

I want to thank the distinguished Chairman, the Senator from Nevada, and the distinguished ranking Republican member, the Senator from Kentucky, for their warm and generous remarks. Although this is a new experience for me, I realize it is also a new experience for you, and for the American people. I feel that I am among friends, despite anything I may ever have said about the other body on the floor of the other body. ~~And~~ I ask you only to treat me as true friends treat one another, with directness, with candor, without favor ~~and without guile, in~~ full and mutual awareness of the ^{solemn} ~~solemn~~ oath we have all taken to the ^{great} ~~great~~ Constitution and our responsibility to the people of this Republic.

Before going further, I must add my gratitude to the two distinguished Senators who ^{ably} represent my home State in the United States Senate. Together, Phil Hart and Bob Griffin and I ~~have~~ have spent 57 years here in Washington trying to outdo one another in doing things for Michigan and none of us is ready to concede that contest yet. But I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge publicly, before trying to trade a vote for a gavel, that Michigan and Grand Rapids have given me far more than I could ever give them, ~~and that even~~ ^{I think that} ~~if they~~ ^{should briefly and} ~~temporarily~~ temporarily lose one vote in the House of Representatives, the best interests of Michigan are in ~~the~~ ^{excellent} hands in the Congress.

Yet I am deeply conscious that today the Congress and the citizens we represent ~~are~~ ^{you} are embarking upon a historic voyage into uncharted ~~waters~~. I come before ^{you} as the nominee of the President of the United States to fill a vacancy in the office of Vice President of the United States under the provisions of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, for which 65 ~~sitting~~ Senators and 368 ~~present~~ Members of the House voted in 1965 and which the Legislatures of 48 States subsequently ratified.

I might note that the State where I was born, Nebraska, was the first to ratify the 25th Amendment.

You know, ~~for~~ life ~~really~~ plays some funny tricks on ^{people} you. Here

I have been trying with might and main for 25 years to become Speaker

of the House, ^{Suddenly,} and now I'm a candidate for President of the Senate, where

~~I could~~ ^{where you the Senators would never let me speak} you can only vote once in a blue moon and ~~they never let you speak. But,~~

~~I really recommend~~ ^{and} Mel Laird and Hugh Scott and one other, ^{whose name} I won't tell,

~~but~~ the President didn't pay any attention to my advice.

I know you are going to have a lot of questions for me, but there

are two big ones ~~that~~ perhaps I can answer at the start. What makes you, ^{# First,}

Jerry Ford, qualified to be Vice President of the United States, ^{# Second,} and what

kind of a Vice President would you ^{hope to} ~~propose~~ be?

Let me take the second question first. How do I ~~think~~ regard the office of the Vice Presidency -- in the climate and context of right now,

^{and in terms of the future} ~~today and tomorrow~~. History isn't much help here, except recent h ^{history,}

^{through} which we have all lived. ^{Americans} There are only three living ~~who~~ who have held

this high office, and three weeks ago at the White House one of them told me he wanted me to take the job.

The first two telephone calls I got after that announcement were from the ^{by one former Vice President} ~~other two~~ former Vice Presidents, ^{And for their} for whose generous good wishes I will always be grateful, ~~and along with the thousands of hundreds of~~

Events at home and abroad ~~have~~ moved so swiftly since that night

that I have not had much time for scholarly homework on the duties of

the Vice Presidency, or even to collect my own feelings at the sudden

change in my own ^{style} ~~way~~ of life. My ^{thoughts} thoughts have been mixed -- pride in

the confidence which President Nixon ^{has shown for me and deep satisfaction} ~~has shown for me and deep satisfaction~~

that ^{it} ~~it~~ ^{apparently} is shared by hundreds of other old friends and colleagues,

in the Congress, and throughout the country. ^{I have felt} A touch of sadness at the

4
thought of leaving the floor of the House of Representatives which as
my family will tell you has been ^{like home to me for nearly half} ~~my whole life~~ of my life.

I have also felt
Something like awe ^{and} ~~and~~ astonishment at the magnitude of the new respon-
sibilities I have been asked to assume, ^{At the same time I have a new} ~~and a new~~ sense of determination
and purpose to do my best to meet them. ^{and invigorating}

I Since I first ran for Congress in 1948 -- the same year one of
~~the~~ greatest Vice Presidents ever to succeed to the Presidency was
renewing his lease on the White House by ~~whacking~~ the Republican
80th Congress with hammer and tongs -- I have believed that public office
is a public trust, ^{I believe} that any man or woman who wins the votes of a majority
of his fellow ~~countrymen~~ citizens has a solemn obligation to serve them
faithfully and well, and to do them as much ^{honor} ~~credit~~ as they have done him.

Now ~~that~~ I'm contemplating the first public office to which I ^{would} ~~shall~~
not be elected by the people, but by my peers in the Congress, as ^{the people's} ~~their~~
representatives, ~~and~~ ^{is} the first candidate to be so chosen, I ^{recognize} ~~realize~~
and welcome the fact that this committee, as it should, will inquire
fully into my worthiness to have the trust of the Nation.

In this century, 32 men have been chosen by the two major parties as
candidates for Vice President, and 19 of them have served in the House or
the Senate or both. Of the 15 who won, 9 have served in the Congress and
^{I believe} ~~since~~ there is ^{(no better} ~~no~~ training school for this job, ^{than service in the Congress.} ~~my prior experience is~~
~~as good as anybody's.~~ I am proud to be a Member of Congress, and if I ^{were} ~~had~~
to ^{express} ~~set~~ my ^{new} ~~present~~ ambition in a nutshell, ^{that ambition of mine is} ~~I would like~~ to become ^{as well} ~~as well~~
respected by all the American people as I have been by my good friends in
the 5th District of Michigan for the past 25 years.

^{that of men and women}
Like most of us who serve in Congress, my public life has been an
open book -- carefully reread every two years by my constituents, ~~and~~

Likewise, ~~myself~~ the door to my office in Washington ~~has~~ has been open, -- ^{have wanted} not only to my constituents but to any citizens who ^{want} to discuss with me their views and their problems relating to legislation and the Federal government -- ^{even just} or to satisfy their curiosity as to what a Congressman looks like. ^{These contacts with people have represented a large} This part of ^{my} our job, and since 1965 when I became Minority Leader of the House by the landslide margin of ^{73 to 67} seven ^{such contacts with people have} votes, it ^{has} become more and more national in character. I not only think an open door is a duty, but I have learned ^{much} a lot ~~from~~ from the people who ^{have passed} pass through it, ^{both from} those who agree with me and ^{from} those who don't.

Perhaps the ^{worst} ~~biggest~~ misgiving ^I have about the Vice Presidency ^{are} is that such contact ^s with all kinds of people ^{would} ~~will~~ be more difficult, ^{or it could even be} and that my friends ^{might} ~~will~~ stop calling me Jerry.

^{in the last three weeks} [In the last three weeks] ^{has} ~~Not only~~ my public life been an open book but my private life ^{has been opened} as well. Once I told the President I'd accept -- ^{that as much} I guess I told him/although I'm not sure he gave me any choice -- I made ^a the firm decision, ^{I decided} to make available to this Committee and the Judiciary, ^{to House Committee on} the ~~Committee of the House~~, every available record relating to my public service, my personal finances, my health and ^{the health} ~~that of~~ my wife and children, and to respond as fully and accurately as possible to every ^{sincere} ~~honest~~ inquiry.

I asked all public officials, Federal, State and local, and all persons or agencies that have custody of ^{normally confidential} ~~any~~ records regarding me to make them fully and speedily available, including all of my campaign finances, office and personal bank accounts -- even ^{our} ~~my~~ children's savings accounts -- ^{confidential} my income tax records and financial disclosure reports required by House rules, all correspondence of my Congressional Office and the records of my accountant in Grand Rapids, including a ~~full~~ statement of my Net Worth. ^{lo cating and} ~~It~~ This has been a monumental job, just ^{to give such answers} ~~digging out~~ the records ^{great} ~~about~~ I have, ^{all} ^{very} in the short time ^{we had}. But I believe ^I we have answered every request unreservedly, and I want ^{to do so} because of the ^{the present} importance of ~~this~~ inquiry.

I believe you and the Congress and the American people must ^{believe} fully satisfy ^{yourself} ~~yourselves~~ that I am worthy of your trust and fit to perform the duties of the Vice Presidency, ~~and of the Presidency if fate should so decree.~~ I am not a saint, and I'm sure I have done things I might have done better or differently or not at all, ~~as I get older and I hope smarter,~~ ^{I also} and have ^{also} left undone things that I should have done. But I ^{believe} ~~think~~ and hope that I have been ~~honest~~ ^{with} with myself and others, ~~and~~ ^{that I} faithful to my friends and fair to my opponents, and have tried my best to make this great government we have work for the good of all Americans.

President Eisenhower had a very simple rule ~~and~~ I have never heard of a better one for people in public office ~~and~~ who have to make decisions: get all the facts and all the good counsel you can, and then do what's best for America.

My old ^{law} ~~professor~~ ^{Eugene V. Rostow, now} ~~professor~~ at Yale, ~~who is now dean of Yale Law School,~~ who did a distinguished tour of duty at the State Department during the Johnson Administration, ~~and is a brilliant student of government,~~ took the time to write me a warm and inspiring letter upon my nomination. I would like to share some of his words with you, because ^{the master} ~~because~~ still says things much better than his pupil:

~~quotes~~ (read from actual letter.)

The Constitutional duties of a Vice President are few, and his statutory duties while numerous do not really define ^{his} ~~role~~ role. It is trite and ~~far too~~ cynical to sum it all up by saying the Vice President does whatever the President wants him to, and no more. I have a different ^{idea,} ~~view,~~ and I hope a broader one. It is based on the uniqueness of my situation and, above all, on the greatest single need of our country today.

I realize, of course, that almost exactly a year ago President Nixon and Vice President Agnew were elected by ^{impressive} ~~significant~~ majorities of the people in 49 of the 50 states. Not only that, but the President was

7
running on his record of four years ^{He} and was re-elected by a massive majority who approved of his program and his policies as they had been

tried and tested over that period. I fought hard for those programs ~~and~~
as the Republican Leader in the House.

in the Congress ~~and~~ I defended them vigorously all over the country and

on the campaign trail, and ^{So that} I have no apologies ^{for that} for that. If being for
and its candidates ^{becoming}

your President and for your party/disqualifies you from the Vice Pres-

idency, then ^I ~~maybe the 25th Amendment was a mistake~~ ^{will never have another Harry Truman or Richard}
^{Nixon or Hubert Humphreys}

But while I feel a strong obligation to recognize the Presidential mandate of 1972, I am also very much mindful of the Congressional mandate

^{on the} ~~of that~~ same election day. ^{They} The same Americans who gave the Republican

President a margin of ^{46,740,323} votes also gave the Senate a Democratic
^{28,901,598}
majority of 56 to ^{138,381,225} 42 and the House a Democratic majority of 243 to 192.

^{in 1787}
The Founding Fathers never intended -- and the American people in

1972 never intended -- to paralyze and cripple the government in Washington.

But responsible citizens and ~~responsible~~ leaders in both parties are

~~beginning to worry about that happening~~ ^{but ways in which our national government is becoming seriously weakened} ^{and that} I have served in ^{a dozen} Republican

Congress ~~under President Kennedy~~ and ~~to my notion -- in far too many~~
during

Democratic Congresses, ~~and~~ I have served ~~many~~ three Democratic and two
Republican Presidencies. ~~and~~ ^I in the course of 25 years I've stood with

the Congress when it was right and with the President when he was right,

in my judgment, regardless of which party controlled which ~~branch~~ ^{either the executive branch} at the ^{or the legislative}

^{time} ^{branch of government} I know from firsthand experience that almost without exception the
and women who prefer
people in their wisdom send to Congress men/who are reasonable, ~~and~~

action to inaction, who are capable of compromise, ~~and~~ who love their
country, ^{who} and are concerned for the future of the oldest representative
republic on earth.

^I I know these men and women can work together because I have worked
together with them the best years of my life.

So I come back to the first question: What makes you, Jerry

Ford, qualified to be ~~President~~ Vice President of the United States?

ready conciliator and calm communicator
~~And~~ my answer is that I believe I can be a bridge, a badly
a cease-fire observer on the domestic front,
~~needed bridge at this hour,~~ between the White House and ~~the Congress,~~ Capitol Hill,
re-election between the *Republican* mandate of the President and the equally emphatic mandate
Democratic of the 93rd Congress, and I believe I can do this -- not because I
know ~~very~~ much about the Vice Presidency -- but because I know *both* the
Congress of the United States and the President of the United States,
~~about as well as~~ *as* ~~as long and as~~ intimately as anybody *who* does
~~and maybe a little bit better.~~ *has known both for a quarter century,*

I count most of the members of the Senate and of the House as
my friends, ~~and many of them~~ *they all* have been wonderfully kind and sincere
during these hectic days in volunteering support and encouragement
to me. The President of the United States has been my friend ~~since~~ *from the time*
~~he was a second-termer in the House and took time to make a freshman~~ *from California* ~~made~~
from Michigan feel welcome. He has never lied to me, ~~and~~ *nor have* my good friends
in the Congress ~~have never~~ *ever* lied to me. ~~Also~~ I have never lied ~~to anyone~~
to them even when they might have wanted to hear something *gentler than* ~~short of the~~
truth, *if I change jobs* ~~and that is the way I intend to continue~~ *in my relationships with the Congress* ~~if I change jobs.~~ *Truth*
is the glue that holds government together, and not only government, but
civilization itself.

So gentlemen, I ~~will be glad~~ *readily promise* to answer your questions and ~~start~~ *to*
~~practicing that promise right now.~~ *away.* I know you will not pull any punches,
~~and that the American people would never forgive any of us if you do.~~ *will not want you to pull any punches,*

It is my intention to replace misunderstanding with understanding, ~~to~~ *it is*
substitute truth for untruths, ~~and to disagree when necessary without~~ *but never, I hope*
~~being disagreeable.~~ *through becoming*

Q
R We have all taken the same oath before God and under the Constitution,
and we are today charged with the duty of trying and testing ~~on~~ ^{a new}

Article ~~a hard new~~ ^{bringing about the 25th Amendment to the Constitution}
~~xxxxxx parts of that Constitution for the first time. Many of~~
us had a voice and a vote in ~~writing this~~ ^{from that} debate
~~on proposing the Amendment to the States~~ ^{then let}

I would like to quote two distinguished Senators -- anonymously, since

I hope you will not throw too many of my ~~own~~ ^{own} words from the Congressional
Record back ~~in my face~~ ^{at me}.

Reverse quotes
R "At a time of national crisis,
One, a Democrat, ~~observed~~ ^{observed} that "the public would not tolerate
the playing of politics in the choice of a Vice President." Another, a
Republican, noted that "The security of our nation demands that the office
of the Vice President should never be left vacant for long."

R I agree with both ~~the~~ ^{these} distinguished Senators, and also ^{I agree} with the only
American who ^{has} ever served successively as Speaker of the House and ^{as} Pres-
ident of the Senate, John Nance Garner.

R "Men who have known how to compromise intelligently have rendered great
service to their country," said "Cactus Jack", probably sitting right in
the Capitol Office which I now occupy as Minority Leader. "The most
constructive laws on our statute books have been put there
by intelligent compromise --- that does not mean that men have to abandon
fundamentals of basic principles."

So
That is my platform, gentlemen, ^{is always to support} truth and intelligent compromise. And
I pledge to you and to the American people that ~~if ever in doubt -- do what's~~ ^{if ever in doubt, then as President Eisenhower}
best for America. Thank you for your ^{urged,}
courteous attention. ^{I will do what I believe is}

I will do it as President Lincoln
did, "with firmness in the
right, as God gives us to see
the right." ~~as President~~