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GOP CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES CONFERENCE
TWIN BRIDGES MARRIOTT
JUNE 27, 1974

INTRODUCTION

Now let me say at the outset that I think this is the sixth Candidates Conference that I have attended. I was elected Minority Leader under some very difficult and adverse circumstances by the landslide margin of 73 to 67 back in 1965. And as a result of that election, it has been my privilege to attend six of these candidates conferences in some capacity as a party leader. It is my judgment having surveyed the candidates, having looked at the agenda, having seen the whole atmosphere that prevails here that through John Rousselot and Dan Kuykendall and Bob Michel, we're in a lot better shape than some of the cynics and skeptics give us credit for, and we are going to surprise them on November 5, 1974. (applause)

I must tell you one story. You know 1965 and 1966 weren't very auspicious years for the Republican's in the House. We were outnumbered 295 to 140. I always alleged we had more quality than quantity and the Democrats had quantity but not quality. The net result was that in this era of difficulty when we were outnumbered better than two to one that if we went out and raised money, stimulated the troops within the party organization and primarily recruited good candidates, we could do well in 1966. There were a lot of pessimists. A lot of people said the two party system was down the drain. Because we had a terrible disaster in 1964. It wasn't deserved, but it happened. And so we came back with a net gain of 40 seats.

Actually we elected 59 new Republicans. We went from 140 to 189. Les Arends and the others in the leadership along with myself, we were just overjoyed because that was a very significant increase not only numerically but percentagewise. So I talked to my wife, Betty, one night and I said, "Gee, wouldn't it be nice if we get all these nice new people together and sit around for a couple of days and talk about parliamentary procedure and the major issues that would be on the agenda and really get acquainted because they come from the length and the breadth, in all honesty, of this country." So we went down to a conference center just outside of Washington, D. C. and at the opening luncheon I was asked to say a few words and here I looked out and there were 59 attractive, articulate able new members. And I **must** have said in the course of my remarks that I was happily clucking over this new brood of Representatives. Well, our luncheon broke up and we went on with our business, and we had a nice social hour that night, and the next morning we got up bright and early to get on to the parliamentary and substantive issues that we wanted to discuss. I walked into the dining room at this conference center for an early breakfast and somebody handed me a copy of the New York Times. The front page story, lead article, first sentence said, and I quote precisely, "Congressman Jerry Ford, House Republican Leader, was happily clucking over his new broad." (laughter) And I thought it was amusing that a great newspaper like the New York Times, and it is, can make a simple typographical error that would significantly change what I thought I had said the previous luncheon. And they did correct it in the next edition. But the main point--well, I should say one other thing in the meantime. My wife, Betty, came down for a late breakfast. She walked into the dining room and some friend of mine couldn't wait to point out to Betty this front page story in the New York Times. I have yet to successfully explain to Betty who that new

broad is. (laughter)

But the main point that I am trying to make is that we came from the literal depths following the election of 1964 to a position of competition, not a majority, but competition for the next two years. And because we went from 140 to 189, we were able to, I think, through skillful, constructive programs in 1967 and 1968, to lay the groundwork, the foundation for the successful election of the President in 1968. (applause) It wasn't easy in the House. We faced formidable competition even though the ratios had changed significantly over the 1964 results.

But now let me talk specifically about what I think we can utilize as a legitimate, as a very serious, dangerous situation. I have read in the newspaper and heard on radio and television that some of the political oracles around this town are forecasting that the Democrats are going to end up with a net gain of 50 and some of the more optimistic people talk about a net gain of 100. I want to put in a postscript. I don't agree with that. But let them talk about it and let us talk about the consequences of that because this involves everyone of you.

You're challenging an incumbent Democrat or seek an open seat. And what you do and the success that you have individually will have an impact on whether we have a veto-proof Congress. I can't imagine a worse disaster for the country than a veto-proof Congress. In fact, if you end up with a veto-proof Congress in America, you can tell all of your constituents and all of the others that you know they better tighten their seatbelt because they're going for the worst ride from the point of view of fiscal irresponsibility and legislative catastrophe than any time in the history of the United States. So you individually and all of you collectively have a great responsibility.

Now I'm a little more brutal than some of the proponents of this net gain of 50 or 100. They only want a veto-proof Congress. That's a polite word for what I say is a legislative dictatorship. I don't think the American people want a legislative dictatorship. Let me tell you why.

We are about to celebrate our bicentennial---200 years of the existence of a great country--with 211 million dedicated people who believe so fundamentally in the concepts and the principles of America. Our forefathers came from the old country, mainly western Europe. And why did they flee? Why did they take that dangerous crossing with great peril? Because they want to get away from an autocracy. They wanted to get away from a monarchy. They wanted to get away from a dictatorship. And they suffered the privation and hardships that resulted in the birth of America. And after they had fought for freedom and successfully achieved it, they sent 55 delegates to a Constitutional Convention in the city of Philadelphia and those people labored from May until September and worked out probably the greatest document for the governing of people in the history of mankind. And in order to preserve that freedom that they had achieved and to prevent the kind of dictatorship that they wanted to avoid, they decided that there should be a strong President heading an Executive branch, a strong Congress heading the Legislative branch, a strong judicial system headed by the Supreme Court.

But it was a system of checks and balances. Now if they make the gain of 50 and certainly if they make the gain of 100--because you and I know that that 50 or that 100 will be the most extreme element in the opposition political party--it will end up in a dictatorship of one branch of the government over another and it will be the end or the demise of the system of checks and balances. And this is an anathema. This is so contrary to the fundamental concept of our system of government that I think the American

people will not tolerate it.

I am delighted to say that some of the people who initiated this veto-proof Congress, that some of the people who were putting out propaganda on behalf of it, some of the people who were talking most optimistically about it, realized they had made a mistake. And so they're sort of backing off--but they are spending the same amount of money. They are making the same determined effort. They want to do it more subtly now than they did at the outset. They wanted to do it in a brutal, devastating, smashing way.

Now we have to point out to the American people that if they want this delicately fashioned balance to protect individual liberty in this country, to keep the regular structure of a strong President, a strong Congress, a strong Judicial branch, we have to make sure that they don't end up with a net gain of 50 and a net gain of 100. A legislative dictatorship in my judgment would be the demise of individual freedom. It would be the end of fiscal responsibility and it would be the beginning of the wrong kind of legislative proposals, bearing in mind what we think is the free democratic system. So, I think you ought to go out on a crusade, all of you candidates, and talk about how you can help to avoid a legislative dictatorship by being a successful candidate.

Now let me raise this question--and this is the question that each of you ought to ask of yourself--why do you want to be a candidate for Congress in 1974? As I was coming over here this afternoon, I was wondering what I might say and I let my mind drift back to 1948 when I was contemplating whether I ought to be a candidate. I was in a little different circumstance. I had the audacity--or the guts, if not the brains--to run against a Republican incumbent. And I thought: why did I want to be a candidate in 1948? I had certain concepts. I thought our country ought to have a broadened policy

of international diplomacy. I thought we ought to include in our political party, the Republicans, a broadened political base. And my good Republican incumbent was an isolationist. My Republican opponent was one who thought a narrow-based Republican party was the way that maybe our party ought to go. But the most important point that I would like to make is that despite the people who were the experts in our Congressional District, all of whom advised me not to run, I said I think our party ought to be in the forefront of leading Americans to leadership. I think our party ought to include people of the broadest possible spectrum. And the, finally, I decided I was going to be a very hungry candidate for Congress.

In that five months from the time of my announcement until the primary date, there was nothing more that I wanted than to be a successful Republican nominee for Congress. I'll have to modify that to some extent-- I was courting my wife and we got married in October. I'll have to say after that I was most interested in being a Republican candidate for Congress. (laughter)

But let me just say to each and everyone of you--you aren't going to win unless you decide tonight that you have no other objective, you have no other aim than to be nominated and elected. You have to be so anxious to prove to your fellow citizens of your respective Districts that you're a better qualified person to be Congressman than the person you're challenging. You have to work eighteen hours a day and while you are dreaming, think about the next day. Don't assume for one minute that you can do it on an eight hour day, 48 hours a week. Forget it. You have to make up your mind right now. There is nothing more in your lifetime, other than your wife and your family, than being the next Congressman from this district.

I think that's a worthy objective. I think it's worth all the effort all the effort that you can possibly make. And most of the people who

are in Congress today have made that decision. I think you will. And why should you make it? Now Let's talk about that. Not because of any glory or personal aggrandizement. Sure they are pleasant for the first week or so. But after that it's hard work. Am I right John? Am I right Ron? You girls know it. Your wives of present or former members of the House of Representatives.

But there's a certain exhilaration about being a part of history and you, if you're successful, can be a part of that. You can be a part for example of helping to implement a foreign policy of President Nixon, which in my judgment, is the most successful policy for peace in the history of the United States. (applause) There's no President in my lifetime, and I don't think there's a President in the history of America, who has done more to achieve, to maintain, and to build the foundation for peace than President Nixon. And you can be a part of it. And you ought to look at your opponent's record. Did he help or hinder to end the war in Vietnam? Did he help or hinder to bring back the POW's? Is he helping today to strengthen NATO, not to weaken it? Is your opponent on the other side of the political aisle helping to bring about a real peace on the permanent basis in the Middle East or is he hindering it? And you can find in each case a logical, honest answer. And if he is wrong on peace, I happen to think you can be a successful candidate. Because you have to be in the forefront in the support of the President's policy of peace. And it's the best one I've ever seen in 20 some years.

And now let's turn to domestic affairs. You look at your opponent's record. And each of you have a different one. Has your opponent taken the position of the continued concentration of power in the Nation's capital in all our domestic programs. Where they husband all the federal dollars and all the power and the dication and the regulations and regimentation? That's what we had for almost thirty years. Is that the kind of Congressman

that represents your District now? And if you want to win, you've got to be different. You can't swallow all that federal power and dollars and concentration. You have got to stand tall and strong in behalf of a policy in the domestic area of what we call New Federalism. You have to honestly believe and go out and be a crusader--that it's better for America and certainly better for your constituents if, instead of having this monolithic organization in Washington, that you have some control and judgment at the local level. That is the fundamental basis of this Administration. That's what generated our general revenue sharing which is a blessing to cities and states all over the country. They have been able to get "X" number of federal dollars for every township and every county and every city and every state so that local governors, mayors, local officials can make some judgments responsible to the decision process of the local people, instead of letting some bureaucrat take some book and look at some application and decide for those local people what was in their best interest.

You know, in the 25 years I had the blessing to be a member of the Congress, a lot of things took place and most of it resulted in the concentration of more power in Washington and the more extraction of local taxes to Washington to be expended as some bureaucrat decided it. And more and more regulations going out to control local lives and local officials, and I use to sit there with a growing fear and a growing apprehension: When is this going to end?

Now I don't challenge the motives of those who had the mistaken impression that power in Washington was the answer to all our nation's ills. I don't challenge their motives, I just challenge their premise or their decision-making process.

Well, one day I sat down on the Floor of the House and as I

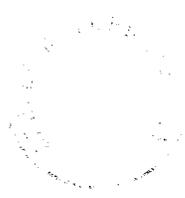
listened to the perpetual arguments that use to go on and on like Tennyson's brook and they were all, well: 'Somebody in Washington knows much more than people at home'. And this came mainly from the liberals really, this theory or this concept. And I sat down and wrote one day and it has been such a guideline to me I'll never forget it. I said a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have. (applause). And everytime I debate with one of my extreme liberals, I remind him that I think that puts him in the slot with those that principle covers: A government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have. And the New Federalism concept is just the reverse. It is predicated on individual decision making at the right place, at home where people elected your fellow citizens.

So I hope that when you go out on the hustings between now and November 5, Number 1--you'll be hungry. You want to win more than anything else you have done in your lifetime. And win because you have a deep conviction that the foreign policy of this Administration is the best not only in the past but for the future. And that you will have that same dedication and conviction that the policies of this Administration in trying to solve the myriad views and problems and difficulties of us at home are the right views for every American, rich and poor, and moderate and otherwise. I happen to think they are. We haven't had a perfect batting average and I haven't known of any ballplayer who ever did. But we're far more right than wrong. And the scorecard of our opposition shows they have had more problems than solutions. They haven't really the batting average we have in trying to help every American.

So go out of here from this great conference with John Roussetot, Dan Kuykendall, Tom Michel and Bill Brock feeling that you are on a part

of a crusade to do what's right for your fellow man and then you will be elected and then you can perform to make it better for all of us.

Thank you.



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MR. ROBERTS:

HERE IS A LITTLE GOODY FOR YOU TO CHECK OVER.
IT IS THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE CANDIDATES CONFERENCE
HERE IN WASHINGTON ON JUNE 27, 1974. I PUT
THE TRANSCRIPT FROM LINKS ON YOUR DESK ON MONDAY.
SOME OF THIS I COULD NOT UNDERSTAND ON THE CANDIDATES
CONFERENCE, SO YOU MAY WANT TO LISTEN TO PARTS OF
THE TAPE. THE INTRODUCTION WAS WHERE HE WAS THANKING
CONGRESSMAN SO AND SO, ETC., ETC., FOR COMING.
WHEN YOU GET ~~DOWN~~ CHECKING THEM, I'LL TYPE THEM UP
IN FINAL FORM FOR THE FILES.

THANK YOU.

JILL



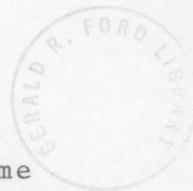
INTRODUCTION



Now let me say at the outset that I think this is the sixth Candidates Conference that I have attended. I was elected Minority Leader under some very difficult and adverse circumstances by the landslide margin of 73 to 67 back in 1965. And as a result of that election it has been my privilege to attend six of these candidates conferences in some capacity as a party leader. It is my judgment having surveyed the candidates, having looked at the agenda, having seen the whole atmosphere that prevails here that through John Rousselot and Dan KUYKENDALL and Bob MICHEL, we're in a lot better shape than some of the cynics and skeptics give us credit for, and we are going to surprise them on November 5, 1974. (applause) I must tell you one story. You know 1965 and 1966 weren't very auspicious years for the Republican's in the House. We were out numbered 295 to 140. I always alleged we had more quality than quantity and the Democrat's had quantity but not quality. The net result was that in this era of difficulty when we were out-numbered better than two to one that if we went out and raised money, stimulated the troops within the party organization and primarily recruited good candidates, we could do well in 1966. There were a lot of pessimists. A lot of people said the two party system was down the drain. Because we had a terrible disaster in 1964. It wasn't deserved, but it happened. And so we came back with a net gain of 40 seats. Actually we elected 59 new Republicans. We went from 140 to 189. Les Aren~~e~~^A and the



others in the leadership along with myself, we were just overjoyed because that was a very significant increase not only numerically but percentage wise. So I talked to my wife, Betty, one night and I said, "Gee, wouldn't it be nice if we get all these nice new people together and sit around for a couple of days and talked about parliamentary procedure and the major issues that would be on the agenda and really get acquainted because they came from the length and the breadth ^{in all} ~~of~~ ~~our honesty~~ ^{honesty} of this country." So we went down to a conference center just outside of Washington, D. C. and at the opening luncheon I was asked to say a few words and here I looked out and there were 59 attractive, articulate able new members. And I must have said in the course of my remarks that I was happily clucking over this new brood of Representatives. Well our luncheon broke up and we went on with our business and we had a nice social hour that night and the next morning we got up bright and early to get on to the parliamentary and substantive issues that we wanted to discuss. I walked into the dining room at this conference center for an early breakfast and somebody handed me a copy of the New York Times. The front page story, lead article, first sentence said, and I quote precisely, "Congressman Jerry Ford, House Republican Leader, was happily clucking over his new broad." ^(laughter) And I thought it was amusing that a great newspaper like the New York Times, and it is, can make a simple typographical error that would significantly ~~change~~ change what I thought I had said the previous luncheon. And they did correct it in the next edition. But the main point, well, I should say one other thing in the meantime. My wife, Betty, came down for



a late breakfast. She walked into the dining room and some friend of mine couldn't wait to point out to Betty this front page story in the New York Times. I have yet to successfully explain to Betty who that new broad is. ^(laughter) But the main point that I am trying to make is that we came from the literal depths following the election of 1964 to a position of competition, not a majority, but competition for the next two years. And because we went from 140 to 189, we were able to, I think, ~~through~~ skillful, constructive programs in 1967 and 1968, to lay the groundwork, the foundation for the successful election of the President in 1968. (applause) It wasn't easy in the House. We faced formidable competition even though the ratios had changed significantly over the 1964 results. But now let me talk specifically about what I think we can utilize as a legitimate ~~as~~ as a very serious, dangerous situation. I have read in the newspaper and heard on radio and television that some of the political oracles around this town are forecasting that the Democrats are going to end up with a net gain of 50 and some of the more optimistic people talk about a net gain of 100. I want to put in a postscript. I don't agree with that. But let them talk about it and let us talk about the consequences of that because this involves everyone of you. You're challenging a incumbent Democrat or seek ~~an~~ an open seat. And what you do and the success that you have individually will have an impact on whether we have a veto-proof Congress. I can't imagine a worse disaster for the country than a veto-proof Congress. In fact, if you end up with a veto-proof Congress in America, you can tell all of your constituents and all of the others that you



know they better tighten their seatbelt because they're going for the worst ride from the point of view of fiscal irresponsibility and legislative catastrophe than any time in the history of the United States.) So you individually and all of you collectively have a great responsibility.) Now I'm a little more brutal than some of the proponents of this net gain of 50 or 100. They only want a veto-proof Congress. That's a polite word for what I say is a legislative dictatorship. I don't think the American people want a legislative dictatorship. Let me tell you why.) We are about to celebrate our bicentennial -- 200 years of the existence of ~~the~~ a great country ^{with} 211 million dedicated people who believe so fundamentally in the concepts and the principles of America. Our forefathers came from the old country, mainly western Europe. And why did they flee? Why did they take that dangerous crossing with great peril? Because they wanted to get away from autocracy. They wanted to get away from a monarchy. They wanted to get away from a dictatorship. And they suffered the privation and hardships that result in the birth of America. And after they had fought for freedom and successfully achieved it, they sent 55 delegates to a Constitutional Convention in the city of Philadelphia and those people labored from ~~September~~ May until September and worked out probably the greatest document ~~that~~ ^{for the} governing of people in the history of mankind. And in order to preserve that freedom that they had achieved and to prevent the kind of dictatorship that they wanted to avoid, they decided that there should be a strong President heading an Executive



branch, a strong Congress heading the Legislative branch, a strong judicial system headed by the Supreme Court. > But it was a system of checks and balances. Now if they make the gain of 50 and certainly if they make the gain of 100, because you and I know that that 50 or that 100 will be the most extreme element in the opposition political party. ~~it~~ will end up in a dictatorship of one branch of the government over another and it will be the end or the demise of the system of checks and balances. And this is an anathema. This is so contrary to the fundamental concept of our system of government that I think the American people will not tolerate it. > I am delighted to say that some of the people who initiated this veto-proof Congress, that some of the people who were putting out propaganda on behalf of it, some of the people who were talking most optimistically about it, realized they had made a mistake. And so, they're sort of backing off-but they are spending the same amount of money. ~~They are making the same determined effort. They are making the same determined effort.~~ They want to do it more subtly now than they did at the outset. They wanted to do it in a brutal, devastating, ~~smashing~~ way. > Now we have to point out to the American people that if they want this delicately fashioned balance to protect individual liberty in this country, to keep the regular structure of a strong President, a strong Congress, a strong Judicial ~~branch~~ branch, we have to make sure that they don't end up with a net gain of 50 and a net gain of 100. A legislative dictatorship in my judgment would be the demise of individual freedom. It



would be the end of fiscal responsibility and it would be the beginning of the wrong kind of legislative proposals, bearing in mind what we think is the free democratic system. So I think you ought to go out on a crusade, all of you candidates, and talk about how you can help to avoid a legislative dictatorship by being a successful candidate. Now let me raise this question, and this is the question that each one of you ought to ask of yourself. Why do you want to be a candidate for Congress in 1974? As I was coming over here this afternoon, I was wondering what I might say and I let my mind drift back to 1948 when I was contemplating whether I ought to be a candidate. I was in a little different circumstance. I had the audacity or the guts, if not the brains, to run against a Republican incumbent. And I thought, ~~and~~ why did I want to be a candidate in 1948? I had certain concepts. I thought our ~~country~~ country ought to have a broadened policy of international diplomacy. I thought we ought to include in our political party, the Republicans, a broadened political base. And my good Republican incumbent was an isolationist. My Republican opponent was one who thought a narrow-based Republican party was the way that maybe our party ought to go. But the most important point that I would like to make is that despite the people who were ~~the~~ ~~the~~ experts in our Congressional District, ~~and who~~ ^{all of whom} advised me not to run, I said I think our party ought to be in the forefront of leading Americans to leadership. I think our party ought to include people of the broadest possible spectrum. And then, finally, I decided I was going to be a very hungry candidate for Congress. In that five months from the time of my ~~announcement~~ ^{announcement} until the primary date, there was nothing more that I wanted than to be a successful Republican nominee for Congress. ~~I~~ I'll have to modify that to some extent. I was courting my wife and we got married in October. I'll have to say after that I was most interested in being a Republican candidate for Congress. (laughter)



But let me just say to each and everyone of you--you aren't going to win unless you decide tonight that you have no other objective, you have no other aim than to be nominated and elected. You have to be so anxious to prove to your fellow citizens of your respective Districts that you're a better qualified person to be Congressman than the person you're challenging. You have to work eighteen hours a day and while you are dreaming, think about the next day. Don't assume for one minute that you can do it on an eight hour day, 48 hours a week. Forget it. You have to make up your mind right now. ~~There~~ There is nothing more in your life time, other than your wife and your family, than being the next Congressman from this district. I think that's a ~~worthwhile~~ worthy objective. I think it's worth all the effort that you can possibly make. And most of the people who are in Congress today have made that decision. I think you will. And why should you make it? NO PGM

Now let's talk about that. Not because of any glory or personal aggrandizement. Sure they are ^(present) pleasant for the first week or so. But after that it's hard work. Am I right John? Am I right Ron? You girls know it. Your wives ~~know it.~~ of present or former members of the House of Representatives.

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bureaucrat take some book and look at some application and decide for those local people what was in their best interest. > You know, in the 25 years I had the blessing to be a member of the Congress, a lot of things took place and most of ~~which~~ ^{it} resulted in the concentration of more power in Washington and the more extraction of local taxes to Washington to be expended as ~~some~~ bureaucrat decided it. And more and more regulations going out to control local lives and local officials, and I use to sit there with a growing fear and a growing apprehension. When is this going to end? > Now I don't challenge the motives of those who had the mistaken impression that power in Washington was the answer to all our nation's ills. I don't challenge their motives, I just challenge their premise or their decision making process. > Well, one day I sat down on the Floor of the House and as I listened to the perpetual arguments that use to go on and on like Tennyson's brook and they were all, well, somebody in Washington knows ~~more~~ much more than people at home. And this came mainly from the liberals really, this theory or this concept. And I sat down and wrote one day and it has been such a guideline to me I'll never forget it. I said a government big enough to give us everything we want is a government big enough to take from us everything we have. ^(applause)

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policy of this Administration is the best not only in the past but for the future. And that you will have that same dedication and conviction that the policies of this administration in trying to solve the myriad views and problems and difficulties of us at home are the right views for every American, rich and poor, and moderate and otherwise. I happen to think they are. We haven't had a perfect batting average and I ~~don't~~ haven't known of any ballplayer who ever did. But we're far more right than wrong. And the scorecard of our opposition shows they have had more problems than solutions. They haven't really the batting average we have in trying to help every American. So go out of here from this great conference with John Rousselot, Dan KayRENDALL, Tom MICHEL, Bill Beock feeling that you are on a part of a crusade to do what's right for your fellow man and then you will be elected and then you can perform to make it better for all of us. Thank you.



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