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An Address by the Honorable Gerald R. Ford before
the American Heritage Foundation's Northeastern
Regional Vote Workshop, Philadelphia, Bellevue-
Stratford Hotel, on Monday, July 11, 1966.

SALUTE TO OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

When those who are deep in the political battle--like Mr. Bailey and me--are invited to give non-partisan talks, we are forced to make some major readjustments in the content of our remarks.

Mr. Bailey and I have to make such readjustments not only because of the nature of this audience but also because of the place selected for this conference. We are meeting in the City of Brotherly Love. We shouldn't forget that this evening.

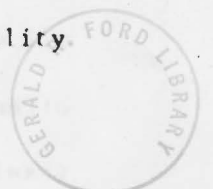
Among other things, we have to write a new speech. That basic talk for partisan gatherings which we give over and over again has to be scrapped. Even the jokes have to go because partisan political humor just doesn't seem funny to those outside the ranks of party faithful.

Tonight we salute the two-party system, the political system that our nation has had almost from its beginnings. As the representative of what is temporarily the minority party, I want to thank the American Heritage Foundation for the valuable work which it has done for many years to give life and meaning to that system. I congratulate the Foundation on the inauguration of these Regional Vote Workshops, and I wish you success in your 1966 Nonpartisan Register and Vote Campaign.

The work that the Foundation is doing looks to nurturing in the hearts of all citizens the ideals of democratic government. Unless these ideals flourish there, no constitution, no law, certainly no political party or its leadership can maintain the health of our political system.

In 1960 the Democrats alleged a "missile gap." Republicans from General Eisenhower on down denied the charge. In 1966 the Republicans contend there is a White House "credibility gap." John Bailey will protest vehemently. But both of us will likely agree there is a "commitment gap" on the part of too many Americans. What we need is a commitment to broad, staunch, and constructive support for the two-party system.

Several centuries ago, the Italian poet Dante put it this way: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality." My plea is that all Americans discard political neutrality in the battle to preserve the two-party system.



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What is called for, I sincerely believe, is a decision by more and more Americans to renounce political neutrality during elections and to bring their entire individual effort to bear on behalf of candidates who meet their rigid specifications of honor and outlook.

As individuals, you have the responsibility and duty to become actively engaged in partisan politics. I am not here as a recruiter for the Republican Party although I will be glad to take applications at the door. What I am saying is that you cannot, as individuals, expect to achieve concrete political results if you are unwilling to join and work for the party of your choice. It is only within a party that you can help to determine party policy, help select candidates for party nomination and work for their eventual election. It is only within a political party that you can till and fertilize the soil which will produce the kind of legislators who will, for example, get some of our basic problems, state and national, out of petty politics. Many like myself in the political arena are disappointed that more of our highly motivated citizens are not working as actively as they should be in a political party.

What the Foundation is aiming at is the broadest type of citizen participation in the political process. It is a goal that deserves the unstinting support of both great American political parties.

The political party is the agency, and really the only agency, through which citizens can fully and effectively participate in the political process.

Where there is freedom, there will be more than a single political party, for free men will not all think alike.

It may seem strange that the founding fathers viewed the growth of parties with alarm. They made no provision for them in the Constitution. George Washington warned his countrymen against them in his Farewell Address. Our forefathers' apprehension was not without reason. Political wars in the England of their time were characterized by bitter party strife and divisive partisanship.

It was Thomas Jefferson who started our two-party system. You might say that as vice-president he was the first minority leader on Capitol Hill.

Jefferson thereby added to the constitutional checks and balances another safeguard in our experiment in democratic government. It has saved the nation from the oppression which so often characterizes those countries where a single political party dominates every aspect of political life and, unchecked, stifles all dissent. And it has saved the nation from the anarchy and chaos which so often characterizes those countries where every conceivable faction organizes itself into an independent political party.

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Elihu Root called the two-party system a sign of political maturity. The two-party system guarantees a wide appeal to the electorate and it increases the chances for coherence and stability in government. It avoids the irresponsibility of factionalism which, at best, operates to allow popular control in a one-party state. More important than these theoretical considerations is the fact that the two-party system, in the context of America, her institutions and traditions, has met the test of history. It works. It is an important part of that complex set of balances and mechanisms that have made the American experiment in democratic government the world's greatest success story.

Under Jefferson's innovation, America has prospered, maintaining always her commitment to both majority rule and freedom of dissent. Many countries, particularly in Latin America, have copied our Constitution. And in many cases they have met with repeated failure. One of the keys to understanding why is their inability to develop a two-party system.

A goal of this Northeastern Regional Vote Workshop is to consider ways to sharpen the cutting edges of our two-party system. The problem was never stated better than it was some forty years ago by the prominent British writer, Mr. J. A. Spender. The problem, he said, "is to convince our fellow countrymen that to have political convictions, to join a party, to work for it, and to support it out of their purses, so far as means allow, are among duties of all citizens, and cannot be neglected without serious harm to the country." This is one of the great unsolved problems of democracy. Until we solve it, our two-party system and the very quality of our government will be defective.

The indices of citizen involvement in politics do not tell an encouraging story in the United States. The percentage of citizens of voting age who have voted in recent presidential elections has hovered about the level of 60 per cent. In off-year Congressional elections, it has been running between 45 and 49 per cent. In local elections a turnout of 30 to 40 per cent is common. These levels of voter participation do not compare favorably with those of advanced nations with a democratic form of government in other parts of the world.

With less than two-thirds of the potential electorate actually voting, how many less ever actively work for a political party or for candidates for office? And of those who work--performing the important role of informing their fellow citizens--how many less ever make a financial contribution? The number gets smaller and smaller, and diminishing with it is the effectiveness of our two-party system.

(More)

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Particularly acute is the need for an adequate financial foundation, one consistent with democratic principles. Herbert Alexander, Staff Director of President Kennedy's Commission on Campaign costs, has put the costs of 1964 campaigns at 200 million dollars. Such expenditures are not unjustifiably large in campaigns directed toward a potential electorate of more than 100 million who are asked to vote for at least 200,000 offices of some significance.

Only about 10 per cent of adult Americans ever contribute to election campaigns. This figure is significantly higher than it was fifty or even twenty-five years ago, but it is still far too low. It is not healthy for the costs of democracy to be met by so few. The day when political parties can sit back and depend on large contributors must end. Our election costs must be covered without jeopardizing our public morals. Our goal should be securing ever more contributors to our political parties on a regular year-round basis. The wider the base of party funds, the less suspicion there can be of improper influence. There is a job to be done. Recent data from the University of Michigan Survey Research Center shows that less than half of those interviewed had ever heard of efforts to raise money for campaign expenses. Eighty-five had never been asked to contribute. Only one out of fifty had ever participated in a campaign fund-raising drive. When asked if they would contribute if approached, a fourth said yes, while 58 per cent replied no.

Our failure here is deplorable--and even more so because we raise annually throughout the country large sums for welfare and other community needs. Is the well-being of our political system any less important? With hard work and organization, and with the help of groups like the American Heritage Foundation, our political parties can meet this test. My own party has made strides in this direction. Since 1963 a substantial portion of the operating budget of the Republican National Committee has been met by annual ten-dollar sustaining memberships. In 1964, through the extensive use of direct mail and television appeals, 72 per cent of the contributions for the Republican presidential campaign came in sums less than 500 dollars. Only 30 per cent of the contributions to the Democrats came in these smaller sums. But establishing the measuring rod at 500 dollars is still setting it awfully high. There is much more that both parties can do and must do to interest the individual citizen of limited means in investing in our political process. Until we do--until the costs of democracy are apportioned democratically--our two-party system will not be doing the best job it can.

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In the field of legislation there is also much that can be done. Efforts here are generally aimed at restraining abuses in raising and spending campaign funds.

I suggest that it is time to emphasize the need for adequate financing of parties and candidates through mass contributions of small amounts. The present methods of fund-raising too often shut out of elective office men and women who lack substantial personal funds or lack personal access to great wealth.

There are other steps that can be taken to lighten the burden of campaign costs--notably modifying the restrictions of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act--the equal time provision--which operates to prevent television and radio stations from providing free time to candidates for office.

Those who discuss the inadequate participation of citizens in the political process generally center their fire on the citizen. He is denounced by critics as apathetic, uninformed, and uninterested.

I feel that the indictment must be extended to cover politicians and perhaps others in our society. If the citizen is uninterested, is this lack of interest due to some degree to the failure of politicians to offer something that will arouse his interest? If he is uninformed, is it because much political oratory is not really informative? Some will contend--perhaps it's an alibi--that they just can't get the facts from any source.

There is need for drastic reform of campaign procedures that go back to the horse-and-buggy era. Something in this direction is being done by the Republican National Committee. On the suggestion of President Eisenhower, Chairman Bliss has a commission at work studying the quadrennial national convention with a view to streamlining this venerable but soporific institution.

This is a start, but much more is needed if campaigns are better to serve the purpose of spreading information and capturing public interest...

In 1968 I hope that televised debates between presidential candidates, so successful in attracting public interest in the 1960 campaign, will be conducted again. I see little merit in the argument that any incumbent president should not engage in debate with his opponent. I believe President Kennedy would have debated his Republican challenger in 1964 had he lived to run for reelection--and the voters would have been the beneficiaries.

If, however, the candidates themselves are unwilling to engage in debate, they could designate spokesmen to participate in joint televised appearances on their behalf.

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Debate between the parties should be practiced far more widely than it is at present. Although I attach special importance to debate in presidential campaigns, there should be a running debate between party spokesmen at all political levels at all times. There are always important issues. There are always differences of opinion on some of them. The parties would be strengthened, the public would be better informed, and policy decisions would be made more wisely if we argued out things before the public.

To talk of the two-party system is to invite attention to the woes of the minority party. I shall refrain from inflicting on you any long list of complaints, but I do want to express one fear which, if justified, should be of concern to all regardless of party.

It is not easy for the minority to make its voice heard. In this age of mass communication, the Office of the President dominates the American political scene. The eyes of the nation and the world are fixed upon it. And rightly so. Its power is awesome, as is the responsibility which confronts the man who possesses it. It is power to do enormous good. But the great power to do good is, at its root, simply great power. Free men must be able to check it and challenge it, lest it consume them.

If free men cannot check and challenge it, then we do have one-party rule. If it is becoming increasingly difficult for them to do so, then we have begun a journey down a dangerous road.

We seek in our political life the attainment of justice and the containment of power. The two-party system plays a vital role in the struggle to achieve these goals. By providing debate and discussion it helps us travel a much surer course toward justice for all our citizens.

The minority must be able to get its views out to the people. I hope that the minority State of the Union Message, first delivered this year, will become a permanent institution--given time and prominence corresponding to that of the President.

Although I speak tonight for the minority, the Republicans, I do not believe that those in the minority can or should sit back and bide their time. There are some, a very few fortunately, who argue that the minority should await a national disaster at home or abroad and then move in, pick up the pieces and build from the shambles. This I contend is neither the tradition nor the heritage of the Republican Party in the 1960's. This was not the role of the Republican Party under Lincoln or Eisenhower. It was not the role of the Democrats in their

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dark days in the minority in the 1920's. We must by the competence of our candidates, by the record of legislators and administrators and by the philosophy that we espouse earn the respect of our fellow citizens.

My suggestions only touch the surface. In the final analysis the future of our two-party system depends on the courage and conviction of all Americans--of whatever political stripe--and their commitment to the values of majority rule and freedom of dissent.

These values are the heritage of all Americans. They are values that will be preserved only through strengthening the two-party system.

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Paul Butler

- ① Gov. of Virgin Isle
- ② Sandshole margin 7/3/64
- ③ Eastham/Talmadge/Church/Morse

SPEECH BEFORE AMER. HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S NORTHEASTERN
REGIONAL VOTE WORKSHOP, PHILADELPHIA-----JULY 11, 1966

SALUTE TO OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM

WHEN THOSE WHO ARE DEEP IN THE POLITICAL BATTLE--LIKE MR. BAILEY AND ME--ARE INVITED TO GIVE NON-PARTISAN TALKS, WE ARE FORCED TO MAKE SOME MAJOR READJUSTMENTS IN THE CONTENT OF OUR REMARKS.

MR. BAILEY AND I HAVE TO MAKE SUCH READJUSTMENTS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE NATURE OF THIS AUDIENCE BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF THE PLACE SELECTED FOR THIS CONFERENCE. WE ARE MEETING IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE. WE SHOULDN'T FORGET THAT THIS EVENING.

AMONG OTHER THINGS, WE HAVE TO WRITE A NEW SPEECH.



THAT BASIC TALK FOR PARTISAN GATHERINGS WHICH WE GIVE OVER AND OVER AGAIN HAS TO BE SCRAPPED. EVEN THE JOKES HAVE TO GO BECAUSE PARTISAN POLITICAL HUMOR JUST DOESN'T SEEM FUNNY TO THOSE OUTSIDE THE RANKS OF PARTY FAITHFUL.

TONIGHT WE SALUTE THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, THE POLITICAL SYSTEM THAT OUR NATION HAS HAD ALMOST FROM ITS BEGINNINGS. AS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WHAT IS TEMPORARILY THE MINORITY PARTY, I WANT TO THANK THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION FOR THE VALUABLE WORK WHICH IT HAS DONE FOR MANY YEARS TO GIVE LIFE AND MEANING TO THAT SYSTEM. I CONGRATULATE THE FOUNDATION ON THE INAUGURATION OF THESE REGIONAL VOTE WORKSHOPS, AND I WISH YOU SUCCESS IN YOUR 1966 NONPARTISAN REGISTER AND VOTE CAMPAIGN.

THE WORK THAT THE FOUNDATION IS DOING LOOKS TO NURTURING

IN THE HEARTS OF ALL CITIZENS THE IDEALS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. UNLESS THESE IDEALS FLOURISH ~~THERE~~, NO CONSTITUTION, NO LAW, CERTAINLY NO POLITICAL PARTY OR ITS LEADERSHIP CAN MAINTAIN THE HEALTH OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM.

IN 1960 THE DEMOCRATS ALLEGED A "MISSILE GAP." REPUBLICANS FROM GENERAL EISENHOWER ON DOWN DENIED THE CHARGE. IN 1966 THE REPUBLICANS CONTEND THERE IS A WHITE HOUSE "CREDIBILITY GAP." JOHN BAILEY WILL PROTEST VEHEMENTLY. BUT BOTH OF US WILL LIKELY AGREE THERE IS A "COMMITMENT GAP" ON THE PART OF TOO MANY AMERICANS. WHAT WE NEED IS A COMMITMENT TO BROAD, STAUNCH, AND CONSTRUCTIVE SUPPORT FOR THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.



SEVERAL CENTURIES AGO, THE ITALIAN POET DANTE PUT IT THIS WAY: "THE HOTTEST PLACES IN HELL ARE RESERVED FOR THOSE WHO, IN A PERIOD OF MORAL CRISIS, MAINTAIN THEIR NEUTRALITY." MY PLEA IS THAT ALL AMERICANS DISCARD POLITICAL NEUTRALITY AND ENLIST IN THE BATTLE TO PRESERVE THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.

WHAT IS CALLED FOR, I SINCERELY BELIEVE, IS A DECISION BY MORE AND MORE AMERICANS TO RENOUNCE POLITICAL NEUTRALITY DURING ELECTIONS AND TO BRING THEIR ENTIRE INDIVIDUAL EFFORT TO BEAR ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES WHO MEET THEIR RIGID SPECIFICATIONS OF HONOR AND OUTLOOK *within the framework of the two party system*

AS INDIVIDUALS, YOU HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTY TO BECOME ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN PARTISAN POLITICS. I AM NOT HERE AS A RECRUITER FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY ALTHOUGH I WILL

BE GLAD TO TAKE APPLICATIONS AT THE DOOR. WHAT I AM SAYING IS THAT YOU CANNOT, AS INDIVIDUALS, EXPECT TO ACHIEVE CONCRETE POLITICAL RESULTS IF YOU ARE UNWILLING TO JOIN AND WORK FOR THE PARTY OF YOUR CHOICE. IT IS ONLY WITHIN A PARTY THAT YOU CAN HELP TO DETERMINE PARTY POLICY, HELP SELECT CANDIDATES FOR PARTY NOMINATION AND WORK FOR THEIR EVENTUAL ELECTION. IT IS ONLY WITHIN A POLITICAL PARTY THAT YOU CAN TILL AND FERTILIZE THE SOIL WHICH WILL PRODUCE THE KIND OF LEGISLATORS WHO WILL, FOR EXAMPLE, GET SOME OF OUR BASIC PROBLEMS, STATE AND NATIONAL, OUT OF PETTY POLITICS. MANY LIKE MYSELF IN THE POLITICAL ARENA ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT MORE OF OUR HIGHLY MOTIVATED CITIZENS ARE NOT WORKING AS ACTIVELY AS THEY SHOULD BE IN A POLITICAL PARTY.

WHAT THE FOUNDATION IS AIMING AT IS THE BROADEST TYPE

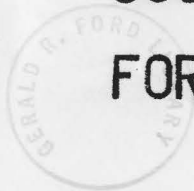


OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. IT IS A GOAL THAT DESERVES THE UNSTINTING SUPPORT OF BOTH GREAT AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES.

THE POLITICAL PARTY IS THE AGENCY, AND REALLY THE ONLY AGENCY, THROUGH WHICH CITIZENS CAN FULLY AND EFFECTIVELY PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

WHERE THERE IS FREEDOM, THERE WILL BE MORE THAN A SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY, FOR FREE MEN WILL NOT ALL THINK ALIKE.

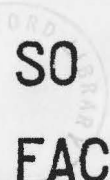
IT MAY SEEM STRANGE THAT THE FOUNDING FATHERS VIEWED THE GROWTH OF PARTIES WITH ALARM. THEY MADE NO PROVISION FOR THEM IN THE CONSTITUTION. GEORGE WASHINGTON WARNED HIS COUNTRYMEN AGAINST THEM IN HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS. OUR FOREFATHERS' APPREHENSION WAS NOT WITHOUT REASON. POLITICAL



WARS IN THE ENGLAND OF THEIR TIME WERE CHARACTERIZED BY BITTER PARTY STRIFE AND DIVISIVE PARTISANSHIP.

IT WAS THOMAS JEFFERSON WHO STARTED OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. YOU MIGHT SAY THAT AS VICE-PRESIDENT HE WAS THE FIRST MINORITY LEADER ON CAPITOL HILL.

JEFFERSON THEREBY ADDED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CHECKS AND BALANCES ANOTHER SAFEGUARD IN OUR EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. IT HAS SAVED THE NATION FROM THE OPPRESSION WHICH SO OFTEN CHARACTERIZES THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE A SINGLE POLITICAL PARTY DOMINATES EVERY ASPECT OF POLITICAL LIFE AND, UNCHECKED, STIFLES ALL DISSENT. AND IT HAS SAVED THE NATION FROM THE ANARCHY AND CHAOS WHICH SO OFTEN CHARACTERIZES THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE EVERY CONCEIVABLE FACTION ORGANIZES ITSELF INTO AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL PARTY.



ELIHU ROOT CALLED THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM A SIGN OF POLITICAL MATURITY. THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM GUARANTEES A WIDE APPEAL TO THE ELECTORATE AND IT INCREASES THE CHANCES FOR COHERENCE AND STABILITY IN GOVERNMENT. IT AVOIDS THE IRRESPONSIBILITY OF FACTIONALISM WHICH, AT BEST, OPERATES TO ALLOW POPULAR CONTROL IN A ONE-PARTY STATE. MORE IMPORTANT THAN THESE THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS IS THE FACT THAT THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM, IN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICA, HER INSTITUTIONS AND TRADITIONS, HAS MET THE TEST OF HISTORY. IT WORKS. IT IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THAT COMPLEX SET OF BALANCES AND MECHANISMS THAT HAVE MADE THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT THE WORLD'S GREATEST SUCCESS STORY.

UNDER JEFFERSON'S INNOVATION, AMERICA HAS PROSPERED,



MAINTAINING ALWAYS HER COMMITMENT TO BOTH MAJORITY RULE AND FREEDOM OF DISSENT. MANY COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY IN LATIN AMERICA, HAVE COPIED OUR CONSTITUTION. AND IN MANY CASES THEY HAVE MET WITH REPEATED FAILURE. ONE OF THE KEYS TO UNDERSTANDING WHY IS THEIR INABILITY TO DEVELOP A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.

A GOAL OF THIS NORTHEASTERN REGIONAL VOTE WORKSHOP IS TO CONSIDER WAYS TO SHARPEN THE CUTTING EDGES OF OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM. THE PROBLEM WAS NEVER STATED BETTER THAN IT WAS SOME YEARS AGO BY THE PROMINENT BRITISH WRITER, MR. J. A. SPENDER. THE PROBLEM, HE SAID, "IS TO CONVINCING OUR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN THAT TO HAVE POLITICAL CONVICTIONS, TO JOIN A PARTY, TO WORK FOR IT, AND TO SUPPORT IT OUT OF THEIR PURSES, SO FAR AS MEANS ALLOW, ARE AMONG DUTIES OF

ALL CITIZENS, AND CANNOT BE NEGLECTED WITHOUT SERIOUS HARM TO THE COUNTRY." THIS IS ONE OF THE GREAT UNSOLVED PROBLEMS OF DEMOCRACY. UNTIL WE SOLVE IT, OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM AND THE VERY QUALITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE DEFECTIVE.

THE INDICES OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS DO NOT TELL AN ENCOURAGING STORY IN THE UNITED STATES. THE PERCENTAGE OF CITIZENS OF VOTING AGE WHO HAVE VOTED IN RECENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS HAS HOVERED ABOUT THE LEVEL OF 60 PER CENT. IN OFF-YEAR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, IT HAS BEEN RUNNING BETWEEN 45 AND 49 PER CENT. IN LOCAL ELECTIONS A TURNOUT OF 30 TO 40 PER CENT IS COMMON. THESE LEVELS OF VOTER PARTICIPATION DO NOT COMPARE FAVORABLY WITH THOSE OF ADVANCED NATIONS WITH A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

WITH LESS THAN TWO-THIRDS OF THE POTENTIAL ELECTORATE ACTUALLY VOTING, HOW MANY LESS EVER ACTIVELY WORK FOR A POLITICAL PARTY OR FOR CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE? AND OF THOSE WHO WORK--PERFORMING THE IMPORTANT ROLE OF INFORMING THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS--HOW MANY LESS EVER MAKE A FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTION? THE NUMBER GETS SMALLER AND SMALLER, AND DIMINISHING WITH IT IS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.

PARTICULARLY ACUTE IS THE NEED FOR AN ADEQUATE FINANCIAL FOUNDATION, ONE CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES. HERBERT ALEXANDER, STAFF DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S COMMISSION ON CAMPAIGN COSTS, HAS PUT THE COSTS OF ^{THE} ~~X~~ 1964 CAMPAIGNS AT 200 MILLION DOLLARS. SUCH EXPENDITURES ARE NOT UNJUSTIFIABLY LARGE IN CAMPAIGNS DIRECTED TOWARD A



POTENTIAL ELECTORATE OF MORE THAN 100 MILLION WHO ARE ASKED TO VOTE FOR AT LEAST 200,000 OFFICES OF SOME SIGNIFICANCE.

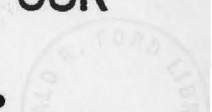
ONLY ABOUT 10 PER CENT OF ADULT AMERICANS EVER CONTRIBUTE TO ELECTION CAMPAIGNS. THIS FIGURE IS SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER THAN IT WAS FIFTY OR EVEN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO, BUT IT IS STILL FAR TOO LOW. IT IS NOT HEALTHY FOR THE COSTS OF DEMOCRACY TO BE MET BY SO FEW. THE DAY WHEN POLITICAL PARTIES CAN SIT BACK AND DEPEND ON LARGE CONTRIBUTORS MUST END. OUR ELECTION COSTS MUST BE COVERED WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING OUR PUBLIC MORALS. OUR GOAL SHOULD BE SECURING EVER MORE CONTRIBUTORS TO OUR POLITICAL PARTIES ON A REGULAR YEAR-ROUND BASIS. THE WIDER THE BASE OF PARTY FUNDS, THE LESS SUSPICION THERE CAN BE OF IMPROPER INFLUENCE. THERE IS A

JOB TO BE DONE. RECENT DATA FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN SURVEY RESEARCH CENTER SHOWS THAT LESS THAN HALF OF THOSE INTERVIEWED HAD EVER HEARD OF EFFORTS TO RAISE MONEY FOR CAMPAIGN EXPENSES. EIGHTY-FIVE PER CENT HAD NEVER BEEN ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ONLY ONE OUT OF FIFTY HAD EVER PARTICIPATED IN A CAMPAIGN FUND-RAISING DRIVE. WHEN ASKED IF THEY WOULD CONTRIBUTE IF APPROACHED, A FOURTH SAID YES, WHILE 58 PER CENT REPLIED NO.

OUR FAILURE HERE IS DEPLORABLE--AND EVEN MORE SO BECAUSE WE RAISE ANNUALLY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY LARGE SUMS FOR WELFARE AND OTHER COMMUNITY NEEDS. IS THE WELL-BEING OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM ANY LESS IMPORTANT? WITH HARD WORK AND ORGANIZATION, AND WITH THE HELP OF GROUPS LIKE THE AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION, OUR POLITICAL PARTIES CAN



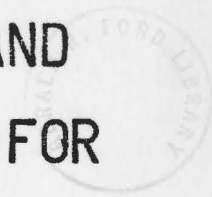
MEET THIS TEST. MY OWN PARTY HAS MADE STRIDES IN THIS DIRECTION. SINCE 1963 A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE OPERATING BUDGET OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE HAS BEEN MET BY ANNUAL TEN-DOLLAR SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIPS. IN 1964, THROUGH THE EXTENSIVE USE OF DIRECT MAIL AND TELEVISION APPEALS, 72 PER CENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN CAME IN SUMS LESS THAN 500 DOLLARS. ONLY 30 PER CENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATS CAME IN THESE SMALLER SUMS. BUT ESTABLISHING THE MEASURING ROD AT 500 DOLLARS IS STILL SETTING IT AWFULLY HIGH. THERE IS MUCH MORE THAT BOTH PARTIES CAN AND MUST DO TO INTEREST THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN OF LIMITED MEANS IN INVESTING IN OUR POLITICAL PROCESS. UNTIL WE DO--UNTIL THE COSTS OF DEMOCRACY ARE APPORTIONED DEMOCRATICALLY--OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM WILL NOT BE DOING THE BEST JOB IT CAN.



IN THE FIELD OF LEGISLATION THERE IS ALSO MUCH THAT CAN BE DONE. EFFORTS HERE ARE GENERALLY AIMED AT RESTRAINING ABUSES IN RAISING AND SPENDING CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

I SUGGEST THAT IT IS TIME TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR ADEQUATE FINANCING OF PARTIES AND CANDIDATES THROUGH MASS CONTRIBUTIONS OF SMALL AMOUNTS. THE PRESENT METHODS OF FUND RAISING TOO OFTEN SHUT OUT OF ELECTIVE OFFICE MEN AND WOMEN WHO LACK SUBSTANTIAL PERSONAL FUNDS OR LACK PERSONAL ACCESS TO GREAT WEALTH.

THERE ARE OTHER STEPS THAT CAN BE TAKEN TO LIGHTEN THE BURDEN OF CAMPAIGN COSTS--NOTABLY MODIFYING THE RESTRICTIONS OF SECTION 315 OF THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS ACT--THE EQUAL TIME PROVISION--WHICH OPERATES TO PREVENT TELEVISION AND RADIO STATIONS FROM PROVIDING FREE TIME TO CANDIDATES FOR OFFICE.



THOSE WHO DISCUSS THE INADEQUATE PARTICIPATION OF CITIZENS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS GENERALLY CENTER THEIR FIRE ON THE CITIZEN. HE IS DENOUNCED BY CRITICS AS APATHETIC, UNINFORMED, AND UNINTERESTED.

I FEEL THAT THE INDICTMENT MUST BE EXTENDED TO COVER POLITICIANS AND PERHAPS OTHERS IN OUR SOCIETY. IF THE CITIZEN IS UNINTERESTED, IS THIS LACK OF INTEREST DUE TO SOME DEGREE TO THE FAILURE OF POLITICIANS TO OFFER SOMETHING THAT WILL AROUSE HIS INTEREST? IF HE IS UNINFORMED, IS IT BECAUSE MUCH POLITICAL ORATORY IS NOT REALLY INFORMATIVE? SOME WILL CONTEND--PERHAPS AN ALIBI-- THAT THEY JUST CAN'T FIND THE FACTS FROM ANY SOURCE.

THERE IS NEED FOR DRASTIC REFORM OF CAMPAIGN PROCEDURES THAT GO BACK TO THE HORSE-AND-BUGGY ERA. SOMETHING IN

THIS DIRECTION IS BEING DONE BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE. ON THE SUGGESTION OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, CHAIRMAN BLISS HAS A COMMISSION AT WORK STUDYING THE QUADRENNIAL NATIONAL CONVENTION WITH A VIEW TO STREAMLINING THIS VENERABLE BUT SOPORIFIC INSTITUTION.

THIS IS A START, BUT MUCH MORE IS NEEDED IF CAMPAIGNS ARE BETTER TO SERVE THE PURPOSE OF SPREADING INFORMATION AND CAPTURING PUBLIC INTEREST...

IN 1968 I HOPE THAT TELEVISED DEBATES BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES, SO SUCCESSFUL IN ATTRACTING PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE 1960 CAMPAIGN, WILL BE CONDUCTED AGAIN. I SEE LITTLE MERIT IN THE ARGUMENT THAT ANY INCUMBENT PRESIDENT SHOULD NOT ENGAGE IN DEBATE WITH HIS OPPONENT.



PRESIDENT KENNEDY WOULD HAVE DEBATED HIS REPUBLICAN CHALLENGER IN 1964 HAD HE LIVED TO RUN FOR REELECTION-- AND THE VOTERS WOULD HAVE BEEN THE BENEFICIARIES.


IF, HOWEVER, THE CANDIDATES THEMSELVES ARE UNWILLING TO ENGAGE IN DEBATE, THEY COULD DESIGNATE SPOKESMEN TO PARTICIPATE IN JOINT TELEVISED APPEARANCES ON THEIR BEHALF.

DEBATE BETWEEN THE PARTIES SHOULD BE PRACTICED FAR MORE WIDELY THAN IT IS AT PRESENT. ALTHOUGH I ATTACH SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO DEBATE IN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS, THERE SHOULD BE A RUNNING DEBATE BETWEEN PARTY SPOKESMEN AT ALL POLITICAL LEVELS AT ALL TIMES. THERE ARE ALWAYS IMPORTANT ISSUES. THERE ARE ALWAYS DIFFERENCES OF OPINION ON SOME OF THEM. THE PARTIES WOULD BE STRENGTHENED, THE PUBLIC WOULD BE BETTER INFORMED, AND POLICY DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE MORE

WISELY IF WE ARGUED OUT THINGS BEFORE THE PUBLIC.

TO TALK OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS TO INVITE ATTENTION TO THE WOES OF THE MINORITY PARTY. I SHALL REFRAIN FROM INFLICTING ON YOU ANY LONG LIST OF COMPLAINTS, BUT I DO WANT TO EXPRESS ONE FEAR WHICH, IF JUSTIFIED, SHOULD BE OF CONCERN TO ALL REGARDLESS OF PARTY.

IT IS NOT EASY FOR THE MINORITY TO MAKE ITS VOICE HEARD. IN THIS AGE OF MASS COMMUNICATION, THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT DOMINATES THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCENE. THE EYES OF THE NATION AND THE WORLD ARE FIXED UPON IT. AND RIGHTLY SO. ITS POWER IS AWESOME, AS IS THE RESPONSIBILITY WHICH CONFRONTS THE MAN WHO POSSESSES IT. IT IS POWER TO DO ENORMOUS GOOD. BUT THE GREAT POWER TO DO GOOD IS, AT ITS ROOT, SIMPLY GREAT POWER. FREE MEN MUST BE ABLE TO CHECK IT AND CHALLENGE IT, LEST IT CONSUME THEM.



IF FREE MEN CANNOT CHECK AND CHALLENGE IT, THEN WE DO HAVE ONE-PARTY RULE. IF IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO DO SO, THEN WE HAVE BEGUN A JOURNEY DOWN A DANGEROUS ROAD.

WE SEEK IN OUR POLITICAL LIFE THE ATTAINMENT OF JUSTICE AND THE CONTAINMENT OF POWER. THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM PLAYS A VITAL ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE THESE GOALS. BY PROVIDING DEBATE AND DISCUSSION IT HELPS US TRAVEL A MUCH SURER COURSE TOWARD JUSTICE FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

THE MINORITY MUST BE ABLE TO GET ITS VIEWS OUT TO THE PEOPLE. I HOPE THAT THE MINORITY STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE, FIRST DELIVERED THIS YEAR, WILL BECOME A PERMANENT INSTITUTION--GIVEN TIME AND PROMINENCE CORRESPONDING TO THAT OF THE PRESIDENT.



ALTHOUGH I SPEAK TONIGHT FOR THE MINORITY, THE REPUBLICANS, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THOSE IN THE MINORITY CAN OR SHOULD SIT BACK AND BIDE THEIR TIME. THERE ARE SOME, A VERY FEW FORTUNATELY, WHO ARGUE THAT THE MINORITY SHOULD AWAIT A NATIONAL DISASTER AT HOME OR ABROAD AND THEN MOVE IN, PICK UP THE PIECES AND BUILD FROM THE SHAMBLES.

THIS I CONTEND IS NEITHER THE TRADITION NOR THE HERITAGE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN THE 1960'S. THIS WAS NOT THE ROLE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY UNDER LINCOLN OR EISENHOWER. IT WAS NOT THE ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATS IN THEIR DARK DAYS IN THE MINORITY IN THE 1920'S. WE MUST BY THE COMPETENCE OF OUR CANDIDATES, BY THE RECORD OF LEGISLATORS AND ADMINISTRATORS, AND BY THE PHILOSOPHY THAT WE ESPOUSE EARN THE RESPECT OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS.

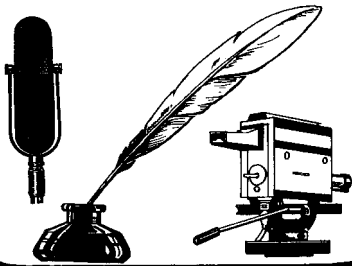
MY SUGGESTIONS ONLY TOUCH THE SURFACE. IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE FUTURE OF OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM DEPENDS ON THE COURAGE AND CONVICTION OF ALL AMERICANS--OF WHATEVER POLITICAL STRIPE--AND THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE VALUES OF MAJORITY RULE AND FREEDOM OF DISSENT.

THESE VALUES ARE THE HERITAGE OF ALL AMERICANS. THEY ARE VALUES THAT WILL BE PRESERVED ONLY THROUGH STRENGTHENING THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM.

-----THANK YOU-----

--END--





CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE AT 6 P.M.
MONDAY, JULY 11, 1966

SPEECH EXCERPTS--AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION WORKSHOP, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

There is a "commitment gap" on the part of too many Americans. What we need is a commitment to broad, staunch, and constructive support for the two-party system.

What is called for, I believe, is a decision by more and more Americans to renounce political neutrality during elections and to bring their entire individual effort to bear on behalf of candidates who meet their rigid specifications of honor and outlook.

Individual Americans have the responsibility and the duty to become actively engaged in partisan politics. It is only within a party that they can help to determine party policy, help select candidates for party nomination and work for their eventual election. It is only within a political party that they can till and fertilize the soil which will produce the kind of legislators who will, for example, get some of our basic problems, state and national, out of petty politics.

The political party is the agency, and really the only agency, through which citizens can fully and effectively participate in the political process.

The two-party system guarantees a wide appeal to the electorate, and it increases the chances for coherence and stability in government. It is an important part of that complex set of balances and mechanisms which have made the American experiment in democratic government the world's greatest success story.

Until we solve the problem of getting Americans to join a political party, to work for it and to support it with their contributions, our two-party system and the very quality of our government will be defective.

It is time to emphasize the need for adequate financing of parties and candidates through mass contributions of small amounts. The present methods of fund-raising too often shut out of elective office men and women who lack substantial personal funds or lack personal access to great wealth.

There are other steps that can be taken to lighten the burden of campaign costs-- notably modifying the restrictions of Section 315 of the Federal Communications Act, the Equal Time provision, which operates to prevent television and radio stations from providing free time to candidates for office.

There is need for drastic reform of campaign procedures that go back to the horse-and-buggy era. Something in this direction is being done by the Republican

(MORE)

National Committee. On the suggestion of President Eisenhower, Chairman Ray C. Bliss has a commission at work studying the quadrennial national convention with a view to streamlining this venerable but soporific institution.

In 1968 I hope that televised debates between presidential candidates, as successful in attracting public interest in the 1960 campaign, will be conducted again. I see little merit in the argument that any incumbent president should not engage in debate with his opponent. I believe President Kennedy would have debated his Republican challenger in 1964 had he lived to run for reelection--and the voters would have been the beneficiaries.

There should be a running debate between party spokesmen at all political levels at all times. There are always important issues. There are always differences of opinion on some of them. The parties would be strengthened, the public would be better informed, and policy decisions would be made more wisely if we argued out things before the public.

It is not easy for the minority to make its voice heard. In this age of mass communication, the Office of the President dominates the American political scene. Its power is awesome, as is the responsibility which confronts the man who possesses it. It is power to do enormous good. But the great power to do good is, at its root, simply great power. Free men must be able to check it and challenge it, lest it consume them.

If free men cannot check and challenge it, then we have one-party rule.

We seek in our political life the attainment of justice and the containment of power. The two-party system plays a vital role in the struggle to achieve these goals. By providing debate and discussion it helps us travel a much surer course toward justice for all our citizens.

The minority must get its views out to the people. I hope that the minority State of the Union Message, first delivered this year, will become a permanent institution--given time and prominence corresponding to that of the President.

I do not believe that those in the minority can or should sit back and bide their time...await a national disaster at home or abroad and then move in to pick up the pieces and build from the shambles. We must by the competence of our candidates, by the record of our legislators and administrators and by the philosophy we espouse earn the respect of our fellow citizens.

In the final analysis, the future of our two-party system depends on the courage and conviction of all Americans--of whatever political stripe--and their commitment to the values of majority rule and the freedom of dissent. These values are the heritage of all Americans. They are values that can be preserved only by strengthening the two-party system.



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