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REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE GERALD R. FORD
AT THE 27th ANNUAL AL SMITH DINNER
AT THE WALDORF ASTORIA HOTEL
NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 18, 1973

Hold for release on delivery,
expected at 10:10 p.m.

Cardinal Cooke, Judge Mulligan, Governor Rockefeller, distinguished guests and friends: It is a privilege for me to be with you.

As you may know, the President himself was looking forward to being here tonight, and he asked me to bring you his best wishes for the occasion and his regrets that the crisis situation in the Middle East will not permit him to enjoy your fine company.

Having attended these dinners when he was a Presidential nominee in 1960 and 1968, President Nixon told me it would be good luck for me to do the same as the Vice Presidential nominee in 1973. I asked him how he could say it was good luck after what happened to him in the 1960 election, but he said, "Don't worry, Jerry -- you're not running against an Irishman."

Before coming up here from Washington this afternoon, a member of my staff reminded me to be sure and acknowledge in my remarks that 1973 is the one-hundredth anniversary of Al Smith's birth. I said to him, I wonder how it would feel to be a hundred. He said, "After you get through with your confirmation hearings you may well know how it feels."

But the fact of the matter is that I am on very good terms with members of both parties in both Houses of Congress, and that is the way I hope it will remain. I encourage and welcome the closest scrutiny by them of my qualifications for the job the President has asked me to fill; I think we owe that to the American people.

And when that process is completed, I look forward to serving the national interest and serving the President by doing everything I can to move the legislative-executive relationship

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in Washington away from partisanship and polarization onto a more constructive basis of partnership and cooperation.

I believe that is part of what the President meant when he spoke of a new beginning for America on Friday night. A new beginning is both necessary and possible, and if we work together in the months ahead, not as Republicans and Democrats but as Americans, we can make it happen.

The great task we face is that of reassuring the American people that their system of representative government still works -- that it works not just for the self-interest of those in office, but primarily for the public interest of all the people. No one, as this audience well knows, understood better how to make that system work than Alfred E. Smith.

Al Smith started out, of course, in the legislature of New York State. Throughout his long service there, he never let partisanship stand in the way of public service, no matter whether a Democrat or a Republican was occupying the Governor's chair, no matter whether Al Smith happened to be serving as Speaker of the Assembly or in the opposite role -- and might I add, the equally honorable role -- of minority leader.

Later in his career, this gifted man moved over from the legislative branch of government into the executive, as I now hope to do. What I admire about the way Al Smith made that transition is that the change in jobs made no change whatever in his outlook as a public servant. I hope to emulate him in that regard. He did not suddenly become an adversary of the legislature -- rather he remained a leader and partner in the State legislative process. His example in the 1920's, I submit, is one that all of us can profit from in the 1970's.

He was the Happy Warrior, and millions of Americans in both parties will always remember him that way, with the warmest affection and with the greatest respect.

We will also remember that this Happy Warrior of the campaign trail was also a generous peacemaker after the votes were counted, and a skilled conciliator when the good of the people was at stake. He was too big a man for partisanship when principle was on the line, and too patriotic for petty politics when his country's security was threatened.

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Looking to the future, to the great challenges confronting America at home and abroad -- the challenges of redeeming the integrity of public service, protecting our prosperity, expanding our energy supply, and preserving the peace of the world through strength and negotiation -- my own great hope is that all of us may do honor to the memory of Alfred E. Smith by loving this country as deeply as he did, and by serving her as faithfully.

Thank you.

#

O.C.

VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD

Address delivered before a Joint Session of the Congress on December 6, 1973, immediately after taking the Oath of Office as the 40th Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President pro

tempore, distinguished guests and friends:

Together we have made history here today. For the first time we have carried out the command of the 25th Amendment. In exactly 8 weeks, we have demonstrated to the world that our great Republic stands solid, stands strong upon the bedrock of the Constitution.

I am a Ford, not a Lincoln. My addresses will never be as eloquent as Mr. Lincoln's. But I will do my very best to equal his brevity and his plain speaking.

I am deeply grateful to you, Mr. President, for the trust and the confidence your nomination implies.

As I have throughout my public service under six administrations I will try to set a fine example of respect for the crushing and lonely burdens which the Nation lays upon the

the President of the United States. Mr. President, you have my support and my loyalty.

To the Congress assembled, my former colleagues who have elected me on behalf of our fellow countrymen, I express my heartfelt thanks.

As a man of the Congress, let me reaffirm my conviction that the collective wisdom of our two great legislative bodies, while not infallible, will in the end serve the people faithfully and very, very well. I will not forget the people of Michigan who sent me to this Chamber or the friends that I have found here.

Mr. Speaker, I understand that the United States Senate intends in a very few minutes to bind me by its rules. For their Presiding Officer, this amounts practically to a vow of silence. Mr. Speaker, you know how difficult this is going to be for me.

Before I go from this House, which has been my home for a quarter century, I must say I am forever in its debt.

And particularly, Mr. Speaker, thank you for your friendship which I certainly am not leaving. To you, Mr. Speaker, and to all of my friends here, however you voted an hour ago, I say a very fond goodbye. May God bless the House of Representatives and guide all of you in the days ahead.

Mr. Chief Justice, may I thank you personally for administering the oath, and thank each of the Honorable Justices for honoring me with your attendance. I pledge to you, as I did the day I was first admitted to the bar, my dedication to the rule of law and equal justice for all Americans.

For standing by my side as she always has, there are no words to tell you, my dear wife and mother of our four wonderful children, how much their being here means to me.

As I look into the faces that fill this familiar room, and as I imagine those faces in other rooms across the land, I do not see members of the legislative branch or the executive branch or the judicial branch, though I am very much aware of the importance of keeping the separate but coequal branches of our

Federal Government in balance. I do not see Senators or Representatives, nor do I see Republicans or Democrats, vital as the two-party system is to sustain freedom and responsible government.

At this moment of visible and living unity, I see only Americans. I see Americans who love their country, Americans who work and sacrifice for their country and their children. I see Americans who pray without ceasing for peace among all nations and for harmony at home. I see new generations of concerned and courageous Americans -- but the same kind of Americans -- the children and grandchildren of those Americans who met the challenge of December 7, just 32 years ago.

Mr. Speaker, I like what I see.

Mr. Speaker, I am not discouraged. I am indeed humble to be the 40th Vice President of the United States, but I am proud -- very proud -- to be one of 200 million Americans. I promise my fellow citizens only this: To uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and

within the limited powers and duties of the Vice Presidency,
to do the very best that I can for America.

I will do these things with all the strength and
good sense that I have, with your help, and through your
prayers.

Thank you.

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REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
173RD ANNUAL BANQUET
HIBERNIAN SOCIETY
OF
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA
7:00 p.m., SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1974

FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 p.m., SATURDAY

I am honored to celebrate St. Patrick's Day with the Hibernian Society of Charleston.

Your club has many distinctions. You have surmounted the problems they have in Ireland by taking turns in your presidency, alternating Catholic and Protestant Administrations. I understand that you also have some Jewish Hibernians. I am very proud to come to this historic American club which innovated an ecumenical spirit long before this idea was taken up by the world's churches. I see why they call Charleston "the holy city."

The city of Charleston has a mind of its own. After all, you fired the first shot. Now I see who really won the War Between the States. Mendel Rivers made this the best defended single area in the world with so many powerful military installations here that Washington was afraid you would sink into the ocean. But Mendel Rivers prevented that by putting Polaris submarines under the water to hold Charleston on the surface.

Yes, I am glad to be in the great state of mind that is Charleston -- where the Ashley and Cooper Rivers come together to form the Atlantic Ocean.

The State Department informed me that you speak a strange language called Geechy Talk. Maybe I should have brought Secretary Kissinger to translate. But I am sure that Fritz Hollings, in the bi-partisan spirit, will help if need arises.

I understand that some of your previous speakers later experienced difficulties with the law. So I hope it is merely a coincidence that tonight's program is dedicated to the memory of a distinguished judge, Judge Magrath, who presided here in the 1850's and later negotiated to seek the surrender of Fort Sumter.

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As a Republican, I am grateful to the Hibernian Society for providing accommodation to the 1860 Democratic Convention. Stephen A. Douglas came here, divided his party, and made it possible for Abraham Lincoln to win on the Republican Ticket. Maybe you should be host to the 1976 Democratic Convention.

On a more serious note, however, I want to share with you my concern for the two-party system and the need for preserving it. The American scene requires the diversity and choice of two viable and distinctive parties to preserve our free heritage.

I am glad to be here tonight because you are so vividly demonstrating what is right with America. Just as we are celebrating the accomplishments of the fabled Saint Patrick in driving the snakes out of Ireland, let us join to drive out the demons of doubt and despair that are haunting America.

The United States temporarily ran short of gasoline. But we never ran short of the will and ability to surmount difficulties. And we will not. We are on the right track. We know where we are going. And we have what it takes to get us there -- American initiative, know-how, courage, patriotism, and pride in ourselves and in the United States of America.

I am proud to be an American. I believe that American free enterprise and individual incentive have made the United States the greatest Nation on earth. I am proud to be a part of an Administration that extricated us from the war in Vietnam, achieving peace with honor and liberating our brave men who suffered so long as prisoners of war. And it also fills me with encouragement that our Nation is moving toward new and peaceful relationships with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

By a masterpiece of diplomacy, we separated the armies of Egyptians and Israelis, averting a catastrophe that could have inflamed the whole world.

Just as we have progressed in our dealings with other nations, we will resolve transitory difficulties at home. We will maintain economic growth while winding down inflation. We will surmount the short-term impact of the energy crisis and achieve self-sufficiency for our long-term needs.

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We will reduce Federal control and open a new era of achievement in State and local governments. With revenue sharing, we are letting power flow back to the people.

Yes, I believe in our Government as a structure of laws designed to protect individual freedoms. This is a government of separate but equal branches, of checks and balances. Our strength lies in direct representation in the Congress, in the co-equal power the legislative branch shares with the executive branch.

The body politic of America is healthy. It contains the strength to heal itself and to find renewed vigor and energy. At the very moment that we are addressing ourselves to problems within our government, we are moving ahead both at home and abroad to assure a better life for all Americans. We are promoting international peace by nurturing the Middle East settlement and cooperating with others to resolve the international oil problem.

I believe that we are entering, in this last quarter of the 20th Century, an era of peace and progress. To have peace, we must be capable of defense to deter aggression. That is why in moments of stress we are glad of the great tradition and capacity of defense here in Charleston.

As I familiarize myself with my duties as Vice President, I believe more than ever that we must look forward rather than backward. Of course, we learn from the past and cherish our great history.

But we live for the present and the future. I do not believe in replaying last Saturday's game but in training hard for next Saturday's. I tend to forget the bad plays and remember the scoring ones. The upcoming game is always the best of all.

When I became Vice President, I pledged to use whatever reputation for truth and fairness I acquired in the House along with whatever capacities for friendship and reasonable compromise I might possess to make this Government work better for the good of all Americans. I refer not only to the differences between the House and Senate, between the Congress and the executive branch, but also among the individuals of both parties whom I am proud to count as my friends.

While this is not a spectacular role for the next three years, it is a necessary one. I envisage a role that involves

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solid and responsible work for the future, at home and abroad, while meditating and moderating differences, remaining flexible, to keep America great. I shall remain my own man. The only pledge by which I have bound myself in accepting the President's trust is the commitment by which we are all bound, before God and the Constitution, to do our best for America.

I share these thoughts with you because I am so honored and pleased to be with a society such as the Hibernians on this joyous occasion.

It was Thomas Jefferson who said that America needs an aristocracy based on talent and virtue. The Hibernian Society has filled that need. I thank you and extend heartiest wishes for a happy Saint Patrick's Day.

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REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
MIDWEST REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1974

Chairman Bush, Members of the Cabinet, Earl Butz, Herb Stein, Senator Percy, Congressman Bill Steiger and other Members of the House and Senate, my old and dear friend Ray Bliss, other members of the National Committee and state organizations and Republicans all -- it's a very great privilege and a great honor for me to have the opportunity of joining you for breakfast and participating in this fantastic Midwest Republican revival here in Chicago. (applause)

I'm obviously delighted to be a part of a program which includes the kind of caliber you have in your panels, your luncheon speaker and your dinner speaker. I wish it were possible for me to stay and benefit from their observations and comments, but I will be heading South to help some Republicans down there.

I think your theme, which is "to look to the future and not dwell on the past," is an outstanding one. I happen to believe we should talk on the up-beat -- not on the down-beat. I was specifically admonished before coming here that I shouldn't talk about Watergate and that I should look ahead and not behind but with some prerogatives of my own I'll ignore those guidelines (laughter and applause) -- at least for just a moment.

I ask this question in all sincerity. What lesson can we learn from Watergate?

I think it would be most improper for us to speculate on the criminal and legal aspects of this sorry episode in recent political history, but I can certainly draw one obvious political conclusion.

The political lesson of Watergate is simply this:

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Never again must Americans allow an arrogant, elite guard of political adolescents like CREEP to bypass the regular Republican party organizations. (great applause) It is we -- not they -- that should dictate the terms of a national election. (applause)

But let's be fair: CREEP succeeded amazingly well in its stated purpose of re-electing the President although he might have done even better without their help. (applause) But something was missing from the President's massive victory in 1972.

The political failure of CREEP in 1972 was a failure to reinforce the President's impressive reelection mandate with enough Republicans in the House and Senate to ensure the success of his programs -- both at home and abroad. To perpetuate his fundamental concepts. Such Republican initiatives as revenue sharing and the return of power from Washington to the states and to the American people. (applause)

The fatal defect of CREEP was that it made its own rules and thereby made its own ruin. It violated the historic concept of the two-party system in America and it ran literally roughshod over the seasoned political judgment and the seasoned political experience of the regular Republican party organization in all of our 50 states.

Our great national parties evolved along the same basic grassroots pattern of widely shared responsibility and local self-determination. The party recruits and trains and nurtures candidates the length and the breadth of this country and rewards some with higher office. The party allows for the participation of rank and file citizens of all occupations and all segments of our society and forges its party principles from their broad spectrum of opinions and goals.

So I say we as Republicans have learned one great lesson from Watergate, and that is that our Republican party organization must be the vehicle for future elections. (applause)

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If there are any more cliques of ambitious amateurs who want to run political campaigns, I say let the Democrats have them next time. (laughter - applause)

Certainly in 1976 the Republican National Committee and Republican state committees and the other official arms of our Republican Party -- our Senatorial and Congressional Campaign Committees -- should call the shots and collect the money and spend the money. (applause)

And I respectfully suggest that all potential candidates for the Republican presidential nomination must recognize and must work within the regular party structure. (applause) And I respectfully recommend that each and every one of them should sign in advance on the dotted line that they will not set up an outside committee without the specific approval of the party itself. (applause)

As you leave Chicago and this great conference, as you return to your home wherever it may be in any one of the 13 states let me leave this additional thought with you.

I've been listening in Washington to a number of political pundits and some of my good Democratic friends saying that 1974 will bring a smashing, devastating Democratic win in all 50 states. What they are saying, and I don't agree with them, is that they expect the Democrats to make a net gain of 50 house seats or even as much as 100 seats. Now let me put this in perspective for you, if I might.

The tragic political year of 1964 resulted in a Democratic gain of 40 in the House. The net result was that in 1965 and 1966 the House lineup was 295 Democrats to 140 Republicans. I was elected Minority Leader in January of 1965 by the landslide margin of 73 to 67. (laughter) Those were dim and dismal years, as my good friend, Ray Bliss, well remembers. And in those two years we had the kind of unsound legislation that was rammed through the Congress by a vigorous President and a rubber-stamp House and Senate. And we have been trying to undo that damage ever since. If the Democrats make a net gain of 100 -- not

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just 50 which is their minimum figure -- that will take us back to 1936. It means that in the next Congress, in the House of Representatives the Democrats will have 346 Members and the Republicans will have 87. Do you recall what happened to the political fabric in the United States in those mid-1930 years because of the overwhelming unbalance of the Congress? Some very significant and substantial changes were made. I don't agree with the forecast being made by my Democratic friends. I happen to believe the Republican Party -- despite some of our recent losses -- can move ahead. We have overcome adversity in the past, as Ray Bliss and I know from first-hand experience. Let's take the election of 1966 -- two years after we were drubbed. We found good candidates. We eliminated our party differences. We raised large sums. We went out and worked, and I think the Democrats were a little over-confident. And we made a net gain of 47 Republicans in the House, to some extent righting the imbalance in the House of Representatives as well as in the Senate.

I must tell you a story that happened after that election. We were elated, so the Republican leadership in the House invited all of the newly elected Republican Members and their wives down to a conference center, just outside of Washington, D.C., so we could get better acquainted. The idea was to talk about parliamentary procedure and discuss some of the major issues that we were going to work on. At the opening session I was asked to say a few words. And I got up and I looked out at this attractive, articulate, able group of 47 new Members, and in the course of my remarks I must have said that I was happily clucking over this new brood of Republicans.

Well, the luncheon broke up and we went on to our business. We had a little social hour that night, and we got up bright and early the next morning. I came down to breakfast and somebody handed me a copy of the New York Times. A front page article -- lead story -- first sentence said -- and I quote precisely -- "Congressman Jerry Ford, the Republican

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House Leader, was happily clucking over his new broad."

(laughter) I thought it was amusing that a great newspaper like the New York Times, and it is, could make a simple typographical error that somewhat significantly changed what I thought I had said at the luncheon. But I passed it off. I kidded the correspondent for the Times and he dutifully and promptly in the next edition made the correction. My wife, Betty, was down at the conference, too. She had slept in that morning. When she did walk into the dining room, some friend of mine couldn't wait to show her the front page of the New York Times. (laughter)

I'll conclude my remarks on this by simply saying that I have yet to satisfactorily explain to my wife who that new broad is. (laughter)

What I am saying in essence, however, is that I don't believe the forecasts being made by Democratic leaders and some of the political experts in Washington. We've been through adversity before. The Republican Party is strong. It has good people -- and sound principles. And even though we've had a few setbacks in recent weeks, we've got time between now and November to make gains, not suffer losses. (applause)

It's been my privilege since becoming the first instant Vice President to travel in 20-plus states. I've been to Massachusetts. They had a bad time of it in 1972. They were divided. Some good Republicans wouldn't speak to other good Republicans. They were unbelievably divided. We recently had a unity dinner, and all dissident parties in the organization were present. We had a darn nice dinner, and they spoke to one another. And they are having a statewide unity march in a couple of weeks. That's progress.

I was in New Jersey last Saturday, and if you will recall and refresh your memory we took a terrible beating in New Jersey in 1973. We lost the Governorship, and we ended up in the State Legislature with a 4 to 1 Democratic margin. Again it was caused by differences within the party -- dissension, no effort,

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no organization. But I am happy to report to you that in New Jersey these differences have been eliminated. They are going to work for one cause -- the Republican Party -- and I think we will make some headway there.

Those are two states that more often than not have supported Republican candidates.

I was down in South Carolina a couple of weeks ago. When I came to Congress in 1949, we didn't have a Republican in the Congress from South Carolina. As a matter of fact, we didn't have a Republican in any state below the Mason-Dixon line. We now have 36 -- and that's not bad. But in South Carolina we have two Republican Congressmen. We are going to get at least one more. We may elect a good Republican Governor. In a State like South Carolina, which is indicative of many of the Southern States, the Republican Party is on the march and it's the party of the young people. (applause)

What I'm trying to say is that the party is strong -- and for a good and sufficient reason. We have the best principles. We have good leadership. We have dedicated people. We just have to get out and work and sell our program and sell our candidates. We've got to broaden the base of Republican participation -- the young people, the working people, the farmer, the academicians, the business man. There is plenty of room in our Party for all of these people. And if they take a good look at what we are, I think we can end up with the kind of active participation that is so needed. I know some people are saying, "What's going to happen in 1976?" And it is important. It is a big year, and we've got a wonderful potential of fine Republican candidates. We've got Chuck Percy, Governor Reagan, Governor Rockefeller, former Secretary of the Treasury Connally -- and we've got two or three other excellent Members of the United States Senate. We may have some governors who will emerge in the months ahead. The Republican Party is blessed with a broad array of candidates, just any one of whom if nominated can win in 1976. (applause)

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Let's not get preoccupied with '76. Let's concentrate on '74. Because if we do well in 1974 we'll be laying the foundation for that victory in '76 -- and if we do badly our party will be in a shambles. And so I plead with you to make 1974 the year of decision and the year of Republican success.

Thank you very much.

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EXCERPTS FROM A SPEECH BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
MIDWEST REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1974

What lessons can Republicans learn from Watergate?

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The political lesson of Watergate is this:

Never again must Americans allow an arrogant, elite guard of political adolescents like CREEP to bypass the regular party organizations and dictate the terms of a national election.

Let us be fair: CREEP succeeded amazingly well in its stated purpose of re-electing the President although he might have done even better without their help. But something was missing in President Nixon's massive victory.

The political failure of CREEP in 1972 was a failure to reinforce the President's impressive re-election mandate with enough Republicans in the House and Senate to ensure the success of his programs for revenue sharing and the return of power from Washington to the states and to the people.

The fatal defect of CREEP was that it made its own rules and thus made its own ruin. It violated the historic concept of the two-party system in America and ran roughshod over the seasoned political judgment and experience of the regular Republican party organization in the 50 states.

Our great national parties evolved along the same basic grassroots pattern of widely shared responsibility and local self-determination. The party recruits and trains and nurtures candidates and rewards some with higher offices. The party allows for the participation of rank and file citizens and forges its party principles from their broad spectrum of opinions and goals.

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there are any more cliques of ambitious amateurs who want to run political campaigns, let the Democrats have them next time.

Certainly in 1976 the Republican National Committee and Republican state committees and the other official arms of our party -- our senatorial and congressional campaign committees -- should call the shots and collect the money. All potential candidates for our Republican presidential nomination must recognize and work within the regular party structure. They should sign in advance on the dotted line that they will not set up outside committees without the party's consent.

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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
AT THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENTS ASSOCIATION

SATURDAY EVENING, MAY 4, 1974

President Deakin, Former President Knap, Distinguished Guests
and Members of the White House Correspondents Association: I thank you
for honoring me with your invitation and for this excellent dinner. Lately
I have been eating at so many banquets I am beginning to think I have a
tapeworm. I say "tapeworm" because they bring me another course every
18 1/2 minutes.

Again, I want to express my appreciation for this model of the
Liberty Bell of the great Commonwealth of Virginia where I have the
honor to live. At least I am living there until I can find a "plumber" to
make me a pass-key to Admiral Zumwalt's House.

This bell symbolizes the beginning of our celebration of 200 years
of a free press in America. I commend your participation in the



Bicentennial. I greatly enjoy these reminders of our country's inspiring beginnings. In fact, I am much more comfortable with the Old Republic than with the New Republic.

I am told that the White House Correspondents Association and I are the same age. That's quite a coincidence, being just the same age as your organization, and I hasten to congratulate you on your 39th Anniversary.

Although I know this evening is for play rather than work I do have a small news announcement to make. I have listened to the tape.

I mean, of course, the tape of what I said Wednesday night in North Carolina, when (Phil Jones?) asked me how I could comment on a 1350 page transcript without having read nine-tenths of it. And I answered:

"Well, I've had the benefit of the scrutinizing eyes of our news media who always put the worst foot forward."

Well, I'm still learning my new job.

And one thing I've learned is that you can't hear a smile on tape or read a grin in type. I'm sure those of you who were with me know I was trying to answer a little needle with another little needle and didn't mean anything mean. But I've since been scolded by Barbara Walters and others who weren't there and I want to set the record straight right now.

I do depend heavily on the news media for my information, and I find it usually accurate and workmanlike, considering the pressures of competition and deadlines. Now, if you newsmen can make corrections and retractions so can a Vice President, and I ask you all to remove my "worst foot" from wherever I put it, and please replace it with "unintelligible," "inaudible" or, if you must, "expletive deleted."

To shift for just a few minutes to a more serious mood, I am trying as our first "instant Vice President" to continue the same open, honest, and I may say, pleasant relationship with the press that I have

had throughout 25 years in the Congress. I don't believe I am doing things very differently than I always have, except that a lot more of you seem to be a lot more interested in me and in what I do and say.

I not only believe in the First Amendment and all the rest of the Constitution I am sworn to uphold, but I believe a climate of trust and understanding between the government and the people is essential if our system is to work. All of you have much to do with that climate and so, of course, do those of us who temporarily hold high public office.

Personally I do not put as much emphasis on public relations and I do on fundamental human relations and I don't like to categorize "the press" or "the media" as if they were somehow a different species from other people. I like to consider every person I know on his or her own merits and to treat them as I would hope to be treated if our jobs were reversed. I have had a lot of adversaries in my political life, but no enemies that I can remember.

I am here tonight because I hope and believe that evenings of good humor and fellowship such as these pull the sting of self-righteousness and self-importance out of government officials and maybe out of those who cover them as well. It shows the health and strength of our uniquely American system when we can laugh at our own expense, at each other's expense, and best of all at the editorial auditor's expense.

Thank you very much.

ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN COMMENCEMENT
SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1974, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

Commencement

FOR RELEASE IN SATURDAY PM'S

When I was an undergraduate a popular young novelist named Thomas Wolfe wrote a book called "You Can't Go Home Again." His title stated a cruel rule of life; in general, you cannot return to the scenes of your younger days and recapture the happiness that memory has stored away while erasing the bad moments.

But there are two places I always feel at home. One is the House of Representatives, where I served 25 years before becoming our country's first "instant Vice President" last December 6th.

The other place where I will always feel I belong is this beautiful and hospitable campus. Here I spent four memorable years that made possible the next forty -- well, it is really only thirty-nine.

And for the benefit of those who have been wondering, since I became Vice President, whether or not I am able to make the right decisions -- I say with pride that I turned down chances to go to Harvard.....and to Michigan State.

Thanks to Harry Kipke, I had a job here at Michigan and for my meals I waited on tables at the University hospital. I remember I budgeted myself \$2 per week for entertainment and spending money. But since I did part of my hashing in the student nurses' cafeteria, I never felt shortchanged on the social side.

Undergraduates weren't allowed to have cars then, so we never had to worry about getting enough gasoline. There wasn't any television, so if you wanted to see a football

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game you had to go to it by foot, bus or train. It has gotten around that I played a little football here -- and I did wear my helmet -- but I have skillfully managed to conceal that I studied economics. There have always been too many amateur economists in Washington.

I have been trying to remember my own commencement. For the life of me I can't remember who the speaker was or what he said. I am probably doing some fine American a disservice and I expect the same treatment 39 years from today.

Let me start with a quotation from one of the great world leaders of this century whose words have been read by millions.

"Democracy is correlative with centralism and freedom with discipline. They are the two opposites of a single entity, contradictory as well as united, and we should not one-sidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other.

"Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism."

This is one of the thoughts of Chairman Mao, taken from this little red book which I was given two summers ago during my trip to the People's Republic of China with the late Hale Boggs, Majority Leader of the House. This was one of the most fascinating experiences of my life.

I do not suggest I have been converted by the thoughts of Chairman Mao. Words like democracy and freedom have different meanings in China and in America. As Americans, we found the People's Republic of China rather short on both democracy and freedom and long on discipline and centralism.

Chairman Mao's definition of discipline for the Chinese Communist Party, for example, is stated very explicitly:

1. The individual is subordinate to the organization.
2. The minority is subordinate to the majority.

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3. The lower level is subordinate to the higher level,
and
4. The entire Membership is subordinate to the Central
Committee.

However hard that would be for Americans of any political party to swallow, I imagine Chinese who have grown up since Chairman Mao's revolution would find the definitions of freedom in our Bill of Rights equally alarming.

When I was in my junior year here, Chairman Mao was leading the famous "Long March" of his comrades to the interior of China. When we studied current world affairs in the 1930's, we were almost oblivious to them, believing that the Western-style democracy of Dr. Sun Yat Sen was bringing China out of her long isolation and division.

I thought of this while spending almost a whole night in animated conversation with Premier Chou En Lai, a veteran of the Long March and as gracious a host as he is a tough debater. Probably the Premier thought of Congressman Boggs and me as mere boys, for he and Chairman Mao have been around a long time.

But almost the only Chinese we saw who were older than ourselves were China's top echelon of leaders. The overwhelming impression one brings away from a visit to the People's Republic is that it is a country of young people. Perhaps most of my generation of Chinese perished in the long war with Japan and the Revolution that followed -- I do not know, but we seldom saw them. We did see and talk to literally hundreds of dedicated and disciplined young men and women who grew up after World War II and who live by the Thoughts of Chairman Mao.

Wherever we went, to rural commune or factory or school, we were struck by the intensity of their motivation toward the common goals set for them by their leaders. The desire of today's Chinese to reform their society through their own

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resources and by their own hard work, and their apparently total belief in and devotion to their system of government, is both tremendously impressive and a little frightening to Americans.

This was particularly true among students, although we saw only one university, and it was almost deserted. During the so-called Great Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao decided that university students were getting too big for their britches, too far removed from the reality of the workers' and peasants' hard struggle for subsistence.

So Chairman Mao, without waiting for any act of Congress or court order or national election, simply closed up all the universities and sent the students, professors, administrators and all back to the farms and the factories and the army -- the lucky ones got the army -- for three or four years to learn about life as it really is.

Only now are the institutions of higher learning being reorganized, with the new students admitted on the basis of correct ideology and party recommendations rather than the ancient Chinese system of scholarly examinations -- the direct ancestors of College Boards and probably no worse.

Some of the former students and faculty who have been reinstated and restored to grace told us enthusiastically that getting their hands dirty and feet muddy was a great experience, better equipping them to obey Chairman Mao's command to "Serve the People." I confess I found it difficult to disbelieve them, although it will take a generation to assess what deep damage this strong medicine may have done to China's scientific and educational development.

Weighing all that I saw and learned in those weeks, I returned to my own country with renewed faith in our unique emphasis on individuality and freedom. We are a new nation by Chinese reckoning even as we near our Bicentennial, and

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our civilization is an amalgam of many older ones, most of them young compared to China's.

Yet we can learn from Chairman Mao's precept -- and indeed the Romans were struggling with it when the Great Wall of China was built -- that freedom and discipline are the contradictory opposites of a single entity -- neither of which should be overemphasized -- both of which are essential in any society.

From the earliest records of organized communities to tomorrow's newspaper or television talk show, human beings have made a continuous effort to find the perfect mix of these elements -- discipline and dedication on the one hand; individuality and freedom on the other.

The search for proper proportion goes on not only in government but in organized groups of all sizes, in the family, and in our individual lives.

Among the ancient Greeks, the Athenians were long on freedom and the Spartans on discipline; the Spartans won the wars but the Athenians still capture our minds. Roman legions conquered their world with discipline, dedication and iron swords while the free and lawless mobs of Rome carried the Republic first to chaos, then into dictatorship.

Thereafter, the Roman world was a model of law and order but bereft of creativity and fatal for free thinkers. The Renaissance world was almost the reverse.

Whenever a society goes too far in one direction or another it is in trouble; too much discipline begets despotism, even the best of which corrodes the human spirit. Too much individuality and freedom brings disorder and anarchy in which no man can live in safety, let alone create for the common good.

You have seen these contradictory forces clash in your own lives. Youth cries for individuality and freedom; parents and preachers and professors -- yes, and most politicians too -- come down hard for discipline and

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dedication.

It is no accident that the several fields of academic inquiry are formally called "disciplines." On the other hand, now that you have each received a degree for mastering your particular discipline, you rightly feel you have earned a greater measure of freedom. But remember Chairman Mao: "We should not onesidedly emphasize one to the denial of the other. -- We cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline."

Without a continuous readjustment of the delicate balance between discipline and freedom, between dedication and individuality, you cannot have either a happy life or a good society.

Perhaps you are wondering.....what is he doing talking to us like a philosopher, when he is a politician. Well, so is Chairman Mao a politician, even though he is a Communist and I certainly am not. But what are politicians for, except to seek in government that same elusive balance between freedom and discipline we have both recommended to you?

I strongly believe that our Constitution and the traditions and institutions that have grown up under it are much better able to maintain this balance than those of the People's Republic.

But I also believe that America can use a little extra measure of discipline and dedication today -- not to any individual or political party -- but to the enduring ideals of our country which Abraham Lincoln called "the last best hope of earth."

Those ideals cannot be perfectly articulated -- certainly never better than Lincoln did -- yet they add up to faith in the American people and the Constitutional conscience of the nation.

I would insult your intelligence and the vote which is

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now yours under that Constitution -- which I never had as a Michigan student -- if I remained silent on the political torment which our country is undergoing today with its center in Washington. I would insult you also if I gave you a purely political speech. My views have been pretty well broadcast.

So I will close with these general observations:

I am proud to be a citizen of a country which can openly debate the legal and moral fitness of its highest government leaders without riot or revolution, without reprisals or repression, and within a Constitutional system so strong and secure that its position in the community of nations is undiminished.

I believe that truth is the glue that holds government together and that to the extent that truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth becomes known, the sooner this tragic chapter in our history can be closed.

I have every confidence in the ultimate wisdom and justice of the American people, even though that elusive thing called "public opinion" may fall into short-range errors. I cannot understand how anyone can criticize the President for "taking his case to the people" unless what the critic really wants is to negate the verdict of the people.

I cannot imagine any other country in the world where the opposition would seek, and the chief executive would allow, the dissemination of his most private and personal conversations with his staff which, to be honest, do not exactly confer sainthood on anyone concerned. Certainly Chairman Mao is never going to do this.

When all is said and done -- and the sooner the better -- I firmly hope and fervently pray that our country will be stronger and wiser for its present ordeal. Throughout our nearly 200 years as a nation we have emerged from every adversity a bigger and better people. In my own lifetime, and indeed in yours, Americans have made giant strides toward

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equality among ourselves and peaceful relations with all others, toward a greater sharing of our material abundance and a greater awareness of our spiritual want.

Another well-known writer of my student years, John Steinbeck, said movingly in "The Grapes of Wrath":

"Unlike any other thing in the Universe, Man grows beyond his work, walks up the stairs of his concepts, emerges ahead of his accomplishments."

This is what the University of Michigan tries to prepare us for. I trust it will be true for each of you as you start that joyous journey of work, concepts and accomplishment.

God bless you all.

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OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Columbus, Ohio)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE SUMMER COMMENCEMENT
OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

ST. JOHN ARENA

10:11 A.M. EDT

President Enarson, President Flemming, Governor Gilligan, Senator Metzenbaum, Congressman Sam Devine, Congressman Chalmers Wylie, Mr. Mayor, honored graduates, members of your family, and friends, and guests:

It is a very great privilege and exceedingly high honor to participate in this wonderful graduation ceremony. And at the outset, may I congratulate each and every one of the graduates.

But if I might add, I think appropriate congratulations to the members of your family -- husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, and others who have done so much to make it possible for you to be here on this wonderful occasion.

And I think it is appropriate also that we add a special tribute to the members of the faculty who have likewise contributed to this very wonderful occasion.

So much has happened in the few months since you were so very kind to ask me to participate on this occasion. I was then America's first instant Vice President -- and now, America's first instant President. The United States Marine Band is so confused they don't know whether to play "Hail to the Chief" or "You've Come a Long Way, Baby." (Applause)

Obviously, it is a very great honor for me to be at Ohio State University, sometimes known as the Land of the Free and the Home of Woody Hayes. I met Woody at the airport. We just had our picture taken together and when the picture appears in today's Dispatch, I am pretty sure what the caption will say: "Woody Hayes, and Friend."

As many of you know, I have had a great interest in football for a good many years. I played center for the University of Michigan and I still remember my senior year back in 1934. The Wolverines played Ohio in Columbus, and we lost 34 to nothing. And to make it even worse, we lost seven out of our eight ball games, but what really hurt was that my teammates, after the end of the season, voted me the most valuable player. (Laughter) I didn't know whether to smile or sue. (Laughter.) But I want you to know that I have a great feeling of kinship with this graduating class. I understand that you have all taken your final examinations this week. As your new President, I feel like I am just beginning mine. They are tough, both at home and abroad, but we will make it. Instead of dwelling on how my team lost here in Columbus in 1934, I would prefer to advance the clock to 1974 and talk about winning against the odds that confront today's graduates and all America.

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The first of these problems is summed up by the editor of your campus newspaper. She reports that the one dominant question in the minds of this year's graduates is very simple: How can I get a job that makes sense as well as money?

Your professors tell you that education unlocks creative genius and imagination and that you must develop your human potential. And students have accepted this. But then Catch 22 enters the picture. You spend four years in school, graduate, go into the job market, and are told that the rules have changed. There is no longer a demand for your specialty -- another educational discipline is now required.

And so one or two more years of study inevitably follows and you again return to the job market. Yes, what you now offer is saleable except that competition is very tough. To succeed you must acquire further credentials so you go back to the university and ultimately emerge with a Masters or even a Ph.D.

And you know what happens next? You go out and look for a job and now they say you are over-qualified.

In one form or another, this is a Three Shell Game. Our society has been playing tricks with our greatest natural energy source. That is you. And this has got to be stopped.

Although this Administration will not make promises it cannot keep, I do want to pledge one thing to you here and now. I will do everything in my power to bring education and employers together in a new climate of credibility -- an atmosphere in which universities turn out scholars and employers turn them on.

Ever since President Abraham Lincoln initiated the concept of Land Grant colleges, set up to bring people and students closer to the land, the Federal Government has been interested in the practical application of education.

Take the example of Project Independence. Frankly, I am not satisfied with the progress we are making toward energy independence by 1980. However, this is a problem that I can appropriately discuss at a Labor Day weekend commencement. It concerns both the academic community and our great labor organizations.

I am not speaking of gasoline for a Labor Day trip to the lake or seashore. I am speaking of fuel and raw materials for our factories which are threatened by shortages and high costs. Skills and intellect must harmonize so that the wheels of industry not only hum but sing.

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I propose a great new partnership of labor and educators. Why can't the Universities of America open their doors wide to working men and women, not only as students, but as teachers? Practical problem-solvers can contribute much to education, whether or not they hold degrees. The fact of the matter is that education is being strangled -- by degrees.

I want to see labor open its ranks to researchers and problem-solvers of the campuses whose research can give better tools and methods to the workman. I want to see a two-way street speeding the traffic of scientific developments, speeding the creation of new jobs, speeding the day of self-sufficiency in energy and speeding an era of increased production for America and the world.

What good is training if it is not applied to jobs? What good are factories if they are shut down? What good is business and industry without those who solve their problems, perform their jobs and spend their paychecks?

Next year, I will ask Congress to extend two laws which are expiring. One provides for higher education, the other for vocational education. Both are essential because we need new jobs and we need new skills, academically as well as vocationally.

Your Government will help you create a vocational environment responsive to our needs, but the Government cannot achieve personal fulfillment for each of you. You, in this case, are the essential ingredient. Your determination, your dedication, your will will make the significant difference.

For you, the time has come to test the theories of the academic world in the laboratory of life. As President, I invite students and graduates and faculties to contribute their energies and their genius in the solution of massive problems facing America. I invite your ideas and your initiatives in fighting inflation, in providing realistic education, in making sure our free enterprise system continues to give freedom as well as enterprise.

Show us how to increase productivity. Show us how to combine new lifestyles with old responsibilities. Show us how universities can work with industry and labor unions to devise a whole new community of learning across this great land. Show us how work-study programs can become a part of the ongoing educational process. Show us how new skills can improve technology while humanizing its use.

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A French statesman once observed that war is much too important to be left to Generals. Our Nation's future is far too important to be left only to Presidents or other officials of the Federal Government.

I like the phrase of a former great President, Theodore Roosevelt: "The Government is us; we are the Government, you and I." Oh yes, your vote and your voice are essential, as essential as mine if each American is to take individual responsibility for our collective future.

As you move into that job that makes sense and money to you -- and you will find it -- you move from a position of strength. With the war over and the draft ended, your duty now to your country is to enlist in the campaigns currently being waged against our urgent domestic threats, especially inflation, which is Public Enemy No. 1.

Abroad, we are seeking new peaceful relationships, not only with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, but with all peoples -- industrial, underdeveloped nations, every nation, if we possibly can.

There will be continuity in our foreign policy and continued realism in our self-defense.

At home, the Government must help people in doing things they cannot achieve as individuals. Accordingly, I have asked the Secretaries of Commerce, Labor and HEW to report to me new ways to bring the world of work and the institutions of education closer together. For your Government as well as you, the time has come for a fusion of the realities of a work-a-day life with the teaching of academic institutions.

As a starter, the Department of Labor will shortly announce a pilot program to improve occupational information for graduates and others in making career choices. There will be grants for State and local initiatives to provide data on occupations available and to help channel the potential employees into positions which are not only personally satisfying but financially rewarding.

The States have always assumed the primary responsibility for public education. That tradition, in my judgment, is very sound and Ohio State University and my alma mater, the University of Michigan, are excellent examples. But there is now too much confusion about which level of Government is to play which role in post-secondary education.

I am directing the responsible agencies of the Federal Government to make a new evaluation of where we are, where we want to go, and where we can reasonably expect to be five years from now.

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Discussions will be held with Governors, State legislators, academic leaders, Federal officials, and the consumers of education.

Our goal of quality education is on a collision course with the escalating demands for the public dollar. Everyone must have a clearer understanding and a clear agreement on who is responsible for the specific aspects of direction and the financing of a college education.

Often times our Federal Government tries to do too much and unfortunately achieves too little. There are, for example, approximately 380 separate Federal educational programs beyond the high school level, some duplicating others, administered by some 50 separate Executive agencies. The result inevitably is a bureaucracy that often provides garbled guidelines instead of taut lifelines to good and available jobs.

But let us look for a moment beyond the campus and beyond Washington.

In 1972, I was fortunate to visit the People's Republic of China. With four times the population of the United States, a nation growing at the rate of two New York Cities every 12 months, that vast nation is making very significant technological progress. From a personal observation as well as by records, you can see the Chinese productivity is gaining momentum, and the majority of the Chinese on the mainland today are young people, highly motivated, extremely well disciplined.

As fellow human beings, we celebrate the rising capacities of the Chinese nation, a people with a firm belief in their own destiny.

However, as Americans, motivated by free competition, we see a distant challenge. And I believe all Americans welcome that challenge.

We must compete internationally not only to maintain the balance of trade in our standard of living but to offer to the world's impoverished examples and opportunities for a better life. We should do that for humane and for perhaps even self interest.

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Let this peaceful competition, however, animate the last quarter of the twentieth century. And I am confident that America's youth will make the difference. You are America's greatest untapped source of energy. But energy unused is energy wasted.

It is my judgment that we must make extraordinary efforts to apply our know-how, our capital, our technology, and our human resources to increase productivity at a faster rate. Unfortunately, inflation is creating a national state of public anxiety. Productivity, yours as well as mine, must improve if we are to have less of an inflationary economy. In the long-run, it is the only way that we can raise wages without inflationary price increases. It is essential in creating new jobs and increasing real wages. In a growing economy, every one, labor, management and the consumer, wins when productivity expands.

At this very moment of America's history, we have the knowledge and the material resources to do almost anything that any one of us, or all of us collectively, can imagine. We can explore the depth of the ocean. We can put a man on the moon. We can reach for the stars.

But great problems confront us here on earth. To face these problems, we need even more than technology, we need more than programs. We need a belief in ourselves. We need the will, the dedication, the discipline to take action.

Let us take a new look at ourselves as Americans. Let us draw from every resource available. Let us seek a real partnership between the academic community and the rest of our society. Let us aspire to excellence in every aspect of our national life.

Now, may I close with a word between friends? Sometimes deep feelings can get lost in words. I don't want that to happen here today. And so I would like to share with you something that I feel very deeply: The world is not a lonely place. There is light and life and love enough for all of us. And I ask you, and all Americans, to reach out to join hands with me -- and together we will seek it out.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 10:32 A.M. EDT)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 6, 1974

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
(Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT A DINNER HONORING THE RECONVENING
OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

INDEPENDENCE MALL

9:44 PM EDT

Governor Shapp, let me say at the outset, I am deeply grateful for your overly generous and very kind remarks. I accept the invitation for July 4, 1976.

Mayor Rizzo, distinguished Governors, my beloved and wonderful former colleagues in the United States Senate and House of Representatives, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: It is a great privilege and a very high honor to have the opportunity of participating in this function tonight.

Philadelphia, the City of Brotherly Love, was the cradle of American liberty. Love and Liberty are two pretty good words with which to start a nation.

I learned in school a good many years ago that the first shots of the American revolution were fired at Concord, and the last at Yorktown. But it was in Philadelphia that 56 patriots from 12 of the original 13 colonies convened two centuries ago to protest the military coercion of Massachusetts and the united economic action against the mother country. I am sure that the history books will show, in addition, that both George Washington and John Adams slept here. (Laughter)

"The Congress," John Adams wrote home to his wife Abigail, "is tedious beyond expression. This assembly is like no other that ever existed. Every man is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman; and therefore every man upon every question must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities."

"The consequence of this," Adams concluded wearily, "is that business is drawn and spun out to an immeasurable length."

Speaking as a former Congressman, I can assure you that more than once in the last 25 years -- especially after a long, long debate in the House of Representatives -- I have found myself saying pretty much the same to my wife Betty.

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Only the names have changed -- that and the fact that John Adams never had to fix his own breakfast.
(Laughter)

Yes, there was plenty of pessimism in the land in 1774 when that First Continental Congress gathered in the City Tavern over there some place. And the problems they faced were enough to drive the bravest patriots to a tavern.

Individually and collectively, the 13 colonies were divided by class, by tradition, by religion, by ethnic origins, and by economic interests. And as for a central structure of government, they had to make that up as they went along.

On the opening day of the First Continental Congress when the countdown to our independence began, Patrick Henry struck, I think, an appropriate and common chord. In his opening address he declared, and I quote: "The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am a Virginian, but I am an American."

This, I think, is a unique insight into the attitude of the Congress. Their determination of all for one and one for all. The punitive acts that were directed at Massachusetts and the closing of Boston Harbor would have diverted trade and commerce to other ports -- to New York, to Philadelphia, to Baltimore and to Norfolk. Yet unselfishly, even in that day, all the colonies knew that any such benefits would only be temporary -- the cause of Boston in that day was the cause of all them.

America has a sense of unity today. The cause of the South is the cause of the North; the cause of the West is the cause of the East. We are today, as our forefathers were, bound together in the great American experiment -- the greatest experiment in the history of man governing himself.

Yet the American Revolution remains a lesson as to what a few, a very few dedicated people can do. Today we number 50 states and span a continent. We reach northward to the Pacific and Alaska, and west to the Islands of Hawaii. Our people number more than 211 million.

Two hundred years ago our population in those 13 sparsely populated colonies were 2-1/2 million. Historians estimate that of that number only one-third, one-third out of 2-1/2 million, provided the strength and the fiber and the dedication of the Revolution. We can call them the patriots. Another third felt very deeply their allegiance to the Crown. Some served in the King's army, some fled to England, Canada or other British Colonies -- they were the Loyalists. The other one-third sat on the fence. I guess today we would call them mugwumps. But history fortunately has long forgotten the timid.

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Last December, the Congress created a Federal American Revolutionary Bicentennial Administration to coordinate and to facilitate Bicentennial activities. The new Administration is now hard at work on a nonpartisan basis with the Congress and the Bicentennial organizations in each of the 50 States, the territories, the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Already some 1300 cities, towns, villages, counties, some Indian tribes, embracing more than a third of our total population, have met the qualifications for the official "Bicentennial Communities" designation. Our new director of the Bicentennial, John Warner, tells me that the list is growing phenomenally, month by month. Thousands of programs, thousands of events are crowding the Bicentennial calendar.

It is interesting to note that a growing number of foreign governments are planning to participate in our Bicentennial. I think this is welcome news because there is no nation which is not a great part of our American heritage; the blood of all peoples flows in our veins; whatever we are or have been able to accomplish, we owe in large measure to our richly diverse heritage from around the world.

If I remember my Bible correctly, I think this quote is appropriate: "The beauty of Joseph's coat is its many colors."

But may I offer my own idea on how best to commemorate the Bicentennial. Let us all, during the coming months, study carefully the character, study the qualities of the men who founded this Nation. Let us try to grasp the stuff that was inside of each of them and all of them collectively. And then let us release, if we can, the same spirit within ourselves. We have the same capacity for unity, discipline and sacrifice. Let us show the world that the character and quality of the American people has not changed in 200 years.

What we are really doing, as we celebrate our Nation's 200th birthday, is actually laying the cornerstone of America's third century. And every citizen of this great Nation should have his or her name inscribed on that imaginary stone so that all who come after us can say, as we say of the 56 who labored here for us, "They gave of themselves, they cared."

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I am especially glad to note that we are launching the celebration of our Bicentennial right here in the great City of Philadelphia, where the first of my two predecessors as Presidents labored as members of the First Continental Congress. I am glad that this period of national rededication, which will extend to July 4, 1976, begins on this almost forgotten date, when the colonial delegates wrestled with their common problems of skyrocketing prices, shrinking purchasing power, shortages, hoarding, and financial speculation.

It was interesting to me to find, in reading the document which recorded what was said here, that the men and women of 1774 were inflation fighters before they took up arms against the British redcoats. Actually, they met voluntarily to wage economic warfare for their future freedom and prosperity, even before the Liberty Bell tolled the birth of a new nation.

The spirit of 1774 was a sudden quickening of American unity in the face of common calamity, of confidence of patriotism and determination of the people themselves, and a mutual willingness to take risks and to make sacrifices for the good of all.

In my judgment, there are two very important things to remember about our American Revolution. It was not a revolution to tear down what the colonists had, but to preserve the freedoms, to preserve the rights of free Englishmen and to expand the material prosperity that they already enjoyed for generations on this bountiful continent. It was not a revolution to make life better for themselves, but to make sure that these blessings would continue for their children and their children's children.

The men who gathered here 200 years ago put it in these words, and I quote, "It is a duty," they wrote in this fabulous document, "which we owe to God, our country, ourselves and posterity, to maintain, defend and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down to future generations."

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What beautiful words -- words which they made into deeds.

In short, the inflation fighters of 1774 were not much different from the inflation fighters of 1974 who started a series of conferences in Washington yesterday. Then, as now, there are no easy answers. Then, as now, they had to depend very heavily on popular understanding and public support. For example, John Rutledge of South Carolina might have given the very same speech at the opening of the White House Conference yesterday that he gave precisely in this point 200 years ago. And with your indulgence, let me quote from John Rutledge in Philadelphia 200 years ago:

"We have no legal authority; and obedience to our determinations will only follow the reasonableness, the apparent utility and necessity of measures we adopt. We have no coercive or legislative authority. Our constituents are bound only in honor to observe our determination."

What are some of these determinations? I have been browsing through this journal of the First Continental Congress and I must say to my former colleagues in the Congress, it reads a lot easier than the Congressional Record when I was a contributor to that document. But except for the elegant language and the more eloquent age, it deals with the very real problems that are amazingly contemporary. And let me now ask you to listen to this:

"Resolved, that all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods."

I continue the quote from this document:

"Such as are vendors of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to for the last 12 months past."

And then follows some good advice, and I quote again:

"And if any vendor of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent."

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I hope you noticed the last phrase in that last quote, and I say this to our liberated women, please note: "His or her factor or agent." (Laughter)

We have heard an awful lot, a lot of talk about our Founding Fathers. Let's not forget our Founding Mothers. Obviously they didn't.

But these resolutions continue, and again I quote:

"That a committee be chosen in every county, city and town, by those who are qualified to vote for the representatives of the state legislature whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association."

It goes on, and again I quote:

"We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, the arts, and the manufactures of this country, and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation."

These are the conclusions of the First Continental Congress. These were chosen at random, but they convey the sense of urgency and unity which existed here, right here, two centuries ago.

I happen to believe there is the same sense of urgency and unity in America today. I have encountered it in Washington and throughout our country. I know it is the reason for this distinguished gathering here tonight in the shadow of Independence Hall.

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You who are Governors, Senators, Representatives, mayors and other public officials elected by the people have told me individually and collectively that you share this sense of urgency, this sense of unity. So I have come here tonight to ask your help, and the help of some 211 million Americans, not only in celebrating what is right about America, but in correcting what is wrong about America.

The tyranny of the British Parliament and Crown in 1774 animated our ancestors. The tyranny of double-digit inflation is our common enemy in 1974. I think everybody in this wonderful audience tonight knows as well as I do that inflation is the cruelest kind of taxation without representation.

I have decided that the first priority for us as a Nation, domestically, is an all-out war against inflation. Like the patriots who met here some 200 years ago, we may seem to be moving cautiously and too deliberately. But I hope no one will underestimate the generalship or fighting ability of all Americans today the same way they did in 1774. I warn you, as wise old Ben Franklin did, that if we do not all hang together, we certainly will all hang separately. But we will not hang separately, nor will we fall divided. We are going after -- one and all, Democrats, Independents and Republicans -- we are going after what I term public enemy number one, inflation, in 1974, and we will lick it by July 4, 1976.

I think we must recognize, to be honest, that we will have our Valley Forges, our summer soldiers and sunshine patriots. But we are the descendants, we are the heirs, spiritually if not geneologically, of the patriots who assembled here 200 years ago tonight.

I told my wife, Betty, that I knew this speech backwards (laughter), and I think that is the way I am doing it. (Laughter)

And we may truly say, as Joseph Warren of Massachusetts wrote in the Suffolk Resolves, delivered to the First Continental Congress by Paul Revere and again I quote, "On the fortitude, on the wisdom and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the faith of this new world, and of unborn millions."

We must not let them down.

With your help, we will win. We will win our battle against inflation.

What better way can we begin our third century of independence as a Nation, of liberty under God and brotherly love for all.

Thank you very much.

END (AT 10:09 P.M. EDT)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ANNOUNCING THE GRANTING OF A PARDON
TO FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON

THE OVAL OFFICE

11:05 A. M. PDT

Ladies and gentlemen, I have come to a decision which I felt I should tell you and all of my fellow American citizens, as soon as I was certain in my own mind and in my own conscience that it is the right thing to do.

I have learned already in this office that the difficult decisions always come to this desk. I must admit that many of them do not look at all the same as the hypothetical questions that I have answered freely and perhaps too fast on previous occasions.

My customary policy is to try and get all the facts and to consider the opinions of my countrymen and to take counsel with my most valued friends. But these seldom agree, and in the end, the decision is mine. To procrastinate, to agonize and to wait for a more favorable turn of events that may never come, or more compelling external pressures that may as well be wrong as right, is itself a decision of sorts, and a weak and potentially dangerous course for a President to follow.

I have promised to uphold the Constitution, to do what is right as God gives me to see the right, and to do the very best that I can for America.

I have asked your help and your prayers, not only when I became President, but many times since. The Constitution is the supreme law of our land and it governs our actions as citizens. Only the laws of God, which govern our consciences, are superior to it.

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As we are a nation under God, so I am sworn to uphold our laws with the help of God. And I have sought such guidance and searched my own conscience with special diligence to determine the right thing for me to do with respect to my predecessor in this place, Richard Nixon, and his loyal wife and family.

Theirs is an American tragedy in which we all have played a part. It could go on and on and on, or someone must write the end to it. I have concluded that only I can do that, and if I can, I must.

There are no historic or legal precedents to which I can turn in this matter, none that precisely fit the circumstances of a private citizen who has resigned the Presidency of the United States. But it is common knowledge that serious allegations and accusations hang like a sword over our former President's head, threatening his health as he tries to reshape his life, a great part of which was spent in the service of this country and by the mandate of its people.

After years of bitter controversy and divisive national debate, I have been advised, and I am compelled to conclude that many months and perhaps more years will have to pass before Richard Nixon could obtain a fair trial by jury in any jurisdiction of the United States under governing decisions of the Supreme Court.

I deeply believe in equal justice for all Americans, whatever their station or former station. The law, whether human or divine, is no respecter of persons, but the law is a respecter of reality.

The facts, as I see them, are that a former President of the United States, instead of enjoying equal treatment with any other citizen accused of violating the law, would be cruelly and excessively penalized either in preserving the presumption of his innocence or in obtaining a speedy determination of his guilt in order to repay a legal debt to society.

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During this long period of delay and potential litigation, ugly passions would again be aroused. And our people would again be polarized in their opinions. And the credibility of our free institutions of Government would again be challenged at home and abroad.

In the end, the courts might well hold that Richard Nixon had been denied due process and the verdict of history would even more be inconclusive with respect to those charges arising out of the period of his Presidency, of which I am presently aware.

But it is not the ultimate fate of Richard Nixon that most concerns me, though surely it deeply troubles every decent and every compassionate person. My concern is the immediate future of this great country.

In this, I dare not depend upon my personal sympathy as a long-time friend of the former President, nor my professional judgment as a lawyer, and I do not.

As President, my primary concern must always be the greatest good of all the people of the United States whose servant I am. As a man, my first consideration is to be true to my own convictions and my own conscience.

My conscience tells me clearly and certainly that I cannot prolong the bad dreams that continue to reopen a chapter that is closed. My conscience tells me that only I, as President, have the constitutional power to firmly shut and seal this book. My conscience tells me it is my duty, not merely to proclaim domestic tranquility, but to use every means that I have to insure it.

I do believe that the buck stops here, that I cannot rely upon public opinion polls to tell me what is right.

I do believe that right makes might, and that if I am wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

I do believe, with all my heart and mind and spirit, that I, not as President, but as a humble servant of God, will receive justice without mercy if I fail to show mercy.

Finally, I feel that Richard Nixon and his loved ones have suffered enough and will continue to suffer, no matter what I do, no matter what we, as a great and good Nation, can do together to make his goal of peace come true.

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Now, therefore, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2 of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from July (January) 20, 1969 through August 9, 1974.

(The President signed the Proclamation)

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 8th day of September in the year of our Lord 1974, and of the independence of the United States of America, the 199th.

END

(AT 11:16 A.M. EDT)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

SEPTEMBER 27, 1974

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

Rth speech file

I appreciate your willingness to work with us on the inflationary... resources America's many special interests... Republican or Democratic, labor or business... inflation respect age, sex, race, creed, and inflation certainly... able to cope with it.

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
ECONOMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE

WASHINGTON HILTON HOTEL

9:07 A.M. EDT

Today's conference, like others that preceded... All views and opinions are invited. This Administration's commitment to visible and responsible Government remains intact. I might not like everything I... Mr. Speaker, Senator Mansfield, Senator Scott, distinguished Members of the Congress of the United States, members of the Cabinet, participants, observers, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset of this session, a word about expectations... At the first session of the Conference on Inflation, I ask that we get to work on a battle plan against Public Enemy Number One.

Important work has been done throughout the country. Today, the climax of our efforts is at hand. I welcome the many distinguished Members of the Congress and citizens from all sectors of American society. I deeply appreciate your commitments and your involvement.

I am also very pleased to welcome representatives from many foreign lands. This is, as we all know, an independent world. Inflation is an international problem. The efforts of each nation can become more effective if concerted action is achieved.

The United States Government will consult with friends abroad as we move to combat an international threat. I look forward to a productive series of discussions today and tomorrow morning.

In the great tradition of the American town hall, this conference includes the widest range of views and opinions. Inflation concerns all Americans. This is a joint executive-legislative undertaking in response to a bipartisan recommendation by the Congress. It demonstrates that Americans can still come together in an effective way to confront an immediate danger threatening every citizen.

Although Americans must increase their productivity... There has been much talk at the various sessions throughout the country, but there has been action and a generation of ideas that will be used as tools for us on this occasion today and tomorrow.

We have taken a good look at many, many options and we have already narrowed some of the options to those which would appear to be most effective and command the widest support.

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I appreciate your willingness to work with me on the inflationary problem, which transcends America's many special interests, whether Republican or Democratic, labor or business, urban or rural. Nor does inflation respect age, sex, race, color or creed. And inflation certainly punishes most cruelly those least able to cope with it.

Today's conference, like others that preceded it, is wide open. All views and opinions are invited. This Administration's commitment to visible and responsive Government remains intact. I might not like everything I hear, but it is my solemn duty as President of the United States to give fair consideration to all views and to carefully weigh the possible courses of action.

At the outset of this session, a word about expectations is appropriate. In searching for the very best policies, let us recognize that there are no quick or easy solutions, no miracle cure has emerged from the pre-conference meetings.

Inflation is a problem which we must deal with patiently and persistently. In this battle, there is no substitute for candor and hard work. Spokesmen from the specialized meetings will report areas of general agreements.

I have also asked them, and I think this is important, to report areas of disagreement and alternatives which the Congress and I must consider in making difficult decisions.

I, like all of you, have unlimited confidence in America. The battle against inflation will not be an easy one. It will require sacrifice and a strong common effort. It will require discipline, but I am certain and positive that we as Americans can and will win.

This Administration will seek to ensure that burdens are distributed equally. No group should be called upon to carry an unfair share of the burden. America's traditional resourcefulness and ingenuity helped build the Nation and provided an abundance unknown by most other peoples of the world.

Although Americans must increase their productive capacity, this by itself will not eliminate the scourge of inflation. Other actions and hard decisions are required. We cannot hope to satisfy all, but we will seek to act in the best interest of all.

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I intend to constantly reassess policies and to change those that are not working. My actions will not be set in concrete.

As President, I will continue to listen with all the openness with which I am capable and acting with all the decisiveness at my command. Together, with great confidence in America's capacity, let us begin.

END (AT 9:15 A.M. EDT)