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FEBRUARY 20, 1976

Office of the Vice President (Lansing, Michigan)

REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT
AT THE

MICHIGAN STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE BICENTENNIAL DINNER CONVENTION CENTER LANSING, MICHIGAN

(AT 9:40 P.M., EST)

Bill, Thanks. I have to say to all of you, they are dear friends and therefore, we have to take with a grain of salt some of those generous things he says because he is overly generous. But Bill Milliken and Ray Shafer and so many wonderful human beings have served as the Chief Executives of the States of this great nation, so many wonderful Lieutenant Governors like Jim and Peg who are here tonight.

We really are pleased as a nation to have a federal system that attracts this caliber of brilliant, dedicated people to the service of the States, which gives the vitality and strength to this great nation and prevents it from having a centralized, dominated structure which has been the downfall of so many countries throughout history.

To be here tonight to be introduced by Bill in those generous terms, to be back in Michigan, and perhaps I ought to tell you at this point, before I recognize many of the other people I want to recognize, something I said the other day to the President at a lunch of the Eastern Chairmen, which I never mentioned before.

That is, it is only by happenstance, by a quirk of nature that I am not a Michigander. I have got to tell you. Seeing it is a Bicentennial, it is an appropriate story. My great-great-great-grandfather, Godfrey Rockefeller, lived in Massachusetts.

In 1832 he set out in a caravan, a covered wagon-train with his wife and 10 children and a great many other people from Massachusetts, headed for Michigan. They got as far as the southern tier of New York State. Whether it was the wife or the children, I am not sure which, but they had had it.

(Laughter.)

So, they dropped out and they bought a little piece of property near George Hinman's place in the southern tier of Tioga County and they named it Michigan Hill. That is where my grandfather was born, on Michigan Hill, the southern tier of New York State, the son of a poor farmer because it wasn't like Michigan.

In that area it wasn't so good. It just happened that later, when he was about 12 or 14, they moved to Ohio. Somehow, he got into something besides farming --

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

As I explained to the President, if my greatgreat-great-grandfather hadn't dropped off on Michigan Hill, then I wouldn't be able to be Vice President with him, and therefore, I was very grateful.

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

Bill, when you were giving that fascinating history of the Republican Party of Michigan, and the extraordinary contributions of your ancestors in this party, here in this State, one thinks back to the extraordinary evolution of this country and how fortunate we are that the founding fathers conceived in the revolutionary time, that individual freedom depended on economic freedom.

They coupled that under the Mercantile system of the British with everything having to go through London and British ships. You couldn't go to London otherwise. They visualized the opportunity of a free country in which individuals could have that opportunity to exercise their own creative imagination, their own initiative and do for themselves and their families in this great land and build what they did, which is the most extraordinarily free country in the history of mankind, with the greatest opportunity and the highest standard of living any nation has ever enjoyed.

Our challenge is to see to it that that tradition is carried on and made available for oncoming generations.

(Applause.)

I would like to say to Peter Fletcher that he is the most eloquent gentleman. The National Committee and Michigan are very fortunate to have him as your representative there. I know how much the association, with our National Committeeman, George Hinman who is here this evening, how much that association has meant to George.

I must say again, this party is fortunate, not only in the party structure -- and I had the privilege this afternoon of meeting with your party leaders, discussing some of the issues and the problems we face, and to see the dedication of these men and women who give of their time and energy in preserving the vitality of this system.

Earlier at Bill's house and Helen's, I met with another wonderful group of men and women who are supporting the party. This is what happens in a free land. Everybody who enjoys the privileges has to assume their share of responsibilities if our system is going to work. That is the exciting thing.

That is the thing that we have to keep alive for the young people, that they realize that they just can't take these advantages for granted without assuming the responsibilities that go with them. I think that the younger generation is showing that capacity.

I would like to also congratulate Bob Davis for his leadership. I see wonderful young people coming into important positions, Senate leaders, Dennis. There is the

Republican House Leader. This is an exciting thing, to have a chance to gather together in a celebration of our 200th anniversary and see the caliber of people that the Republican Party has attracted into public office in this great State of Michigan.

It is not only your leaders here, but in this audience are two of the really outstanding Congressmen in the Congress of the United States who represent you, Marvin Esch and Garry Brown.

(Applause.)

They have great dedication and integrity. But I have to say that they are of that rare group in the Congress who not only represent you, but the rest of us from different States feel they also represent us because their vision has that depth so that they see things for the nation as a whole as well as their constituents. They balance them out. They reconcile them. And that is what is important.

That is the only way that a democratic society can function, that kind of responsibility. Both of these men have that. I, like you, as a New Yorker, thank you for sending two such wonderful people to the Congress of the United States.

(Applause.)

I would like to say it is a great personal pleasure to be back again in Michigan. Because my great-great-grandfather didn't make it, I seem to be sort of moving on here. I made it a little easier than they did because of the means of transportation that has developed by this great free society.

I am delighted to be here in this State, which has given our country such outstanding Republican leaders as our great President, Jerry Ford. I will talk more about him. We are grateful to you, ladies and gentlemen.

In this critical moment in history it is extraordinary how in this country, the right man appeared on the scene. I think that is what happened in the case of Jerry Ford.

(Applause.)

You know how I feel about Bill Milliken. I feel the same way about Bob Griffin. I worked very closely with him.

Of course, as you know, I am the President of the Senate. That is really my only job.

(Laughter.)

But I have to be perfectly frank with you. That is, I can't speak in the Senate without unanimous consent.

(Laughter.)

This is a little frustrating. So, if I speak longer tonight than you might wish, it is only because I am frustrated because I can't speak there.

(Laughter.)

Bob is a wonderful person. He and Garry on this last situation, this veto of the President's of this pork barrel public works bill, which was billed as one that was designed to solve immediately the unemployment problems in this country, and which in reality would not have taken effect for one or two years, these two gentlemen representing you are the ones who have had the concept and the courage to come up with an alternative program which would take effect immediately, working through the Community Development Program which is already in existence and which, if passed by the Congress of the United States, will result in 38,000 jobs within three months of the time the bill is passed.

This is the kind of realistic action that outstanding Republicans come forward with as contrasted with the kind of attractive-sounding action on a large scale, \$6-8 billion, but which in actual fact would have taken effect a couple of years from now when the private economy will be really moving forward into high gear, and might well have had the effect of another inflationary spurt and then another recession.

But it is President Ford who had the courage to veto what is a very attractive political measure because in his deep and sincere belief, which I share, he had the courage to take the stand which represents the long-term best interest of the American people, rather than the short-term political expediency.

(Applause.)

There is another great Michigander that I want to mention because I have had, and still have the most tremendous affection and respect for him. That is the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg. He was one of the really great Americans who, in another crucial moment in the history of our country, saw and appraised the situation and moved to take the kind of action which only a man of his integrity and stature could take.

That was after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. He called for a bipartisan foreign policy to have politics stop at the water's edge and to have an international bipartisan policy.

He was able, because of his stature and integrity and representation, to put that across in the Congress and the Executive Branch, and the legislature, and sell it to the American people. That was crucial in our role in helping to win the Second World War, and helping preserve freedom in this country.

I had the privilege of sitting next to him during the United Nations Conference out in San Francisco, which was the sequel to the activities during World War II and the victories which took place. Again, it was thanks to him that Article 51 was adopted, which was not in the original draft of the Dumbarton Oaks Charter, but which was proposed at the Conference on War and Peace in Mexico City.

A month before I had the privilege then of being Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and was representing the United States at that conference.

This grew out of one of the last meetings that President Roosevelt had with former President Sanchos of Colombia, who had this dream of mutual security, the idea that an attack against one would be an attack against all, and that all would come to the rescue of the one that was under attack.

In a meeting that we had, three of us, President Roosevelt, President Sanchos and myself, President Roosevelt agreed to support it. It was done in Mexico City.

Senator Vandenberg was the one who saw to it that this was adopted in the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. The way he did it was he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State. Roosevelt had died. Truman had taken over. He wrote a letter to the Secretary of State. He recited the history of the Monroe Doctrine and so forth. He said that if they did not modify the charter to include this provision to make allowance for nations who had a mutual security pact that they could act prior to security council action, which was subject to a veto by anyone, including the Soviets, which was what worried the Latins, that he would leave the conference, and oppose the ratification of the charter in the Senate of the United States.

It is only because of his courage in that action that Article 51 was included in the United Nations charter. It is only because of that that we had NATO, SEATO, the Rio Pact. If it hadn't been for NATO, I don't think there would be a free Europe today.

We owe that great leader, your Senator, a tremendous debt of gratitude for the freedom which we enjoy today in this great country.

(Applause.)

But I would like to say this evening, in my opinion, in the very real sense that freedom is again in danger, with Soviet relentless expansion, growing military power, posing ominous threats to freedom's future. While we seemingly are preoccupied with the rehashing of past events, we are not giving the kind of attention as a nation to the dangers we face as far as freedom is concerned in the world.

This is just as much a time for politics to stop at the water's edge as that moment when Senator Vandenberg helped to summon the nation to a united effort, following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Unhappily, however, we find the Congress today, under intense pressure from special interest groups, seriously limiting the ability of the President to deal with key areas of international relations.

I have to say, ladies and gentlemen, that 536 persons can't be at the wheel of the Ship of State. Before they framed our Constitution, the founding fathers, out of their experience with the Continental Congress -- this as you remember is before the Constitution -- learned that Congress couldn't conduct foreign policy, serve as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces or provide executive direction to the administrative departments of the Federal Government. I trust that the nation will not have to learn this simple truth out

of bitter experience again. It is one thing -- and a very appropriate and essential one -- for the Congress to review foreign policy. It is another for Congress to try to conduct it.

(Applause.)

It is also surely appropriate for the Congress to inquire into the conduct of agencies engaged in the gathering of intelligence information and that shadowy area of clandestine operations. But again, if it needed to be demonstrated, we have now proven that Congressional committees are not the vehicles for the handling of confidential intelligence information relating to national security — and are hardly in a position to direct intelligence activity.

(Applause.)

The relationship of the President and the Congress in foreign affairs must be one of bipartisan, mutual understanding. In this way it will not tie the hands of the President in the difficult tasks of world affairs today.

Senator Vandenberg's summons to bipartisan service of the national interest and the preservation of freedom should apply with equal force today to the energy crisis. Our energy situation deteriorates daily. We have become more and more dependent on imported OPEC oil.

I have to recall a comment that was made in Texas, when we were having hearings for the Domestic Council at the President's request. One gentleman got up and said, "If we had responded to Pearl Harbor the way we have the energy crisis, we would all be speaking Japanese in America today." There is a lot of truth to that.

(Applause.)

(Laughter.)

As matters stand today another oil boycott would cut off 40 percent of our national oil supply and 80 to 90 percent of our East Coast supply. The resulting situation would rapidly deteriorate into economic and social chaos.

It was only 27 percent we were importing two and a half years ago. Now we are up to 40 percent and we are spending \$30 billion a year, this present year. Nobody would be harder hit by such an event, that is another boycott, than the State of Michigan.

In the face of such potential chaos, the moratorium on facing up to the energy crisis enacted by the Congress in the compromise bill is as symptomatic as it is tragic. It is the product of politics as usual -- at a time when, on this issue above all others, politics ought to be put aside in favor of decisive action to achieve energy independence and to get the economy rolling again.

I have got to say, ladies and gentlemen, let's not forget that the Congress of the United States is controlled two to one by the opposing party. When I speak of Congress, I would just like to be sure you don't think I am identifying those two distinguished members from Michigan who I had

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alluded to before in such high terms.

(Laughter.)

The key to the action is the enactment of the Energy Independence Authority as proposed by Fresident Ford as a means of priming the pump of American enterprise with a self-liquidating government corporation, with \$100 billion of risk capital in order to make energy independence a reality within a 10-year period.

Believe me, we have the human resources. We have the natural resource right here in this country. But the risks are high. I don't have to tell any of you about the number of atomic power plants which have been cancelled in this country and right here in this State because they couldn't get the money because of the risks.

The risks are there because of the time it takes to build an atomic energy power plant, now up to 10 years. And you can't get the rate increase until the power is on line. It costs \$1 billion, average, to build one. Therefore, the money isn't there.

This corporation, not only with its atomic -- or whether it is coal or shale oil or whatnot would be able to provide the capital where private capital is not available on a self-liquidating basis to get this country off dead center, get so we are spending that \$30 billion a year here in the United States each year instead of abroad.

It would produce 1,200,000 jobs a year, that amount of money spent in America.

(Applause.)

I have to say this is a very controversial subject. It was controversial within the Administration. The President had the courage to send the bill to the Congress. One of the arguments used against it was that one should not interfere with the free market system.

They forgot to mention that the OPEC nations already have interfered with the free market system by raising the price between 500 and 600 percent, or the fact that the President of the United States has already declared it our national policy to have energy self-sufficiency which cuts across the international free market.

Nor do they remember that the only reason we have railroads across the United States is because the United States Government gave the land to the railroads so they could build them, and sold land for cities and towns and villages. That is how we got the railroads.

You have the greatest automotive industry in the world right here in your State. The only reason we have that is because the Government at all levels has spent billions of dollars building highways.

The only reason we have an aviation industry the strength that we have in this country is because the Federal Government starting with the Wright Brothers has financed the research for military purposes and then they have converted,

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after the planes were developed for military purposes, converted them to civilian use.

Let's recognize since the days of the founding fathers, this country has expected its government to create a climate for a free enterprise system and to take those steps which would encourage and assist the achievement of the basic objectives which reflect the best national interests of our people, and the best national interests as far as our security and freedom are concerned.

I think this energy question combines both of these, national security and economic growth. You can't have jobs without growth. And you can't have growth without energy.

In fact, you can't have an industrial society,

In fact, you can't have an industrial society, you can't have our way of life and you can't have agriculture in America without energy.

We are totally vulnerable now to the cut off of the supply of energy, either by the point source, the countries that produce it, or by the growing might of the Soviet navy, if they wanted to intervene at some point.

I say this with a good deal of feeling. We have all the capabilities to do it. My feeling is let's get rolling, ladies and gentlemen. Let's have faith and vision. As the Bible says, without vision ye shall perish.

Let's have the courage to take the actions which are necessary to meet the needs and the opportunities that lie before us.

(Applause.)

Thank you.

Abraham Lincoln was the first President that had something pertinent to say on this subject. I quote from him. "The legitimate object of government," Lincoln cautioned us so long ago, "is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot so well do, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities. In all that the people can do as well for themselves, government ought not to interfere."

I don't think anyone ever summarized better the position of our government than Lincoln did in that paragraph that I just read you. That is the concept of government. It isn't just a negative concept nor passive. But from the days of the founding fathers, the country has looked to the government to encourage economic growth through positive action, but without interfering with economic freedom.

We Republicans understand the function of economic freedom. We understand the self-reliant nature of the American character, the unique potential of the American private enterprise system. We Republicans know that America's strength and vitality has been built upon the founding fathers' concept that individual freedom and economic freedom were inseparable. Those people who have abandoned this concept have lost their freedom in their quest for security.

Fortunately, we have a national Administration

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today -- under President Ford -- which recognizes the necessity for restoring our strength and vitality through the encouragement of the American enterprise system.

This is the approach which has put 2,100,000 Americans back to work since March of 1975. That means that almost all of the jobs lost during the recession have been recovered.

This is the approach that will help generate approximately 2.5 million more jobs needed to get the economy back to normal employment. We are well on the way, ladies and gentlemen. This is the approach that will help generate the more than 1.6 million to 2 million new jobs this country needs every year to provide for the young people who are coming out of school, in college.

I have to say that in my opinion those who talk about a no-growth economy, who want to keep things just as they are, they are the ones who elect the people who are on the boat and say, "Pull up the ladder, mates, the hell with the rest of them."

This is a concept which is un-American in its base and which would ensure those without opportunity that their chance was lost. We want an expanding economy where that opportunity is going to be available for all on the basis of equality and that we achieve our ultimate goal of progress for every American citizen.

(Applause.)

President Ford in his State of the Union Message wisely called for capital incentive to let our economy expand and job opportunities grow, with reductions of excessive government regulations and red tape.

Everywhere we went in these hearings around the country, whether it was Governors or Mayors, whether it was businessmen or labor leaders or even welfare recipients, the one plea was just get us out from the grip of the bureaucracy and red tape of the Federal Government.

It is a tragedy because people used to think that the Federal Government was the answer. Now they are beginning to feel that the Federal Government is the problem. That is a tragedy.

(Applause.)

In fact, a very good friend of Bill's and mine, Dan Evans, who is the Governor of the State of Washington, came and testified in Los Angeles in a meeting there, and gave illustrations. Then he said, "I can summarize by saying as far as the States are concerned, give us less money and give us less regulations." He said, "The last thing I would like to say is just get off our backs." That is very interesting.

(Applause.)

So, the President is working to reduce this excessive government red tape and have far less federal interference with your State and local governments by the consolidation of

what now amounts to 1,007 categorical grants to State and local governments into a limited number of block grants -- that is what we Governors have been recommending for years -- without matching requirements and without the detailed restrictions.

I believe that this year the wishes of the American people are particularly in tune with the philosophy of the Republican Party. Nevertheless, in terms of enrollment, we are still a minority party, nationally. So, we have a monumental task of persuasion before us.

What we Republicans have to remember is this. When we offer the people leadership with broad-based appeal, when we welcome a wide spectrum of voters to our party, when we show deep human concern for the problems of Americans of all races, all creeds and from all walks of life, as you have done in the Republican party here in Michigan, under Bill's leadership, then we put together winning majorities and Republican victories.

(Applause.)

Our candidates and our programs must be valid, not only for Republican voters, but for Independents and independent-minded Democrats as well. This is how we have won in the past. This is how we will win all across the nation in 1976.

Sure, we face tough problems. But let me tell you, I am optimistic about the future of our party. I am optimistic about the future of our country.

With the creative genius of science and technology, with the productive power of a free people, and the American enterprise system, we can lead the world in achieving economic growth and rising standards of living for all. We can make this a period of opportunity to help shape the future, not only for our own nation but for all mankind.

We can continue · to be what Lincoln knew we were nearly 114 years ago when he described the United States of America as, and I quote, "the last, best hope of Earth."

Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

(AT 10:15 P.M., EST)

END