The original documents are located in Box D19, folder "Republican Dinner, Carthage, MO, October 5, 1965" of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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READING TEXT

Republican Dinner Carthage, Missouri October 6, 1965

grenn Jens

When I was elected Republican leader of the House by a landslide, I soon learned that the job includes many extra-legislative activities --speech-making among them.

Since January 4th I've been in more than 30 states and before the end of the year I will have visited possibly a dozen more. If traveling is broadening, I should be 10 feet wide!

One evening I was a guest at a banquet without being scheduled to make a formal speech. The toastmaster --- like myself --- was a graduate of Yale University. For some reason he decided to call on me to make an impromptu address.

The audience was bi-partisan. I couldn't take Republicanism and get away with it. So I quickly decided to talk about Yale, as there were many young people in the crowd who were at the point of choosing a Many nine university.

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Warming up to the subject I told how "Y" stands for youth, "A" for appreciation, "L" for loyalty, and "E" for efficiency....the words came easily and the clock ticked off the minutes.

As I concluded my speech, someone in the rear of the anticipax auditorium said in a loud voice, "It's a good thing he didn't graduate from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology!"

The invitation to speak with you tonight came from our fine friend and my colleague in the House, Doc Hall. His letter went something like this:

"Dear Jerry:

"Missouri Seventh District Republicans have a tradition of having outstanding speakers at their dinner-meetings. In the past, for example, we had Tom Curtis -- (and he listed several others).

Doc's letter concluded: I hope you will accept. Up until now we have had good programs."

I'm sure we have all heard many speeches and cannot remember what was said. I have an exception.

When I was a Navy officer stationed near Chicago, I heard a man speak who left a strong impression.

In a speech he said: "A government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have."

This sound comment has affected my views politically and on many legislative matters in the past 16½ years I have been in Congress.

Another quote from his speech has safeyed with me: He said: "You can't make footprints on the sands of time by sitting down!"---this is good advice for anyone.

ITes a special pleasure to be in Missouri ——the show me state.

Your slogan is an indication of rugged individualism, a quality shared by many fine Americans.



These are the Americans who every year ignore an Internal Revenue

Service warning that tells them NOT to write in a small blank space

at the top of the income tax form.

In bold strokes many of them write them pen this message---"I'll write any damned place I please!"

Tonight I call upon you to make a very special effort.

First, I ask that we forget 1964. Let's become once again ONE
Republican Party. This does not mean a huge monolithic political
organization. For certainly we can have responsible disagreement.
We should have intelligent dialogue.

Unless we leave the splintering and bickering to the Damocrats and

become THE Republican Party, we will be a part of a ghostly myth
next year, in fact. And, American unfortunately will have one-party

government.

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That so-called "oneparty" dominating our beloved country will be heavy with big city political bosses, power-hungry labor dictators, theoretical way-out liberals more interested in a welfare state than in the state of the welfare.

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The voices of the people will be even more muffled and muted.

Potomac paternalism----already stifling the states and the people---will grow and expand.

beginning to stiffen against the arm-twisting pressures exerted by the White House.

Many members---on both sides of the aisle and in the House and

Senate---have lined up in what amounts to a legislative revolt.

And, I'm happy to know that some Democrats are beginning to mend

their ways and join us Republicans in refusing to be rubber stamps

for the President! It is not enough - but we are making progress.

Carthage -6- con't

It is significant that some powerful Democrats are shaken by White House--controlled Congressional action.

Senator Mansfield very recently proposed that the next session of the 89th Congress "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed."

The Senator Majority Leader also said: "We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of going over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost...."

It is somewhat assuring to learn that Senator Mansfield apparently is awakening to the shocking cost of the Great Society.

This year alone, 20 major public laws spawned in the White House to maintain its alleged Great Society authorized new spending of an estimated \$16,767,300,000 in fiscal 1966. This fantastic spending is over and above so-called regular expenditures!



Carthage -7-

Vice President Humphrey is reported as referring to "the huge legislative tonnage dropped on our doorstep." I question his use of the work "dropped." The word really should be "shoveled," considering the hands of President Johnson were on the handle.

I am pleased to learn at least some Democrats agree with Republicans that there is a place for responsible dissent and constructive criticism.

The Republican Party moves into a crucial campaign armed with several hard-hitting major issues.

The first is President Lyndon Johnson---his use and misuse of power.

The second is the erosion of the rights of states and local
governments to conduct their own business without federal control.

The third is the loss of the identity of individuals who have little to say when one party controls national government by a 2 to 1 majority.

The fourth issue is a combination of inflation and the lack of fiscal sanity on the part of the Administration.

9 8

Let's examine each of these issues more closely.

The President's Great Society is a shambles of contradictions. His programs are dressed in purity of name to camoflage his burning desire for popularity. He gags the Congress and thus gags the American people. He throttles open debate on vital and controversial issues. His motto is "come, let us reason together"—and he really means "come and I'll reason."

He claims his Great Society makes progress.

Is it progress to retreat from the principles of the Constitution?

Is it progress to perpetuate poverty by political exploitation and purpose? Is it progress to stifle individual incentive? Is it progress to set a record for a national debt? Is it progress to have millions of Americans with less money to spend on necessities, slimmer savings accounts, and more taxes arbitrarily taken from their

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paychecks? To it propress to tak one man's wayes to pay another man's vent.

I'm sure you have read and heard about action in the Senate led by
Senator Dirksen that is intended to allow 'extended debate" on
President Johnson's demand to emasculate the Taft-Hartley Act.

In the House when the proposed repeal of Section 14-B of the Act
was on the floor, one of the most brazen uses of the gag rule--with
the President calling the shots---was the restriction clamped on debate.
At the same time and by the identical method any opportunity to offer
meaningful amendments was blocked.

Clear-thinking Congressmen listened to public opinion---but not Lyndon
Johnson!

Most Americans, the polls showed, favor the right of each state to enact right-to-work laws by retaining 14-B---but not Lyndon Johnson!

House Republicans wanted unions to be barred from discriminating on account of race, color or creed---but not the Administration!

We wanted to prohibit unions from using dues or assessments for political purposes---but not Lyndon Johnson!

We wanted to safeguard the rights of the individual worker---but not Lyndon Johnson!

We wanted to respect the conscientious religious convictions of individuals as a reason for not joining a union---but not Lyndon Johnson!

His gag-rule order in the house brought him a personal victory. Whether he is successful in wrapping up the Senate remains to be seen. The fate of the right-to-work law hangs in the balance, as ado the futures and freedoms of millions of Americans!

Elmira -11-

How do we return balance to government, strengthen the Congress, have a Republican in the White House who will put statesmanship behead of personal popularity in conducting the business of the Executive branch?

Our plan must be an orderly, straight-forward one.

Republicans must work together to have a broadly-based, united Party.

Republicans victories must be won in state houses, counties and townships all over America.

We must develop strong fund-raising activities, such as this one.

We should conduct a neighbor-to-neighbor crusade telling the electorate day after days week after week, what is wrong and how we will change the situation.

New York's 33rd District can do it. The state of New York can do it.

Republicans everywhere can do it. The time to start is now!

Let's get rolling!

lavid + goliath

Kinira -7-

Vice President Humprhey describes "the huge legislative tennage dropped on our door step."

I subscribe to the general theme of his remark. However, I would sublication word "dropped" with the word "shoveled."

That huge legislative tonnage the Vice President talks about is among the reasons for our national debt being sky high and headed for the moon.

The national debt is NOT the \$320 billion appearing on the record.

Actually, it is \$800 billion in committments for future spending that require no new laws or programs.

Meanwhile, the Great Society claims progress.

Well, what is progress?

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America--and some Democrats in Congress- are beginning to see these dangers.

They are learning that the Great Society's far-out dresms are built on foundations of sand...that misuse of political power in high places is frightening...that the Semocrats are more interested in being popular than they are in true progress.

Yes, the Democrat record is extremely valuerable.

Democrats demonstrate they want to concentrate all power in central government. They dodge responsible dissent and dialogue in Congress.

They bow to the will of the White House.

They live by the creed-big, bigger, biggest. Take more and the government spends more. Borrow against tomorrow and spend it all today.

Fatten the federal payroll. Tax, tax, tax...spend, spend, spend.

Democrats work to create a general welfare state. Republicans are interested in the state of the general welfare.

However there is hope. We Republicans are gaining allies. Senator Mansfield, the Democrat majority leader, raises vital questions.

-6-

With the craftiness of a river-boat gambler, the audacity of a carnival sideshow hawker, the use of political jungle tactics, and the position of his high office, he snapped a headlock on the runaway 89th Congress.

He lives by the creed---big, bigger, biggest. Take more and the government will spend more. Borrow against tomorrow and spent it all today. Fatten the federal payroll. Tax, tax, tax....spend, spend, spend---and shout the praises of the Great Society.

The goal of his Administration is the general welfare state, not the state of the general welfare.

Fortunately for the Nation, a slow burn is beginning to flush those in Congress who have followed the President without question, without argument——with faith and yet with fear.

Senator Mansfield, the powerful and respected Democrat majority leader, recently stood up to the White House with some strong advice.

America—and many Democrats in Congress—are beginning to see

these demans:

the many force of Lyndon Beines Johnson.

They are learning that has far-out dreams are built on foundations of sand...his use and misuse of power as a total politician is frightening...he is actually more interested in being known as the most popular President in history than he is in true progress.

Yes, Lyndon B. Johnson is valuerable.

political sentiment.

He attempts to crush all opposition to his scheme aimed at concentrating all power in central government. He attempts to erase responsible dissent and dialogue in Congress. He asks

dissent and dialogue in Congress. He asks

together. What he really means is "come and I'll reason while you click your heels and appland."

He rode into office on a landslide by the promotion of a glittering,
expensive scheme with an appealing name, by expitation on the
weakered emotions of a Mation deep in abrrow. Mr Without justification,
he pre-empted the middle of the road, the mainstream of American

(more)

Klaira -3-

I'm sure we have all heard many speeches and cannot remember what was said. I have an exception.

When I was a Newy officer stationed near Chicago, I heard a man speak who left a strong impression.

In a speech he saids "A government big enough to give you everything you want is a government big enough to take from you everything you have."

This sound comment has affected my views politically and on many legislative matters during the past 162 years I have been in Congress.

Another quote from his speech has stayed with me. He said: "You can't make footprints on the sands of time by sitting down.".... This is good advice for anyone.

Tonight I will discuss the government I described a few moments ago and how the situation offers the Republican Party a golden opportunity.

Elmira -10-

Is it "effective" to have a steady growth of direct and hidden taxes?

Do we want history to record this era as one which marked the beginning of a one-party system?

Do we call it "success" to have Americans losing their identity
in an alleged Great Society that sets a record for escalating
bureaucracy?

Can't we say, as did Abraham Lincon, "the best rule, after all, is to let the people do pretty well as they please with their own business?"

The issues are clear. They come more sharply into focus every day.

They are creating an uneasiness, some deep fears, and unrest

across America.

In the face of all this, what is the Republican course of action?

-8-

Then, along comes Vice President Humphrey with some comment on what he describes as "the huge legislative tonnage dropped on our doorstep."

I subscribe to the general theme of his remark. However, the word "dropped" should be replaced with the word "shoveled, "considering the hands of President Johnson were on the handle.

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Actually, it is \$800 billion in committments for future spending that require no new laws or programs.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch on weekends and the White House during

What is progress.... real progress?

Elnira -ll-

Our Party moves into a crucial campaign armed with several hard-hitting issues, which I described earlier as being clear-out.

The first is President Lyndon Johnson-his use and misuse of power.

The second is the erosion of the rights of states and local governments to conduct their business without federal control.

The third is the loss of identity of individuals who have little to say when one party controls national government by a 2 to 1 majority and the Executive branch gags Congress with iron-fisted coarism.

The fourth issue is a combination of inflation and the lack of fiscal sanity on the part of the Administration.

This is our ammunition. How do we use it?

Now do we return balance to government, strengthen the Congress, have a Republican in the White House who will put statesmenship ahead of personal popularity in conducting the business of the Executive branch?

Eluira 13

We must conduct a neighbor-to-neighbor crusade telling the electorate what is wrong and how the Republican Party will change the situation.

In conclusion, I see the lopeided Democrat strength, the power in the White House, and the imbalance of government as the Sekish Colisth----the towering giant, the bully.

I see our Republican Party as David...small, out-numbered, facing a giant tank with courage, a strong will to win, and fighting on the side of freedom.

In 1966 we will---like David---unleash our sling-shet against the political Goliath now dominating America.

And, like David .... we will win victory!

. . .



The President recently predicted that this Congress "will leap into history as the most effective and most rewarding Congress for all the people in the history of America."

Where has it leaped?

Is it "rewarding" the American taxpayers when the national debt is greater than that of all other nations in the world combined?

Is it "effective" to have a steady growth of direct and hidden taxes?

Is it "rewarding" to have living costs high and going higher?

Ir it "effective" to have state and local governments crumbling under the iron hand of federalism?

Do we want invite history to record this era as one which marked the beginning of a one-party system with Congress as a puppet dangling on wires manipulated by the White House?

Is it "success" to have a Great Society escalateing bureaucracy?

Is the Nation making forward strides when crime and lawlessness are on the increase?

-more-

Carthage -12-

The second vital issues involve each of the 50 states, which in effect are no longer sovereign.

They are by-passed by the Federal government.

A good example is the Federal Aid to Education bill. One of its key provisions allows the Federal government to make contracts directly with local boards of education.

In the so-called wareon poverty program, a similar situation exists.

Substantial contracts, substantial arrangements, substantial funds are linked directly with Washington and the local governing units,

Expressing the states. Thank portners for one Republican

Our third issue--- a frightening loss of individual identity
in the bureaurcratic jungles---is the direct result of one political
party clutching control of Congress and the White House.

Americans have become numbers. Too many have been brain-washed into believing that only the federal government can take care of their needs.

While they lean on Washington, the federal government not only leans

on them, but smothers their initiative.

Carthage -13-

White House, millions of Americans have nothing to say about the conduct of the Nation's business. They can only sit by and watch---today. Tomorrow, next year, they will have an opportunity to make ours not a Great Society will all failures, but a good one.

Inflation and lack of fiscal sanity are issues that reach into every

American home.

What is inflation?

It is skyrocketing prices at the supermarket, higher tuition cost at college, a \$1,000 government bond bought in 1949 and worth only \$730 in buying power today.

Republicans want to meet this economic challenge now. The Great Society would like to pretend inflation either doesn't exist or would just fade away.

-more-



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What is fiscal sanity?

Is it a national debt greater than that of all other nations in the world combined? Is it \$800 billion in future spending commitments that require no new laws or programs? Is it cash-on-the-barrel-head for an alleged Great Society while the Administration uses installment buying for national security?

The answers are clear. Reckless spending and irresponsible Administration economic policies are leading the histonian way toward national and personal bankruptcy.

I have defined what I consider to be the major issues.

Now, what is the course of action for our Republican Party?

We must win victories to bring memaingful balance in government, to strengthen Congress, to topple the personal Democrat political empires in statehouses, counties and townships.

Our Party must be broadly-based, united.

We need to develop strong fund-raising campaigns. And, we should begin a neighbor-to-neighbor crusade. -more-

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Charach

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The Missouri Seventh District can do it. Your state can do it.

Republicans all over America can do it.

The electorate---including uneasy Democrats and independents looking for hope--- says "show me!"

Together the Republican Party will do just that.

Thank you.

# # #





## GERALD R. FORD

HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



Excerpts from a speech Carthage, Missouri October 5, 1965 Release for AM\*s 10/6/65

Let's forget 1964. Let us become once again one Republican Party. This does not mean a huge monolithic political organization. For certainly we can have responsible disagreement. We should have intelligent dialogue.

Unless we leave the splintering and bickering to the Democrats and become THE Republican Party, we will be a part of a ghostly myth. And, unfortunately America will have one-party government.

That "one-party" dominating our beloved country will be that of big city political bosses, power-hungry labor dictators, theoretical way-out liberals more interested in a welfare state than in the state of the general welfare.

\* \* \*

During the next few months the degree of Federal interference and heavy-handedness in individual affairs will dangerously increase.

The voices of the people will be even more muffled and muted. Potomac paternalism---already stifling the states and the people--will grow and expand.

There are, however, some fresh signs of hope that Congress is beginning to stiffen against the arm-twisting pressures exerted by the White House.

Many members on both sides of the aisle and in the House and Senate are lining up in what amounts to a legislative revolt.

And, I am happy to know that some Democrats are beginning to mend their ways and join we Republicans in refusing to be rubber stamps for the President.

Unfortunately for the Nation, the President up until now had a headlock on the runaway 89th Congress, which has adopted a stack of legislation that is long on quantity and short on quality.

Even some of the President's close political friends are concerned about his control of the Congress---and the results.



Senator Mansfield, the powerful majority leader, recently proposed that the next session of Congress "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed."

The distinguished Senate leader noted that the Congress has "passed a lot of major bills, some of them very hastily." That may be the understatement of the year.

This Johnson-controlled Congress might be given the title---"the speedof-sound Congress." It takes only a few telephone calls from the other end of
Pennsylvania Avenue to pass White House-spawned legislation.

Vice President Humphrey has mentioned "the huge legislative tonnage dropped on our doorstep." I question his choice of the word "dropped." With his boss at the controls, the word "shoveled" might be more appropriate.

The "tonnage" the Vice President speaks of --- the legislation aimed at pushing the Great Society--- is burying taxpayers, their wallets and savings accounts.

This year, 20 major public laws sponsored by the White House in the Great Society's name authorize NEW spending of an estimated \$16,767,300,000% in fiscal 1966. That's just the beginning. Our national debt is NOT the \$320 billion appearing on the record, but actually \$800 billion in committments for future spending that require no new laws or programs.

You can see why Lyndon Johnson needs all those fountain pens---they will be used to sign all the blank checks handed to him by the Congress he controls with terrifying political power.

He claims his Great Society makes progress.

What is progress?

Is it progress to retreat from the principles of the Constitution?

Is it progress to perpetuate poverty for political exploitation and purpose? Is it progress to destroy incentive? Is it progress to take one man's taxes to pay another man's rent? Is it progress to have Congress bend like a soggy noodle when the President pushes his weight around?

The President--when he isn't making profound announcements in the White House rose garden or sounding off on Texas weekends between boat rides and sight-seeing---is a master of the silent treatment.

He throttles open debate on vital and controversial issues. He welcomes conversation only when it praises his Great Society.

One of the most brazen uses of gag rule--with Lyndon Johnson calling the shots---was the restriction clamped on debate on the proposal to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act.

By the raw use of his power, debate was severely limited in the House.

At the same time and by the identical method any opportunity to offer meaningful amendments was blocked.

Clear-thinking Congressmen listened to public opinion-- but not Lyndon Johnson!

Most Americans, the polls showed, favor the right of each state to enact right-to-work laws by retaining 14-B---but not Lyndon Johnson!

House Republicans wanted unions to be barred from discriminating on account of race, color or creed---but not the Administration!

We wanted to prohibit unions from using dues or assessments for political purposes---but not Lyndon Johnson!

We wanted to safeguard the rights of the individual worker---but not Lyndon Johnson!

We wanted to respect the conscientious religious convictions of individuals as a reason for not joining a union--but not Lyndon Johnson!

His gag-rule order in the house brought him a personal victory. Whether he is successful in wrapping up the Senate remains to be seen. The fate of the right-to-work law hangs in the balance, as do the futures and freedoms of millions of Americans!

The President recently predicted that this Congress "will leap into history as the most effective and most rewarding Congress for all the people in all the history of America."

Where has it leaped?

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Is it "rewarding" to be under the shadow of inflation?

Is it "effective" to have less to spend on necessities, slimmer bank accounts, and more taxes arbitrarily taken from paychecks?

Do we want history to record this era as one which marked the beginning of a one-party system with Congress as a pupper dangling on wires manipulated by the White House?

Is it "success" to have Americans losing their identity in a Great Society that sets a record for escalating bureaucracy?

Is the Nation making forward strides when crime and lawlessness are on the increase?



## CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS RELEASE

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