

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

October 19, 1976

Office of the Vice President  
(Bloomington, Minnesota)

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REMARKS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
AT THE  
ELEPHANT CLUB LUNCHEON  
BLOOMINGTON BALLROOM, REGISTRY HOTEL  
BLOOMINGTON, MINNESOTA

AT 12:52 P.M. CDT

Reverend West, thank you very much for that lovely invocation, which I think expressed the feelings that we all share and have in our hearts and our minds about this country.

And to you, George, I would like to thank you for those generous words, for your devotion to the party and for the opportunity of joining fellow Elephants here and discerning Democrats and Independents, if they slipped in with us, which we certainly hope and need.

It is a thrill to be here with you, to be back in Minnesota, to be with people who not only care and love this country but are willing to stand up and be counted in relation to the party of their choice, and then on top of that, being willing to contribute and support the party. So I am deeply grateful to you here for what you have done, are doing and will do in the future.

I don't think any of us would feel other than the fact that the two-party system is the basic strength for the vitality of democracy and freedom, and we have a tremendous responsibility, those of us in the Republican Party, to keep that party so that we do have an effective two-party system.

As we were talking earlier this morning, I think that maybe you have led the way, in changing your name to Independent Republican Party. I had the privilege of being at the convention when you did it. Maybe Minnesota has led the way in a new concept, new approach. Because, let's face it, we talk about the Republican Party being the minority party. But also the Democratic Party is a minority party today in this country. We are both minority parties, and the largest registration is with the Independents.

Now, it is great to be independent, and we all like that and want to be independent. But, on the other hand, you can't enjoy the benefits of this great society without assuming some of the responsibilities. And you all evidence your readiness to assume responsibility by your presence here, and I thank you.

I just think that maybe by this concept, whoever dreamed it up, of changing to Independent Republican Party, that maybe we can embrace a lot of these people and help them assume that responsibility for picking leadership, crystallizing the issues, organizing the political structure of our country, which is essential to the preservation of democracy. So, to me, this is exciting.

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I am always excited to be here anyhow. I am thrilled to be with all of you. I would like to thank you.

I would like to make a special salute to Chuck and Carolyn, to Rudy; and I have got to say to Iantha and Harold what a pleasure it is to be here with them. They are two people who certainly have given as a family, both in the service of elected office --- and Harold and I served together as governors. Elmer is not here, but I also served with him. I was around so long there are very few governors I haven't served with.

(Laughter)

But it has been a pleasure. But one of the greats was Harold Levander. He helped keep our party on the progressive path, which is, in my opinion, the path that America looks to.

Now, to have Iantha active in the organizational side of the party, you can't ask for more from a family. And then on top of that, to have Hap, their son, take over leadership with Dorothy for the President, it is carrying on into the next generation. I must say that must be a great satisfaction to both Harold and Iantha. And the President is very grateful, and also to Archer and to Rhoda, who are two great human beings and great party leaders.

And I would like to thank you, Frank, for what you have done here, and all those at the head table who have been willing to stand up and be counted. I have got to say, for businessmen and women to stand up and take a position is becoming more and more unusual, unfortunately. Therefore, I have special admiration for this group who care enough to be willing to take the risks that go with standing up for your principles and supporting the party of your choice. So this is a very happy occasion, ladies and gentlemen.

Now, I have here an excellent speech, and I would like to file it with the press and tell them I stand on every word that is in it. So if they want to use it, they can, and that is exactly what I said.

(Laughter)

But I have been thinking as we have been talking, and I have had a chance to go around the country, and my thoughts are running ahead of my speeches, so maybe if you will forgive me, I won't -- and I don't read very well, anyhow -- so maybe you will forgive me if I try to think out loud a little bit about where we are. Because we are all Republicans and we are all supporting the Republican Party, so you don't need any encouragement in that.

But to understand where we are at this moment in history, as the bastion of freedom and of the American enterprise system, and what is happening in a period of accelerating change in the world due to science and technology, due to our increasing interdependence in the world and at a time when nationalism is growing -- those, of

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course, are counter forces. We are more dependent on each other. It's like everybody wants the right to know and the sunshine laws and so forth, and then everybody wants privacy. These things have to be reconciled.

Perhaps I am in as good a position as anyone except the President to know about this loss of privacy. The 25th Amendment is a great thing in a Constitutional crisis, except if you happen to be the subject of the investigation of 500 FBI agents for six months and then quizzed by two congressional committees. I want to tell you, that is an experience, ladies and gentlemen.

(Laughter)

Then to heap coals on top of my head, the President appointed me chairman of a committee for privacy.

(Laughter)

I want to tell you. I don't even know what the word means anymore. I couldn't even have a private conversation with Carl Albert up on the speaker's podium.

(Laughter)

I tell you, this has got to be an interesting world. But if you accept it, you don't worry about it. So one accepts life as it is and then tries to shape the speed of change so it serves our interest. To me, that is the great challenge, to see where we are, to understand the forces that are at work, and then to shape change so that it serves the well-being of mankind throughout the world and doesn't overwhelm us. I think that is the exciting challenge today.

I happen to feel this is the most exciting moment to live in the history of civilized men and women. It really is.

I will never forget a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It was a Swedish group. It was the Crown Prince who was over with a delegation. A Congressman asked this group of Swedish industrialists and leaders what they thought the United States ought to do, how we could improve our relations with Sweden.

Well, I could have told them how we could have done that. But the Prime Minister is no longer there, and that, I think, has helped improve the relations.

(Laughter)

Well, he wasn't very complimentary to our country at that ecological conference. But, never mind, I won't get back into that.

The thing that fascinated me was there was a young man at that meeting who was president of Volvo. He said, "You know, I am astounded at this question." He is the one that answered it. He said, "Don't you realize that there is nothing the United States can't do if it sets its mind to it

and wants to do it? So why do you ask me what you can do? You can do anything you want."

I actually believe that is true. If this country determines what it wants to do, it has got the capacity to do anything. We could be energy-independent by 1980, if the Congress had paid any attention to the President's recommendations for the programs he sent up. We couldn't even get hearings on a lot of those programs to save energy, cut down on consumption and produce new sources.

We are spending \$36 billion right now on the importation of oil. There will probably be a 10 percent price increase at the end of the year by the OPEC countries. That will put it up another \$3.6 billion. And yet we have got all the resources, all the capacity, all the scientific knowledge. But this is where we start to get into what, to me, are the interesting questions. Now, the way I look at this situation is that we have overpromised and underdelivered.

Now, I am speaking as a progressive Republican who is going to share responsibility with government at all levels, for having been an activist in government, doing what I felt was Lincoln's basic concept -- doing those things for people which they can't do for themselves -- which, I think, is a very sound concept -- and not doing those things for people which they can do. That was very clear.

But in the last 30 or 40 years government at all levels has tried to do more and more. And, let's face it, those of us who are politicians, one wants to be responsive. That is our nature, to be responsive to the people. Therefore, they have got a problem. We want to come up with an answer, even though the answer may well be to create a framework of laws within which the people themselves can solve that problem and not have the government dragged in there.

But we have been having more and more government interference at all levels, both in the -- and Harold knows this, just as I do -- interference in the State government, interference in local government.

There are 1,007 categorical grants. If you don't even know what a categorical grant is, you should be so lucky.

(Laughter)

That is a grant which the Congress passes, and they take some special interest. And there is some special interest group in the country who focuses on Congress, and they get them to pass legislation, and they authorize matching funds from the Federal Government for this specific purpose -- 1,007 of them.

In order to get it you have got to, under the law, enrich and improve your own program. Well, frankly, ladies and gentlemen, we had enriched and improved our programs in New York so much that when we got to this point

where the government came along, we had to take the money because we were criticized if we didn't. Yet, in order to get the money, we had to enrich and improve, so we created a situation where we were doing more than we should be doing, and the result was the people from other parts of the country where there was less being done for them came. And that meant more taxes. And as the taxes went up, then those who produced the revenue found they could go to the States more effectively where they were doing less for people but the taxes were lower.

(Laughter)

Now, these are some of the tough realities we need to face. This is why I think this is such a good period. And I am a progressive Republican, and so I understand what I am saying. And I am a part of this thing. So we find ourselves in a position where, as I said, we have over-promised and underdelivered, and there is a cynicism on the part of the American people. And that underdelivering has resulted in our having increased deficits at virtually all levels of government. It has gotten to a point beyond which taxes can be increased, in some cases.

Not only did we have that, but we went then into this period of inflation and then a recession and unemployment. And then we had these Constitutional crises -- Vietnam and Watergate. So really it has brought America up to face the hard realities.

And New York City -- a great city --

(Laughter)

-- is a perfect case in point, because they underestimated their expenditures and overestimated their revenue and then sold short-term notes to float until it built up to about three-and-a-half billion. Then they were on the verge of bankruptcy. That is when President Ford had the courage to say -- and this is what I admire in this man. He is looking at the long-term future -- "The Federal Government will not help until you put your house in order." That was not very popular at the time, but it worked. And they are taking the hard measures to balance their budget in three years. It has meant very serious cutbacks.

I think the lesson is being learned that there is no such thing as a free lunch, and there is no such thing as spending more money than you produce or you earn for very long, for a family, for a State, for a city or for the Federal Government, without going into bankruptcy.

These are the hard realities we progressives have got to face.

And I would like to say, just as an interesting sort of aside, that the Congress of the United States has done exactly, under a two-to-one Democrat control, what New York City did. Pressure groups are very appealing, and the worthy programs, and they have been passing all these acts. And the result is they have built up a deficit between \$60 billion and \$70 billion. Now, the only difference between

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New York City and the Congress or the Federal Government is the Federal Government can print the money, and New York City can't. So New York City is faced with either getting their house in order or going bankrupt.

But when you have that kind of a deficit in the Federal Government, then you have inflation, and you have a different form of taxation. And it is a taxation that hurts those who can least afford it -- senior citizens on Social Security, or retired people on pensions, or men and women trying to do for their families on salaries. So they are the ones who get hurt the worst.

Now, President Ford has had the courage to see this thing and see what was happening and to examine these questions and to say what is in the long-term best interests of the American people. And he has vetoed one measure after another, popular measures.

These are the kinds of things politicians drool when they see some of these things. It means votes. He has vetoed them, and he has been supported by Republicans. Some have been overridden. He has vetoed 63 times. But this is what the founding fathers meant when they created this structure of government that insured there be someone who had the power to represent all the people and who wasn't subject to the pressure groups that could work on trades in Congress and get one thing through -- "If you will vote for mine, I will vote for yours." And then we get to where we are.

So we are faced with a very interesting philosophical question as to the role of government in a democracy and the role of free citizens and the role of free enterprise. And I think we are examining it as never before and we are seeing that there aren't just unlimited funds there and that business and industry and those who work for it and those who get the dividends pay 85 percent of the taxes for all levels of government. Therefore, what government wants to do for people depends on the people generating these creative forces and the money through profits or salaries that pays the taxes. And I think we are beginning to come around to the fact and realize that we have got to create conditions that encourage people and to cut back on the complexity of the bureaucratic red tape in the Federal Government which inhibits people from taking risks and from being willing to invest money and create jobs, or our system is not going to function.

This, really, is, in my opinion, what is at the heart of this election. It has not come out as clearly as this yet, but I think it is there.

Now, they say the President -- the Democrats say the President is a man who doesn't give any leadership, any creative leadership. This man has got the leadership. What he has done in the energy field would have resulted, as I said, in our having energy independence by 1980. But the Congress refuses to touch it, and the Democratic caucus.

I had a dinner, when I was first down there, with the chairman of the caucus, Phil Burton. He brought his dialectician along with him, as he called him. I want to

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tell you, that has got to be something for democracy when you bring your dialectician to dinner.

(Laughter)

He said, "Look, the Democratic caucus in the House is going to make the decisions." I expected him to take his shoe off and pound the table.

(Laughter)

He said, "Don't pay any attention to the Chairman of Ways and Means." He said, "Our man is there. We will make the decisions in the Democratic caucus, and we will transmit it to the committees." That is why I am so strong on having more Republicans in Congress. We have got to get back to a two-party system in Congress.

Now, this is very serious, because they believe in the fact that the government can just go on and solve these problems by more government programs. But the more programs there are -- I presided over these hearings for the President all over the country on the Domestic Council on domestic issues and policies. The major thing, whether it was a welfare recipient or a corporate president or a labor leader or a governor or a mayor or a county executive -- I don't care who -- everybody had one basic theme that worries them, and that is bureaucratic red tape from Washington where you can't find the answer to your question. And if you do find it, it is going to be changed.

Dan Evans, who Hal knows very well, who is Governor of Washington State, was there, and he testified and said, "Look, give us less money and less regulation and just get off our backs."

Now, this is a very interesting evolution that is taking place. President Ford understands this. He has come forward on crime, for instance, which Mr. Carter has been making a big deal out of, that this is all a Republican President's responsibility. Well, he doesn't know the police are run by the local community. I don't know what happens in Georgia, but in New York we run it and not the Federal Government. We haven't gotten to a police state yet.

He blamed all these increases on the President. No Administration has done as much as the last two Republicans to help support local law enforcement. But the President came up with a bill last year for mandatory sentences for pushers, those dealing in hard drugs, mandatory sentences for repeaters in crime, mandatory sentences for major crimes. He never got a hearing on the bill.

He says nothing has been done, no leadership. So what we have got to do is look at the facts. I was just talking on Mr. Wolf's great television program, and he was talking about that this is a campaign of just mistakes and incidents and so forth. Well, some of us get carried away.

(Laughter)

I have got to be careful with my hand.

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(Laughter)

I said, "Look, the only reason that this campaign looks like it is that is because you can't get an analysis of a complicated issue into a headline or one minute on television. But if somebody makes a boo-boo or says something, you can get in the picture or you can get it into a headline. That's why." And I said, "You have got to share with us as politicians responsibility for why the public thinks that nobody is discussing the issues."

They are discussing the issues, and they are very important. But I think this fundamental question is have we got the capacity, as a Nation that has grown to greatness out of this system, to preserve our belief in people and freedom and the creativity of the American enterprise system? And the role of government and regulation is to protect people -- minority groups, all groups. Can we do it in a way which will preserve the system? I think we can. And I don't think it is either/or -- either just all private or all government. We have some people who do.

I think if we look at our history, how did the railroads get built from the East to the West? The railroads didn't do that by themselves. Private enterprise built them, but the government gave them rights-of-way and gave them alternate blocks of land which they could sell.

How did we get the greatest automobile industry in the world? Because the government built all the highways. Government and private enterprise work together in the most interesting ways. We are very flexible as a team.

How did we get the greatest aviation industry in the world? Because the government paid for all the research and development of new models of planes for military purposes and they were translated into commercial.

Now, we can introduce the same kind of creative imagination of government playing the role, without dominating industry, without going in and dominating individuals, to encourage them, and within a framework to make possible the functioning of this system so that we can continue growth. Without growth, we are not going to have jobs.

We can have ecology, protect our environment. And there are more exciting problems ahead of us, if we just have faith in the system and faith in the American people. And I think this is what President Ford has done. That is why I am supporting him.

I think this is what the Republican Party stands for, and that is why I am a Republican. And I want to tell you, this President, in my opinion, is going to be elected November 2nd as the next President of the United States.

(Applause)

That is what we are all here for, and it is the most exciting moment in history.

Thank you very much.

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(AT 1:15 P.M. CDT)