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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD**
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
July 10, 1967

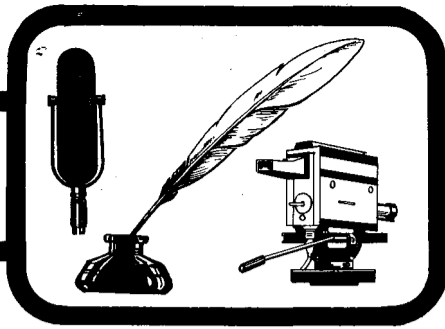
Comment by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., on dispatch of U.S. Transport Planes
to Congo

The President appears to have acted without sufficient concern for the possible consequences of the move.

The United States should not get into the position of playing fireman every time incendiaries touch off a local conflagration somewhere in the world. The lives of American youth are too precious to be risked in such casual fashion.

The President should respond in these instances only when the interests of the United States are involved and only after proper consultation with the Congress.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
July 13, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD (R.-MICH.), HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

I whole-heartedly endorse the effort of my distinguished colleague from Maryland (Mr. Mathias) to arouse this Congress to action on the long overdue review and reform of the Executive Branch of the Government. I joined with him and other Republican members in sponsoring such legislation two years ago, and again at the outset of the 90th Congress. I believe that the machinery of government, like any other machinery upon which our safety depends, requires continuous upkeep and at regular intervals a thorough inspection and overhaul. Experience has shown that the best way to go about this is to set up an independent commission, sufficiently detached from partisan considerations yet sufficiently experienced in practical governmental problems, such as the first and second Hoover Commissions of the postwar period.

I do not think this should be a partisan political endeavor. Nor do I think it should be pigeonholed and postponed forever simply because any objective inquiry into the operations of the Executive Branch -- whenever it may be undertaken -- is bound to turn up instances of inefficiency and mismanagement which may have partisan political repercussions.

This did not deter President Truman, in 1947, nor President Eisenhower, in 1953, from enlisting the great talents of Former President Herbert Hoover and two commissions of distinguished Americans whose monumental works helped ease America's entry into this complex era of world leadership and responsibility.

If I might be allowed one moment of partisan pride, I would recall that the first and second Hoover Commissions were established by the Republican 80th Congress and the Republican 83rd Congress, respectively. And I assure my friends on the other side of the aisle that if the Democratic 90th Congress shirks its plain and present duty to start putting the Federal government's house in order, as the Democratic 89th Congress did, a Republican 91st Congress will make this reorganization effort one of its first legislative priorities in 1969!

But I would really rather see reason prevail. To wait will mean at least two more years' delay, and already a dozen years have slipped past since there

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has been any long, hard look at the overall structure of Executive Branch departments, agencies and administrative operations. Such a study cannot be undertaken overnight, and we now have an opportunity to get it started.

Some members will point to with pride, while others will view with alarm, the vast wilderness of new legislation and the wild proliferation of new programs and administrative agencies created by the last Congress under the banner of the Great Society. Whatever one's opinion, however, these new Executive Branch functions do exist, and affect the existence of millions of Americans today. They deserve, as well from the proponents as from the opponents of each particular program, the very most efficient and economical administration their government can provide.

If there are any valid reasons why we should not seriously attack this problem of bureaucratic sprawl and do it now, I have not heard them. For our part, the Republican minority has made its position and the logic of it abundantly clear. On January 17, 1966, at the start of the 2nd session of the 89th Congress, I said in our Republican appraisal of the State of the Union:

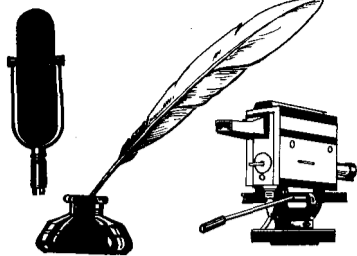
"There are now 42 separate Federal agencies involved in education programs alone. There are at least 252 welfare programs today, including 52 separate Federal economic aid programs, 57 job training programs and 65 Federal programs to improve health. In the ten years since the second Hoover Commission made its report, during five Democratic-controlled Congresses, employees on the Federal payroll have increased by 175,000 and Federal expenditures have increased by \$57 billion.

"The Executive branch has become a bureaucratic jungle. The time has come to explore its wild growth and cut it back."

A week later the House Republican Policy Committee went on record with a strong endorsement of the Hoover-type Commission approach to the problem. More than a score of us introduced legislation similar to Mr. Mathias' current bill, H.R. 69. But we were outnumbered more than two to one, and nothing happened.

On Jan. 19, 1967, in our second Republican State of the Union review, I reminded citizens who had just voted a clear mandate for economy and efficiency that "the need for streamlining the national government has become even more urgent since we recommended a new Hoover-type Commission a year ago." Again the House Republican Policy Committee threw its support behind the reorganization effort. On February 23, 1967, it called for an in-depth commission study "now, without further delay."

Unfortunately, delay seems to be the regular order when such constructive proposals come before this Congress. Perhaps this will change some as members return from communing with their constituents over the Fourth of July holiday. Whether or not the American people want more or less Federal government, I am absolutely convinced they all want better government. And I hope they will let their Congressmen know, as they have me, that they will support a solid, sensible step such as H.R. 69 to improve it.



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

-- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE --
July 19, 1967

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

President Johnson has begun his big buildup for an income tax increase. It is deliberately low-keyed. He does not want to scare anyone by talking at the outset of an increase larger than a 6 per cent surtax although it is known his advisers are urging 10 per cent.

At the same time, the President reportedly has ordered his department heads to tell him where federal spending can be cut by as much as 15 per cent. Reports are that Defense Secretary McNamara is planning a \$10 billion postponement of Pentagon purchases but that HEW officials are balking on the economy order.

The President yesterday said there may be "adjustments" in his income tax increase request but that he has not yet made a decision. He was saying in effect that he still is unsure what to recommend in the way of a tax increase on July 18 despite the fact he urged a 6 per cent surtax as of last January to take effect July 1 of this year.

The economic picture is fuzzy. Although the economy began moving in the second quarter of this year after stalling during the first three months, there is no certainty of a big upsurge in the second half of 1967. An income tax increase could depress the economy to a point where consumers would run for cover. They are still cautious after being downright timid early this year. According to Sen. William Proxmire, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, the second-quarter gain in Gross National Product represents economic growth of only 2 per cent on an annual basis.

The President has launched a two-pronged campaign--an apparent move to cut back federal spending and a bid for more tax revenue. I firmly believe at this time that only a spending hold-down is needed. If the Defense Department can postpone spending by \$10 billion in fiscal 1968, then other federal departments also can make meaningful and substantial cutbacks. Avoidance of a tax increase would give the American consumer the new confidence he needs.

President Johnson has said a tax increase would not be "primarily" due to either the high level of non-defense spending or to Vietnam War costs. He said he needs the revenue. The latter statement has the ring of truth. He wants the tax increase as a vehicle for continuing his present guns-and-butter policy.

I believe the American people are willing to pay for the Vietnam War but they want all the fat trimmed out of the Johnson budget. I believe they would prefer an austerity budget to a tax increase.

President Johnson says Americans are actually paying about \$24 billion less in taxes than they did when he assumed the Presidency in late 1963. But he makes no mention of the disastrous Johnson inflation of 1966 when the loss to savers was \$27 billion during that one year alone, due to the drop in the value of the dollar.

Mr. Johnson raises the specter of another sharp rise in interest rates, like the Johnson interest rate jump of 1966 which set a 40-year record. He neglects to mention that government borrowing forced by high-level government spending was a big factor in that interest rate climb.

Government spending is a prime source of inflation. Government spending and borrowing is a compelling factor in pushing up interest rates. The threats of a fresh round of inflation and a new interest rate rise are directly due to Mr. Johnson's excessive spending plans. Under the Johnson method of economic mismanagement, the budget will always be out of control.

The federal government needs a tax increase only if the projected level of domestic spending is to be continued. What the American people need and want is a cutback in domestic spending, not more income taxes.

-- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE --

August 3, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD (R.-MICH.), HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

When Mr. Johnson talks of a \$23.6 billion deficit without his 10 percent income tax surcharge, he is talking about continued federal spending at present and projected levels set by his Administration.

For this and other reasons, I continue to state emphatically that the President has not made a case for an income tax increase.

I will not concede that the present level of Federal spending cannot be cut back sufficiently to avoid a tax increase.

The way to avoid the President's 10 percent surcharge is to make expenditure reductions equal to the anticipated revenue from new taxes.

The President inaccurately labels this a war tax. This is not a war tax because the need for the tax can be eliminated if sufficient domestic spending items and non-Vietnam defense items are cut and others deferred.

As for the proposals which would freeze the automobile and telephone excises at existing levels and speed up collection of corporate income taxes, these will have to be considered in the light of their impact on the industries involved and the economy generally. It must be remembered that the auto industry is the bellwether of the economy and has only recently climbed out of the slump into which it was plunged by mismanagement of the economy by the Johnson Administration.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--Release in PMs of August 3--

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., prepared for delivery on the floor of the House on Thursday, August 3, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, America today is shaken by a deep national crisis--a near-breakdown of law and order made even more severe by civil disorders in which criminal elements are heavily engaged.

The law-abiding citizens of America who have suffered at the hands of the lawless and the extremists are anxiously awaiting a remedy.

This is a time for swift and decisive action. It is a time for early-effect measures, and a time for longrange solutions which not only repair but greatly strengthen the fabric of our society. It is long past the time when we should launch an all-out assault on the criminal in our midst and on the social conditions which tend to breed crime and civil disorder.

We have before us legislation which we hope will stiffen the will and the way of local law enforcement. I trust all of us here today will work together to shape this legislation into the best possible law enforcement aid for our states and local communities.

I personally feel that in this bill as in other measures needed to rebuild a badly torn and bleeding America we must take a new approach and in some instances a bold and imaginative approach.

We must abandon the idea of direct Federal intervention in the cities, with a Federal administrator deciding arbitrarily who will get what and how much. In the field of law enforcement as in others we must provide the incentive for strong state and local action with federal dollar help. That dollar help should be channeled through the states, through a designated state agency which would implement a statewide plan for stronger law enforcement as approved by our Justice Department.

If the legislation now before us is amended to provide for such block grants to the states to bolster state and local law enforcement, I believe we should double the authorization requested by the President for fiscal 1968. I also want an equitable allocation formula written into the bill. I don't want law enforcement grants left solely to the discretion of the attorney general of the United States.

What is Congress doing about crime in the streets...about the arson, looting

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and murder that have made American cities from coast to coast places of horror, suffering and shame?

This House has passed an Anti-Riot Act, legislation which has received the silent treatment by the President and has been labeled unnecessary by the Attorney General.

We are about to pass landmark legislation to be known as the Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act of 1967.

What has the President of the United States done to assist the Congress in meeting the crime and civil disorders crisis of 1967?

Before the most recent outbreaks, he sent the Congress a so-called Safe Streets Bill which has been amended in more than 20 instances in the House Judiciary Committee. After the Detroit riot, he appointed a presidential study commission on civil disorders.

Has there been a flow of proposals from the White House to the Congress in a move to deal vigorously with the crime-in-the-streets crisis, which occupies a national priority second only to the War in Vietnam and has eclipsed even the war in the minds of the American people?

There have not been any new proposals from the White House. There has been "business as usual." There has been a fresh push by the President for more of the same, more millions for his Great Society programs, and charges by the President, the vice-president and the Secretary of Agriculture that you people here in the House have been inactive.

I submit that the Johnson Administration has delivered itself of a self-indictment in blaming the 1967 riots on the Congress. I submit that this attempt to fasten the blame on the Congress indicates a bankruptcy of ideas within the Administration.

This is "the game of switch," a move by the Administration to divert the blame from itself by pinning it on the Congress. The Administration is using the Congress as a scapegoat for its own troubles. The President is asking the American people to believe that the proposals he has advanced since he assumed the Presidency in November, 1963, contained all the answers and Congress just hasn't given him enough money. My friend, George Mahon, answered that argument beautifully here on the floor last Monday when he cited the tremendous sums that Democratic Congresses have voted since 1960 and declared that "Spending is not the answer to these problems."

All of this should tell us that something is basically wrong with the Johnson Administration's approach to the problems of our cities, the evils that

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help to spawn crime and civil disorder. Yet the President has spurned every new approach offered by the Loyal Opposition, has refused to seriously entertain any new proposals.

I challenge him to take a fresh look at the ideas set forth in the Republican State of the Union Message of last January 19--particularly those of tax credits as an incentive to industry to attack urban problems, a proposed Industry Youth Corps to provide private, productive employment for young people as part of a revamped War on Poverty, the Human Investment Act which would trigger a nationwide on-the-job training program by industry, and the Percy-Widnall plan to set up a National Home Ownership Foundation for slum dwellers.

The Washington Post, one of the country's great newspapers, called editorially last Monday for a "great departure" in domestic policy, a "different direction." Republicans proposed a "New Direction" in our State of the Union Message last January.

We have repeatedly urged the tax credit approach to the problems of the cities. So, now, does the Washington Post. So, too, does a prominent Senate Democrat. To the Washington Post and to Bobby Kennedy, I say, "Welcome to the club."

The Vice-President, who has been admirably labeled "the President's echo" by the Washington Post, last night lofted a trial balloon on Lyndon Johnson's behalf. He called for a domestic Marshall Plan to fight poverty in the United States. I thought we had an anti-poverty program. Is Mr. Humphrey calling the Johnson Anti-Poverty Program a failure?

Mr. Humphrey obviously is saying that the \$25.6 billion which President Johnson's 1968 budget message lists as earmarked for the poverty fight this fiscal year is not enough. Is he proposing that we spend an additional \$20 billion this fiscal year, to be added to the \$20 to \$30 billion deficit the Johnson-Humphrey Administration already is running?

Mr. Humphrey appears to be calling the Democratic majority in the Congress a bunch of pikers, although the President proudly declares in his 1968 budget message that LBJ spending on "federal aid to the poor" not only has gone up nearly \$16 billion since 1960 but is nearly double the amount spent by John F. Kennedy in 1963.

Where are all the blessings from this outpouring of federal aid? George Mahon said on Monday, "The more we have appropriated for these programs, the more violence we have had." He added, "This refutes the idea that money alone is the answer to this problem."

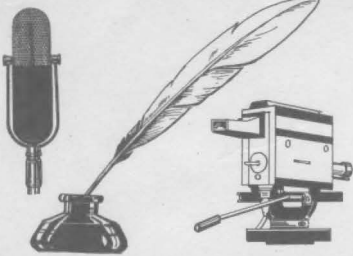
I say we need new imaginative proposals, not more of the same. If the

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President's trial balloon domestic Marshall Plan is simply a dollar-fattening of his old ideas, then the President is failing to help the Congress meet the great crisis that confronts the American people.

I challenge the President to cast off his blinders, to open his eyes to fresh new approaches to our slum sickness. I challenge him to re-think America's problems, for the sands of time are flowing fast.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE ON DELIVERY--

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., on the Floor of the House of Representatives, Tuesday, August 8, 1967.

Mr. Speaker, ^(Today I) I rise after much reflection to express my grave misgivings, which have been growing for many months, about the way the war in Vietnam is going. I believe my concern is shared by many millions of my countrymen, and I know it is shared by those responsible for fighting the war in Vietnam.

My troubled thoughts were brought into sharper focus last Thursday by the President's message asking for a 10% Federal income tax surcharge. Most of the comment on this floor and in the press centered initially on his tax increase proposals. For my part I reiterated that President Johnson still has not made a convincing case for higher taxes.

With his tax message, as an additional and emotionally-compelling argument, the President announced his decision to "authorize an increase of at least 45,000 in the number of men to be sent to Vietnam this fiscal year."

This will swell the total to 525,000 Americans, not counting those in adjacent areas, surpassing our peak manpower commitment to the Korean War. Vietnam is a major war, and has become an American war.

At the end of 1963, when President Johnson succeeded to the Presidency, the United States had approximately 16,000 men in Vietnam. Only 109 had been killed in action and about 500 wounded.

By grim coincidence, the Pentagon released the latest casualty figures on the same day we received the President's tax increase message. The toll of Americans (as of July 29) now stands at 87,000 -- 12,000 dead and 75,000 wounded. (Figures rounded.)

Mr. Speaker, I blame nobody but the Communist enemy for these sad statistics. I have supported the President and our country from the outset and to this hour. I have heard myself branded a hawk, and worse, for counseling firmness against Communist aggression and using America's awesome arsenal of conventional arms to compel a swift and sure peace.

But I am troubled, as I think most Americans are troubled. Recent surveys show that more than half of our people are not satisfied with the way the war in Vietnam is being conducted.

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Mr. Speaker, why are we talking about money when we should be talking about men? The essential element in President Johnson's tax increase message, I submit, is not higher revenues but human lives -- not whether every American should live better but whether hundreds and thousands of Americans are going to live at all.

This is not an academic exercise with computers. This involves the finest of our future leaders. This is a question crying for bold leadership and political courage of the highest order -- even the courage to admit past policies have been woefully wrong.

I believe everyone in this House would willingly vote any level of taxes and the American people would willingly pay them if they were convinced it would bring the Vietnam War to an end. But as I do not believe the grave challenges we face at home can be countered simply by pouring out more and more money, neither do I believe the graver challenge in Southeast Asia can be met merely by pouring in more and more men and by these brave men pouring out more and more blood.

I am troubled, Mr. Speaker, that the President's ordering 45,000 more Americans to Vietnam is almost taken for granted, so hardened have we become to these creeping commitments. I am troubled that the only apparent result of Gen. Taylor's and Mr. Clifford's circuit of our Pacific allies, besides arranging another Asian Summit show, was a promise of some 3,000 to 15,000 South Korean reservists "to release American troops for combat duty" in Vietnam. Shouldn't it be the other way around?

President Johnson himself set the groundrules for a great debate about our nation's priorities and goals. I accept them. I hope others will join. In his tax increase message, Mr. Johnson said:

"This nation has taken a solemn pledge that its sons and brothers engaged in the conflict (in Vietnam) shall never lack all the help, all the arms, and all the equipment essential for their mission and for their very lives. America must and will honor that pledge. It is for this reason that expenditures for Vietnam -- subject as they are to the variable demands of military operations -- may now exceed our earlier estimates."

After outlining his higher tax plans, the President added:

"The inconveniences this demand imposes are small when measured against the contribution of a Marine on patrol in a sweltering jungle, or an airman flying through perilous skies, or a soldier 10,000 miles from home waiting to

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~~join his outfit on the line."~~

~~Who can question such a comparison?~~

~~But~~ the question we ~~may ask~~ ~~the question I~~ must ask -- is this:

Why, and how long, must United States Marines patrol that sweltering jungle?

Why, and how long, must U.S. Navy and Air Force pilots brave increasingly deadly skies because the flow of sophisticated Soviet weapons has not been stopped?

Why, and how long, must American soldiers -- now nearly half a million -- wait 10,000 miles from home to meet and match Asian enemies man to man, body for body?

~~Mr. Speaker,~~ we must ask another question: Why are we pulling our best punches in Vietnam?

Is there no end, no other answer except more men, more men, more men?

~~Of course we will give our fighting men all they need to defend their lives and carry out their mission. But what is their mission?~~

Is there any clear, coherent and credible military plan for bringing this bloody business to a conclusion?

Certainly there are such plans. Our ablest military leaders would be unbelievably derelict not to have developed a variety of alternative strategies based on the situation and sound military experience. But up to now they have not been allowed to put their plans to a real test, or worse, their plans have been tried piecemeal, in the same senseless way Americans have been fed piecemeal from 16,000 to 525,000 into this peninsular war, under such high-level restrictions as to void their validity.

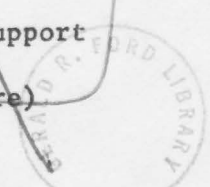
General Eisenhower recently stated pointedly that a "war of gradualism" cannot be won. The result of our "war of gradualism" against North Vietnam has been the equivalent buildup of the enemy forces on the ground and the accelerated hardening of his defenses.

Mr. Speaker, when you have to change a tire, you tighten every lug as hard as you can. If you only tighten one, or tighten them unevenly, your car will go on wobbling down the road and wind up in a ditch.

What is especially dishonest is secretly to forbid effective strategic action and publicly portray it as an honest try. Then, when expected results are not forthcoming, to belittle the effort and its backers. This is worse than dishonest -- for meanwhile brave men have died in vain.

I point no accusing finger. I do not want to be partisan or personal. This is not a Democratic war nor a Republican war but an American war, as all our wars have been once we were in them. My party has, in fact, stated its support

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of the war in Vietnam more explicitly and muted its public criticism and dissent more successfully than the President's party.

Republican policy on Vietnam generally has been based on a very precise and wholly nonpartisan statement which I helped to draft and to which I have consistently subscribed for the past 20 months. It was issued December 13, 1965 by the National Republican Coordinating Committee and its main points were these:

1. "Our purpose is....to repel Communist aggression, to minimize American and Vietnamese casualties, and to bring about a swift and secure peace."

(Emphasis mine.)

2. "There is a growing danger that the United States is becoming involved in an endless....land war in Southeast Asia (which) would be to the advantage of the Communists."

3. "Our first objective should be to impose a Kennedy-type (sea) quarantine on North Vietnam."

4. "To accomplish our objectives we also recommend the maximum use of American conventional air and sea power against significant military targets."

Mr. Speaker, when these reasoned, responsible and limited military measures were urged by the leaders of the loyal opposition party some 20 months ago, American casualties in Vietnam stood at less than 1500 dead and 6500 wounded; a total of 8000 as compared to 87,000 today.

Now we are told, and we scarcely question, the President's decision to dispatch another 10% reinforcement of our ground troops -- 45,000 more men to Vietnam -- hardly enough to be noticed except by those called and their loved ones. Surely this is what a nationally respected Washington column has branded "Horror on the Installment Plan." (Reston, May 14, 1967, NYT)

~~Reviewing our December 1965 policy statement I am compelled to some tragic and troubling conclusions.~~

First, under policies which the President has just pledged to continue substantially unchanged, our purpose of minimizing American casualties has failed. Our purpose of securing a swift peace has failed, because it was never tried. And our purpose of repelling Communist aggression remains, at best, a dubious stalemate and deadly duel of attrition.

The Republican Leaders
Second, our warning against involvement in a disadvantageous land war in Asia has gone unheeded. It now is academic. Half a million Americans are deeply involved, more than 10,000 have lost their lives in the intervening 20 months,

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and the only answer present leadership has to offer is to order 45,000 more into battle.

Third, our primary recommendation for a quarantine, or any meaningful form of seapower sanction against Haiphong harbor, has been rejected. The enemy meanwhile has had time to develop and defend alternative overland and air supply routes bristling with imported Soviet weapons. After many months the refitting of the battleship U.S.S. New Jersey has just been authorized, and will take almost a year to finish. Meanwhile the enemy has installed in heavy concrete emplacements along the North Vietnamese coast what may well be Soviet surface-to-surface missiles capable of sinking a warship at 100-mile ranges.

Fourth, only one small portion of one of our recommendations, the use of conventional American air and sea power against military targets, has been even belatedly tried. On June 29, 1966, President Johnson permitted air attacks on some, but not all, of North Vietnam's petroleum storage depots. As Secretary of Defense McNamara admitted at the time, the enemy already was well advanced on a major dispersion plan. But to this day, 13 months later, only about one-fourth of the known oil storage targets in North Vietnam have been hit by American air strikes and a significant percentage remain officially forbidden.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, I am deeply troubled. Is this any way to run a war while casualties increase ten-fold? Is it really necessary, will it do any real good, to send another 45,000 men to Vietnam?

Before leaving our 20-month old recommendations, largely rejected, let me stress two other key words in that Republican statement. Nobody was or is urging "escalation." It was specific about conventional weapons -- the kind we have been dropping on jungles and individual trucks in prodigious tonnages -- and about military targets, not indiscriminate bombing of civilians or cities. But the Communists, as they proved in Korea and other wars, are quite capable of shielding their most strategic targets with their own women and children. It is horrible, but effective.

The very word "escalation" has become a bugaboo and its military meaning abused. The scope of American involvement in Vietnam was really escalated or enlarged in February 1965 when President Johnson approved the bombing of North Vietnam. I accept the President's own definition (August 29, 1964) during the 1964 election campaign when he told Americans:

"I have had advice to load our planes with bombs and to drop them on certain areas that I think would enlarge the war, and result in our committing a good

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many American boys to fighting a war that I think ought to be fought by the boys of Asia to help protect their own land. And for that reason I haven't chosen to enlarge the war."

Mr. Speaker, I supported the President when he reversed this decision six months later. I again supported him when he removed his earlier restraints on bombing some enemy oil storage depots in June, 1966. Neither of these steps brought Russian or Red Chinese intervention. What they did bring was a loud Communist clamor for unconditional U.S. cessation of all bombing of North Vietnam, and much propaganda about civilian casualties.

Thus we already have accepted whatever real risks or propaganda punishment might be incurred in maximum use of American conventional sea and air power against significant military targets in North Vietnam. The whole world thinks that is what we are doing. The American people have been and still are being led to believe that is what we are doing. Most Americans wonder why North Vietnam has not been totally destroyed. They remember what conventional bombing did to Tokyo and Berlin, to London and Warsaw. They wonder what can be left in North Vietnam worth bombing.

Over this past weekend, Mr. Speaker, there have been successive reports of massive American air strikes against North Vietnam. On Saturday we read: "197 Missions Set Record for Raids on North Vietnam." On Sunday it was "U.S. Carrier Jets Meet Heavy Fire in Hanoi Region," and on Monday, "U.S. Raids North 178 Times in Day." It also was announced we have lost 636 U.S. planes over North Vietnam.

But when one reads the official spokesmen's account of what was accomplished on these air strikes, nothing has changed. Strategic bombers from Guam dropped their bombs on North Vietnamese weapons positions, base camps, storage areas and trails. U.S. pilots attacked troop concentrations, three artillery pieces, one bunker, two armored vehicles, one tank, five trucks. Other strikes hit an oil storage depot, 28 trucks, 10 undescribed buildings, one warehouse area, one bridge. These are all the details given for what is touted as the biggest American air assault of the Vietnam War.

Mr. Speaker, we are still pulling our best punch in North Vietnam.

The distinguished first Secretary of the Air Force, Senator Symington, recently expressed his exasperation over accounts of U.S. bombing of North Vietnamese targets by saying "Somebody is making available to the press a vast amount of misinformation."

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I believe it is high time the American people knew the truth.

Would the American people believe that in mid-1967, after two and one-half years of U.S. bombing of North Vietnam -- an area about the size of Michigan -- only 3 out of every 10 significant military targets had ever been struck by U.S. air power?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

Would the American people believe that when Secretary McNamara made his ninth visit to Vietnam last month, publicly opining that U.S. forces there might be used more effectively, nearly half the identified top priority targets in North Vietnam were officially off-limits to air attack under high-level orders from Washington?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

Would the American people believe that more than a hundred vital fixed enemy positions in North Vietnam, including most of the air defense control centers that have accounted for more than 600 U.S. planes, most of his major airfields and all of his naval facilities, could not be attacked under Washington orders?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

Would the American people believe that despite the much-publicized and prayerful Presidential decision to allow bombing of some oil depots a year ago, about three-fourths of the enemy's petroleum storage targets had not yet come under attack? Or that despite frequent news reports of raids on power plants, roughly one-third of North Vietnam's total power targets and all enemy hydro-electric generating facilities were still forbidden targets by orders from on high.

Why are we still pulling our air power punch?

Would the American people believe that 60 percent of the key targets that make up North Vietnam's transportation network were immune from our air attack? That only about one-fourth of these priority transport targets, one-third of his railroad facilities and bridges had ever been attacked? That all seaport targets and canal locks were off-limits? That most of the enemy's repair shops could not be hit?

Why are we still pulling our airpower punch?

Would the American people believe that high-level directives for more than two years prevented American airmen from hitting 5 out of 6 of North Vietnam's key industrial targets? That however primitive, nearly 90% of the targets in the enemy's war-making industrial base remained unscathed?

Would Americans believe that even in the category of purely military facilities, North Vietnamese army, navy, air force and defense installations, more than two-thirds of the total targets never had been attacked? That only ammunition dumps have been significantly hit? That almost half of these military targets remained officially forbidden by high-level policy restraints?

Mr. Speaker, why are we pulling our airpower punch?

Contrary to the calculated public impression, the real argument at the highest levels of our government which took Mr. McNamara to Saigon last month and twice brought Gen. Westmoreland to Washington has not been whether to send 250,000 men, or 100,000 men, or 45,000 men, or 20,000 men to Vietnam. It is high time the American people knew what the real issue was.

The real issue, Mr. Speaker, was whether we really have any hope of winning the Vietnam war, in the sense of meaningful and concerted military pressure that could force the enemy to the negotiating table, or not. If not, I can see no justification for sending one more American over there, let alone 45,000.

Perhaps we all have been diverted in recent weeks, by the Middle East crisis and the violence in our cities, from the moment of truth that is confronting this nation on our future course in Vietnam. But the straws have been in the wind.

On July 24, at the height of the Detroit riots, the New York Times reported from obviously authoritative Washington sources that "U.S. Won't Modify Vietnam Bombing." Predictably, it reported President Johnson as firmly rejecting both pleas for expanding air strikes by approving new targets and counter-proposals to restrict bombing to the southern zone of North Vietnam.

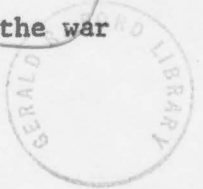
On August 1 one of our own colleagues from California, one of the Administration's sharpest war critics on the other side of the aisle (Mr. Brown) said in Los Angeles that the latest "agonizing reappraisal" in the White House had been resolved.

"Temporarily at least the President will follow his customary practice of going down the middle, making no change in the bombing policy, probably until after the September 3 election in Vietnam," the gentleman forecast.

On the same day Columnist Joseph Kraft in the Washington Post complained that "nowhere is the assertion that a specified effort continued over a particular time ought to yield a defined result. The Defense Secretary talks of progress, but does not say progress toward what. As a result there is no good measure for asserting what the United States is doing in Vietnam."

"Maybe the President has some scheme for getting the country out of the war

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as invisibly as he got it into the war," this columnist continued. "Maybe there is a program for applying military pressure until the other side breaks. Maybe there is a plan for negotiations after the elections in South Vietnam next month.

"But none of us can know that. On the contrary, all we can see is a shell game," Mr. Kraft concluded.

Mr. Speaker, I have quoted others who, while not always in agreement with me, voice the same gnawing doubts I feel. Yet in his tax increase message last week, President Johnson only confirmed our worst fears. He revealed no recent change in his policies or his plans. On the contrary, he took pains to stress that his words about the Viet-Nam War last January "are even more true today."

The President repeated his bleak estimate that "we face more cost, more loss, and more agony." He reiterated that nearly half a million Americans "have deprived the Communist enemy of victory" and that the enemy "can no longer succeed on the battlefield." He did not say our pressure on the enemy would be intensified or increased, only this:

"I must say to you that our pressure must be sustained -- and will be sustained -- until he realizes that the war he started is costing him more than he can ever gain. I know of no strategy more likely to attain that end than the strategy of 'accumulating slowly, but inexorably, every kind of material resource' -- 'of laboriously teaching troops the very element of their trade.' That, and patience -- and I mean a great deal of patience."

Again I ask: why are we pulling our airpower punch?

Our Navy and Air Force have clear superiority in the air over North Vietnam and its coastal areas. They have the weapons and resources they need. They know "the very elements of their trades" superbly. Must we accept as inevitable that the only way to fight this war is within the territory of South Vietnam, matching the enemy body for body, bayonet for bayonet, grenade for grenade?

It is one thing to deprive the enemy of victory. It is one thing to say he can no longer succeed. It is one thing to increase his cost of continuing the war. Cannot Ho Chi Minh claim he has done the same to us?

Can we match the Asian Communists even in patience?

I for one am running short of patience, Mr. Speaker. I would like to believe that the President has been misled or misinformed, that with all his aides and advisors he has been unable to obtain the evidence which I know is available to him as it is to me.

In his tax increase message President Johnson concluded that "the test before

(more)



us as people is....whether we have the will and the courage to match our commitments."

Mr. James Reston, commenting in Sunday's New York Times, says this:

"The unsolved problem, obvious for a very long time, which Lyndon Johnson will not face and which the people intuitively understand or seem to understand, is the problem of priority."

I believe the test of will and courage is not the people's, but the President's. I believe that ending the war in Vietnam must have the very highest of national priorities, now.

Without this, we shall continue to wallow and weave and wobble in what General Eisenhower called "as nasty a mess as we have ever been in." Neither more men, nor more money, nor more material will do any good unless there is more will and more courage at the top.

Who knows better than Gen. Eisenhower that there can be only one course when a nation resorts to force of arms: to give the war first priority among national aims; to wage it efficiently and with minimum bloodshed and brutalization of one's own people; to hit hard enough and convincingly enough to bring it to an early end. The tiny nation of Israel just reaffirmed this axiom of war. Have we abandoned it? Why are we pulling our airpower punch?

~~Mr. Speaker~~, I hope that the apparent step-up in air attacks over North Vietnam over the past few days signals a reversal of past mistakes, that targets of real strategic significance will shortly be struck, and that before the weather turns bad for another long season this will really cripple the enemy's warmaking capability. I hope this, but the President has only promised to sustain the same inadequate level of pressure permitted in the past.

Would Americans believe, ~~Mr. Speaker~~, that during all of 1966, handcuffed by such secret restraints, brave American airmen flew more than 100,000 combat missions over North Vietnam without attacking one of these significant strategic targets? Would they believe that under this policy, apparently unchanged, only about 1000 strikes were directed against top priority pressure points during 1966, while 279 U.S. planes were lost?

Can military morale be sustained under such circumstances? Can peace ever be won this way?

I am not a military expert, but I have full confidence in many dedicated Americans who are, and in the facts that support their deep and patriotic concern. I believe the American people deserve to be told the truth about Vietnam. There

(more)



is no need to conceal such information from the enemy, unless it be to deceive one's own countrymen.

The enemy in North Vietnam knows where his vital targets are. He knows which have been attacked and which enjoy privileged sanctuary. He knows many of his most vital and vulnerable strategic assets have been spared. Ho Chi Minh probably asks himself: Why are the Americans pulling their airpower punch?

~~Mr. Speaker,~~ I do not know the answer. I doubt that Ho Chi Minh knows the answer. I hope he does not interpret it as proof of America's lack of will and courage. I hope it does not encourage him psychologically to prolong the slaughter as it surely enables him to continue militarily. It is inhuman even to an enemy to hack him to death by inches.

I do not want to wait until the September 1967 elections in South Vietnam to start ending this war.

I do not want to wait until the 1968 elections in the United States to bring this war to an end.

If bringing peace to Vietnam and bringing half a million Americans home alive would ensure President Johnson's re-election by a landslide, I would gladly pay that price.

I don't think the President has made a convincing case for a tax increase. Let us debate that another day. Even less, in view of the evidence I have, has the Commander-in-Chief made a convincing case for sending 45,000 more troops to fight a ground war in Viet-Nam.

It is my earnest plea that he will reconsider.



SAMPLES OF FIRST TWO DAYS' MAIL & WIRES ON AUGUST 8 VIETNAM SPEECH

Favorable to Unfavorable Ratio 10-to-1

- NEW YORK -- Your speech I hope may be considered the key step in a break of the entire Republican Party with Administration policy on Vietnam....Both morally and politically the new Republican policy should be quite simple "Fish or cut bait."
- ALABAMA -- THANK GOD AT LAST A VOICE OF THE PEOPLE HAS SPOKEN OUT IN CONGRESS IN DEFENSE OF TRUTH AND SANITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN GOVERNMENT. WE ADMIRE YOUR COURAGE.....WE ARE BEHIND YOU...DON'T GIVE UP THE CAUSE.
- PENNSYLVANIA -- Please continue your efforts to uncover the failures in our Vietnam war effort. We find it hard to believe the U.S. can do so poorly that we are despised by the world.
- OKLAHOMA -- CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR LONG AWAITED STATEMENTS ABOUT THE WEAK MANNER THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONDUCTING WAR AND PULLING OUR AIRPOWER PUNCH.
- DISTRICT OF -- Your comments and position on the Vietnam situation are in my
COLUMBIA opinion absolutely sound and correct. Do everything in your power to force the hand of the Executive to maximize the proper use of military equipment before one additional serviceman is shipped to that country.
- PENNSYLVANIA -- I am appealing to you to do all in your power to hasten an end to this slaughter of our best manhood needlessly. The sycophantic so-called advisors who surround our President should be exposed.
- MICHIGAN -- MCNAMARA MAY BE AGAINST THIS BUT BE SURE 90 PERCENT OF TAX-PAYING PEOPLE ARE FOR USING OUR AIRPOWER AND FEEL IT WOULD END THIS MESS IN A HURRY. KEEP UP THIS DRIVE WE NEED IT.
- NEW YORK -- Congratulations on your Vietnam policy. The Administration has done everything but kiss the Viet Cong's feet -- while GIs were dying every day. God bless you.
- WASHINGTON -- WE AGREE EMPHATICALLY. KEEP UP PRESSURE.
- FLORIDA -- SIR THE MOTHERS OF AMERICA ARE DEEPLY INDEBTED TO YOU AND OUR KIDS IN VIETNAM WILL REMEMBER YOU FOR FORTHRIGHT COURAGEOUS STAND IN DEFENSE OF THEIR LIVES.
- WEST VIRGINIA -- President Johnson is playing politics with our boys lives. Let's win or get out! Thank you.
- CALIFORNIA -- MCNAMARA'S POSITION DOESN'T SAVE AMERICAN LIVES AND CERTAINLY DOESN'T WIN,....SUCH A POSITION DEVOURS RESOURCES MONEY AND MEN....BELIEVE SUCH CONDUCT OF VIETNAM WAR TO BE IMMORAL.
- PENNSYLVANIA -- This is the basic reason for failure to get Hanoi to a conference table: a bombing halt is meaningless if the bombing itself is painless. If real targets were being hit, a bombing halt -- or the promise of it -- would be sufficient inducement.
- NEW YORK -- THANK HEAVENS WE ARE GOING TO HAVE A REAL OPPOSITION PARTY.
- ILLINOIS -- IT'S TIME THE PRESIDENT WAS CALLED TO ACCOUNT FOR THIS TRAGIC ENDLESS STALEMATE.
- VIRGINIA -- I'm truly sick and tired of Mr. McNamara saying the objective of the war is not to win but to occasionally slap the enemy's wrist. Mr. McNamara feels that you don't understand the objectives; I suggest those objectives should be changed.

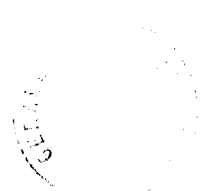
- MASSACHUSETTS -- I wouldn't hire a plumber to fix my TV set -- civilians don't know how to fight a war. Where did McNamara get his military experience -- but I suppose he is not the real one to blame. (A veteran)
- VIRGINIA -- I do so thoroughly agree with you. I am a lifelong Democrat but the present Administration has made a Republican of me.
- NEW YORK -- WE ARE DISGUSTED WITH THE ERRORS AND HALFWAY MEASURES THAT HAVE CAUSED UNNECESSARY LOSS OF AMERICAN LIVES....WIN OR GET OUT OF VIETNAM.(A professor)
- IDAHO -- I feel as you, the truth about Vietnam should be told our people. They are the ones paying taxes and offering their sons as sacrifices -- for what? (A Democratic party worker)
- NEW YORK -- Thank God for one in Congress with a backbone. Excuse me for writing but you are the only man that is for the U.S.A.
- OHIO -- I wish I could read the entire speech. I believe every word that was published. The remarks of the Secretary of Defense are beyond my understanding. To say the restraints on bombing are designed to save American lives is certainly ridiculous since they prolong this war of attrition.
- IOWA -- The people of our country owe you a debt of gratitude for your speech concerning the ridiculous management of our Vietnam activities by McNamara and the President and for exposing the misinformation the Administration puts out for political purposes. Thank you for presentation of facts.
- NEW YORK -- Today I am writing my Senators and Congressman -- but not to congratulate them. Rather, to let them know I wish they'd get in line with you.
- TENNESSEE -- The President and McNamara are afraid of killing a civilian over there but they are not afraid of killing our boys. The people know you know the facts as well as your duty.
- PENNSYLVANIA -- I often wonder why we have a Congress until I hear a voice of wisdom such as yours. I'm sure you sleep soundly at night with your conscience.
- TEXAS -- Thank Goodness somebody in Congress has decided to speak out. I have a son who spent 20 months in and out of the war zone so I've given a great deal of thought to this matter. Get in, get it over with and get out, fast.
- VIRGINIA -- Congratulations! It's about time someone told the American public the truth.
- NEW YORK -- How right you are! It's great to hear some common sense talk from the GOP. In 1968 the people are going to pay their respects to the Washington intellectuals who are pussyfooting with the Reds in Vietnam and elsewhere. The people will elect a man who is for letting the military run and win the war.
- CALIFORNIA -- We along with millions of Americans back your statements about Vietnam made today. We are plain DISGUSTED with this Administration.
- MASSACHUSETTS -- WE PRAY YOU STAND FAST AND END OR STEP UP THIS COWARDLY HALF BOMBING OF JOHNSON'S AND THE LOSER MCNAMARA. WE AREN'T WINNING BUT INSTEAD SEE CASUALTIES MOUNTING OUT OF DEFERENCE TO ENEMIES, HALF FRIENDS AND POWER HUNGRY AMERICAN MINORITY. IT'S TIME FOR MAJORITY RULE IN THIS DISTURBED COUNTRY. CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR COURAGE.
- MICHIGAN -- HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON TYING FURTHER DRAFTING TO REMOVAL OF BOMBING RESTRICTIONS.

- VIRGINIA -- Your analysis of giving the President more money and troops is as correct as President Lincoln's assessment of Gen. McClellan -- "Sending that man and more men is like pushing fleas across a room."
- ILLINOIS -- This present policy that we have is very confusing to me. I heartily support our objectives in being in Vietnam, but it is becoming more and more difficult to see how we can send our young men over there to fight and die while at the same time protecting the enemy. (A clergyman)
- NEW JERSEY -- There are millions of Democrats and Republicans who feel as you do. We were very glad to know that someone in Washington has the courage to speak out.
- OHIO -- Congratulations for your most honest and revealing speech. For the sake of the Nation, keep up your investigations and then speak out!
- NEW YORK -- I watched you on TV this morning explaining your position against LBJ and his cronies and their one-man war. For too long a time, the Republican Party has been a gutless group. I encourage you to continue. You were not critical enough.
- MICHIGAN -- I support your position. If we are not fighting to win this war, if vital targets are in restricted areas, why are we there? Certainly sending 45,000 more troops is a sign of escalation as much as bombing restricted areas.
- MONTANA -- GOD BLESS YOU FOR HAVING COURAGE TO SPEAK UP. MAY OTHER REPUBLICANS BACK YOU AND STOP THIS WASTE OF OUR BOYS
- FLORIDA -- I agree with you. Let's stop killing our boys off. Congress should have gotten the Secretary of Defeat and Destruction out of office long ago -- he never has told the truth.
- NEW YORK -- Please be assured this is no casual support -- we have three in the U.S. Marine Corps. One son was killed leading his platoon in Vietnam. I hope your point of view prevails.
- DISTRICT OF -- As a Democrat, I commend you for your efforts to bring to COLUMBIA the attention of the American people our tactical follies and political and military pussyfooting.
- CALIFORNIA -- My bitterness stems from my certain knowledge that the missile buildup in North Vietnam would not have been possible had the military been permitted to run this war -- and my son would be alive.
- DISTRICT OF -- Although I am not generally with you on matters of partisan COLUMBIA concern, I want to thank you and congratulate you for speaking outside a partisan context yesterday on this seemingly endless, divisive and corrupting war that we must somehow come to terms with in Vietnam. Your speech was one of the better pieces of Statesmanship in this whole rather ineffectual session of the Congress.
- KANSAS -- I am at a complete loss to understand why more of the members of Congress don't back you up. I am positive that a big majority of thinking Americans agree with you. It is rotten politics to trade lives for votes and that is what Johnson is doing in Vietnam even as he did in Detroit. We'll see a different story along about election time.

NEGATIVE

- NEW YORK -- The American people do not need your insane counsel of bombing innocent people in Vietnam for the profit of American merchants of death.

- DISTRICT OF -- I have noted your continuing efforts to offer constructive
COLUMBIA alternatives to the Administration's involvement in Vietnam.
Your current criticism, I fear, is not in this category. May
I suggest another alternative -- that we put a price on Viet
Cong and North Vietnamese heads.
- NEW JERSEY -- U Thant has told the world negotiations would probably take
place if the bombing ceased. But Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ford
encourage the escalation in spite of world opinion.
- MICHIGAN -- You are concerned only with the provincial thoughts of your
narrow, small town supporters. How can you be so brazen as to
stand up in front of TV and pretend to represent the American
people? You represent nothing but a fine group of farmers who
have never in their lives read anything except Booth
Tarkington or O. Henry, and I'm dubious about O. Henry.





Byrnes res
Connecticut

Leeds
No. 10
Pentagon
State,

Washington of O. Henry, and I'm obliged to you for the
kind regards which have been sent me. I have
been very busy with the business of the
country, and have not had time to write to you
more often. I hope you are well and happy.

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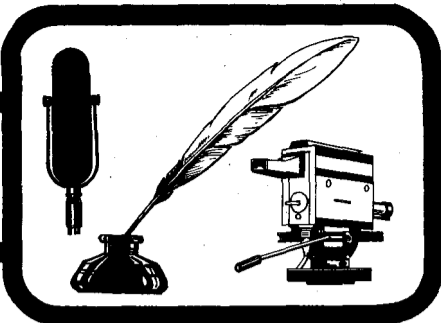
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I hope you are well and happy.

MICHIGAN --

NEW JERSEY --

CONNECTICUT --

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



--FOR RELEASE SATURDAY AM's--
August 26, 1967

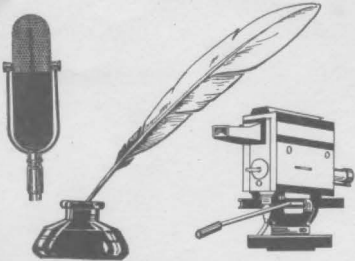
STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD (R-MICH.)

The published statement of Defense Secretary McNamara before the Senate Preparedness subcommittee appears to be at odds, not only with the views of all the top military witnesses heard by the committee, but also with the recent actions of President Johnson. Since my August 8 speech to the House on our Vietnam policy, the President apparently has authorized increased military pressure against North Vietnam through selective bombing of more significant targets previously forbidden to U.S. airmen.

Now we find the Secretary of Defense defending the ineffective and deceptive airpower policies of the past two and one-half years in contradiction to the responsible judgment of our best military leaders and the conclusions of both Democratic and Republican Senators who have heard all the evidence. Mr. McNamara is entitled to his convictions but before the President commits more than half a million Americans to the ground war in South Vietnam we, as a nation, should be very sure the Secretary of Defense is right and all the others are wrong. This credibility gap is deadly serious. A nation at war cannot afford confusion and doubt about its basic policies.

I want to support my Commander-in-Chief when we are at war and so do all Americans. But we must know where he stands, where we are going, and how we will get there. It does no good to compound public concern by declassifying more target data and playing meaningless numbers games, as if this terrible war were merely a debate. Forget the past. What is our present policy? What hope is there for future U.S. success in Vietnam? That's what the American people want to know, straight, on the level, from the man in charge.

Only the Commander-in-Chief can clear up this deepening doubt. It should not be too much for the American people to expect that when our nation has been committed to the use of force, and since 1965 has paid a high price to pursue this course, that both the civilian and military leaders responsible should be in substantial agreement and that some end is in sight.



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 p.m.--
Thursday, August 31, 1967

STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

Placed in the Congressional Record Thursday, August 31, 1967.

At the opening of this session, January 19, 1967, Senator Dirksen and I presented a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union. In my domestic portion of this presentation I outlined a 40-point program of constructive Republican proposals for consideration of the 90th Congress. (List attached.)

Thirty of these proposals were in the area of Republican alternatives to the tired Democratic approaches of the 1930's, reflecting philosophical and practical political differences. Ten were in the vital area of national security, where there is substantial agreement between knowledgeable Democrats and Republicans on key defense committees but very wide disagreement between Congress and the Executive Branch.

In reviewing the record of this Congress between the Lincoln's Birthday and the Labor Day recesses, in which the bulk of the legislative workload is usually done, Republicans can be gratified by the fact that most of our national security proposals have received bipartisan backing and approval in the Armed Services, Merchant Marine, Joint Atomic Energy and Appropriations committees from the whole House of Representatives. But the President and his Secretary of Defense continue to resist some of these recommendations, including the ever-more-urgent need to get going on an Anti-Ballistic-Missile Defense system.

Among the 30 practical, problem-solving Republican legislative proposals outside the defense field, the House has completed action on only eight, one of which bears a Republican label (the Cramer Anti-Riot Bill) and one of which was belatedly embraced by President Johnson (Restoration of the Investment Tax Credit.)

The other six House actions (though some have not passed the Senate) bear strong Republican imprints and embody the sentiments of a great majority of our citizens on matters deeply and directly concerning them. They are:

--Creation of a House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, which would never have been approved except for the insistence of Republican members -- notably some of the 59 newly elected last

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November -- in the wake of Democratic scandals in the Powell, Dodd and still-pending cases.

--A greatly improved and strengthened Social Security bill, increasing benefits to help our senior citizens resist the ravages of "Great Society" inflation, and providing needed new direction and constructive state control of welfare programs.

--A balanced package of crime prevention and law enforcement legislation, including the previously mentioned anti-riot bill, a companion bill guaranteeing Federal protection to civil rights workers in lawful exercise of Constitutional rights, amendments to the Law Enforcement Assistance Act strengthening the role of the States and local governments in upgrading law enforcement as a career, and establishing a National Institute of Law Enforcement for the dissemination of the latest methods of police science.

--Long overdue legislation giving veterans of the Vietnam War equal benefits with veterans of other conflicts, and increasing benefits to veterans' widows and children to keep up with rising costs of living.

Some progress or partial success can be reported on eight more of my Republican State of the Union proposals, so that we have made visible strides thus far in this session on 16 of the 30 non-defense programs.

1. Under constant pressure from Republican members, both in committee and on the floor, the House so far has trimmed the President's budget requests by about \$4 billion, although it has rejected additional economy efforts by the minority in many instances. Republican efforts to have the President submit a revised budget have been blocked, but the Administration has admitted that its initial estimates were unrealistic.

2. The Republican principle of rejecting categorical Federal aid, with its ever-burgeoning Washington bureaucracy and inability to adapt to local conditions, is winning converts daily. While our alternative of revenue sharing with the States and local governments has not been accepted across the board, the principle prevailed in the final House version of the Elementary and Secondary

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Education Act and the Republican-amended Law Enforcement Assistance Act, and may still be applied to important pending legislation such as the comprehensive Health and Poverty bills.

3. The bipartisan Clean Elections and Campaign Reform bill (Ashmore-Goodell) now under consideration by the House Administration committee embodies the major Republican recommendations in this important area which demands action before the 1968 campaign year.

4. The Senate has effectively pigeonholed the Long Amendment calling for financing of national political campaigns through a checkoff of individual income tax dollars, which Republicans opposed.

5. Participation Sales as a devious device of deficit financing was not repealed, as we proposed, but the Debt Ceiling bill finally approved by the House does require honest reporting of such borrowings in future budgets.

6. The imaginative Republican plan for home ownership by low income Americans advanced in the Widnall-Percy bill has received attention in both Senate and House committees and is in some danger of being kidnapped by the Johnson Administration.

7. Our call for tax incentives to encourage reduction of air and water pollution was partially answered by restoration of the investment tax credit, though more action in this area is under study by Republican task forces.

8. Although the Republican reform package for the District of Columbia government was approved by the D. C. committee, the House rejected it in favor of the President's reorganization plan. However, Rep. Ancher Nelson's proposals for an elected school board and a delegate in the House of Representatives may yet win separate consideration.

There remain 14 of my 30 January 19 State of the Union proposals in the non-defense domestic category, and one of the ten in the area of national security, upon which no action has been taken by the House under its present Democratic control.

Republicans regret that no action has been taken on their proposal for a bipartisan, blue ribbon commission of the nation's best experts to re-examine our short and long-range national defense posture.

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Among the most urgently-needed and possibly stalled programs are the bipartisan Congressional Reorganization bill, which has passed the Senate, and which under Republican recommendations would include an investigative committee controlled by the minority party.

Others pending in the House include the Opportunity Crusade which Republicans would substitute for the mismanaged Poverty War, and the Human Investment Act which also seeks to enlist private enterprise in job training programs.

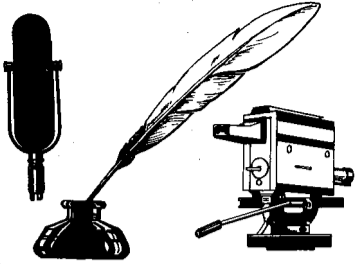
Nothing has been finally done by this Congress on the subject of fair and equitable division of political time by radio and television, safeguards against unauthorized wiretapping with defined permissive limits in the public interest, prevention of national emergency strikes (except the stopgap action on the rail strike), and streamlining the Executive Branch through another Hoover-type Commission, all Republican-sponsored proposals.

Considering that we are still the minority by a 31-vote margin, I am encouraged that Republicans in the House have been able to accomplish as much as we have in translating the mandate of the American people last November into actual accomplishment, both through our increased strength on committees and on the floor. Certainly the vital legislative process has been restored in the 90th Congress and its advantages over the rubber-stamp record of the lopsided 89th Congress already are apparent. It remains obvious, however, that to really enact a constructive Republican program it will be necessary to win a majority in the House of Representatives next year. We are building a good record upon which to do just that.

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DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS IN JANUARY 1967 REPUBLICAN "STATE OF THE UNION"
(Listed in order of mention in Ford speech)

1. Restore Investment Tax Credit
 2. Repeal Participation Sales
 3. Cut Non-essential Spending;
Revise President's Budget
 4. Tax and Revenue Sharing; Block Grants
 5. National Commission on Urban
Living
 6. District of Columbia Reforms
 7. Tax Credits for Higher Education
Costs
 8. Improve Social Security & Increase
Benefits
 9. Equalize Vietnam Veterans Benefits
 10. Revamp Poverty War--Opportunity
Crusade
 11. Human Investment Act to Expand
Job Training
 12. Home Ownership for Low-Income
Families
 13. Executive Branch Reforms--Hoover-type
Commission
 14. Merit System for Postmasters
 15. Fair Farm Prices in Marketplace
 16. Study National Emergency Strike Laws
 17. Congressional Reorganization
 18. House Ethics Committee
 19. Investigating Committee under Minority
Control
 20. Clean Elections & Campaign Reform
Law
 21. Repeal Long Amendment for
Federal Financing of Major
Party Campaigns
 22. \$100 Tax Deduction for Political
Contributions
 23. Electoral College Reform
 24. Fair and Equitable Political Time
on TV-Radio
 25. Forbid Interstate Travel to Incite
Riots
 26. Protect Lawful Civil Rights
Workers
 27. Safeguards on Wiretapping & Eves-
dropping
 28. Curb Air and Water Pollution
 29. Upgrade Law Enforcement as Career
 30. National Institute of Law
Enforcement
- NATIONAL SECURITY PROPOSALS
31. Blue Ribbon Commission to Re-
examine national defense policies
 32. Modernize U.S. Navy and Nuclear
propulsion
 33. Counter Threat of Enemy Missile
Submarines
 34. Revive and Rebuild American Merchant
Marine
 35. Upgrade Independent Maritime
Administration
 36. Develop Advanced Manned Strategic
Bomber
 37. Develop Improved Manned Inter-
ceptor
 38. Strengthen Reserve and National
Guard
 39. Eliminate Inequities in Draft
 40. Speed Anti-Ballistic Missile
Defense



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 p.m.--
Thursday, August 31, 1967

STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

Placed in the Congressional Record Thursday, August 31, 1967.

At the opening of this session, January 19, 1967, Senator Dirksen and I presented a Republican Appraisal of the State of the Union. In my domestic portion of this presentation I outlined a 40-point program of constructive Republican proposals for consideration of the 90th Congress. (List attached.)

Thirty of these proposals were in the area of Republican alternatives to the tired Democratic approaches of the 1930's, reflecting philosophical and practical political differences. Ten were in the vital area of national security, where there is substantial agreement between knowledgeable Democrats and Republicans on key defense committees but very wide disagreement between Congress and the Executive Branch.

In reviewing the record of this Congress between the Lincoln's Birthday and the Labor Day recesses, in which the bulk of the legislative workload is usually done, Republicans can be gratified by the fact that most of our national security proposals have received bipartisan backing and approval in the Armed Services, Merchant Marine, Joint Atomic Energy and Appropriations committees from the whole House of Representatives. But the President and his Secretary of Defense continue to resist some of these recommendations, including the ever-more-urgent need to get going on an Anti-Ballistic-Missile Defense system.

Among the 30 practical, problem-solving Republican legislative proposals outside the defense field, the House has completed action on only eight, one of which bears a Republican label (the Cramer Anti-Riot Bill) and one of which was belatedly embraced by President Johnson (Restoration of the Investment Tax Credit.)

The other six House actions (though some have not passed the Senate) bear strong Republican imprints and embody the sentiments of a great majority of our citizens on matters deeply and directly concerning them. They are:

--Creation of a House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, which would never have been approved except for the insistence of Republican members -- notably some of the 59 newly elected last

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November -- in the wake of Democratic scandals in the Powell, Dodd and still-pending cases.

--A greatly improved and strengthened Social Security bill, increasing benefits to help our senior citizens resist the ravages of "Great Society" inflation, and providing needed new direction and constructive state control of welfare programs.

--A balanced package of crime prevention and law enforcement legislation, including the previously mentioned anti-riot bill, a companion bill guaranteeing Federal protection to civil rights workers in lawful exercise of Constitutional rights, amendments to the Law Enforcement Assistance Act strengthening the role of the States and local governments in upgrading law enforcement as a career, and establishing a National Institute of Law Enforcement for the dissemination of the latest methods of police science.

--Long overdue legislation giving veterans of the Vietnam War equal benefits with veterans of other conflicts, and increasing benefits to veterans' widows and children to keep up with rising costs of living.

Some progress or partial success can be reported on eight more of my Republican State of the Union proposals, so that we have made visible strides thus far in this session on 16 of the 30 non-defense programs.

1. Under constant pressure from Republican members, both in committee and on the floor, the House so far has trimmed the President's budget requests by about \$4 billion, although it has rejected additional economy efforts by the minority in many instances. Republican efforts to have the President submit a revised budget have been blocked, but the Administration has admitted that its initial estimates were unrealistic.

2. The Republican principle of rejecting categorical Federal aid, with its ever-burgeoning Washington bureaucracy and inability to adapt to local conditions, is winning converts daily. While our alternative of revenue sharing with the States and local governments has not been accepted across the board, the principle prevailed in the final House version of the Elementary and Secondary

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Education Act and the Republican-amended Law Enforcement Assistance Act, and may still be applied to important pending legislation such as the comprehensive Health and Poverty bills.

3. The bipartisan Clean Elections and Campaign Reform bill (Ashmore-Goodell) now under consideration by the House Administration committee embodies the major Republican recommendations in this important area which demands action before the 1968 campaign year.

4. The Senate has effectively pigeonholed the Long Amendment calling for financing of national political campaigns through a checkoff of individual income tax dollars, which Republicans opposed.

5. Participation Sales as a devious device of deficit financing was not repealed, as we proposed, but the Debt Ceiling bill finally approved by the House does require honest reporting of such borrowings in future budgets.

6. The imaginative Republican plan for home ownership by low income Americans advanced in the Widnall-Percy bill has received attention in both Senate and House committees and is in some danger of being kidnapped by the Johnson Administration.

7. Our call for tax incentives to encourage reduction of air and water pollution was partially answered by restoration of the investment tax credit, though more action in this area is under study by Republican task forces.

8. Although the Republican reform package for the District of Columbia government was approved by the D. C. committee, the House rejected it in favor of the President's reorganization plan. However, Rep. Ancher Nelson's proposals for an elected school board and a delegate in the House of Representatives may yet win separate consideration.

There remain 14 of my 30 January 19 State of the Union proposals in the non-defense domestic category, and one of the ten in the area of national security, upon which no action has been taken by the House under its present Democratic control.

Republicans regret that no action has been taken on their proposal for a bipartisan, blue ribbon commission of the nation's best experts to re-examine our short and long-range national defense posture.

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Among the most urgently-needed and possibly stalled programs are the bipartisan Congressional Reorganization bill, which has passed the Senate, and which under Republican recommendations would include an investigative committee controlled by the minority party.

Others pending in the House include the Opportunity Crusade which Republicans would substitute for the mismanaged Poverty War, and the Human Investment Act which also seeks to enlist private enterprise in job training programs.

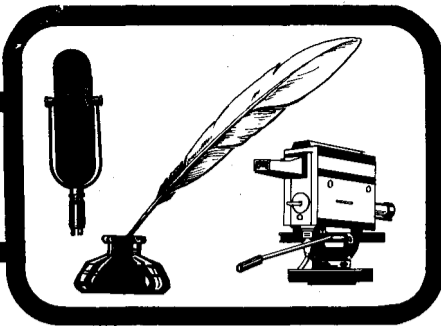
Nothing has been finally done by this Congress on the subject of fair and equitable division of political time by radio and television, safeguards against unauthorized wiretapping with defined permissive limits in the public interest, prevention of national emergency strikes (except the stopgap action on the rail strike), and streamlining the Executive Branch through another Hoover-type Commission, all Republican-sponsored proposals.

Considering that we are still the minority by a 31-vote margin, I am encouraged that Republicans in the House have been able to accomplish as much as we have in translating the mandate of the American people last November into actual accomplishment, both through our increased strength on committees and on the floor. Certainly the vital legislative process has been restored in the 90th Congress and its advantages over the rubber-stamp record of the lopsided 89th Congress already are apparent. It remains obvious, however, that to really enact a constructive Republican program it will be necessary to win a majority in the House of Representatives next year. We are building a good record upon which to do just that.

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DOMESTIC LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS IN JANUARY 1967 REPUBLICAN "STATE OF THE UNION"
(Listed in order of mention in Ford speech)

1. Restore Investment Tax Credit
 2. Repeal Participation Sales
 3. Cut Non-essential Spending;
Revise President's Budget
 4. Tax and Revenue Sharing; Block Grants
 5. National Commission on Urban
Living
 6. District of Columbia Reforms
 7. Tax Credits for Higher Education
Costs
 8. Improve Social Security & Increase
Benefits
 9. Equalize Vietnam Veterans Benefits
 10. Revamp Poverty War--Opportunity
Crusade
 11. Human Investment Act to Expand
Job Training
 12. Home Ownership for Low-Income
Families
 13. Executive Branch Reforms--Hoover-type
Commission
 14. Merit System for Postmasters
 15. Fair Farm Prices in Marketplace
 16. Study National Emergency Strike Laws
 17. Congressional Reorganization
 18. House Ethics Committee
 19. Investigating Committee under Minority
Control
 20. Clean Elections & Campaign Reform
Law
 21. Repeal Long Amendment for
Federal Financing of Major
Party Campaigns
 22. \$100 Tax Deduction for Political
Contributions
 23. Electoral College Reform
 24. Fair and Equitable Political Time
on TV-Radio
 25. Forbid Interstate Travel to Incite
Riots
 26. Protect Lawful Civil Rights
Workers
 27. Safeguards on Wiretapping & Eves-
dropping
 28. Curb Air and Water Pollution
 29. Upgrade Law Enforcement as Career
 30. National Institute of Law
Enforcement
- NATIONAL SECURITY PROPOSALS
31. Blue Ribbon Commission to Re-
examine national defense policies
 32. Modernize U.S. Navy and Nuclear
propulsion
 33. Counter Threat of Enemy Missile
Submarines
 34. Revive and Rebuild American Merchant
Marine
 35. Upgrade Independent Maritime
Administration
 36. Develop Advanced Manned Strategic
Bomber
 37. Develop Improved Manned Inter-
ceptor
 38. Strengthen Reserve and National
Guard
 39. Eliminate Inequities in Draft
 40. Speed Anti-Ballistic Missile
Defense



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE IN MONDAY AM'S--
September 4, 1967

Comment on Performance of Congress to Date

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

The performance of Congress to date is a mixed bag. I naturally view the results in terms of the objectives I believe Congress should seek. Those objectives are wrapped up in the goal of substituting joint problem-solving by the federal, state and local governments and the private sector for the Johnson Administration's federalized categorical grant-in-aid approach.

I say the job Congress has done this year constitutes a mixed bag because we have made some progress toward bringing state and local governments into problem-solving initiated at the federal level but we have failed thus far to move toward tax-sharing with states and local units of government through either tax credits or a percentage rebate of the federal income tax take.

The Congress still is following tired leadership in the White House which rejects the tax credit approach to urban problems and is caught in the vise of a projected \$30 billion deficit. This points up the need for a change, and the people know it.

On the side of progress in this Congress we must count the restoration-of-local-authority amendments in the Elementary-Secondary Education Act giving states control over experimental education centers and funds for strengthening state boards of education, the localizing of the Teacher Corps with assurances of firm congressional support, House passage of a Law Enforcement Assistance Act with funds to be channeled through the states on the basis of comprehensive state plans to fight crime and improve riot controls, House approval of an Anti-Riot Act and a Civil Rights Worker Protection Act, restoration of the investment tax credit to bolster a sagging economy, House approval of a 12½ per cent increase in Social Security benefits to aid pensioners hurt by Johnson-Humphrey Administration inflation, enactment of legislation equalizing Vietnam veterans benefits, creation of a House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct (Ethics Committee), and substantial House cuts in Presidential spending requests. This progress was made through Republican leadership and/or

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strong support.

When Congress comes back to work after the Labor Day recess, the big questions will be spending and taxes.

The House has cut the President's budget by roughly \$4.3 billion, with more cuts to come. Now we have the spectacle of the President, facing a possible \$30 billion deficit, urging the Senate to give him every penny he asked for in January. He should want Congress to cut his budget where possible and then seek to make additional cuts himself. Instead he is asking Congress to appropriate the full amounts he originally requested, with a vague promise that he will then reduce spending by \$2 billion. This is one-man government. If this is the proper approach, why have a Congress?

Congress has properly adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward the President's proposed 10 per cent tax surcharge. There is a serious possibility that the proposed surtax would deal a heavy blow to the economy, judging by the leading business indicators for July.

The Congress has rebuffed President Johnson because of his dictatorial attitude in the conduct of our foreign affairs. The House has made substantial reductions in Presidential spending requests. The Senate now should follow the House lead on domestic matters, rejecting the President's insistence on butter as well as guns in time of war. There is no question that the President's relations with Congress have deteriorated, and the only question is why this did not happen sooner.

On a possible adjournment date, I don't know whether to convey my guess by saying "Happy Thanksgiving" or "Merry Christmas" but it looks like late November or maybe even December.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
October 6, 1967

STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

There is great rejoicing among Republicans, as there is in Heaven, over one sinner that repenteth.

I can only commend and applaud, therefore, President Johnson's confession that "all taxes are burdensome, but the cruelest tax of all is the inflation tax."

Mr. Johnson certainly has seen a great light since that day (June 30) when he ventured to the grassroots to try out his 1966 campaign defenses, and told an audience in Des Moines:

"On the inflation front, if you are distraught, if you are worried about high prices, if you have a stomach ulcer because of high wages, if you are concerned about hogs bringing too much, calves bringing too much, or wages getting too high, and you are really worked up about inflation, it may be that you ought to vote Republican."

Well, last November the American people were really worked up about inflation, and they took the President at his word -- they voted Republican and sent us a net reinforcement of 47 anti-inflation Republicans in the House of Representatives. With their help, we have been able in this Congress to serve notice on the President that the American people won't accept his political formula of guns and butter, more war and more welfare, higher taxes and higher inflation.

"When these folks start talking to you about inflation," President Johnson defiantly declared 15 months ago, "you tell them that is something you only have to worry about in Democratic Administrations."

He was right then and he is right now when he calls inflation "the cruelest tax of all." But he is wrong to blame all inflation on the "inaction" of this Democratic Congress, just as he was wrong last year to blame it all on Democratic Administrations. We had serious inflation then and we have it worse now. The fact is it is the fault of spendthrift Democratic Administrations and spendthrift Democratic Congresses. The American people may have to wait until November 1968 to correct this situation, but in the meantime Republicans in the Congress accept the President's new attitude toward the evils of inflation with gladness. Republicans will continue to do all we can to check inflation and effect wartime economies.

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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
November 10, 1967

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

As one who has long championed the role of competitive sports in American life, I find it difficult to believe that the President of the United States would demean college football before 120 guests at a White House luncheon honoring distinguished foreign visitors from Southeast Asia. I'm sure millions of Americans will share my shocked reaction to President Johnson's reported remarks yesterday to Crown Prince and Princess Vong Savang of neutralist Laos.

"I know of your interest in sports and that you are to attend a football game," said the President, referring to the Prince's date on November 18 at Stanford University Stadium in Palo Alto, California, when Stanford plays the University of California, according to the Washington Post.

"College football is a great spectacle, but I am not sure that it gives an accurate picture of America," the President reportedly continued. "To see some of our best-educated boys spending an afternoon knocking each other down -- while thousands cheer them on -- hardly gives a picture of a peace-loving nation."

I couldn't disagree more. For several generations "some of our best-educated boys" and many whose educations have been interrupted have used the physical stamina, the lesson in teamwork and the strong character developed on the football field and in other rugged athletic contests to defend their country's freedom and fight for lasting peace all over the world. Right now half a million Americans who might prefer to be watching or participating in the football season are risking their lives in Southeast Asia and some, such as the late

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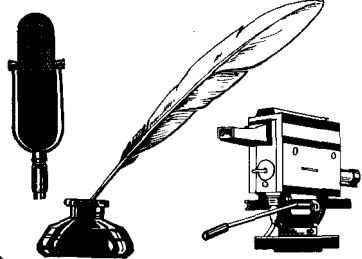
Maj. Don Holleder and Capt. Bill Carpenter, recently decorated by the President himself, first won fame on the West Point eleven.

President Eisenhower played football and baseball as a youth and remains an active advocate of physical fitness. The late President Kennedy's interest in competitive sports, even after his back injury, also set an example for young Americans. President Johnson has continued their President's Council on Physical Fitness and I find it incredible that he should publicly belittle the all-American autumn game of football to his royal Laotian guests.

Personally I am glad that thousands of fine young Americans can spend this Saturday afternoon "knocking each other down" in a spirit of clean sportsmanship and keen competition instead of assaulting Pentagon soldiers or policemen with "peace" placards and filthy words. I also pray for the safe homecoming of thousands more from Vietnam where, as on the football fields of the nation, this generation is indeed giving "an accurate picture of America" that is neither physically flabby nor spiritually soft.

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Distribution: Full, 11:00 a.m., 11/16/67



**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

-- FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

Nov. 16, 1967

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

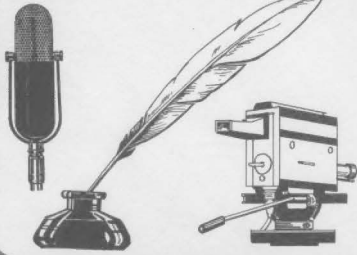
The Democratic majority in the House yesterday sold out the poor to the big city political bosses by turning control of local Community Action Programs over to City Hall through the Green Amendment.

Rep. Augustus Hawkins, D-Calif., described the situation exactly when he said that giving control of community action programs to the political bosses will force the poor to "go hat in hand to City Hall."

I agree 100 per cent with Mr. Hawkins on this point. This is one reason I and many other Republicans could not vote for the Democratic majority's anti-poverty bill on final passage. Another reason is that the Democrats rejected most Republican moves to make the program more successful and every attempt to enlist private enterprise as a full-fledged partner in the War on Poverty.

We have already had far too much politics in the anti-poverty program. Now, as a result of the Northern Democrat-Southern Democrat coalition, we will have much more and the poor will suffer. I repeat: The poor were sold out to City Hall politicians.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
November 17, 1967

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

It is natural that a man about to go into bankruptcy blames everybody but himself.

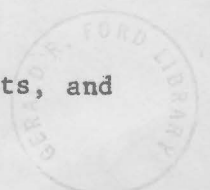
President Johnson will rue the day that he promoted a \$30 to \$35 billion deficit for fiscal 1968 and four previous deficits totalling nearly \$24 billion in fiscal years 1964 through 1967. These Johnson-Humphrey Administration deficits, it should be noted, total nearly \$60 billion.

President Johnson continues to play the game of switch--trying to shift the blame for his own mistakes and shortcomings to the 90th Congress and particularly the House. The House is close to the people and responsive to their wishes. I'll take my chances with the people anytime. They know that President Johnson has repeatedly ignored Republican pleas that he set priorities on federal non-defense spending at a time when this Nation is fighting a costly war halfway around the world. I trust the judgment of the American people. They have said overwhelmingly that they prefer spending cuts to a tax increase as a means of fighting inflation.

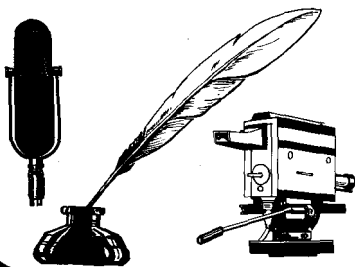
I find it interesting that the President now talks of a possible \$35 billion deficit for fiscal 1968. This is the first time he or any Administration official has admitted the deficit figure may be that astronomical.

This proves that the President has not been acting with any urgency to hold down non-essential federal spending. And it underscores the need for Congress to insist on the Republican-sponsored, House-approved spending ceiling of \$131.5 billion. This is \$5 billion under the President's spending requests, and \$5 billion higher than fiscal 1967.

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Distribution: Full - 2:00 pm. 11/17/67



**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
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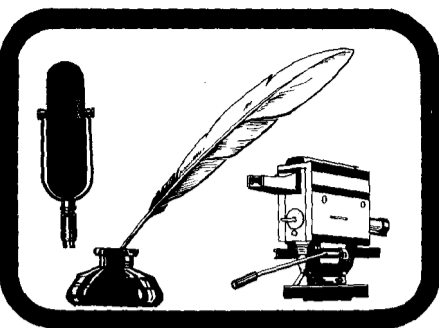
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Distribution: Full - 11:45 a.m. - 11/21/67



**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
November 21, 1967

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich.

Federal spending reductions amounting to at least \$4 billion this fiscal year must and will be written into the income tax increase bill to be considered by the House Ways and Means Committee.

This means that President Johnson finally has conceded House Republicans were right in demanding a spending limitation with the force of law before any action is taken on his 10 per cent income tax surcharge. Because of Republican insistence the American people will be given this assurance of \$4 billion in spending reductions.

The fiscal crisis facing this Nation is deepening in the light of recent developments--President Johnson's revised estimate that the fiscal 1968 deficit could run as high as \$35 billion without corrective action, the British decision to devaluate the pound, and the Federal Reserve Board action raising the basic U.S. interest rate.

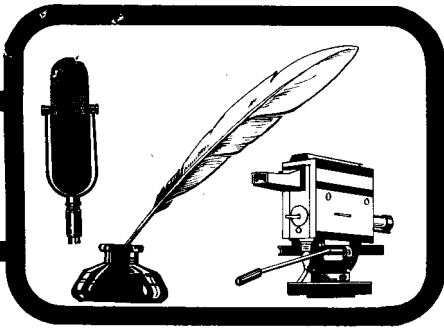
The chickens are coming home to roost. The crisis now confronting us could have been avoided had the President listened to Republican pleas for a setting of spending priorities in 1965 and 1966 instead of plunging headlong down the road toward a \$9.7 billion fiscal 1967 deficit and a \$35 billion fiscal 1968 red ink figure.

In meeting next Tuesday, the Ways and Means Committee should examine our overall fiscal situation to see whether the dollar is as safe from the threat of devaluation as President Johnson would have the American people believe. After all, there are disturbing similarities between the British situation and our own. The health of the economy and the impact a tax increase would have on it should be the main focus of the committee hearings.

It should be pointed out that if President Johnson had agreed earlier to accept a spending limitation, the tax bill could have received earlier consideration. It now is questionable whether there is time enough left to act on it in this session.

The Federal Reserve Board raised the basic interest rate to help keep short-term money from flowing out of this country to England. But the action also will dampen the American economy. This breather provides time for thoughtful reconsideration of the President's proposed income tax increase.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
November 22, 1967

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., on The Floor of The House, Wednesday, November 22, 1967.

Mr. Speaker: The distinguished majority leader of the House, Mr. Albert, charged Monday night in Atlanta, Georgia, that the massive anti-Vietnam demonstration staged at the Pentagon Oct. 21 was "basically organized by international communism" and that "the marchers included every communist and communist sympathizer in the United States who was able to make the trip."

Mr. Speaker, this statement apparently is based on the kind of information given orally to Republican leaders of the House by the President at a White House meeting after the Pentagon demonstration. I presume the same information was made available to the Democratic leaders. I subsequently urged that the White House make public the information it has on the true nature of the so-called peace demonstration at the Pentagon. As a result, the Attorney General of the United States visited me in my office and argued against release of the information.

I believed then and I believe now that the American people should be given full information on the degree of communist participation in the anti-American policy demonstration so that the people may judge just how deep or widespread anti-Vietnam War sentiment is in this country.

If the evidence in the hands of the Executive Branch of our government indicates manipulation of the peace movement in this country by Hanoi, then the propaganda impact of such demonstrations will be lessened and perhaps destroyed. This would be a highly beneficial result, indeed.

Mr. Speaker, one of the national news magazines has quoted the Secretary of State as saying that the release of this information would trigger a new wave of McCarthyism in this country. I dislike taking issue with the distinguished Secretary of State, but I believe the American people are now mature enough to receive such information and to react without hysteria.

Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that the distinguished Majority Leader of the House has made charges of a most serious nature regarding the communist role in the demonstration at the Pentagon, I urge that the President order a

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full report made to the American people on the extent of communist participation in organizing, planning and directing the disgraceful display which took place at the Pentagon last Oct. 21. Such a report will be most helpful and constructive to all Americans. In addition, such a disclosure would be beneficial to the well-intentioned Americans who participated in this demonstration not knowing who had organized the demonstrations at the Pentagon and elsewhere throughout the free world.

###

City Life

B&O Announces Changes in Schedule

Adjustments in the schedules of its passenger service between Washington and the west were announced yesterday by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad.

Effective Nov. 27, the National Limited's through cars serving points west of Cumberland will be handled on the Capitol Limited which leaves Washington at 4:15 p.m. The eastbound Capitol arrives here at 9:35 a.m.

Commuter service between Washington and Cumberland will continue to operate on the National Limited's old schedule, but trains will be renumbered 51 and 52. Westbound No. 51 leaves Washington at 6:50 p.m. with stops at Silver Spring, Harpers Ferry and Martinsburg. Eastbound No. 52 leaves Cumberland at 4:30 a.m., arriving in Washington at 7:40 a.m.

High-Priced Lamb

The District Hotel Supply Co., of 500 E st. sw., shelled out \$1520 at the International Livestock Exposition Sat-



The Washington Post

REP. CARL ALBERT
... calls protest Red-led

urday in Chicago for a grand champion lamb entered by Purdue University. It figures out to about \$16 a pound for the lamb—or enough to remind Washington hotel diners to pass up the lamb chops until the right-hand

side of the menu levels off a bit. Chris Vanture, sales manager for the grand champion's purchasers, explained, however, that the \$1520 price tag on the grand champion included the whole Purdue University flock. It's just the way they sell lamb at the Exposition, Vanture added. A flock is judged by the grand champion that's in it, he said.

N.Y. Gallery Tour

The Washington Gallery of Modern Art is sponsoring a Dec. 15-17 weekend tour of the New York Museum of Modern Art's Picasso sculpture show and other New York art museums. Reservations for the bus trip can be made through the Museum until next Monday.

'Lost' Funds Found

The leftover summer enrichment program funds which were to keep open the Teen Youth Center, 4401 Sheriff rd. ne., and similar

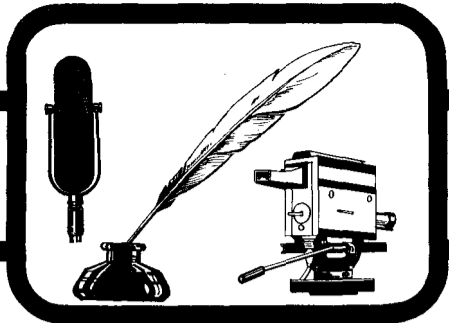
facilities have been located, after a protest Monday by Center patrons to Deputy Mayor Thomas W. Fletcher. They're still going through channels, thanks to an initial delay by the Recreation Department in getting them started, officials explained.

Red-Inspired?

Rep. Carl Albert (D-Okla.), House Minority leader, charged in Atlanta Monday the the recent antiwar march on the Pentagon "included every Communist sympathizer in the United States who was able to make the trip." He told a meeting of the Cotton Producers Association that the heads of all free nations close to the action in Vietnam are backing U.S. troops there. "They are under fire," he said. "Surely they are in a better position to judge the true nature of the Vietnam war than our so-called intellectuals and foreign affairs drug store cowboys thousands of miles away."

From staff reports and news dispatches

Dec. 1967



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

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I can only commend and applaud, therefore, President Johnson's confession that "all taxes are burdensome, but the cruelest tax of all is the inflation tax."

Mr. Johnson certainly has seen a great light since that day (June 30) when he ventured to the grassroots to try out his 1966 campaign defenses, and told an audience in Des Moines:

"On the inflation front, if you are distraught, if you are worried about high prices, if you have a stomach ulcer because of high wages, if you are concerned about hogs bringing too much, calves bringing too much, or wages getting too high, and you are really worked up about inflation, it may be that you ought to vote Republican."

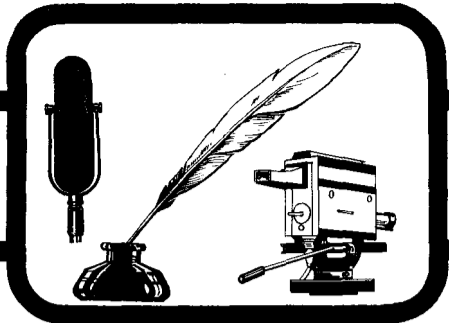
Well, last November the American people were really worked up about inflation, and they took the President at his word -- they voted Republican and sent us a net reinforcement of 47 anti-inflation Republicans in the House of Representatives. With their help, we have been able in this Congress to serve notice on the President that the American people won't accept his political formula of guns and butter, more war and more welfare, higher taxes and higher inflation.

"When these folks start talking to you about inflation," President Johnson defiantly declared 15 months ago, "you tell them that is something you only have to worry about in Democratic Administrations."

He was right then and he is right now when he calls inflation "the cruelest tax of all." But he is wrong to blame all inflation on the "inaction" of this Democratic Congress, just as he was wrong last year to blame it all on Democratic Administrations. We had serious inflation then and we have it worse now. The fact is it is the fault of spendthrift Democratic Administrations and spendthrift Democratic Congresses. The American people may have to wait until November 1968 to correct this situation, but in the meantime Republicans in the Congress accept the President's new attitude toward the evils of inflation with gladness. Republicans will continue to do all we can to check inflation and effect wartime economies.

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[Dec. 1967]



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

STATEMENT OF REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH., HOUSE MINORITY LEADER

There is great rejoicing among Republicans, as there is in Heaven, over one sinner that repenteth.

I can only commend and applaud, therefore, President Johnson's confession that "all taxes are burdensome, but the cruelest tax of all is the inflation tax."

Mr. Johnson certainly has seen a great light since that day (June 30) when he ventured to the grassroots to try out his 1966 campaign defenses, and told an audience in Des Moines:

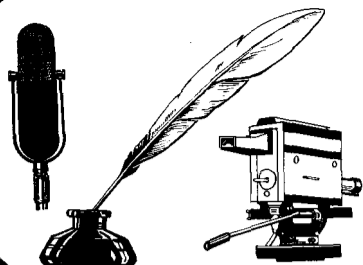
"On the inflation front, if you are distraught, if you are worried about high prices, if you have a stomach ulcer because of high wages, if you are concerned about hogs bringing too much, calves bringing too much, or wages getting too high, and you are really worked up about inflation, it may be that you ought to vote Republican."

Well, last November the American people were really worked up about inflation, and they took the President at his word -- they voted Republican and sent us a net reinforcement of 47 anti-inflation Republicans in the House of Representatives. With their help, we have been able in this Congress to serve notice on the President that the American people won't accept his political formula of guns and butter, more war and more welfare, higher taxes and higher inflation.

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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

-- FOR RELEASE UPON
ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONGRESS --

END-OF-SESSION STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, R-MICH.

The 90th Congress compiled a good record during its first year of existence.

It was constructive and productive--and, very importantly, it was responsible.

First of all, the Congress deserves a vote of taxpayer thanks for cutting federal spending this fiscal year by \$4.1 billion in an attack on inflation and high interest rates. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration still will incur a huge deficit, now estimated at \$19.8 billion, but without a Republican-led campaign to force spending cuts it would have been far worse.

Congress refused to go along with President Johnson's plans to increase income tax bills by 10 per cent. That was a wise decision. Not only are the American people already heavily burdened with taxes, but there is good reason to believe a federal income tax increase at this time might damage the economy.

The 90th Congress passed some good legislation. Republicans and Democrats together launched a massive, regional attack on air pollution, laid the groundwork through House action for a nationwide War on Crime, revamped and extended the Teacher Corps, greatly improved federal and state meat inspection, acted in the House to give more responsibility and control to the states in using federal school aid, passed a Comprehensive Health Act allowing states and local communities to use federal funds in line with their own priorities to fight rats, communicable diseases and drug addiction, increased Social Security benefits, sought to improve the operation of Medicare, tightened up on Medicaid, and revised the welfare laws to put able-bodied welfare recipients to work.

Where legislation was clearly in the national interest, Republicans joined hands with Democrats to pass it. House Republicans succeeded in giving some programs New Direction. We fought what we thought was bad for the country.

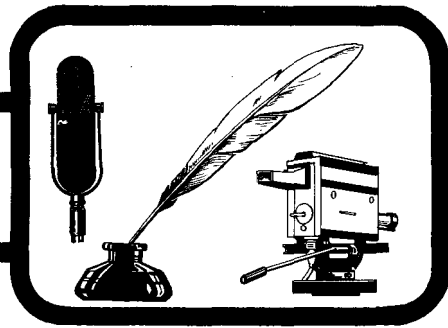
Republicans represented a unified force in the House. In the 24 instances where House Republican Policy stands were put to the test on a rollcall vote, 96 per cent of the Republican members present and voting supported the party policy position. On these 24 rollcalls, the GOP position prevailed 18 times.

The Democratic majority was so divided in the House this year that I am not surprised the President again is calling for a rubber-stamp-sized majority for his party in the Congress.

There were, of course, areas where Congress fell short. The President should have proposed and Congress should have approved a measure to improve our handling of national emergency strikes. Strong anti-crime legislation, as beefed up by House Republicans, should have been written into law this year. Election reform and congressional reform bills pushed by Republicans should have been passed but were sidetracked by House Democratic leaders. This should have been a Reform Congress.

But, on the whole, the 90th Congress did a good job.

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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE IN SUNDAY AM's--
December 17, 1967

The following is an exchange of correspondence between House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.) and Rep. Richard H. Poff (R-Va.), Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime, summarizing legislative action taken in the 1st Session, 90th Congress, and the prospects for additional action on the part of the Congress and the Administration in 1968.

December 12, 1967

Honorable Richard H. Poff
Chairman
House Republican Task Force on Crime
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dick:

As we approach the close of the first session of the 90th Congress, I want to express to you as Chairman of the House Republican Task Force on Crime the sincere appreciation I feel for the fine work you and all Task Force members have done this year. I have just had an opportunity to review the summary of performance, and the record is truly outstanding. You have made specific and positive proposals for legislation dealing with the prevention and control of crime in America and have stimulated legislative action which otherwise would never have been taken.

Conspicuous among Republican contributions to the legislative successes of the House in the field of crime control were the interstate anti-riot bill authored by Bill Cramer of Florida, the bill introduced by Tom Railsback authorizing prosecution appeals in suppression of evidence orders, the bill granting disability benefits as well as survivorship benefits to local police officers wounded or killed in pursuit of federal law-breakers, the McClory amendment to the crime bill to establish a National Institute on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, and the Bill Cahill bloc grant amendment to the crime bill and the juvenile delinquency bill.

I would be interested to have your estimate of the prospects for a genuine crackdown on crime in 1968. Specifically, do you think that the President's recent statements on crime, particularly yesterday's aimed at the Congress, represents a true change of direction? If so, how does the Attorney General fit into this picture?

Wishing you a happy Holiday Season, I am

Very truly yours,

Gerald R. Ford, M. C.

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Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Minority Leader
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

December 14, 1967

Dear Jerry:

Your letter concerning the Task Force is most gracious. I know all members would want me to express their appreciation not only for these kind words but for the leadership and assistance you have given so faithfully in connection with all our projects.

I will do my best to reply responsively, candidly and yet briefly to your questions. Actually, all three questions are intimately interwoven into one, viz., will there be any escalation in the Administration's war on crime in 1968?

(more)

My answer depends upon many imponderables and unpredictables. There is nothing uncertain about the need for escalation; the crime problem is bigger than ever before, growing faster than ever and neglected more than any other. In fairness, it should be said that so far as the President is concerned, neglect has been more unavoidable than purposeful. The President has been necessarily preoccupied with other grave domestic problems and with the tragic war in Vietnam. While it may be that the President's recent statements concerning the crime problem foreshadow a deliberate, methodical campaign in the election year to blame Congress for the problem, I doubt that it is accurate to say that his statements represent any change in philosophical approach.

What is imponderable and unpredictable is how, in your words, the Attorney General fits into the picture. During his short time in office, Attorney General Clark, formerly attached to the lands division of the Justice Department, has shown himself to be something less than a "crime fighter." It was he who persuaded the President to veto the District of Columbia crime package last year and, in the year since, major crime in the District has increased by 34%, a rate more than twice that of the nation at large. It was Clark who issued instructions to all Federal investigative agencies strictly limiting the use of on-person transmitters with remote recorders, an evidence-gathering technique repeatedly and presently sanctioned by the courts. It was Clark who opposed and still opposes legislation conformed carefully to the Constitutional mandates of the Supreme Court which authorizes wiretaps by police officers investigating specific crimes under court warrant and continuing court supervision; persists in his negative posture in the face of endorsements by his three immediate predecessors in office, the Judicial Conference of the United States and every major national organization of law enforcement officials. It was Clark who allowed the whole hot summer of 1967 to pass without even calling public attention to the existence of a Federal crime statute making it a Federal crime to travel from one state to another with the intent to promote or incite arson. It was Clark who delayed until last week end even a minimum administrative and organizational effort to deal with the mass violations of Selective Service laws, and then he was content simply to establish a new unit which functionally can do little more than can already be done under traditional procedures.

More recently, a syndicated columnist reported sharp disagreement between the President and his Attorney General on how to proceed in the matter of Stokely Carmichael.

From the foregoing, you will see that what is unpredictable is how long Mr. Clark will fit into the picture at all. I am sure that you have heard as I have heard speculation that, as the election grows nearer, if the nation's chief law enforcement officer continues to rest on the oars, Clark may go the way McNamara and Goldberg are going and others may go.

In summary, I think that beginning early next year there is likely to be a Presidential crusade to blame Congress for the crime crisis. And there will doubtless be some surface escalation of the war on crime, a political pageant, with or without Ramsey Clark.

Sincerely,

Richard H. Poff, M.C.

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of America

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WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1968

No. 209

House of Representatives

More Republicans Improved the 90th

Congress

SPEECH

OF

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 15, 1967

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been a good Congress because of more Republicans in both the House and Senate. President Johnson admits it has been a productive Congress. His majority leader in the Senate, Senator MANSFIELD, says the record of this Congress has been "good, decent, and respectable," and I agree, as I am sure Senator DIRKSEN does.

I recall vividly in the middle of the 1965 session of the 89th Congress—the last Congress—Senator MANSFIELD said that the Congress had passed a lot of major bills too hastily, with too many loopholes and too many rough corners, and particularly it had failed to make a proper assessment of the current and ultimate cost of these vast programs.

But the 89th Congress did not listen to Senator MANSFIELD, while the American people did.

The 90th Congress in 1967 has been productive and constructive, primarily because the voters of the Nation in November 1966 gave us a net gain of 47 Republicans in the House and additional strength in the Senate. These new Republicans came from 33 States—from the length and breadth of America. They are attractive, articulate young men and women who are responsive to their voters and who are fighting hard for constructive solutions to the Nation's problems at home and abroad.

This Congress, with 50 more Republicans, has produced this record:

First. Spending limitations totaling more than \$4 billion from the President's budget for fiscal 1968: This effort to curb runaway inflation and avoid another tax increase succeeded only because of virtually solid Republican support.

Second. Social security improvements: More benefits for senior citizens who have been hurt by Johnson-Humphrey inflation—without the additional payroll taxes on working citizens that President Johnson wanted. Ninety-nine per-

cent of House Republicans supported this legislation.

Third. Comprehensive health legislation: A partnership-for-health bill providing funds for the Federal Government and the States to attack rats and other pests, narcotics addiction, and so forth. Ninety-eight percent of Republicans supported this legislation.

Fourth. Clean meat inspection law: 99½ percent of Republicans supported.

Fifth: A flammable products control bill to protect families and children from deadly garments, toys, and home products: 100 percent Republican support.

Sixth. A law to clean up the air we breathe: 100 percent Republican support.

In the House of Representatives this session—with Republicans reinforced and on the march—we have passed many forward-looking and much-needed bills. Here are eight of them:

First. A Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Assistance Act—modified to permit State and local agencies to play their rightful role—99 percent Republican support.

Second. Juvenile delinquency prevention and control legislation—99½ percent Republican support.

Third. Federal antiriot legislation—99 percent Republican support.

Fourth. Adult education legislation—100 percent Republican support.

Fifth. Law to stop desecration of the American flag—100 percent Republican support.

Sixth. Equal benefits for Vietnam veterans and their families—100 percent Republican support.

Seventh. Independent Maritime Administration legislation—opposed by the Johnson-Humphrey administration but backed by 97 percent of House Republicans to try to salvage the neglected U.S. merchant marine.

Eighth. Curbs on excessive nondefense spending—Federal spending in 1960 under the last Republican administration was \$48.6 billion. Estimated nondefense spending for fiscal 1968 is nearly double that figure—\$95.6 billion. The cumulative Federal deficit since President Johnson entered the White House is expected to exceed \$60 billion. As a result, the U.S. dollar is in trouble abroad and buys less and less at home.

This is a good Congress and it is because the American people made some changes from the last one.

Republicans are against the status quo in the handling of our Federal fiscal affairs. We are soldiers fighting the Johnson administration's inflation and the Johnson administration's high interest rates. We believe the American people deserve a better deal. Look at this dollar bill. Since a Republican left the White House about 7 years ago, the purchasing power of this dollar bill has gone down 13 percent.

Just to give you another indication, the cost of living in 1966 went up 3.3 percent. The cost of living this year will probably be close to 4 percent, and next year it appears that the cost of living may even be higher than that.

I think the American people deserve a better break and we as Republicans are fighting to do something about inflation, the higher and higher cost of living and the high interest rates. Talking about high interest rates, let me point out that just a week or so ago our Government, Uncle Sam, sold Federal securities and paid 6.4 percent interest, the highest in 100 years. Now this problem is created, I think, by the fact that the administration has failed to manage effectively and responsibly our Federal taxes and our Federal expenditures.

I have here in my hand a copy of the Federal budget for 1968, that is this fiscal year. We think the mismanagement of this budget has precipitated high interest rates and inflation.

Let me point out the problem that we face in the Congress. When the President submitted this budget to us in January he said the deficit would be \$8.1 billion. In August he finally conceded that the deficit would be \$29 billion and just a few weeks ago the President—I think quite irresponsibly—said the deficit might reach as high as \$35 billion.

The trouble is we just cannot believe the mathematics that the Johnson administration submits to us every year in January. With all the errors they have made in every budget, I often wonder what would happen to a taxpayer if he made similar mistakes on his Federal income tax return. I think any ordinary taxpayer would really be in trouble.

Now when we come right down to it, the Republicans for the last 3 years have tried to make specific, constructive recommendations to attack inflation and high interest rates. The national Republican coordinating committee, of which both Senator DIRKSEN and I are mem-

bers, recommended in 1965 a nine-point program to straighten out the fiscal problems we face. The coordinating committee in April 1966 made a 13-point recommendation to fight inflation and high interest rates. We in the House of Representatives have been trying to cut Federal expenditures as Republicans also have in the Senate. We have a better solution to the fiscal problems facing this Nation which result in such a severe loss in purchasing power for every American family. We believe it is better to reduce expenditures than to pass the President's tax increase. We believe in responsible, realistic Federal financing. Do you realize that in the last 7 years since a Republican left the White House, there have been accumulated deficits in the Federal Government of over \$60 billion? This can not go on much longer or our dollar will be worth even less than it is today.

Now let me point out the problem we face in crime. In the last 8 years our population has gone up 10 percent, but in the last 8 years crime in this country has gone up 67 percent. The FBI reported just the other day that crime in this country went up 16 percent in the first 9 months of 1967. There have been 120 or more riots in our major metropolitan areas in 1967, in which 118 people lost their lives, some 4,000 have been injured and \$270 million in damage was done to public and private property. Yes, we are against this kind of a status quo. Republicans are fighting to do something about the crime problem.

The President early this year sent up a bill to involve the Federal Government in the crime problem. The House of Representatives under Republican leadership threw out the President's crime bill and we passed a meaningful piece of legislation that denies the President's demand for what could become a Federal police force under the control of the Attorney General. Our bill, as the House passed it, gives to the States needed Federal funds and Federal guidance, providing each State has a State plan coordinating the local and State law-enforcement organizations. We think the Republican approach to crime is the constructive one. I am proud to repeat that 99 percent of the Republicans in the

House supported this crime remedy rather than the dangerous one that the President recommended.

We have talked about the good things this Congress has done, primarily because of the increased numbers of Republican Congressmen the American people in 33 States sent us a year ago to help us battle against the Johnson administration's status quo. But the job of this Congress is not yet completed. We think this Congress should write a good record as a reform Congress. For example, we believe that there should be clean election legislation. We have been operating in this country for a number of years with antiquated, inadequate, and ineffective Federal election laws. In the House of Representatives, the Republicans have really carried the ball to try and get meaningful, effective legislation to guarantee clean Federal elections in the 1968 presidential race, in the upcoming Senate races, and in the House races. We believe that there should be strict disclosure as to funds received by candidates and to the expenditures that are made on behalf of a candidate.

We strongly disagree with the President's proposal to finance elections out of taxpayers' money from the Federal Treasury. We think that is the wrong way to get the people interested in good government.

One of the good ideas that our new Republican Members pushed the hardest on—and I am proud of their efforts and of the results—was to establish in the House of Representatives a code of ethics for all Congressmen. They took the lead in getting the House of Representatives to establish a Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. This committee has put together and is about to announce a code of ethics for Members of the House of Representatives. We think this is long overdue, and I hope it will be effective.

This new group of Republicans is a very vigorous lot. They are articulate and attractive and they work hard. They sometimes come up with ideas that should have been thought of before and, believe me, they are a very helpful group when we challenge the status quo of the matters, on crime and law enforcement, and on other matters. I hope that in the

next election the American people will send at least 31 more to the House of Representatives, so we can continue trying to straighten out some of our basic problems, trying to get away from the status quo that we are in today.

This is not a rubberstamp Congress. The last Congress was President Johnson's Congress, but this Congress is more nearly representative of the American people.

But, this is the Christmas season, and only minutes ago President Johnson turned the lights on the White House Christmas tree on on behalf of all Americans.

We did not agree and frankly we did not like the President's unfair assessment of the 90th Congress in 1967. But now we have set the record straight, there is something far more important I would like to say. As Republicans, we are not only proud of the work we have done in the session just ending, we are proud of the Congress itself. With increased strength we have immensely improved the quality of laws under which all Americans live, and we intend to continue to play our proper part in the constitutional process of government. We hope the President and the judicial branch will play theirs. We are proud of the way representative government works, and we will keep on fighting to make it work. We are proud of America and have faith in America, and with new Republican leadership in the White House and Republican majorities in the Congress we pledge our countrymen that everyone can be really proud of being an American. Let us never forget that we are all Americans.

On that note, Merry Christmas to you, Mr. President, and Merry Christmas to everybody in this great, good, compassionate and charitable land, which has been good to all of us.

(Excerpts from the comments of Representative GERALD R. FORD, Republican-Michigan, House Republican Leader in reply to President Johnson over ABC, CBS, and NBC television networks, December 15, 1967)