic when you know it's going to hit an iceberg.

Seriously, there is solid reason to believe that the voters will give the Republican Party the job of running the country again.

Perhaps most basic to that conclusion is a Gallup Poll of last November which found that for the first time in 10 years the American people view the Republican Party as better able than the Democratic Party to deal with critical problems.

Other Gallup surveys show that whereas 53 per cent of the voters considered themselves Democrats in 1964 when Lyndon Johnson first ran for the Presidency, 42 per cent consider themselves Democrats today. At the same time the Republican Party has risen from 25 to 31 per cent, and those who rank themselves as Independents now make up nearly one-third of the electorate.

So there are many more swing voters now, and the Democratic Party's hold on them has weakened.

There are many reasons for this Democratic decline, this Republican resurgence and this growing independence among the Nation's voters.

There is the Vietnam War--an American disaster in terms of the U.S. role in that conflict, massive involvement in a large land war on the continent of Asia. I do not quarrel with the basic decision aimed at thwarting Communist expansion into South Vietnam. But I also agree with the late General Douglas MacArthur, who said: "Anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined." And I think the American people generally feel the same way.

Now the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has put a lid on the American troop commitment to Vietnam and is seeking to initiate peace negotiations through limitations on the bombing of North Vietnam. This does not alter any of the numerous errors made by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in Vietnam. Nor does it erase the crushing thought that thousands of Americans may have died in vain there.

(more)

There is considerable euphoria in the Nation today about Vietnam. This merely reflects the indication that President Johnson has made a basic policy change in favor of de-escalation and of gradually shifting the burden of the fighting to the South Vietnamese. There is no other basis for optimism.

Recently the national attention was diverted from Vietnam by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King and the riots which have swept across the Nation. Both the assassination and the riots were senseless acts. They pointed up again the stark truth in Abraham Lincoln's words: "A House divided against itself cannot stand."

This gives new urgency to programs with promise for healing the sickness of the cities. And it attests to the failure of the Administration now in power, the failure of the multi-billion-dollar federal programs which may be likened to waves dashing against an unyielding rock.

All of the talk about rewarding the rioters is nonsense. A fruitful attack upon our urban ills has nothing to do with either penalties or rewards. The longer these problems remain unsolved the longer all America suffers.

This is another reason I believe the Republican Party will become the majority party--because the American people will look to the GOP to solve the problems of the cities. The truth is that the Democratic Party is unable to heal America's soul.

I personally believe the reason for this is that the Democratic Party has been bypassed by time. It is still the party of the New Deal--useful during the 1930s but now something of an anachronism. It is still the party with leaders who do not really believe in the free enterprise system, and therefore it is a party which is out of step with an America made affluent by free enterprise.

I say the Democratic Party does not believe in the free enterprise system because it ignores the best hope for curing the sickness of the cities--and it ignores that remedy because it is rooted in free enterprise. I refer to federal income tax credits as an incentive to get industry involved in job training, job development and plant construction or renovation in urban and rural poverty areas.

This approach to solving the problems of hard-core unemployment and under-employment has been urged for years by the Republican Party. Now it has received the enthusiastic endorsement of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by the Democratic governor of the State of Illinois. Yet the White House remains silent, and Democratic leaders in the Congress oppose it.

(more)

The voters will turn to the Republican Party because the Democratic Party appears locked into the past, tied to Depression-era theories that have no relevance as we approach the Seventies, afraid of even supplementing the old programs which rely on total federal direction, fearful of embracing new programs which depend upon new leadership and individual initiative for success.

The old programs are not working, and the American people know this. The people know, too, that it is ridiculous to talk of pouring additional billions of printing press dollars into urban problems at a time when Europeans have lost confidence in the dollar, when the dollar steadily drops in value at home, when interest rates continue to soar, and when the tax burden continues to mount.

Politically speaking, "fiscal responsibility" is not a very exciting phrase. But it's big with the voter who knows there can be neither social progress nor individual progress in a Nation with unsound money.

I'm told that inflation doesn't bother today's young people. They have not lived through the Great Depression. They have not seen the economy go smash. But a leading pollster reports that 60 per cent of Americans generally feel that inflation is a major concern. They know that inflation is a fancy word for "high prices," and that the dollar just doesn't buy much any more.

I have cited for you some of the reasons why I believe this will be a Republican year in American political history.

The American people are frustrated and unhappy. They will be voting against the war, against civil disorder and crime, against rising prices in the cities and against low farm income in the country.

And they will be voting for--for new men and new direction, for sensible solutions to the problems of the cities and our impoverished rural communities, for federal revenue-sharing and the elimination of waste and overlapping in the federal government, for job-orientation in the poverty program, for a better way of handling national emergency labor-management disputes, for removal of politics from the Post Office Department, for election reforms, for improved law enforcement, for nuclear superiority in the interests of our national security and the deterrence of Soviet aggression, for an effective foreign policy, for a change which will make them proud of America again.

This is why I was happy to talk with you today about the Republican Party as the minority party--because I feel certain that soon the voters will entrust the Republican Party with the task of building a new and better America, an affirmative America, an America that looks to the future with eyes that are clear and unafraid.

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My answer was: "The mission of the minority is to become the majority."

Immediately there were outraged screams from several Democrats in the House. This, they said, was a narrowly partisan point of view. This was evidence that I was so hungry for power that I would place party above country. I personally believe that they were simply startled to find a Republican with the audacity to think his party could regain control of the Congress and to set about trying to accomplish that objective.

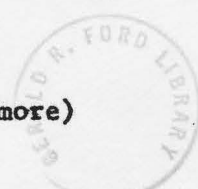
You know, the Democratic Party has been in charge of the country for 27 of the last 35 years. Yet they keep telling us how imperfect America is. Twenty-seven years is a long time to be wrestling with the same problems and to find they have resisted all the federal billions poured into them. Could it be that the Democrats are trying to tell us something?

An election year is accounting time in America. That is when the American people ask the party in power for an account of its stewardship. It follows that the party in power is held responsible for all of its mistakes and failures.

I think that says something to us today when we are faced with three great crises--Vietnam, racial turmoil and the threat of fiscal chaos.

So I think the Democrats in Congress who attacked me when I said the minority's mission was to become the majority did so for a good reason: They were worried.

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Democratic National Chairman John Bailey is worried, too--but of course he pretends not to be. Bailey says concern over the Republican trend is lessening in the Democratic camp. What he means is that there are a lot fewer Democrats to worry about it than there were before the last election.

But, seriously, this is no time to be partisan in the narrow sense. I cite the last election only as ringing proof of the fact that the Republican Party is on its way to becoming the majority party in the Nation once again.

You may recall that the Republican Party scored a net gain of 47 seats in the House of Representatives. This brings us to within 31 seats of a House majority for the first time since 1953-54.

In that same election we added three seats--net--in the Senate.

After the 1964 election there were only 17 Republican governors. Now there are 26, a majority of the 50. Already, in this political arena, the Republican Party has become the majority party.

A fact many people do not realize is that a majority of the American people live in the Republican-administered states.

Another fact not generally known is that Republicans gained 503 seats in State legislatures in the 1966 elections. As a result of 1966 and subsequent by-elections, Republicans control both Houses of legislatures in 17 States and have a majority in one House in eight other States. This means that Republicans control at least one of the Houses in 25 of the 48 states which have partisan legislatures.

Republican candidates for governor and senator also received a majority of the national vote--in the aggregate--in 1966.

The fact that this Republican resurgence is continuing was attested to in 1967 when Louie Nunn was elected governor of Kentucky to become the 26th GOP governor in the Nation and give us a majority of the statehouses.

Republican governors and local officials have moved forward with impressive accomplishments. They have advanced fresh and exciting ideas and programs. The voters have responded.

I believe that in 1968 that response will be nationwide. It will mark the beginning of a new era of creativeness in Washington.

When the voters turn to the out-party for help, they do so for two basic reasons: They have lost faith in the in-party, and they have hopes the other party can do better. This is the reason for political change, most simply put.

Both of those basic political factors are at work in 1968. They may not

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produce cataclysmic change--an overwhelming Republican sweep in '68--but they may well bring about a Republican House of Representatives and put a Republican in the White House.

You know it's difficult to understand why Bobby Kennedy and Gene McCarthy should want the Democratic presidential nomination this year. With the country in the mess it's in, this is like competing for the job of Captain of the Titanic when you know it's going to hit an iceberg.

Seriously, there is solid reason to believe that the voters will give the Republican Party the job of running the country again.

Perhaps most basic to that conclusion is a Gallup Poll of last November which found that for the first time in 10 years the American people view the Republican Party as better able than the Democratic Party to deal with critical problems.

Other Gallup surveys show that whereas 53 per cent of the voters considered themselves Democrats in 1964 when Lyndon Johnson first ran for the Presidency, 42 per cent consider themselves Democrats today. At the same time the Republican Party has risen from 25 to 31 per cent, and those who rank themselves as Independents now make up nearly one-third of the electorate.

So there are many more swing voters now, and the Democratic Party's hold on them has weakened.

There are many reasons for this Democratic decline, this Republican resurgence and this growing independence among the Nation's voters.

There is the Vietnam War--an American disaster in terms of the U.S. role in that conflict, massive involvement in a large land war on the continent of Asia. I do not quarrel with the basic decision aimed at thwarting Communist expansion into South Vietnam. But I also agree with the late General Douglas MacArthur, who said: "Anybody who commits the land power of the United States on the continent of Asia ought to have his head examined." And I think the American people generally feel the same way.

Now the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has put a lid on the American troop commitment to Vietnam and is seeking to initiate peace negotiations through limitations on the bombing of North Vietnam. This does not alter any of the numerous errors made by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in Vietnam. Nor does it erase the crushing thought that thousands of Americans may have died in vain there.

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There is considerable euphoria in the Nation today about Vietnam. This merely reflects the indication that President Johnson has made a basic policy change in favor of de-escalation and of gradually shifting the burden of the fighting to the South Vietnamese. There is no other basis for optimism.

Recently the national attention was diverted from Vietnam by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King and the riots which have swept across the Nation. Both the assassination and the riots were senseless acts. They pointed up again the stark truth in Abraham Lincoln's words: "A House divided against itself cannot stand."

This gives new urgency to programs with promise for healing the sickness of the cities. And it attests to the failure of the Administration now in power, the failure of the multi-billion-dollar federal programs which may be likened to waves dashing against an unyielding rock.

All of the talk about rewarding the rioters is nonsense. A fruitful attack upon our urban ills has nothing to do with either penalties or rewards. The longer these problems remain unsolved the longer all America suffers.

This is another reason I believe the Republican Party will become the majority party--because the American people will look to the GOP to solve the problems of the cities. The truth is that the Democratic Party is unable to heal America's soul.

I personally believe the reason for this is that the Democratic Party has been bypassed by time. It is still the party of the New Deal--useful during the 1930s but now something of an anachronism. It is still the party with leaders who do not really believe in the free enterprise system, and therefore it is a party which is out of step with an America made affluent by free enterprise.

I say the Democratic Party does not believe in the free enterprise system because it ignores the best hope for curing the sickness of the cities--and it ignores that remedy because it is rooted in free enterprise. I refer to federal income tax credits as an incentive to get industry involved in job training, job development and plant construction or renovation in urban and rural poverty areas.

This approach to solving the problems of hard-core unemployment and under-employment has been urged for years by the Republican Party. Now it has received the enthusiastic endorsement of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by the Democratic governor of the State of Illinois. Yet the White House remains silent, and Democratic leaders in the Congress oppose it.

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The voters will turn to the Republican Party because the Democratic Party appears locked into the past, tied to Depression-era theories that have no relevance as we approach the Seventies, afraid of even supplementing the old programs which rely on total federal direction, fearful of embracing new programs which depend upon new leadership and individual initiative for success.

The old programs are not working, and the American people know this. The people know, too, that it is ridiculous to talk of pouring additional billions of printing press dollars into urban problems at a time when Europeans have lost confidence in the dollar, when the dollar steadily drops in value at home, when interest rates continue to soar, and when the tax burden continues to mount.

Politically speaking, "fiscal responsibility" is not a very exciting phrase. But it's big with the voter who knows there can be neither social progress nor individual progress in a Nation with unsound money.

I'm told that inflation doesn't bother today's young people. They have not lived through the Great Depression. They have not seen the economy go smash. But a leading pollster reports that 60 per cent of Americans generally feel that inflation is a major concern. They know that inflation is a fancy word for "high prices," and that the dollar just doesn't buy much any more.

I have cited for you some of the reasons why I believe this will be a Republican year in American political history.

The American people are frustrated and unhappy. They will be voting against the war, against civil disorder and crime, against rising prices in the cities and against low farm income in the country.

And they will be voting for--for new men and new direction, for sensible solutions to the problems of the cities and our impoverished rural communities, for federal revenue-sharing and the elimination of waste and overlapping in the federal government, for job-orientation in the poverty program, for a better way of handling national emergency labor-management disputes, for removal of politics from the Post Office Department, for election reforms, for improved law enforcement, for nuclear superiority in the interests of our national security and the deterrence of Soviet aggression, for an effective foreign policy, for a change which will make them proud of America again.

This is why I was happy to talk with you today about the Republican Party as the minority party--because I feel certain that soon the voters will entrust the Republican Party with the task of building a new and better America, an affirmative America, an America that looks to the future with eyes that are clear and unafraid.