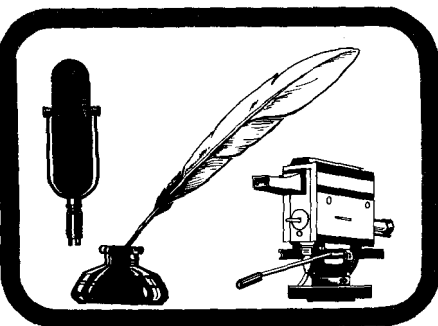


The original documents are located in Box D8, folder “Ford Press Releases - Foreign Affairs, 1969-1973” of the Ford Congressional Papers: Press Secretary and Speech File at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
March 5, 1969

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives.

President Nixon's televised press conference on foreign policy -- nearly a full hour question and answer session -- was a first for America.

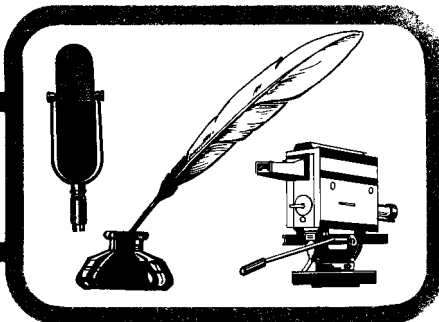
It was truly remarkable that an American President would bring the people as fully into the workings of personal diplomacy and the formulation of foreign policy as did Mr. Nixon.

This cannot help but establish a feeling of trust between President Nixon and the American people in the area of foreign policy, just as the new President has created feelings of mutual trust between himself and the leaders of Western Europe as the result of his European trip.

Mr. Nixon's televised press conference on foreign policy was a unique and most effective way of reporting to the American people on the President's tour of Europe. It communicated far more to them than any presidential monologue might have done.

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



--FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON--
May 28, 1969

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Republican Leader, U.S. House of Reps. on the floor of the House, May 28, 1969.

Mr. Speaker: I have always supported the foreign aid program in principle because I believe it helps to further one of America's national goals -- that of promoting peace and order in the world. However, I have become increasingly critical of the manner in which our foreign aid program has been administered, the repeated instances of waste, stupidity and corruption, and the appalling lack of results in relation to tremendous U.S. investments.

Against this backdrop of comment, I would like to say that I am pleased by the thrust of President Nixon's foreign aid message. It appears to signal a New Direction in our foreign aid program, focusing as it does on a fresh approach to private enterprise involvement in the program and on multi-nation assistance programs rather than unilateral U.S. aid to the Third World.

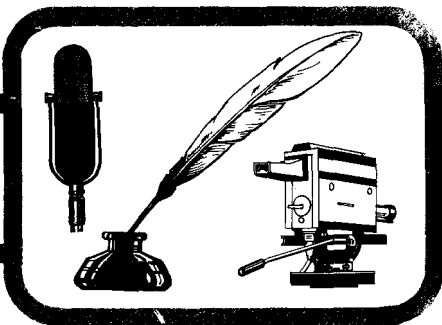
On the face of it, the President's proposed Overseas Private Investment Corporation appears to be an excellent idea. Assuming its approval by the Congress, the proof will be in the implementation of the proposal. I also heartily approve the President's declared intention to place a mandate upon the Agency for International Development to help improve opportunities for local private enterprise in the developing countries.

I particularly commend the President for his proposal to create a position of Auditor General in AID, assuming that the new AG will be a man of great determination and the courage to ride herd on his own people. I am hopeful that President Nixon can greatly strengthen the AID program by establishing the new position of AID auditor general. I base that hope in part on the fact that the AG will be reporting directly to an excellent administrator, former Michigan State University president John Hannah.

In essence I endorse the Nixon foreign aid program. But I take no position on the dollar amount. The Congress will scrutinize the dollar requests and then work its will. We can make a judgment on the fund requests only on the basis of supporting data.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all members may have five legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the subject of the President's foreign aid message.

###



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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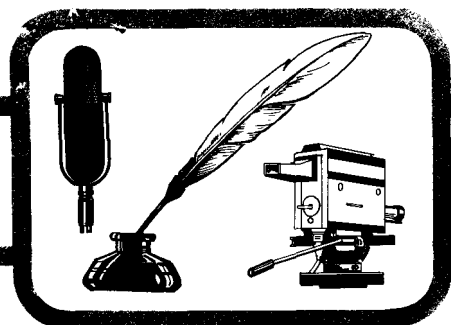
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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., in observance of Captive Nations Week 1969, placed in the Congressional Record of Monday, July 14, 1969.

Mr. Speaker, this week we mark the 10th anniversary of a testament to freedom first proclaimed by the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower. This is the 10th annual observance of Captive Nations Week, authorized by congressional resolution in 1959. That resolution empowered American Presidents to proclaim Captive Nations Week each year until "such time as freedom and independence shall have been achieved for all Captive Nations of the world."

This 10th anniversary of the observance of Captive Nations Week takes on special significance. It comes while the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia is fresh in our minds. It is a most fitting time to look at the original Captive Nations resolution and to ask ourselves some searching questions about the meaning and purpose of Captive Nations Week.

The original resolution told it like it is. It said: "The imperialistic policies of Communist Russia have led through direct and indirect aggression to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukrainia, Czechoslovakia, Latvia," etc. In all, 22 nations were listed as having lost their independence because of Communist aggression. The last on the list was North Vietnam.

Today we are fighting Communist aggression in South Vietnam and maneuvering against Soviet domination of the Mideast while probing the possibility of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam and a general arms control agreement with the Soviet Union.

But whatever is involved in the intricacies of current diplomacy, we still must tell it like it is.

We still weep for the Polish workers of Poznan so brutally suppressed when they rose in revolt 13 years ago against their Communist puppet rulers. We still are outraged over the bloodbath 13 years ago in Hungary when security forces fired upon the people and the Communist puppet rulers there called in Soviet troops to put down the uprising. Our hearts go out to the people of Czechoslovakia, invaded by the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact nations last August 20 in

(more)

a move to stamp out the freedoms being enjoyed by the Czechs and Slovaks.

What tremendous courage has been shown by the Poles of Poznan, the freedom fighters of Hungary, and the Czechoslovakians resisting the Soviet occupation and the reimposition of tyranny and censorship in their country!

It is this that points up the significance of Captive Nations Week and the dedication of Americans to the nurturing of freedom throughout the world.

There is a truth that no arms and no occupation can kill. The truth is that within the hearts of the enslaved peoples there burns a love of liberty which is a constant threat to their rulers -- a yearning for freedom which will ultimately prevail. And this truth gives meaning to our Captive Nations Week observance.

Communism as an ideology has proven itself a myth. The form of government we see in the Soviet Union, Communist China and the Red satellite nations is simply statism -- tyrannical rule by an oligarchy and a single political party. Statism is dictatorship, whatever the name given to it -- Communism, Naziism or Fascism.

Only the government which governs with the consent of the governed is worthy of allegiance from its people.

This, too, is a truth that must be trumpeted during Captive Nations Week. And it is a truth which evokes fear and anger within Communist ruling circles when Americans speak of it during Captive Nations Week or any other time.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the United States should seek enforceable agreements with the Soviet Union aimed at avoiding a third world war.

But it would be the greatest hypocrisy to close our eyes to the wrongs that the Soviet Union has done to millions of human beings deprived of individual freedoms and national independence.

There are some Americans who think that Captive Nations Week should be soft-pedalled or forgotten. I strongly disagree.

Americans must continue to make known their deep concern about the people of the Captive Nations and convey this message to the captive world.

Americans should continue to make known their refusal to accept the regimes imposed upon these unfortunate victims of tyranny.

Americans should continue to promote the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms which are the God-given rights of all people -- and not talk of them only when it may be expedient to do so.

(more)

Americans must never accept the view that freedom is foreclosed for the now-enslaved peoples of the world. Consistent with our own national interests, America should constantly explore all avenues that might lead to a lessening of their plight.

Let us continue to inform the captive peoples of our full and uncompromising support for their unquenchable goal of national and individual freedom. Let them ever know that Americans are dedicated to the furtherance of freedom throughout the world.

Let us keep faith with the people of the Captive Nations.

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

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
July 22, 1969

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., Minority Leader, U.S. House of Reps.
on the floor of the House of Representatives on July 22, 1969.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend the President of the United States on his courage and boldness in scheduling a visit to the Communist State of Romania.

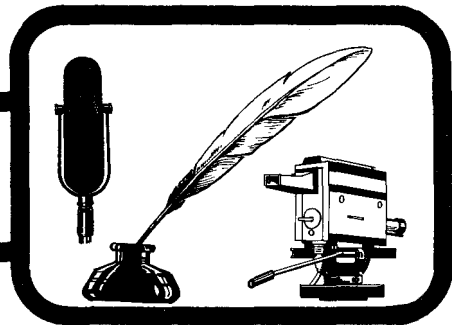
What the President has done is simply to place the Eastern Communist world on notice that the United States will move toward friendship, step for step, with those who wish to move toward friendship with us. It places the Western world on notice that the United States has recognized the cracks in the Communist monolith and we intend to pursue these developments in the interests of the peoples of Eastern Europe, and in the interests of peace.

The President is and has always been a realist toward the Communist world. He rejects the naive assumptions of past policy that, by throwing away economic concessions, we will win political gains. He deals with the nations of Eastern Europe as an American head of state should deal with them -- recognizing that they have interests and we have interests and we do not intend to give up something for nothing. If they seek trade advantages in the United States, we will hold those out, but there are political and diplomatic dividends which we seek in Eastern Europe -- and we welcome a horse trade. There will be no something-for-nothing deals with the Communist world with President Nixon in the White House.

The President has been criticized for not "clearing" his visit with the Soviet Union. It is not the custom of American Presidents, certainly it is not the practice of this one, to clear our diplomatic moves in advance with Moscow. They have never cleared theirs with us. Indeed, if we are to take Foreign Minister Gromyko at his word, the visit to Bucharest is not seen by them as a provocative act.

It is a welcome development to find that we have in the White House today a President who initiates moves in foreign policy rather than reacts to them. It is good to have a dynamic foreign policy for the United States rather than a static and sterile one. The President takes with him on this visit into Eastern Europe and the Communist world by an American President our hopes that he can bring back some sign of a more just and enduring peace. He should be commended by the American people for making this historic effort.

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

**NEWS
RELEASE**

---FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE---
November 25, 1969

Statement prepared for delivery by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, Nov. 25, 1969.

MR. SPEAKER: President Nixon's decision to seek Senate approval of United States participation in the Geneva Protocol banning first use of gases and bacteriological methods of warfare is an initiative toward peace that may have far-reaching effects.

This affirmative action by the White House could have a highly salutary impact on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks now in progress in their preliminary phase.

In taking the United States out of the field of germ warfare, the President has made abundantly clear to the American people and to peoples throughout the world the great devotion that this Nation has to the objective of universal peace.

Not only is this action reassuring to our own people but it is also fresh proof to the people of other nations that the United States wants nothing so much as peace for itself and for all countries in the world commonwealth.

I believe this move by President Nixon will greatly enhance the standing of the United States in the eyes of the world. I would go further and say that seldom has the prestige of the United States been greater than at this moment in our glorious history.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

-- FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON --
Feb. 18, 1970

In the past we have talked of a "soft line" and a "hard line" in foreign policy. President Nixon's foreign policy for the Seventies is a peace line -- a realistic strategy for achieving and maintaining world peace.

I firmly believe that the foreign policy guidelines laid down by President Nixon will lead to a safer world. The key to that safer world, as pointed up by the President, is crisis prevention in place of attempts at crisis management around the world.

There will be no return to isolationism under Nixon policy. Neither will there be ratification of bureaucratic decisions in the foreign policy area.

Instead, as the President has stated, the proper course is for the Commander-in-Chief to be presented with and to fully examine all of the options -- and then to make his own decisions.

I say that President Nixon's strategy for peace is a fully realistic foreign policy because it is an extension of his do-it-yourself policy for Asia; it looks to a fashioning of stronger regional groupings as a vehicle for peace through strength; it nurtures no illusions regarding Communist purposes; it views Communist nations individually and in terms of their own special interests rather than as part of a supposed Communist monolith; it contemplates no withdrawal from the world since this would only leave the world open to Communist takeover; and it sensibly scales down our General Purpose Forces concept from readiness for two major and one minor wars to one major and one minor conflict.

President Nixon's foreign policy for the Seventies is a way to stay in the world, not a way to get out of it.

The underlying theme of it is a willingness to help those who are willing to help themselves. We must not be in the front line of every confrontation. Always there must be a willingness to negotiate and a basis for negotiation.

The President has laid before the Nation and the world a full and concise explanation of his foreign policy block-building. No mysteries. Simply a realistic formula for peace built upon three pillars -- partnership among nations, strength, and willingness to negotiate.

The President's action in presenting this foreign policy paper to the Congress and to the Nation is unprecedented. With it, the President has taken the people completely into his confidence. I am sure they welcome this sharing.

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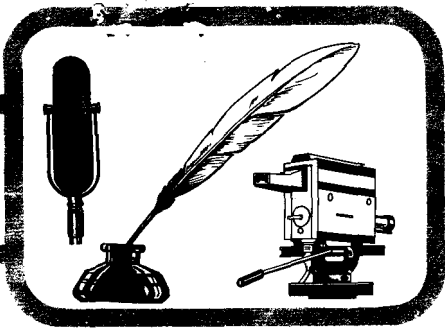
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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

OFFICIAL

**NEWS
RELEASE**

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 24, 1970

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.), Republican Leader,
on the Floor of the U. S. House of Representatives

Mr. Speaker, I am gratified that the responsible leaders of this Congress, despite their party affiliations and personal opinions on the policies of the French Government, are joining in the highest American tradition to welcome President Pompidou at a Joint Meeting of the Congress.

It is important that our Government achieve success in efforts to develop a better understanding and closer relationship with France. Among the modern nations of the world, France is our oldest friend. But more than sentiment motivates my words. I am deeply concerned because the visit of President Pompidou coincides with very grave developments.

The violence of the Middle East has escalated in recent days. It has spread to Western Europe. A number of American citizens, innocent passengers aboard an international airliner, have fallen victim to extremist fanaticism. One of my own constituents, the wife of a respected Baptist minister of Grandville, Michigan, has been ruthlessly murdered by terrorists. Her only offense was to ride a tourist bus to view the holy places near Jerusalem.

Anger and emotion are rising in the Middle East. The conflict is striking down innocent bystanders and affecting the transportation and communication links connecting Western Europe and America with the State of Israel. This is a time for negotiation, not confrontation. It is a time to discuss with President Pompidou the policies of his government in the Middle East, Europe, and elsewhere, as they relate to the national security interests of the United States. It is a time to seek ways of cooling down passions, to seek ways of working with France to decrease the level of violence in the Middle East and to limit the introduction into that region of destructive new weapons.

Our Government is now engaged in very serious talks with President Pompidou. Our historic relationship with France demands that President Pompidou, as the elected head of his government, be accorded the courtesies that have been traditional. I do not completely agree with all the policies of the Pompidou administration nor of the preceding De Gaulle administration. But

(more)

This is a time for statesmanship, not showmanship, a time for reconciliation, not agitation.

We will accomplish nothing by boycotting or blockading, by walking in or by walking out on President Pompidou. We may accomplish something, -- indeed, we may accomplish very much by exchanging ideas with President Pompidou in a constructive, relevant, and civilized manner.

It has been a basic tenet of our Government that while we may be divided at home on foreign policy matters we are nevertheless willing to permit our Government to deal in an orderly and diplomatic manner with other governments.

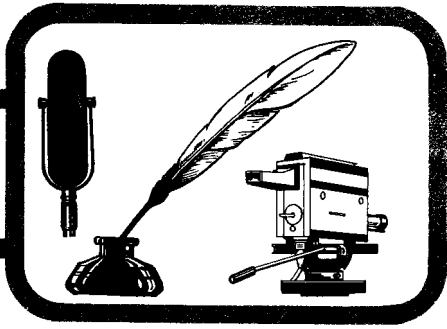
The negotiations with France are of such importance that we cannot permit an impression that this Congress is unwilling to accord the traditional courtesies to the Republic of France. The violence and killing in the Middle East are very serious. The situation is daily growing worse.

I would like to suggest a better course than an empty, negative boycott of President Pompidou. Let us devote the same time and energy to seeking a lessening of violence. I would like to suggest the alternative of an international agreement to deal with the rise in airborne terrorism, bombings, and hijacking; perhaps, a world conference on safety of air passengers. Another alternative for the time wasted in opposing the Joint Meeting would be a discussion of ways and means of implementing President Nixon's very recent report to the Congress on foreign policy. I might add that the Government of Israel has received this report with deep satisfaction. The President expressed himself quite clearly on the threats to Israel and it is incumbent upon the Congress to respond to his forthright leadership on this crucial issue.

Instead of negativism and obstructionism, let us strengthen the hand of President Nixon when he speaks for all of us with President Pompidou. This is the way to impress upon the French President the deep conviction and profound unity of the American people on these matters.

We shall do everything we can in the interest of peace and stability in the Middle East. But we will do more than talk. The United States cannot and will not stand by and watch the military balance turn against Israel. We will not let the situation deteriorate because of ill-advised policies of other governments.

Of course, we hope that President Nixon's statesmanlike effort to limit the arms race will generate a positive response from France, from Great Britain, and, of course, from the Soviet Union. This aim is served by the courtesies this Congress is rendering to President Pompidou in our common effort to create better communications. This aim is frustrated by flamboyant gestures that add to the dismay and discord of a troubled world.



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
July 9, 1970

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, Republican Leader, U.S. House of Representatives

I am delighted that the House of Representatives had sense enough not to try to tie the hands of the President of the United States in the conduct of our foreign policy.

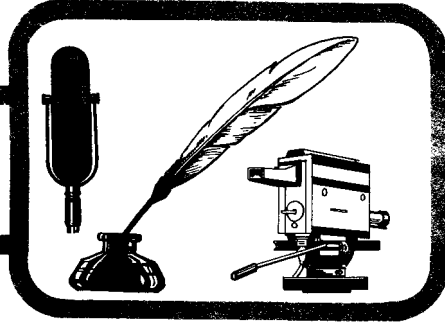
The House is to be congratulated for having the wisdom to reject the unwarranted attempt by the United States Senate to infringe upon the powers of the President as commander-in-chief of our armed forces.

I now hope that the position of the House prevails in conference and that the Cooper-Church Amendment is removed entirely from the Military Sales Act. The Cooper-Church language would interfere with the power of the President to protect the lives of American troops. Such interference is short-sighted and unwise.

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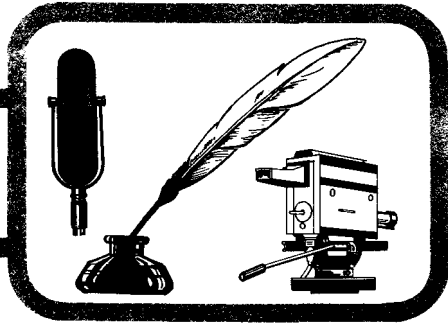
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**NEWS
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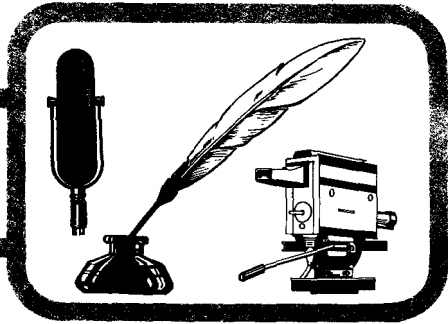
--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
August 7, 1970

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, Republican Leader, U.S. House of Representatives.

I am most encouraged by the news of the cease-fire in the Mideast.

This is, of course, only a first step -- but it is a step leading away from the dreadful abyss of a full-scale Mideast war and a possible confrontation between the super-powers. I hope and pray the cease-fire will lead to a settlement of the Mideast conflict and to a complete and permanent peace in that troubled area of the world.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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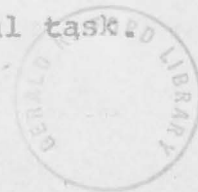
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In House
8-11-70

Mr. Speaker, I raise my voice today in the hope that peoples of the world of whatever persuasion, creed or nationality will realize that the death Monday of an American citizen in Montevideo, Uruguay at the hands of Communist terrorists is a senseless, savage, cowardly act; it is now clear for all the world to see how these people plan to bring about changes in their society. The wave of revulsion which has followed this brutal act proclaims the total bankruptcy of terrorism, from whatever end of the spectrum, as an instrument of political action.

Dan A. Mitrione, Chief Public Safety Advisor of our AID program of assistance to the Uruguayan police was doing his job, helping the Uruguayan police to be more effective in providing service to the public in a modern and humane manner. Indeed he was trying to help the police assume their proper role in Uruguayan society. His assassination at the hands of the subversive Movement for National Liberation bodes ill for the continued growth of this society.

It has been suggested by some that this tragedy raises questions as to whether the United States should be engaged in this activity. I submit that it proves ^{instead} how important it is for us to persevere in this essential task.



The frequent reference we have heard to "political prisoners" is totally misleading. The MLN demanded release of all "political prisoners" held by the Government as ransom. It should be noted that these people are not being held nor were they convicted because of their political beliefs. They are criminals arrested for murder, bank robbery, extortion and the like. Constant reference to them otherwise by us all gives an erroneous impression as to why they are being held by the Uruguayan Government.

I have seen some reference to this subversive group that it has a "Robin Hood" image. Dan Mitrione's murder should dispell any doubt that this group is anything but a Communist-led gang intent on the overthrow of the democratically elected Government of President Pacheco Areco.

I view with equal concern the plight of Mr. Claude Fly, an American agriculturist in the employe of the Uruguay Government who is still being held by the terrorists. I am confident that the Uruguayan government and particularly the Uruguayan police did all in their power to obtain the release of Mr. Mitrione. I am confident that they will continue to be unwavering in their efforts to effect Mr. Fly's release and that of the



Brazilian Consul, Mr. Aloysio Mares Dias Comide. I commend the tireless efforts the American Ambassador, Charles Adair, the many officials in the Department of State who have worked tirelessly for the past week in an effort to effect Mitrione's release, and I especially commend Mr. Byron Engle, Director of the Office of Public Safety in AID for the leading role he played in this effort. Expressions of concern by the Pope ~~and~~ ~~and~~ lead us to hope that the subversives will bend to public opinion and release the remaining hostages.

Mr. Mitrione's body is being flown back tonight to his home town of Richmond, Indiana for burial and the tribute of his former neighbors and friends. The Uruguayan Government will pay its last tribute to him before the plane leaves tonight bearing his body and grieving wife and children away from the locale of his murder. His comrades in the police force there will have the job of bringing to justice those responsible for his brutal murder.

This government must do all in its power to assist Uruguayan the ~~Uruguayan~~ Government to assure that the assassins pay the price for their crime and that such crimes are condemned throughout the world.



The coldblooded murder of Mr. Mitrione shocks us all and prompts us to renew our prayers for those still being held.





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

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
September 9, 1970

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford, R-Mich., to be delivered on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives Wednesday noon, Sept. 9, 1970.

Mr. Speaker: The airplane hijacking situation has reached international crisis proportions. The world community must act--and act quickly--not only to obtain the release of the hijack victims now being held hostage by Arab commandoes in Jordan but to prevent or at least deter future hijackings.

It would seem that agreement could be reached by the nations involved, not only on the matter of punishment for hijackers taken into custody but also on security measures which could be adopted to nip incipient hijackings in the bud.

To that end I urge that the countries which figure in airplane hijackings--actual or attempted--agree on a number of preventive measures which some have already adopted at least in part.

I suggest the placing of armed plain clothes security guards on all international commercial flights, searching baggage and the persons of passengers in some cases, and instituting an airlines personnel security program.

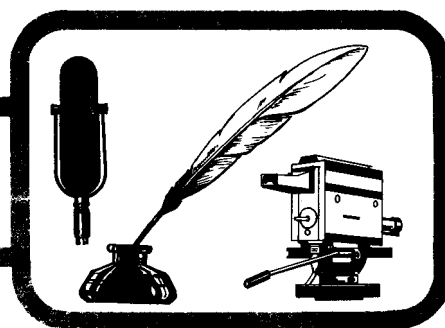
It is my information that U.S. airlines are employing a passenger profile or screening system which eliminates hijacking suspects among airline passengers down to approximately one-half of one per cent. The rest of the passengers then go through a magnetometer check to see if they are carrying any weapons or bombs.

Now the Federal Aviation Agency and the airlines are talking about an actual physical search of suspected hijackers on certain risk flights. I urge that such action be taken.

Another proposal with considerable merit is a boycott by the International Pilots Association of any country harboring hijackers. A boycott of this kind could not very well be instituted by a government without offending the other government involved, but it might well be carried out by an organization like the IPA.

Mr. Speaker, there is no question that action must be taken to put a stop to international airplane hijackings. This is a matter of the greatest urgency and one that calls for the highest degree of international cooperation.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

---FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON---
December 31, 1970

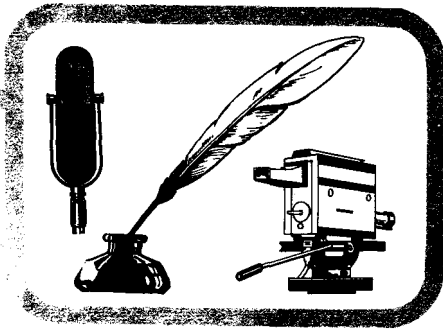
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on the floor of the House on December 31, 1970.

Mr. Speaker: All Americans are rejoicing today over the commutation by the Soviet Supreme Court of the death sentences handed down by a lower court to two of 11 Jews accused of planning to hijack a Soviet airliner.

Our elation should be tempered, however, by the circumstances which gave rise to the entire incident--the probable entrapment by Soviet officials, the mockery of a trial, the stunningly heavy sentences, and now the reduction in sentences. After all, the reason the incident occurred is that the Soviet Union virtually bans the emigration of Russian Jews to Israel.

The fact that the Soviet Union is holding Jews in that country against their will is unconscionable. While it is true that the Soviets, in effect, are keeping all of their citizens prisoner, the situation is particularly heinous as regards the Russian Jews. The Jews have somewhere to go, and if they wish to emigrate to Israel they should be freely permitted to do so.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON--

February 25, 1971

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

The President's second State of the World Message is an excellent exposition of American foreign policy.

It is further testimony that President Nixon has taken the American people into his confidence more fully than any President before him.

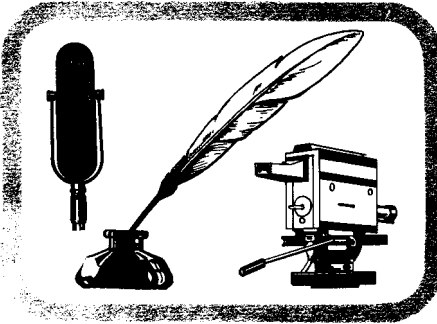
The section on Indochina outlines our military and diplomatic moves directed toward peace in Southeast Asia more clearly than has ever been done before. The President places the blame for conflict throughout Indochina precisely where it belongs--on the Communist leaders in Hanoi.

In the section on the Middle East, the President points up the constant danger of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation there. One of the Administration's great accomplishments stemmed from the low-keyed manner in which the Administration steered away from that danger during the Jordanian crisis last September.

All in all, the President's second State of the World Message is a valuable contribution to an understanding of U.S. foreign policy--not only by the American people but by peoples throughout the universe.

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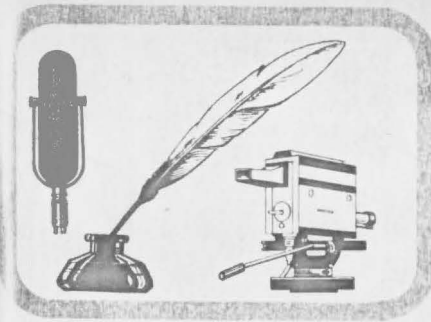
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###

Introduction - House Hallways only
12 noon 3/5/71

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
March 5, 1971

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

All Americans can feel greatly encouraged by President Nixon's remarks Thursday night concerning the Laotian incursion by South Vietnamese troops aided by U.S. air support.

The fact that 55 per cent of the traffic coming down the Ho Chih Minh Trail has been halted is clear evidence of the incursion's success and proof that taking this action was a matter of sound military strategy.

I personally believe the Laotian incursion by the South Vietnamese will produce even more dramatic results and will unquestionably mean an acceleration of U.S. troop withdrawals from South Vietnam.

I commend the President for his candor and the completeness of his answers during his foreign policy press conference. He has kept every promise he has made to the American people on Vietnam and he has taken them into his confidence.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

Thursday, May 20, 1971

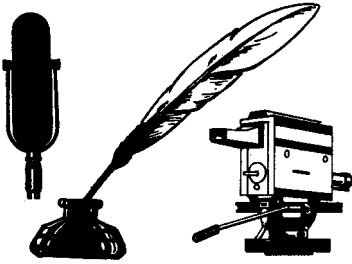
Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

The U.S.-Soviet agreement to simultaneously negotiate limitations on both offensive and defensive nuclear weapons is clearly one of the most significant breakthroughs for peace in the history of the modern world.

While intensive negotiations lie ahead and further agreements may elude us for an indefinite period, we must recognize this initial agreement as a step toward preserving world peace and a step toward relief for the American and Russian peoples from the crushing cost burden of the nuclear arms race.

The U.S.-Russian agreement holds a vast potential for benefit to mankind. It indicates a more enlightened attitude on the part of the Russians. It prompts me to look for the day when we can come to a substantive arms control agreement. I feel there is genuine cause for optimism.

#



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

June 10, 1971

It is in the best interests of the United States and the interest of world peace that the long-standing tensions between the United States and the People's Republic of China be reduced and that we seek to resolve our differences.

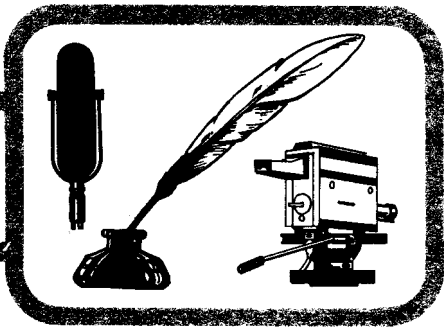
President Nixon's announced steps toward ending U.S. controls over non-strategic exports to the People's Republic of China are a move in that direction and are therefore to be welcomed. This move will, I believe, lead to improved Sino-American relations. It is important in achieving genuine progress toward world peace. There is a definite need for an improved relationship between the United States and the People's Republic of China. There is need for a constructive relationship.

The President is proceeding with commendable caution in relaxing our restrictions on trade with the People's Republic of China. I am pleased that locomotives are not on the list, since in my view that item is strategic.

I believe the most important aspect of the President's action is the ending of control over the shipment of wheat, flour and other grains to not only China but to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This move makes a great deal of sense. It should benefit the American farmer. In the past we have simply forfeited this part of the export market to Canada.

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



---FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE---

June 10, 1971

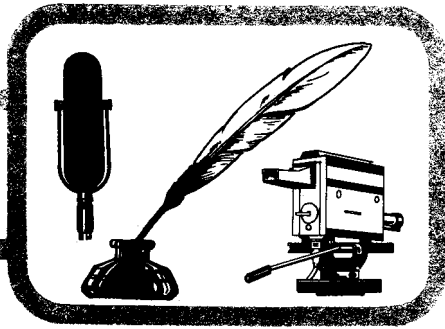
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CONGRESSMAN
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HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

Tuesday, October 12, 1971

Comment by Rep. Gerald R. Ford on the President's trip to Moscow

The announcement that the President will visit Moscow the latter half of next May will be welcomed by the world-at-large.

Hopefully, this summit meeting will prove to be another giant step forward toward our goal of a generation of peace.

The President's Moscow trip is in line with the basic Nixon premise--that of negotiation and not confrontation in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

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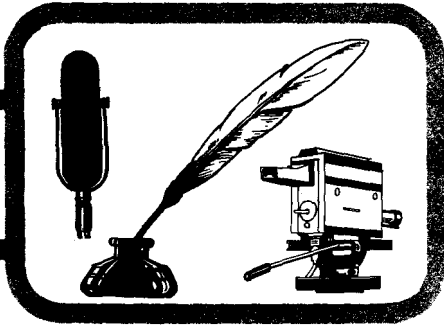
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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

Tuesday, October 26, 1971

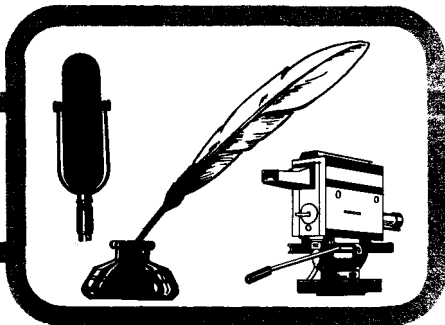
Monday, Oct. 25, 1971, was a day of tragedy in the life of the United Nations.

The expulsion of the Republic of China from the UN will seriously weaken that organization in at least two particulars.

The precedent established by the refusal of the General Assembly to regard expulsion of a member nation an "important question" places the membership of small present members in danger, and the natural reaction of Americans to expulsion of the Republic of China from the UN could seriously jeopardize the future financing of the UN by the United States.

Congressional reaction to the expulsion of a nation that has committed no wrong could be very adverse.

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HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
December 6, 1971

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford on the Floor of the U.S. House of Representatives
Dec. 6, 1971.

Mr. Speaker, the fighting between India and Pakistan intensifies while efforts to bring about a cease-fire and a mutual troop pullback are blocked in the United Nations Security Council by the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that the United States take the lead in shifting the India-Pakistan cease-fire resolution away from the Security Council and placing it before the General Assembly. Only there can the peace-loving nations of the world work their will.

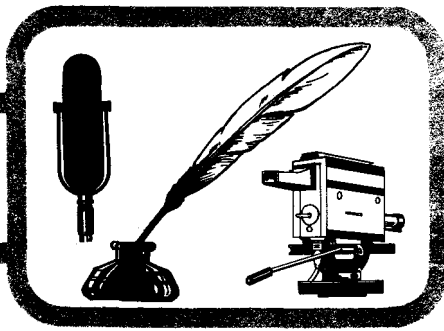
If this tragic war is to be ended, it is clear that there must be a withdrawal of Indian and Pakistani troops to their own territories. In short, we must implement the provisions of the U.S. resolutions introduced in the United Nations. The Soviet veto does not alter the facts of the situation. Any political settlement between India and Pakistan can only come about after the fighting stops.

Mr. Speaker, there is \$184,350,000 in economic assistance for India in the pending foreign aid bill. I am sure India will appeal to the United States for aid in dealing with problems she herself is now creating. I do not believe that the American public and its representatives in the Congress will be receptive to such appeals should India continue to employ her troops in efforts to take over Pakistani territory. I therefore endorse the action of the State Department in suspending aid to India.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR RELEASE AT 12 NOON WEDNESDAY--
February 9, 1972

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

President Nixon's State of the World Message is an honest thorough-going analysis of our foreign affairs which helps the American people view our foreign relations in proper perspective and promotes world understanding of our actions.

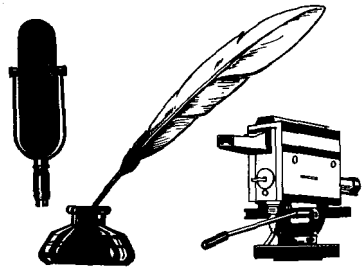
Regarding the President's comments on his upcoming trip to Peking, I join with the President in his hope that the trip will establish a basis for future negotiation with the People's Republic of China of all points of conflict between our two nations.

I also share the President's view that we will never collaborate with the North Vietnamese to turn South Vietnam over to Communist rule. To me, this is the nub of the current debate over Vietnam policy. The United States should not be a party to any so-called peace settlement that would assure a Communist takeover of South Vietnam.

I would also single out for special mention in connection with the President's State of the World Message his call for a major series of new trade talks. It is absolutely mandatory for the future economic well-being of the United States that a Nixon Round of trade talks be initiated and pursued to a successful conclusion. Our trade negotiators, because of our New Economic Policy, are in a stronger position to achieve better terms in dealing with other nations.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

February 17, 1972

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Rep. Gerald R. Ford today urged that as Americans gather in their churches this Sunday they offer a prayer for the success of President Nixon's journey for peace to China.

"Let us pray," Ford said, "that the President's dialogue with the leaders of the People's Republic of China will mean the taking of a giant step toward the generation of peace we are all so ardently seeking."

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House Galleries Only

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS
RELEASE

Friday, May 26, 1972

FOR RELEASE UPON SIGNING OF THE SALT TREATY--

The SALT treaty clearly is the most momentous such international agreement reached by two major powers in modern history.

This, together with the previously-reached agreement on access to Berlin and the opening of communications with the People's Republic of China, spells an end to the cold war era.

The President's mission to Moscow has been even more fruitful than the most optimistic among us might have imagined. U.S. and Soviet agreements have been reached in the fields of the environment, health, space, scientific cooperation, and prevention of incidents at sea, as well as in limitation of strategic weapons.

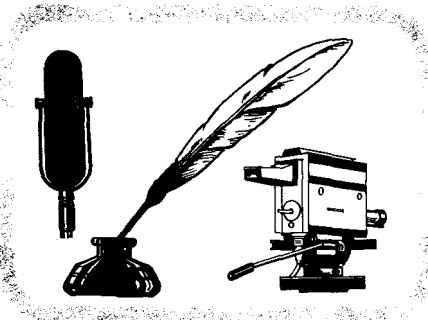
The President is without question a White House diplomat extraordinary. He has done a superlative job on his Moscow peace mission.

While the SALT agreement will not in and of itself guarantee world peace, it is the first weapons freeze of the nuclear age and places a check-rein on the nuclear arms race between the world's two superpowers. As such, it is an encouraging move toward international stability.

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

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

Thursday, June 1, 1972

Comment by Rep. Gerald R. Ford on President's SALT Report

The President's report to the Congress and the American people on the Moscow summit was balanced and realistic, and admirable in its restraint.

While restraining his enthusiasm over the outcome of the summit meetings, the President nevertheless appeared assured and confident--the picture of a leader who is manifestly capable of directing this Nation along the path of peace.

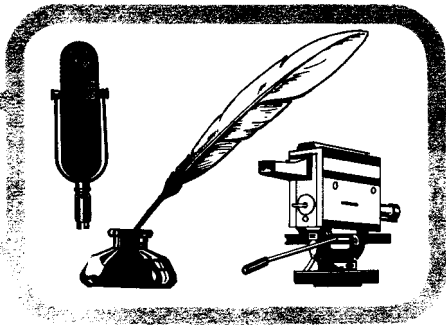
There will be opposition in the Congress among some hard-line members to both the ABM Treaty and the agreement limiting numbers of offensive nuclear weapons. But the "center" agrees with the American people that the President has signed nuclear weapons limitation agreements which are in the longrange best interests of the United States.

I predict overwhelming approval of the ABM Treaty in the Senate and of the offensive weapons agreement in both houses of Congress.

I personally agree with the President's policy of nuclear weapons sufficiency, as reiterated in his address to the Joint Session of the Congress.

The SALT agreements became possible only because we negotiated from a position of strength.

###



CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

FOR RELEASE AT 6:30 P.M. TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1972, AND THEREAFTER--

Congressman Gerald R. Ford will leave the United States June 23 on a two-week trip to the People's Republic of China which the State Department calls "a pathfinder mission on the part of the House of Representatives."

Ford will be joined on the trip by House Majority Leader Hale Boggs, D-La. The two congressmen's wives will accompany them. The House leaders are making the trip at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and the request of President Nixon.

William Brown, deputy director of the China Desk at the State Department, said the Ford-Boggs trip will "continue the dialogue begun by President Nixon and entered into by Senate leaders Mike Mansfield and Hugh Scott and will open wider the door to China that was swung open by the President."

Brown, who will go to China with Ford and Boggs, said the House leaders' trip to China "could lead to further exchanges in the medical, scientific, sports and academic fields." It will, he said, contribute to further normalization of Sino-American relations.

Ford and Boggs hope to meet with high-level Chinese leaders on their trip, including Chinese Premier Chou En-lai. Plans also call for visits to industrial plants and agricultural communes, as well as historical and cultural sites.

Ford and Boggs will depart from Andrews Air Force Base in a military jet at 10 a.m. June 23. They are scheduled to arrive in Shanghai June 26 after stopovers at Hickam Field, Honolulu, and at Guam.

Their tentative itinerary in China includes Peking, Shanghai, Canton, and various rural areas. They will leave Canton by rail for Hong Kong on July 4. Ford and Boggs are due to arrive back at Andrews Air Force Base the evening of July 7.

Ford and Boggs will report to the House of Representatives and to the President after their return.

Ford will take three staff members with him: Administrative Assistant Frank Meyer, Legislative Assistant Robert Hartmann, and Press Secretary Paul Miltich.

#

For Release at 10:30 A.M.

JOINT STATEMENT BY REPS. HALE BOGGS AND GERALD R FORD, July 8, 1972

Gentlemen, this is our first real discussion with newsmen since coming out of China.

We conferred with President Nixon in San Clemente by telephone late yesterday immediately after arriving in Washington from Yokota Air Force Base in Japan. On Wednesday and Thursday we communicated with Washington and met with U. S. Consular officials in Hong Kong, crossing the border after a train trip from the Chinese city of Canton. We met for five hours with Premier Chou En-Lai, for three hours with the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Ch'iao Kuan-Hua, and with numerous provincial and local leaders in Shanghai, Peking, Shen Yang, Anshan and Canton.

It has been a remarkable journey.

Only three times in nearly a quarter century has an official U. S. party been welcomed in that country. Contact between our people and the Chinese people has been practically non-existent, and the result has been a feeling of distance and tension between us. There are, therefore, few American experts in China or on the best present course for Sino-U.S. relations.

After 10 days in China we certainly do not qualify as experts. We, and nearly all other Americans, have barely begun to understand that immense and complex land. Our observations and impressions must be measured in light of the shortness of our visit and our nation's limited familiarity with the closely guarded details of Chinese foreign and domestic policy.

As soon as we arrived yesterday at Andrews Air Force Base, we telephoned President Nixon at San Clemente to report the substance of our findings and recommendations. We will shortly submit a more detailed report to him in written form. Most of the information we have given and will give to the



President we are eager to share with you today. When the House reconvenes, we will present a formal report to the Speaker and the entire membership.

Both of us hold the view that the process of normalizing State relations between the U. S. and China should continue. We hope our party conventions this month and next will help to advance this objective, and that all candidates this year will approach the matter in a spirit of bipartisanship.

After all, the combined population of China and the U. S. exceeds one billion people--one third of mankind. If our two nations can learn to live together in harmony and mutual respect, our children may better hope for a peaceful world.

We see a bright future ahead in this new relationship of our country with China, and both of us intend to do all we can to help bring that to pass.

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Office Copy

For Release at 10:30 A.M.

JOINT STATEMENT BY REPS. HALE BOGGS AND GERALD R FORD, July 8, 1972

Gentlemen, this is our first real discussion with newsmen since coming out of China.

We conferred with President Nixon in San Clemente by telephone late yesterday immediately after arriving in Washington from Yokota Air Force Base in Japan. On Wednesday and Thursday we communicated with Washington and met with U. S. Consular officials in Hong Kong, crossing the border after a train trip from the Chinese city of Canton. We met for five hours with Premier Chou En-Lai, for three hours with the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Ch'iao Kuan-Hua, and with numerous provincial and local leaders in Shanghai, Peking, Shen Yang, Anshan and Canton.

It has been a remarkable journey.

~~Only~~ three times in nearly a quarter century has an official U. S. party been welcomed in that country. Contact between our people and the Chinese people has been practically non-existent, and the result has been a feeling of distance and tension between us. There are, therefore, few American experts in China or on the best present course for Sino-U.S. relations.

After 10 days in China we certainly do not qualify as experts. We, and nearly all other Americans, have barely begun to understand that immense and complex land. Our observations and impressions must be measured in light of the shortness of our visit and our nation's limited familiarity with the closely guarded details of Chinese foreign and domestic policy.

As soon as we arrived yesterday at Andrews Air Force Base, we telephoned President Nixon at San Clemente to report the substance of our findings and recommendations. We will shortly submit a more detailed report to him in written form. Most of the information we have given and will give to the

President we are eager to share with you today. When the House reconvenes, we will present a formal report to the Speaker and the entire membership.

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IMPRESSIONS OF THE NEW CHINA

JOINT REPORT

TO THE

UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY

Majority Leader HALE BOGGS

AND

Minority Leader GERALD R. FORD

on their Mission to the People's Republic of China,
June 23 to July 7, 1972



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

81-868 O

WASHINGTON : 1972

H. Res. 1070

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.,
August 3, 1972.

Resolved, That there be printed as a House document the joint report of the House of Representatives by Majority Leader Hale Boggs and Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford on their mission to the People's Republic of China from June 23, 1972, to July 7, 1972 entitled "Impressions of the New China".

Attest:

W. PAT JENNINGS, *Clerk.*

(II)

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

HON. CARL ALBERT,
Speaker, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: Transmitted herewith is a report of our recent journey to the People's Republic of China.

Nearly one quarter of all mankind is Chinese. Together, our populations total more than 1 billion individuals. Yet, over nearly 25 years, we risked potentially dangerous misunderstandings as our nations became ever more isolated one from the other.

As both governments have now recognized, it is in the interest of our peoples and in the interest of international peace for us to learn to live together in peace and mutual respect.

We harbor no illusions that the path to that relationship will be easily or quickly traveled. There are many fundamental differences between our societies. Nevertheless, our visit reminded us again that people the world over share a common desire for friendship.

We hope that the observations contained in this report may be of interest to our colleagues and to the public at large and, in particular, that our journey will contribute in a small way to a normalization of U.S. relations with China.

HALE BOGGS,
Majority Leader.
GERALD R. FORD,
Minority Leader.

(III)

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IMPRESSIONS OF THE NEW CHINA

(Joint Report to the United States House of Representatives by Majority Leader Hale Boggs and Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford on Their Mission to the People's Republic of China, June 23 to July 7, 1972)

INTRODUCTION

Our visit to the People's Republic of China, in behalf of the House of Representatives, was undertaken at the invitation of the quasi-governmental Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and with the encouragement of President Nixon. It was only the third visit to China by elected American officials in nearly a quarter century, preceded only by the President in February this year and by Senators Mansfield and Scott in late April and early May.

Our mission had two principal objectives: first, to learn as much as possible about China—its leaders, its people, its economy, its international and domestic objectives for the President and the House of Representatives; second, to contribute to better relations between our two countries, an objective not only mutually advantageous to the Chinese and American peoples, but also contributory to the relaxation of tensions throughout Asia and the world.

We have reported in detail to the President both verbally and in writing. This report to our colleagues is an elaboration of our report to him.

We do not pose as experts on China, or on Sino-American relations. All that we report must be evaluated in light of the views of others in and out of government who have devoted themselves to a study of China. We recognize as well as anyone that in a mere ten days in the vastness of China, we could do little more than become aware of the enormous amount of information and understanding we lack about that land.

We are reminded of the blind men who sought to learn about an elephant, each coming away with a very different impression, and none with a complete account. In order to enhance the usefulness of our report, then, we have prepared this report jointly, assembling and comparing our recollections together as we traveled and worked together on this remarkable journey.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR IMPRESSIONS

The questions most often asked of us since our return have concerned our general impressions of China and its people.

We find the most striking first impressions an American receives today in China are these:

The people appear adequately fed, clothed and housed and therefore are relatively content. Related to this is a pervasive discipline and

motivation in pursuit of national goals of class consciousness, increased production, Marxist-Leninist (Maoist) awareness and collective effort to upgrade the quality of life.

Preoccupied with their tremendous struggle to advance since 1949, the Chinese multitudes seem oblivious to the fact that they lack in their lives the political liberty, social mobility, and individual orientation that we cherish in the United States. We did not detect, nor did we sense any real dissent.

The parts of the New China that we saw in the eastern regions seem a land united and well on the move toward development—a remarkable achievement when it is recalled that China at the end of World War II was economically prostrate, politically riven and alone, its population demoralized, dispirited and despairing.

So widely shared has been the progress since 1949, so improved the lifestyle of the average Chinese, that these people living, by our standards in relative privation, give every impression of counting their blessings, grateful for even modest progress, not restive with only the bare necessities of food, clothing, shelter and health.

The cities we visited—Shanghai, Peking, Shen Yang, Anshan and Canton—are strikingly clean. There is virtually no litter. There are no flies. There are no dogs. No animals or poultry run loose. Most buildings are well maintained. The virtual absence of passenger cars and the silent gliding of large numbers of bicyclists give an air of orderliness and peace to the streets. Only Canton still reminds one of the congestion and disorder of earlier days, and even there without the human distress that once engulfed the streets of Chinese cities.

Not one member of our party reported seeing even one Chinese who appeared to be suffering from hunger, or exposure, or who appeared to be socially crippled, homeless, idle, or uncared for. In cities Americans saw years ago as dirty and crowded with the hungry and the ragged, the poor and the begging, the sick and the lame, we saw bustle, cleanliness, and a disciplined purposefulness.

Despite these positive impressions, there are troubling impressions as well. Chairman Mao Tse-tung, despite rare public appearances, is ubiquitous: his presence felt everywhere. Enormous color portraits of the Chairman are found atop major public buildings. His portrait adorns the walls of virtually all public rooms, factories, classrooms and homes we visited. Quotations from Mao's writing—usually exhorting the population to greater production or increased vigilance—are spread over gigantic banners hung from public buildings, or lettered in white on huge red billboards. Radios and public loudspeakers give forth an undeviating fare of martial music, political instruction, and songs whose themes ordinarily extol the nobility of peasant labor, the heroism of factory workers, the decency and courage of the people's liberation army, and the omnipresence of outside hostile forces.

No non-Chinese newspapers, books, films or magazines are anywhere in evidence. Instead, all Chinese books, newspapers and magazines are State produced. "Literature" appears to consist entirely of dogmatic collections of news, stories or poems whose unalterable themes are those of overcoming obstacles, exercising vigilance, and performing acts of heroism in the struggle to meet factory or farm production goals.

The individual is important only as a tiny part of the whole; there seems to be no place for individual freedom to dissent, to disagree; to seek, discover or pursue alternatives. The political discourse is a scramble toward the center to avoid the perilous extremes of "ultra-leftism" or "ultra-rightism".

The highly organized system of child-care, from pre-school to after-school—and the use of that system to inculcate in the children a veneration of the State and obedience to its leaders—is awesome in its possible implications for the future. Writing, art, music, dance, drama and even supervised play—all teach a complete devotion to the heroes, the tasks, the purposes and policies of the system.

Few observers have returned from China in recent months with impressions significantly different from these we have just mentioned. If we can assume these impressions are essentially correct, for the United States and the rest of the world the portents in the light of other known facts about China are no less than totally profound, and deserving of the most serious reflection by this Congress, our leaders, our institutions, and our people.

Time does not stand still. The world moves on, and changes. In less than two hundred years the United States moved from weak colonial status to the most powerful nation on earth.

China today is far from being powerful as compared to the United States and the Soviet Union. Her population of some 800 million needs to be fed, clothed, housed, cared for, occupied and satisfied, and this huge population is growing by some 20 million a year.

China's ability to meet its vast domestic needs requires all the energy, discipline and resourcefulness a people can bring to bear. It requires political stability at home. It requires freedom from external aggression, actual or even threatened, whether military, economic or cultural.

The views expressed to us by Chinese leaders that China is today preoccupied with her massive internal problems, that she has no present notions of international conquest or expansion, that her present aspiration is only to develop peacefully—these views we find credible for today.

We are therefore persuaded that, at present, the world has little to fear from China. On the other hand, from China's point of view, the world must be something of a threatening place.

But time will not stand still for China. No matter how weak she may be today relative to other nations, China is a land of vast human and natural resources.

If she can maintain political stability, if she can upgrade her agriculture and industry, if she can remain free from outside interference—what will China be like in another two or three short decades?

The answer is obvious. If she manages to achieve as she aspires, China in the next half century can emerge a self-sufficient power of a billion people—a nation whose agricultural output can provide for her population, whose industrial capacity can be enormous, whose military capability can be very substantial, with a people united in devotion and obedience to the State.

This last impression—of the reality of China's colossal potential—is perhaps the most vivid of our journey. As our small party traveled through that boundless land, this sense of a giant stirring, a dragon waking, gave us much to ponder.

There, in that nation where State-directed conformity produces unity of effort and purpose, and where self-indulgence and licentiousness of any kind are not tolerated, we reflected on our own country. We were troubled that, by contrast in our own nation, where people are free to live and work and choose and read and think and disagree as they please, there has been widespread division, discord and disillusionment and a pervasive permissiveness straining the fibers of our national character.

In China an American is brought to hope that we will always have the self-discipline which fired our ancestors. In our own land of liberty and abundance and power—with all the material advantages that China lacks—there have been corrosive trends that have grown as our fidelity to old virtues has waned.

In disciplined, unified China, American visitors will wonder if our self-indulgent free society will be able to compete effectively fifty years hence with this totalitarian State, possessed of a population which dwarfs our own, with equal or greater natural resources, and with total commitment to national goals.

Such are the questions that occurred to us as we made our way in the Middle Kingdom that is China.

NORMALIZING RELATIONS

Last February, the U.S. and Chinese stated that "progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interest of all countries," that normalization "contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world", and further, the Chinese noted that "the Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States."

In discussions of these and related points with Chinese leaders, we received the very clear impression that China remains most interested in improved State relations with the United States, just as we are with China.

We also can confirm that the Taiwan question appears to remain the "crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations." On this question, it is well to recall the United States position in the Shanghai Joint Communiqué last February as follows:

The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and military installations from Taiwan. In the meantime, it will progressively reduce its forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

Since the February Communiqué, American troop levels in Vietnam have been measurably reduced. In the same period—in fact in the very midst of our visit to China—the chiefs of state of North and South Korea met together in a promising beginning toward a relaxation of tension. Finally, there has been a state of relative calm in the Taiwan

Strait during this same period. We view these as the kinds of developments which in time will allow a progressive reduction of our forces and military installations on Taiwan, and we are confident that, regardless of the political results next November, the United States will do its part to see that the process of normalizing United States-China relations can go forward.

We fully support peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves, and recognize that this goal is complicated by the fact that diplomatic relations currently exist between the United States and the Nationalist Government of General Chiang Kai-Shek but do not exist with the People's Republic of China. How this question can be ultimately resolved we do not know, but we look forward to the day when all Chinese can be represented in Washington.

In this respect, we found that our continuing diplomatic relations with the Republic of China are for the People's Republic of China a particular barrier to normalized relations.

Chinese leaders called to our attention the fact that the war in Indochina is also an obstacle to improved relations between our countries. The Chinese position is well known. Fundamentally it is that Communist North Vietnam is a neighbor and friend whom China will not abandon. The Chinese insist that they have no territorial designs in Indochina, that they will not intervene in North Vietnamese affairs, and that they seek a neutral Indochina where no great power has hegemony.

Both of us support the systematic withdrawal and eventual end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, and therefore we are optimistic that in reasonable time the Vietnam war will no longer obstruct the normalization of Sino-American relations.

Aside from the major questions of Taiwan and Vietnam, there are other ways in which progress toward normalized relations can proceed. These areas—trade and exchanges of visits, for example—are discussed later in our report.

INDOCHINA

We have already mentioned that the conflict in Indochina obstructs improved relations with China. In our discussions with Chinese leaders we were not surprised to find that they regard the United States as the aggressor in Vietnam or that they expressed fraternal solidarity with the North Vietnamese. The Chinese view, as is well known, is that the Vietnam conflict is a civil war whose roots are in mistaken United States foreign policy assumptions of the Dulles era.

It was also not surprising to us to hear that the Chinese will continue to give support to the North Vietnamese, although they laid considerable stress on their having not furnished combat ground troops.

The Chinese endeavored to persuade us that their challenge of domestic development is all-consuming; that they lack the ability and interest to wage external aggression; and that consequently we are mistaken if we are pursuing the conflict in Vietnam or maintaining military presence in Asia as part of a policy primarily intended to contain Chinese expansionism or subversion.

In reply to these views we reported to our hosts, and emphasized, that the American people and their leaders are in complete accord that the fighting in Vietnam should end, that American combat troops are being withdrawn and that the Vietnamese should peacefully determine their own future without outside interference.

We had extensive discussions with Premier Chou En-Lai on a number of subjects, including Indochina. At his specific request, we have reported his views on these matters to the President.

TAIWAN

To the Chinese leaders, Taiwan is simply a province yet to be "liberated". Among the most common slogans we noted on public walls, banners, billboards, and even children's jerseys was the slogan: "We will certainly liberate Taiwan." In the Shanghai Communique the Chinese reiterated their opposition to any form of "two-China" solution to the question of Taiwan.

Thus, as we have mentioned, the issue of Taiwan remains a major obstacle to the improvement of our relations with China. Although this problem must be solved by the Chinese themselves, it poses difficulties for the United States in view of our diplomatic relations and mutual defense treaty with Taiwan.

In this matter, as in Vietnam, we believe the Chief Executive in his conduct of foreign policy should have substantial latitude necessary to help, where he can, to bring the problem to a solution. Therefore we will reserve substantial public comment on this question. Here, as in Vietnam, we trust the President will take into account the realities of the situation. We subscribe to the interest expressed by the U.S. side in the Joint Communique that the Chinese on each side of the Taiwan Strait will themselves settle this question.

In saying this we are not advocating "abandonment" of the Chinese on Taiwan. We simply recognize, as they do, that the situation which has existed for more than two decades has tended to create in the minds of many the inaccurate impression, to which neither the Nationalist Government nor the People's Republic of China subscribes, that there is not one China, but two.

The People's Republic of China uses such quasi-governmental organizations as the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT) to advance Chinese interests where lack of diplomatic relations might otherwise be a barrier to international contact. Nevertheless, our hosts cited the Taiwan question on a number of occasions as an obstacle even to extensive people to people contact with us, and it is clear that the nature of our current relationship to Taiwan remains an obstacle to normalized Sino-U.S. relations. We therefore look forward to a resolution of this question.

SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Throughout their histories, China and Russia have been wary friends if not outright enemies. After 1949, we in the United States tended to regard the Sino-Soviet relationship as an international communist conspiracy to subvert and control the world. Yet, as we look back, we can see that sharp ideological differences and growing geo-

political hostility between China and the Soviet Union reduced the likelihood of their close cooperation in such a strategy.

By 1963, Sino-Soviet relations were publicly strained. In that year, for example, the Chinese newspaper People's Daily, in a significant editorial attack on Soviet policy and leadership, ridiculed Nikita Khrushchev as a "psalm-singing, table-thumping buffoon who belongs in the trash heap of history."

As early as 1960, of course, Soviet technicians and advisors resident in China to assist in industrial and agricultural development had been suddenly withdrawn. They left China with their plans, records and blueprints, leaving the Chinese understandably angry.

Today, normal State relations do exist between the U.S.S.R. and China. There is also a treaty of friendship between them. At the same time, Chinese and Soviet troops have clashed in bloody incidents along the border in Western China and over an island to which both lay claim in the Ussuri River north of Vladivostok. It is generally believed that the Soviets have more troops massed and more advanced weaponry poised along the border with China than they do in Europe. For its part, China, too, apparently has large numbers of troops deployed along the border.

In addition to their vigilance along the border with the U.S.S.R., the Chinese must be giving serious attention to the growth of Soviet influence in India—a nation with whom China also shares a common and disputed boundary.

Finally, the Soviets have helped supply, train and arm the North Vietnamese in an obvious effort to gain influence with still another nation bordering China.

These strains in Sino-Soviet relations suggest one of many possible reasons for current Chinese willingness to seek improved relations with the United States. Surely the Chinese are under no illusions that the long-standing and fundamental differences they have with us can be suddenly wiped away. Yet it is obviously in China's interest to work for a world in which there can be relatively peaceful relations with the United States. In developing her domestic economy, it would be exceedingly disruptive for the Chinese to be required to be in a constant state of preparation against possible military interference by both the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Our conclusion that the Chinese and the Soviets are in a period of mutual tension should not be taken to mean that we have nothing to fear from possible joint Sino-Soviet designs. Obviously, for example, there is even now cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in furnishing the supplies which North Vietnam is using to wage war. Chinese railroads are carrying Soviet equipment. Moreover, the Soviets are still trading with the Chinese; at Peking Airport we noticed that two new Soviet IL-62 aircraft were parked in front of the main terminal.

Our recommendation in view of heightened Sino-Soviet tension is simply that the United States should, in its self-interest, carry forward the policy of improved relations with China. At the same time, we must be aware that after nearly a quarter century of mutual isolation, the United States and China have much to learn about each other, and a long distance to travel together, before sturdy foundations of trust and good faith are laid. Therefore we must continue to remain defensively strong and alert.

U.S. PRISONERS IN CHINA

In view of the concern expressed to us by many people prior to our departure, we were particularly interested in pursuing with Chinese leaders the matter of U.S. prisoners held in China. The United States Government is aware that there are three individuals who are currently prisoners of the Chinese. They are John Downey, Major Philip Smith, U.S.A.F., and Lt. Cmdr. Robert J. Flynn, U.S. Navy.

We appealed to Premier Chou En-lai and others on behalf of these men and their families, on humanitarian grounds, that they be accorded consideration with respect to treatment and release. We pointed out that favorable consideration by the Chinese would be an important indication to the American people of China's interest in normalizing relations.

Another high official with whom we met, Foreign Affairs Vice Minister Ch'iao Kuan-hua, made a special point of advising us that he thought Mr. Downey's mother would like to know that he is currently in good health. We were advised that Mr. Downey's case is different from that of Major Smith and Lt. Cmdr. Flynn, the two American fliers who were forced down over Hainan Island, and that the cases will be handled separately. Other than assurances that the Chinese would take note of our appeals it was not possible to obtain any further information or assurances about these three Americans.

In the context of our discussions regarding Mr. Downey and the two fliers, we also inquired about the truth of reports circulating in the United States from time to time that other Americans, captured in Indochina or elsewhere, are being held prisoner on Chinese soil. On this point the Chinese assured us that they are not aware of any Americans held in China other than the three just mentioned. Moreover, the Chinese explained that from now on, they expect to handle the matter of prisoners on a candid and above-board basis, utilizing the channels of communications that have evolved between our countries since the President's visit. We took this to be an assurance that the United States Government will be informed promptly if and when it develops that any other Americans are held on Chinese soil as prisoners or otherwise detained against their will.

TRADE

After informal trade discussions with political leaders and officials of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade (CCPIT), it appears to us that the Chinese side is prepared to have trade between our countries develop in some measure, but slowly. We did not find among our hosts the same high degree of enthusiasm for early and measurable increases in trade which has stimulated the interest of American businessmen. Indeed, in pursuing the matter of mutual contact generally, we at no point found the Chinese more reserved than in talks respecting bilateral trade.

China's foreign trade policy is governed by three fundamental considerations: first, trade should be conducted on the basis of equality and mutual benefit; second, trade must complement domestic objective of self-reliance; third, the cost of imports should not exceed the proceeds from exports.

These points by no means rule out an increase in Sino-American trade. As long as China believes it can accelerate technological development by trade, for example, it will use foreign exchange gained in exports to purchase sophisticated technology. It can achieve a trade balance by State planning, offsetting a trade imbalance with one nation by trade with others. While China could finance high-cost, high-technology imports with long-term credit, we found no indication that the Chinese have significantly altered their vigorous resistance to debt financing.

There appear to be a number of areas in which opportunities exist for U.S. exports to China. Obviously, these include advanced aircraft and satellite support technology—items China has already purchased. Other areas, too, coincide with China's plans for development. These include farm machinery and techniques; iron and steel production; on- and off-shore mineral, oil and gas extractive methods; chemical fertilizer production; chemical production; improved breeding stock; food processing techniques, computers, copiers, and so forth.

It is important for us to bear in mind regarding exports to China, however, that there are few items even in the category of advanced technology which China cannot obtain from other sources. Japan, Germany, France, Britain and the Soviet Union are all important Chinese trading partners. We must therefore be sufficiently competitive or Chinese business will go elsewhere. By the same token, Chinese goods which have a market in the United States are also generally available to us from other sources. These include a variety of food-stuffs, handicrafts, minerals, light manufactures, and soft goods. We are not, therefore, trading partners essential to each other.

On the other hand, there is important political significance to increased Sino-American trade. The exchange of goods, like the exchange of people, can be a bridge to better mutual understanding and improved political relations.

Among serious obstacles to increased trade is the absence of normal State relations, yet Japan and the Federal Republics of Germany, though lacking diplomatic relations with China, have a higher volume of trade than does France which recognizes Peking. Thus, though diplomatic ties with China may be a condition precedent to any dramatic increase in the range and volume of goods traded, this is not to say that some significant trade cannot occur before that event. Obviously, some trade can itself play an important part in bringing about diplomatic ties. The imminent purchase by China of Boeing aircraft is a good example of a large transaction which required official U.S.-Government participation, at least to the extent the grant of a federally issued export license was required to make the transaction possible.

Nevertheless, the Chinese seemed to be telling us that before too long, if trade relations are to improve, progress will have to be made in resolving a number of items: the conflict in Indochina; the status of our relationship to Taiwan; current tariff and non-tariff barriers; the current disagreements over frozen Chinese assets; claims of U.S. citizens for property seized by China; and U.S. policy respecting end-use and export licensing. Clearly further mutual effort must be given to the area of trade development and promotion.

We do not say that the Chinese are uninterested in pursuing trade with the United States. But it is important for us to bear in mind that the Chinese are very sensitive to the possibility of exploitation, and they are striving to be self-sufficient. In a recent speech the Chinese Vice Minister of Trade sounded a theme which we heard repeatedly during our visit, namely that "international trade should be based on equality and mutual benefit." In view of the experience of China in matters of trade with the West over the last 150 years, this is an understandable concern.

LAW AND JUSTICE

The legal system, an important part of any system of government, appears to be undergoing very fundamental experimentation. The legal profession itself has been abolished. Petty disputes and infractions are handled by the Revolutionary Committees in the communities in which the offenses or disputes occur. Behavior control seems to be based less on a fear of physical punishment or confinement than on persuasion, psychological pressures, public shaming and such re-education devices as political study and manual labor. There may be much for us to ponder with respect to the Chinese belief in the social re-educability of wayward citizens, and their claimed rejection of confinement in the rehabilitation process. There is also, unfortunately, a definite reluctance on the part of the Chinese to permit Western visitors access to information on their legal system as it relates to crime. While this is somewhat understandable in a society which is experimenting with the whole question of law and justice, we hope the Chinese will before long permit us to share in their search for better ways to deal with antisocial behavior.

POLITICAL STABILITY

In view of the complexity of the domestic Chinese political situation, a subject which has occupied the increasing attention of Sinologists in the West, we can offer only the most general observations.

Obviously, if the evident progress toward a united, productive and self-reliant China is to be sustained, there must be political stability, and whether such stability exists depends not only upon China's relations with its international neighbors, but perhaps more importantly on her ability to govern effectively at home.

As for the present, Chinese Communism appears fortunate to have among its senior leaders a man as worldly, tireless and adroit as Premier Chou En-lai. At an age when most men are relaxing in retirement, Chou seems a man of spring steel, abundant energy, high intelligence and great international sophistication. In giving credit to President Nixon for his bold initiative in opening the way for improved relations with China, we should not forget that Premier Chou and his associates were equally bold in that undertaking. The fact that a closed society which has made the United States anathema would be a party to this effort is as encouraging as it is remarkable. The Premier is certainly among the most seasoned and perceptive national leaders in the world today. The course of China's internal and external policies in the future will depend in large measure on how effective he is in transmitting his vigor and his outlook to younger leaders.

One final point is this: We have no way of calculating the political role played by the military in China today. It was not evident to us how much of a part the army has in provincial and municipal government. We were advised prior to our visit that military personnel occupy top positions in the provincial and municipal Revolutionary Committees, but we were unable to confirm this. It may be noteworthy, however, that we met only the nonmilitary Vice Chairmen, but never the military Chairmen, of these Revolutionary Committees. These Vice Chairmen were also men and women of apparent energy and ability.

The Revolutionary Committees at the provincial, municipal, commune and factory levels have been the principal organs of government since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These committees are composed of representatives of the army, party cadre and masses. The smallest unit is apparently the Neighborhood Committee, which is constituted at mass meetings. There has apparently been no national representative unit functioning since the National People's Congress last met in early 1965.

Our Chinese hosts, in discussion of current political topics involving the United States, invariably assured us that they did not want their comments to be construed as an intrusion in our internal affairs. This is subject to the interpretation that by our own questions and observations we should take care not to intrude in their internal affairs. Naturally we intended no such intrusion by our curiosity then, nor do we by this report.

Despite Mao's frequently quoted maxims to "trust the masses" and "serve the people," and despite the political forms evolved to "consult the masses," the system of government in China is a pyramid whose decisions are made at the top. Perhaps never in history have so many been ruled so completely by so few.

EXCHANGES

Among the activities which holds the most promise for developing understanding between our two countries is people-to-people contact and exchanges. The Shanghai Communique took specific note of this fact. Both sides agreed that "it is desirable to broaden the understanding between two peoples" and that each side would undertake to "facilitate the further development of such contact and exchanges" in such fields as science, technology, culture, sports and journalism.

Our own visit, which was as graciously hosted as a visit could be, is a tribute to the sincerity of the Chinese in encouraging contact. And other Members of Congress will no doubt be pleased to know that Chinese leaders at the highest levels expressed a willingness to host other American political leaders on a bipartisan basis so long as the time and personnel are available on the Chinese side to accommodate them.

This last point highlights two interesting facts: first, the Chinese not only favor increased contact with the West, they already appear to have a very ambitious program of hosting foreign guests. This activity naturally puts a strain on their ability to supply interpreters and provide transportation, housing and other services to visitors. Second, the interest the Chinese have in encouraging visits to their country is a

measure of their confidence that, once exposed to the New China, a visitor genuinely interested in truth and objectivity will return home favorably impressed. This is not a misplaced confidence. As we have mentioned, the clean streets, the friendly and hardworking people, the rich agricultural areas and the throbbing industrial cities are testimony to the successes of the New China in welding a nation out of the chaotic post-war period.

While China favors increased people-to-people contact, she seems much more interested in hosting visitors than sending her own citizens to the United States. There are three reasons for this. First, our recognition of Taiwan troubles the Chinese to such an extent that China is reluctant to expose her citizens to possible embarrassment from criticism or ridicule by Americans or others who may question the legitimacy of their government. Second, there is a genuine fear of physical harm to Chinese citizens traveling in the United States. They have read our crime statistics. They are aware that the United Nations diplomat charged with the security of U.N. diplomats was himself mugged and robbed in New York. Finally, there may also be a reluctance on the part of the Chinese to expose their people to our way of life—political liberty, wealth, social mobility, and so forth.

The acceptance of the Chinese table tennis team in the United States has helped to dispel, we believe, the foregoing fears. Chinese leaders were unanimous in their appreciation for the warm and safe reception given their team, and we assured them that the American people will be equally courteous and enthusiastic hosts for other Chinese, whether official guests or visitors or a people-to-people basis.

Of all the areas of exchange, the Chinese appeared most interested in pursuing those in the medical field. This is an area in which the Chinese trade relations maxim of "equality and mutual benefit" has particular application. Chinese political as well as medical leaders expressed great interest in learning about American efforts in the fields of cancer, heart disease, and stroke. And, of course, the Chinese are justly proud of their remarkable achievements in acupuncture anesthesia and therapy. In this area, we have much to learn from each other for the ultimate benefit of our people, and so we are optimistic that contact in this area will be active.

In the field of journalism, the Chinese have been very cooperative in hosting American journalists and were especially so in hosting the media representatives who accompanied us. Naturally, there are more journalists who are seeking visas than the Chinese have yet accommodated, but this seems to be more a function of ability to handle numbers than any policy to restrict access of the American press corps. Our arrival in Peking, for example, was preceded by visits of journalists from The New York Times and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and a Washington Post journalist arrived during our mission.

The Taiwan question appears to be an obstacle to the establishment of news agencies in our respective countries, but we favor this and related steps toward improved communication, and we hope China will send more of her journalists to this country.

In the academic area, too, the Chinese seem reluctant to send students to American universities. This reluctance is related to the Taiwan question; China does not want her students exposed to har-

assment or ridicule at academic institutions which may also have Taiwan students enrolled. We sought to ease Chinese apprehensions on this point by stressing that we felt the atmosphere at U.S. colleges and universities would be one of interest, respect and hospitality to Chinese students and scholars. We also inquired about the possibility of long-term academic programs for American scholars in China. We did not get a great deal of encouragement on this point; the Chinese appear to favor shorter exchanges by more scholars rather than longer visits by a few.

We have mentioned our interest in sharing views with the Chinese on policy toward criminal elements. Perhaps exchanges of people working in this field would be possible.

We also favor programs which will bring our young people together; after all, it is with our youth and succeeding generations in mind that we seek friendship with China.

During our visit we were exposed to cultural and gymnastic programs which we believe would be very well received in the United States. Not only in table tennis do the Chinese excel. The music, dance and both traditional and contemporary gymnastic events were so excellently done that we encouraged the Chinese to consider sending such troupes to our country.

Finally, Chinese leaders expressed an interest in sharing information and possibly exchanging people in the area of anti-pollution activity.

Having been part of the exchange process ourselves, we appreciate its importance in broadening understanding and we hope for an increase in contact in both directions.

ECONOMY

There are few areas more difficult to gain hard information about in a short visit to China than the national economy. Either there is an inadequate mechanism for gathering economic statistics, or such statistics as are gathered are simply not in any systematic or forthcoming way divulged to the general public much less to foreign visitors.

In view of the paucity of economic data, we were particularly pleased to have had prior to our journey copies of the excellent study by the Joint Economic Committee entitled *People's Republic of China: An Economic Assessment*, released late in May of this year, and also the hearings on that study which occurred in June just before our departure. We took this study with us and distributed copies to Chinese officials. We hope that we may have some eventual response from the Chinese side as to their assessment of information in the study.

We can offer only these generalizations about the Chinese economy as a result of our visit:

Production, both agricultural and industrial, was set back measurably by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Chinese candidly admit this, and they do so without much evident regret. They apparently believe that a production setback was an acceptable price to pay for ideological renewal. Even so, among the most common slogans found on banners and posters in the cities, in the countryside and in factories is the exhortation to "Unite To Win Still Bigger Victories

and Increase Production." We were also frequently advised that while the Cultural Revolution was necessary, future ideological purifications will likely take a less drastic and economically disruptive form.

Wages of factory workers and peasants are very low by American standards, but then so are prices. We saw no evidence that families in which the husbands worked were wanting for the necessities of life and, since many families appear to have both parents as well as some children employed, there is even the opportunity to save for such "luxury" items as radios, sewing machines, electric fans and bicycles.

Department stores and food stores appear well stocked with merchandise and busy with shoppers. The range of color and design of clothing and fabric was somewhat surprising in view of reports that the Chinese tend to dress primarily in gray or blue clothing. Most people do, in fact, dress in clothing of those colors, but children's clothing and women's blouses are beginning to show signs of color and decorations. It is of interest, though, that the decoration at least on children's clothing often serves political ends—for example, one of our party bought a jersey for a toddler which bears the popular Chinese slogan, "We Will Certainly Liberate Taiwan!"

All tillable land is used for agriculture. Crops are planted not only in areas close to the cities and, for example, up to the edge of airstrips, but also within the city limits. Only in rare instances did we see land given over to the relative wastefulness of grass.

Working conditions for factory workers are in major respects close to uniform throughout China. At both a jeep production facility in Peking and an iron and steel works in Anshan, for example, the work week is six days, forty-eight hours, three shifts. Workers generally get one hour for lunch, though in the South the lunch hour is sometimes two hours. Retirement is at age sixty for men and fifty-five for women at seventy percent of salary. A worker's wage typically ranges in eight steps from approximately eighteen to fifty-five dollars a month. Housing for workers usually consists of small three-room apartments arranged in close proximity to the plants, and workers are charged two to five dollars a month rent. Day-care and week-care nurseries are available for children of workers at nominal charge. Medical care for workers is free, and children are covered for 50% of medical costs. Women are given fifty-six days maternity leave. The only vacation time with pay for workers occurs on the three or four national holidays, although some workers told us that they would be entitled to ten or twelve days of home leave to rejoin their families if their families resided a substantial distance away.

Working conditions for peasants working in communes are also, we were told, fairly uniform throughout China, varying only according to planting and harvest cycles. A typical day in the paddies and fields begins about six a.m. and continues to sundown with a long midday break for meals and relaxation. We visited two communes, the Red Star Commune near Peking and the August 1st Commune near Shen Yang. Each commune had its own nurseries, schools, medical facilities, machine shops, food and dry goods stores. Unlike factory workers, commune members share in the profit generated by their production. That is, the commune delivers a fixed percentage of its production to the State, deducts its own needs, then sells the balance

to the State to earn revenue to purchase equipment and other necessities for the commune. Commune members share according to "work points" in the remaining balance of the proceeds. Also unlike factory workers, there seems from our limited observation to be a better chance for a commune member to own his own home. At both communes we met with homeowners who had built and furnished their own living unit from savings. Commune families we visited are also allowed to cultivate small vegetable plots and maintain a few ducks, chickens and pigs of their own. The sheer size of Chinese communes, if those we visited are typical, might surprise those Americans who have considered "living in a commune." The Red Star Commune has a population of 75,000 and the August 1st Commune has 20,000. Each commune is divided into households, then production brigades and finally into production teams. In the August 1st Commune for example there are 4,000 households, 15 production brigades and 73 production teams. This same August 1st Commune, though its primary production is rice, has 5500 hogs, 800 work animals, and estimated million fish, 50,000 ducks, 63 tractors, 300 rubber wheeled carts, 87 wells, and 47 pump stations. A vast system of irrigation ditches carries water and fertilizer to the rice fields.

Looking to the future of China's economy, the fundamental reality seems to be that China has an immense and growing population to feed, clothe, house and care for, and that increased production is essential simply to keep pace with population pressures. Most projections show that the population of China will reach one billion by 1980.

This means that it is desirable for the pace of industrialization and of mechanization of agriculture to accelerate; it means that China must have political stability; and it means that the disruptions of the Cultural Revolution must not be repeated or not recur in such a form as will bring on a paralysis of industry or agriculture.

ENVIRONMENT

Air and water pollution appeared to be as much of a concern to the Chinese as to ourselves, and they expressed interest in U.S. efforts at control and abatement.

Air pollution is an evident problem in industrialized areas such as Anshan, Shanghai, and Canton. Black smoke pours from factory chimneys with little apparent effort underway to stop it. Moreover, we understand that all cities undergo marked increase in air pollution in the winter months when the general public burns large quantities of coal for heat.

Water pollution is much less of a problem, for two reasons. First, the level of industrialization is relatively low, and therefore there is relatively little discharge of industrial waste into waterways. Second, the Chinese do not to any significant degree discharge human waste into rivers and streams—instead, human waste is collected, treated and used as fertilizer. This latter is an excellent example of serving a two-fold purpose of keeping waterways clear and clean and, at the same time, recycling waste to meet another socially important purpose.

The absence of motor vehicles in any large numbers in Chinese cities produces another positive environmental result. Not only is air pollution potential reduced, but there is virtually no noise pollution. The

nearly silent swish of hundreds of bicycles is a far more liveable sound than the racing of hundreds of engines and the honking of hundreds of horns. Another positive environmental effort made by the Chinese is in the area of flood control. Extensive networks of dikes and irrigation canals have been constructed to tame Nature and serve agricultural objectives.

The Chinese follow another public policy worthy of our attention, and that is their policy with respect to dogs. We read just prior to our journey of the controversy in New York City between dog owners and non-dog owners regarding the deposit of dog waste on public ways. In China, dogs are simply forbidden from cities completely—we saw no dogs at all in any city we visited. The prime reason for this is protection of the public health, but of course in China a dog is also a non-productive consumer which the society declines to indulge.

The anti-dog policy is related in philosophy to the famous "Four Pests" campaign instituted after 1949. This campaign was an effort to exterminate flies, rats, mosquitoes and sparrows on the ground that these four pests jeopardized the public health and robbed the country of food. It is well to remember, particularly when we consider the hurdles we ourselves face in improving public sanitation, that before 1949 Chinese cities were notorious for their filth. Communicable disease was spread by rats, flies and mosquitoes, and large quantities of crops stored wheat, rice and other foodstuffs were consumed by rats and sparrows. Today, as we witnessed, the streets are almost spotlessly clean, flies have almost totally disappeared, and we were assured that crop and grain storage levels prove that rats and sparrows have almost vanished. The campaign continues today; many of us noticed young boys and girls who, going on about play or other business, held a fly swatter over their shoulders, at the ready. Another example of the pollution consciousness of Chinese, of course, are the white cloth face masks one sees covering the nose and mouths of cyclists and pedestrians.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

It was evident during our visit that cultural and educational life in China continues to feel the effects of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which convulsed the country between 1966 and 1969. "Struggle, criticism and transformation" is still in progress in evolving policy for the arts and schools.

We attended two cultural performances in Manchuria and Canton, saw a film version of The Peking Revolutionary Opera, "The White Haired Girl." We also visited two kindergartens, two secondary (Middle) schools, and one university. It appeared in these visits that cultural and educational life is being reestablished in China on the basis of Chairman Mao's injunction that literature and art and all intellectual life must be related to the needs and interests of workers, peasants, and soldiers. Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art," published thirty years ago, was being widely studied at the time of our visit as a source of guidelines for literary and artistic expression.

On the stage and in films new or revised versions of productions of the Peking Revolutionary Opera combine a few traditional elements such as sword dances, with music that is vaguely reminiscent of

Tschaikowsky and some first-rate ballet sequences to present highly moralistic and patriotic stories of peasant or workers heroes and heroines who are guided by Mao Tse-tung's thought to overcome the schemings of "class enemies," "despotic landlords," or Japanese invaders.

On the radio we heard little traditional music, with most musical programs restricted to excerpts from Peking Opera and a limited number of patriotic songs usually embodying specific references to Chairman Mao.

Foreign language bookstores contained only Marxist-Leninist ideological works and we were told that literary production had ceased during the Cultural Revolution. The classes in Chinese literature that we observed were devoted to the study of Mao's "Talks to the Yen'an Forum" or to ancient classics.

We saw no one carrying or reading the Red Book of Quotations from Chairman Mao, but reference was often made to the application of Chairman Mao's thought to the solution of practical problems. Slogans or quotations from Mao writings appear on billboards, on the front of buildings, and on special red concrete slabs erected at the entrances to courtyards, factories, and agricultural communes.

In a noticeable contrast to contemporary America was the obvious de-emphasis of sex, not only because of the homogeneity of clothing but also because the official policy views romantic attachments as an interference and distraction from dedication to one's work. The contrast with contemporary America was even more striking when we asked a group of university students in Canton whether they had any "special" girl friends. They replied, "We are too young for that!" When we asked their ages, they turned out to be 21 to 23 years old. Official policy discourages marriage before the age of 25.

What was left of organized religion seems to have been a casualty of the Cultural Revolution's campaign against the "Four Olds"—old thinking, old habits, old customs, and old traditions—and we were told that the Red Guards had raided and closed the churches after arms were discovered in a church and evidence produced that a churchman was a spy. When we asked to attend church services in Shanghai we were told that no churches were functioning. We saw several closed churches in Peking and Canton, including the former Roman Catholic Cathedral which was said to be used as an office now. "The White Haired Girl" contained elements linking Buddhism to the rule of landlords in pre-1949 China.

The Government is using education and culture to create a unified people. To this end, while songs and dances from border areas and ethnic minorities are presented, all instruction as well as all stage productions are in Mandarin, even in the Cantonese-speaking areas of southern China. At a cultural production in Canton, for example, we were puzzled to see the Chinese characters for the words being sung on the stage flashed on the wall until we realized that nearly everyone in the audience was using them to understand what was being said. The written language is common, but spoken Cantonese and Mandarin are mutually incomprehensible. Some members of our party visited the Institute of Minorities in Peking where future leaders from such border areas as Tibet, Mongolia, and Hainan were being imbued with national values before returning to their native areas.

Since the Cultural Revolution, during which the universities and most secondary schools ceased instruction, the Chinese educational system has been reorganized and focused on the application of learning to the problems of peasants, workers, and soldiers—and on the direct exposure of students and teachers to those problems. Schooling has also been shortened and Mao Tse-tung's writings receive great emphasis at all levels.

The Chinese educational system begins with nurseries which are available to working mothers in the cities who have no relatives to care for their babies, from the time the children are three months old until the age of 3. The next stage is the nursery school for children from 3 to 7. We visited two such schools, one of which boarded children from six days a week at a cost of about \$5 a month. Like the Children's Palaces in Shanghai and Peking (massive playground complexes in which thousands of children participate) they use music, art, dancing and sports to emphasize patriotic themes and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. We did not visit any primary schools but were told that primary schooling lasts six years. We did visit two secondary schools (Middle Schools), one on a commune and the other in an urban industrial area. Where secondary schooling had before the Cultural Revolution been divided into two three-year sections with many students discontinuing their education at the end of what we would call junior high school, all students are expected to complete schooling which has now been shortened to three or four years. This is followed by two years of work in the factories or fields. The students in the urban secondary school we visited were older than they would normally be at that grade level, because their school was closed for two years during the Cultural Revolution. Their curriculum has been revised to include such subjects as agronomy (in an urban area), two hours a week of political studies, work in a shop attached to a nearby factory, and two months a year (one in summer and one in winter) of work in factories accompanied by their teachers. Classes are held from 8 a.m. until 4:30 p.m. six days a week so that the class time is not shortened excessively. We were particularly impressed by the level of the ninth grade English class which we observed, which was conducted entirely in that language and in which the students demonstrated a high level of proficiency. Despite the fact that Shenyang is near the Soviet Union we were told that half the students chose English as their language elective, the other half choosing Russian. All classes had a high level of political content. Art classes sketched heroes and heroines from the Revolutionary Opera and music classes sang songs of the People's Liberation Army or in praise of Mao Tse-tung.

The university we visited, Sun Yat-sen in Canton, was less impressive. The Cultural Revolution seemed to have done serious damage to higher education. All universities were closed down and professors sent to work for periods of six months to two years in factories or fields. Courses have been reduced in length from 5-6 years to 2-3 years, and small entering classes are composed of those who have spent at least two years in factories or fields or the army after Middle School, and who are recommended by their organizations. At Sun Yat-sen, only one class has been admitted since the Cultural Revolution, that one in December 1970. It is comprised of 550 students. Of that group, 90%

are the children of peasants or workers and most of the rest came from the army. 20% are women. Half are members of the Communist Party and an additional 40% belong to the Communist Youth League (the Chinese equivalent to the Russian Komsomol). A new class of 800 students is about to enter and we were told that the percentage of party activists is equally high among them. The natural sciences library at the university appeared well-stocked with scientific books in English, French, German and Russian, as well as in Chinese, and a large variety of animal, bird and insect specimens were displayed in a university museum. It was a disappointment for us to be told here, however, as at other educational institutions we visited, that courses in political subjects were not in progress and therefore could not be visited.

We were told that the emphasis in instruction is placed upon self-study and group discussion, though we saw traditional style teaching being carried out. Despite press reports to the contrary, we were told that entrance examinations are being used in addition to secondary school records and recommendations, but a superficial impression was that the academic level of the university was not high. It should be noted that much of the technical education is carried out in specialized institutes which we did not see. The students received para-military training from the university and the army is represented here as elsewhere on a Revolutionary Committee which has run the university since the Cultural Revolution, and is supposed to include representatives of mass organizations as well. In the latter category we learned that each academic department has a worker assigned to it who is to advise the professors on the practical application of their teaching.

We interviewed a group of students in the dormitory where eight sleep in a large room on double-deck bunks and study together at a large table as we entered, they were studying "Mao's Talks at the Yen-an Forum." They told us that they were students of Chinese literature and were preparing to be literary critics. On a typical day they arise at 6 a.m., like everyone else in China it seemed, do calisthenics and eat breakfast. This is followed by classes from 7:30 until 11:30. After the usual noon break for lunch and a nap, they resume classes from 3 until 5:30 p.m. This is followed by calisthenics and dinner, study from 7:00 until 9:30 and lights out at 10 p.m.

A new element in Chinese education since the Cultural Revolution is a vast network of May 7th Cadre Schools for the education and re-education of people in positions of responsibilities. Party, governmental, organizational, and intellectual leaders are supposed to attend these schools for periods of 1-6 months (we found at least one instance of a person who had been in such a school for three years. These schools are named for the date of the statement by Mao creating such schools at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution and are located on agricultural communes or, less often, in factories. The May 7th schools combine manual labor with the study of the works of Mao, and intensive discussion is given to the application of his thought to practical problems, in particular those facing peasants and workers. Mornings are spent in the fields and afternoons are devoted to study and discussion of Mao's principal works especially "On Practice,"

"On Contradictions," and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People." There is also study of extracts from the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin pictures of whom we saw in the back of classrooms while the ubiquitous picture of Mao was hung in front. Sometimes workers and peasants are interviewed or conduct class so that the "cadres" can learn about their problems. The schools operate to raise the level of political consciousness, to develop a sense of rededication to the ideals and thoughts of Mao, to prevent "elitism" among the middle level leadership and to re-educate, sometimes for rather long periods, those who appear to be inclined toward "revisionism." Here as elsewhere group pressures and psychological techniques are used which are not too far removed from those used by religious groups in the West.

It is understood that the leaders will return to those schools from time to time, but it was assumed by Chinese with whom we talked that this would not be enough to prevent the emergence of "revisionism." In the future further Cultural Revolutions but "in a different form" are seen as necessary. Whether they can be carried out without extremism and the adverse economic effects of the convulsion of 1966-69 no one would care to speculate.

FAMILY LIFE

It is well known that few societies have as great a traditional reverence for family ties as the Chinese. From our observations, there are serious strains on this tradition in China today, and they are primarily the result of the work patterns of the parents.

Today in China women enjoy, if that is the correct term, an equality with men. This means that they are politically and socially equal with men. They serve as members and officers of Revolutionary Committees from the neighborhood units upward. They also work side by side with men in the farms and factories of China. Only in the heaviest work at the most demanding jobs in the iron and steel plants at Anshan were women absent. But even there, in the hot, choking, dark and noisy caverns of industry, women could be found operating heavy equipment.

In the showcase communes and factories to which we were taken, we found no household where the wife and mother did not work at some job outside the home. We therefore assume not only that this is a widespread practice, but also that the employment of both parents is a practice favored and encouraged by the State.

As a consequence of this, children are in State care facilities for the most important years of their lives. From a physical care standpoint, these facilities for infants and pre-schoolers seem highly developed. The children seemed well-clothed, happy and sturdy. And the caretaker-to-child ratio seemed generally to be a very favorable four or five children to one adult. This is possible, of course, where the labor force is very large.

Many of these facilities are designed to care for children on a weekly basis, allowing the child to be with its parents only one day a week, since there is a six-day work week throughout the country. In other cases, children are deposited with the day care center at bed time and then picked up the following evening after work. Still other facilities,

for older children, are set up to occupy and train youngsters after school.

In spite of the efficiency of this approach to child care, there are obvious grave implications. First of all, parents see their children far too infrequently. We sensed a certain sadness about this even among those parents who most vigorously praised the system. Second, the children at their most impressionable years are vulnerable subjects for active political indoctrination. "As the twig is bent," the saying goes, "so grows the tree." We witnessed the political education of children not yet three years old. In song and dance and art children are taught to give unquestioning gratitude and praise to the State and its leaders, to the army, the workers and peasants.

It is true that where grandparents live at home the children are often in their care. But the direction of State policy seems to be to employ all those who are able to work, and the upbringing of the children therefore falls to the State.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

People of all ages seemed well nourished and healthy. Most seemed to be involved in strenuous farm or city labor, but seemed to enjoy and thrive on hard work. Dental care, however, seemed deficient, and the high incidence of cigarette smoking suggested a general lack of knowledge about the potential harmful effects.

In understanding medical care and delivery the key word is *relative*; that is, relative to what it had been prior to 1949. With that in mind and not comparing it to Western standards, a better conception of their progress in health and medical care can be understood.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, medical schools were closed and medical journals stopped printing. Since that time the concept of "Serve The People" has favored medical education and health care delivery so as to insure quantity, perhaps at the expense of quality. The main changes that have occurred are these:

- Shortened length of medical school from 6 years to 3 years; paring the curriculum from 36 courses to 15.
- The graduates are not given a diploma and must work in the community for 5 years before being considered for speciality training.
- Students must spend time in the communities obtaining experience and training "Barefoot Doctors."
- Students are selected for the study of medicine, after high school and 2 years of work, by their fellow commune or factor workers. Selection is based on their political motivation, intellect and proven willingness to work.
- As at all levels of Chinese society, periodic physical work in the commune is demanded of medical students.
- Former specialists are the backbone of the medical faculties.
- Students must be single and may not marry.
- Doctors start out at a salary of 32 yuan per month (\$14.40), and may advance through 8 levels of pay based on political motivation quality and quantity of work.
- The entire post Cultural Revolution university program is in an experimental stage, since no class has yet graduated from this new program.

Nurses are trained only in hospitals. They have a 18-month training period, make \$9.50 per month, and must also serve in local communities.

Barefoot Doctors are the backbone of the medical care system since 80% of the population is rural and agricultural. Their training period is only about 2 months, though it is updated weekly by additional one day training sessions in commune hospitals and periodically by an extended stay in a more advanced center. Barefoot Doctors are also selected by the commune.

Each factory, commune or farm has medical care readily available, albeit minimal at times. Each branch of medical training and care is a mixture of Western and traditional. In many respects this whole system resembles the concept of regional medical programs in this country.

Acupuncture, the remarkable technique for operation without anesthesia, was performed before Christ was born and we saw gold acupuncture needles dating back to 133 B.C. Its usefulness as a form of treatment remains uncertain, in the opinion of the American physician who accompanied our group. However the Chinese use it widely for therapeutic relief of headache, gall bladder disease, peptic ulcer, heart disease, deafness and a variety of other ills. We observed three major surgical operations—appendectomy, removal of an ovarian cyst and thyroid tumor—and three tooth extractions, performed using acupuncture anesthesia.

Acupuncture anesthesia, which was begun in the late 50's appears to be a highly significant medical advance. Having seen it used for thyroid, ovarian, appendicidal and dental surgery, and having seen the patients talking, drinking tea, eating orange slices during the procedure, and having observed the patients hop off the operating table at the conclusion of surgery impressed even the most doubting cynic. The technique of needle insertion is said to vary with each type case, but the needles may be stimulated electrically (6-9 volt DC at 90-120 cycles/min) or by up and down rotatory manual stimulation. Even chest surgery is possible without endotracheal tube by first introducing an artificial pneumothorax prior to surgery on the lung to be operated. The obvious advantages to acupuncture anesthesia are:

- Safety—no depressant anesthetics or liver toxins are needed.
- Anesthesia can be given inside the operating room, thereby shortening the operation;
- No recovery room time is needed—the patient has reacted at the end of surgery;
- Less training and skill are needed by the anesthetist;
- The patient is able to cooperate during surgery—i.e. talk during thyroid surgery (vocal cord), move during brain surgery and so forth.
- There appeared to be less bleeding.

A commune doctor demonstrated the acupuncture technique on the hand of our delegation physician and the hand was anesthetized within 15-20 seconds. We understand that this form of anesthesia is now being used in at least three U.S. hospitals. Precise needle placement doesn't seem to matter for the anesthesia effect to be complete. The jamming of pain circuit transmission by needle—electric stimuli seems to be the most accepted theory, and we believe it will be a widely used technique in the United States before very long.

The hospitals themselves were clean and orderly, adequately staffed, not over crowded and properly located. By our standards their equipment was very antiquated—this observation includes operating room, X-ray, lab, wards, delivery, central supply, and so on. A surprisingly large number of the surgeons were women.

The Chinese diet, which consists of far lower quantities of animal fats and sugar than our own, combined with the exercise the Chinese get as they bike, walk and work at manual labor on the average far more than we do every day, has helped produce a population which is lean and strong in appearance.

ITINERARY

JUNE 26

10:20 a.m.—Arrivals in Shanghai. Luncheon meeting with municipal and provincial officials.

1:20 p.m.—Departure for Peking.

4:00 p.m.—Arrival in Peking.

7:00 p.m.—Dinner hosted by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and meeting with CPIFA officials.

JUNE 27

Morning.—Palace Museum and Exhibition of Excavated Historical Relics.

Afternoon.—(1) Meeting with Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs; (2) The Central Institute for Nationalities; (3) The Summer Palace; and (4) The Peking Zoo.

Evening.—Sports Performances.

JUNE 28

Morning.—(1) No. 3 Hospital of Peking Medical College (acupuncture anaesthesia); (2) The Red Star People's Commune.

Afternoon.—(1) The Peking Arts and Crafts Factory; (2) The Peking Dongfanghong Automobile Plant; (3) Meeting with representatives of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade.

Evening.—Meeting and Dinner with Premier Chou En-lai.

JUNE 29

Morning and Afternoon.—The Great Wall and Ting Ling Museum.
8:00 p.m.—Departure for Shenyang.

9:30 p.m.—Arrival in Shenyang Meeting with municipal and provincial officials.

JUNE 30

Morning.—Departure for Anshan—high tension live-line demonstration (on the way).

Afternoon.—Anshan Iron & Steel Works.

Evening.—Acrobatics Performances.

JULY 1

Morning.—Return to Shenyang—Rice-growing People's Commune (on the way).

Afternoon.—(1) Transformer Factory; (2) Middle school and Kindergarten; (3) School for Deaf and Mute and Kindergarten.

Evening.—Dinner with local officials.

JULY 2

8:30 a.m.—Return to Shanghai prevented due to adverse weather; aircraft diverted to Peking.

JULY 3

Morning.—Departure for Canton.

Afternoon.—Tour of Canton. Meetings with municipal and provincial officials.

Evening.—Dinner with local leaders.

JULY 4

Morning.—Sun Yat-sen University and Medical College.

Afternoon.—Workers Housing Complex, Middle School, Children's Palace.

Evening.—Cultural Performance by Canton Troupe; Fourth of July Dinner for CPIFA, hosted by Mr. Boggs and Mr. Ford.

JULY 5

Morning.—Departure for Hong Kong by rail.

HOSTS AND HOST ORGANIZATION

Our formal host in China was the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA). This is a quasi-governmental organization used to extend hospitality to persons, such as our party, from nations with which China does not have diplomatic relations. Premier Chou En-lai is Honorary Chairman of the CPIFA.

The gracious hospitality provided by the CPIFA included a remarkably successful effort to schedule in a very short time a wide variety of experiences in diverse places according to our interests and desires. As anyone who has had a part in arranging visits of this sort is aware, a high degree of skill and patience is essential, and our hosts never failed us. Our safety was assured with the great care of our drivers and, particularly, with the skill of our aircraft crew. Finally, of course, no account of our journey would be complete without testimonial to the extraordinary cuisine whose variety and excellence greeted us three times daily.

We would like to express our warmest thanks to the CPIFA, particularly to Chang Hsi-jo, President of the CPIFA, to Chou Pei-yuan, Vice President of the CPIFA, to Chou Ch'iu-yeh, Secretary General of the CPIFA, who accompanied us on our journey, to the CPIFA provincial and municipal representatives in the areas we visited, to our drivers, guides and guest-house staffs, and most especially to the

uniformly friendly, helpful and competent young men and women who were assigned to us as interpreters. The warm feeling we developed for the people of China is in no small measure attributable to the unflinching good humor and uncommon courtesy of these individuals.

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY DISPATCHES

The following official dispatches were released by the New China News Agency in connection with our visit:

PEKING BANQUET WELCOMES HOUSE LEADERS BOGGS AND FORD

(S261946 Peking NCNA International Service in English 1935 GMT 26 Jun 72 B.)

PEKING, June 26, 1972 (Hsinhua).—The Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs gave a banquet here this evening for Hale Boggs, Democratic leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Mrs. Boggs, and Gerald Ford, Republican leader of the House, and Mrs. Ford.

Among the guests at the banquet were members of their party: William A. Brown, Freeman Cary, Bryce Marlow, Robert Hartmann, Gary Hymel, Harry Lee, Frank Meyer, Paul A. Miltich, Day O. Mount, Paul Sigmund and Eugene A. Theroux.

Present were Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs; Chiao Kuan-hua, Vice-Foreign Minister; and Chou Pei-yuan, Vice-President of the Institute. Before the banquet, they met Hale Boggs and Gerald Ford and their wives and the other American guests and had a friendly talk with them.

Present at the banquet and meeting were Chang Wen-chin, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ju Yu-chih and Lin Chiao-chih, members of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, and leading members of organizations concerned, including Chou Chiu-yeh, Yu Li-chun, Wang Ti-chen, Wang Tung, Wang Hsiao-i, Hu Hung-fan, Chien Ta-tung and Ma Yu-chen.

The American guests arrived here by air this afternoon on a visit to China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs. They were met at the airport by Chou Pei-yuan and others. Chou Chiu-yeh, Secretary General of the host organization, had made a special trip to Shanghai to meet the American guests and accompanied them to Peking.

During their halt in Shanghai, the American guests were greeted at the airport by Geng Kuo-chu, council member of the host organization.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI HOSTS U.S. LEADERS

(Peking NCNA International Service in English 2047 GMT 28 Jun 72 B.)

PEKING, June 28, 1972 (Hsinhua).—Chou En-lai, premier of the State Council, Chang Hsi-jo, president of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and Chiao Kuan-hua, vice-foreign minister, this evening hosted a dinner for Hale Boggs, Democratic leader of the

U.S. House of Representatives, and Mrs. Boggs, and Gerald Ford, Republican House leader, and Mrs. Ford, and their party.

The members of their party attending the dinner were: William A. Brown, Freeman Cary, Bryce Harlow, Robert Hartmann, Gary Hymel, Harry Lee, Frank Meyer, Paul A. Miltich, Day O. Mount, Paul Sigmund, and Eugene A. Theroux.

Present at the banquet were Chou Pei-yuan, vice-president of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and leading members and staff members of organizations concerned Chou Chiu-yeh, Wang Ti-cheng, Wang Tung, Hu Hung-fan, Ma Yu-chen, Chi Chao-chu, Tzu Chung-yun and Chao Ching-tien.

After the banquet, Premier Chou En-lai and others met the U.S. House leaders and their party.

U.S. HOUSE LEADERS LEAVE PEKING FOR TOUR OF OTHER AREAS

(Peking NCNA International Service in English 1651 GMT 29 Jun 72 B.)

PEKING, June 29, 1972 (Hsinhua).—Hale Boggs, Democratic leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Mrs. Boggs, and Gerald Ford, Republican House leader, and Mrs. Ford, and their party left here by air this evening on a visit to other parts of China in the company of Chou Chiu-yeh, secretary-general of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Seeing them off at the airport were Chou Pei-yuan, vice-president of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and his wife; Hu Yu-chih, member of the standing committee of the national people's congress; and leading members of organizations concerned Wang Tung and Wang Hsiao-i.

BOGGS, FORD END PRC VISIT, LEAVE CANTON FOR HOME

(Peking NCNA International Service in English 1508 GMT 5 Jul 72 B.)

CANTON, July 5, 1972 (Hsinhua).—Hale Boggs, Democratic leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, and Mrs. Boggs, and Gerald Ford, Republican House Leader, and Mrs. Ford, and their party left here for home by train today at the end of a visit to China.

They were seen off at the railway station by Chou Chiu-yeh, secretary general, and Shao Yun-sheng, council member, of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs; Kao Chao-lan, professor of Chungshan University; and leading members of Chinese organizations concerned, including Hu Hung-fan, Tsu Kuo-chen and Cheng Chien.

The U.S. guests arrived in Canton on the morning of July 3 after touring Peking, Shenyang and Anshan. They were honoured at a banquet given that evening by Wang Shou-tao, vice-chairman of the Kwangtung Provincial Revolutionary Committee.

While in Canton, the American guests visited a factory, a school and a children's palace and went sightseeing in the city. Hale Boggs and Mrs. Boggs, and Gerald Ford and Mrs. Ford gave a reciprocal banquet yesterday evening.

COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATION

Majority Leader Hale Boggs and Mrs. Boggs.

Minority Leader Gerald R. Ford and Mrs. Ford.

Mr. William A. Brown, Deputy Director, Office of Asian Communist Affairs, Department of State.

Dr. Freeman H. Cary, Assistant Attending Physician to the Congress.

Mr. Bryce N. Harlow, Business Executive, former Counselor to the President, Aide to Mr. Ford.

Mr. Robert T. Hartmann, Legislative Assistant to Mr. Ford.

Mr. Gary G. Hymel, Administrative Assistant to Mr. Boggs.

Honorable Harry Lee, United States Magistrate, Eastern District of Louisiana, Aide to Mr. Boggs.

Mr. Frank Meyer, Administrative Assistant to Mr. Ford.

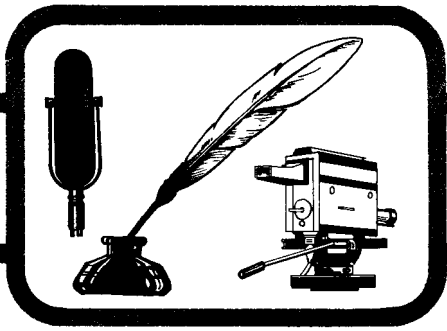
Mr. Paul A. Miltich, Press Secretary to Mr. Ford.

Mr. Day O. Mount, Administrative Officer, Department of State.

Dr. Paul Sigmund, Professor of Political Science, Princeton University, Aide to Mr. Boggs.

Eugene A. Theroux, Esq., Special Counsel to the Joint Economic Committee, Aide to Mr. Boggs.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

September 5, 1972

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

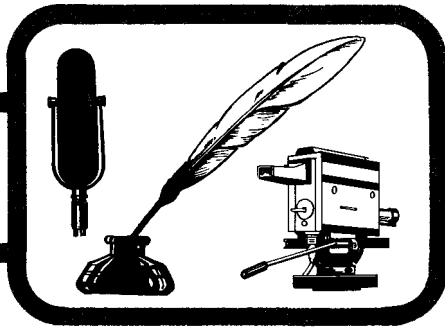
The outrage committed by the Arab terrorists at Munich is a crime not only against Israel but against the entire world community. This was a hideous act of the most inhuman sort.

I agree with the action of the International Olympic Committee in suspending the Olympic Games for 24 hours. I do not see how the Olympic Games can resume until this situation is resolved.

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

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

September 5, 1972

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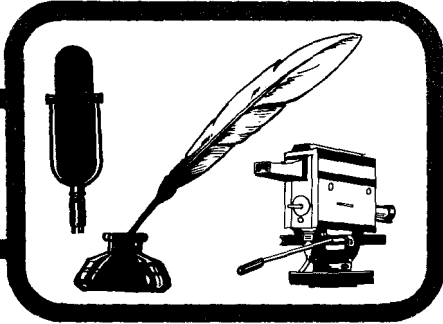
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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**



**--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
September 6, 1972**

Remarks by Rep. Gerald R. Ford regarding S. Res. 358 for delivery on the Floor of the House.

Mr. Speaker, the only way despicable acts of murder and terrorism like that which occurred in Munich will be stopped is if doors all over the world are shut to such assassins.

While deeply mourning the deaths of the Israeli Olympic team members so senselessly slain by Arab terrorists in Germany, I agree completely with the action called for by Senate Resolution 358--that the civilized world ostracize any peoples or nation giving sanctuary or refuge to international outlaws of the Black September stripe.

In committing their outrages and delivering their ultimatums, Arab terrorists ultimately seek escape. They attempt to find their way to a place of refuge.

In the case of the Munich Affair, the announced destination was Cairo. It is my information that West German officials contacted the Egyptian Government but received no satisfaction from them during the time that negotiations with the terrorists still were in progress. This, to me, is shocking.

There should be no hiding place for assassins like the Arab terrorists. There should be no place to which they can flee after executing their hideous plots. I know of no other way in which such assassins can be stopped.

Mr. Speaker, I urge strong support for Senate Resolution 358.

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HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

NEWS RELEASE

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

September 7, 1972

Statement by Rep. Gerald R. Ford

I am shocked and horrified that Sen. George McGovern would equate the bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. pilots with the slaying of the 11 Israeli Olympic Squad members in Munich by Arab terrorists. And yet that clearly is the thrust of remarks made Wednesday by McGovern before the Southern California Board of Rabbis in Los Angeles.

McGovern compared U.S. fliers in Vietnam with the Arab terrorists, and when one of the rabbis challenged this, McGovern made the following comment as filmed by ABC-TV News:

"What I was trying to do, rabbis, was to express my own horror and indignation over the kind of killing that is taking place in various parts of the world, but especially in Vietnam. My conscience can't live with the kind of pictures we had in the press here a few weeks ago of those little children running from a bombed-out school. Now, I know that the pilot who dropped that napalm is on a different moral level than the terrorists who killed those young men in Munich yesterday. I personally can't live with the kind of situation we have right now in Southeast Asia where tens of thousands of innocent people are being killed, however inadvertently, by an American military involvement that I think is against the best traditions of this country and which I think is not in the interests of the people of Vietnam."

Note that McGovern makes no mention of North Vietnamese atrocities like the slaughter of thousands of civilians at Hue or the acts of terrorism by the Vietcong in Saigon from time to time. He also ignores the massive North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam last spring, which is still continuing. He seems only to be concerned about the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
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--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

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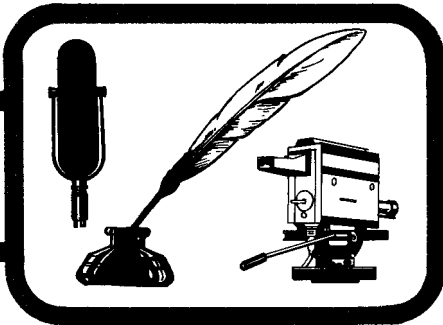
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**CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER**



--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--
Tuesday, March 6, 1973

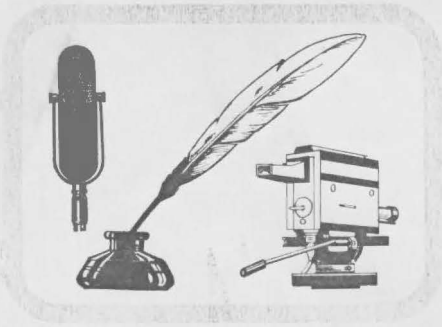
House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford today joined Secretary of State William Rogers in urging that the Palestinian terrorists who murdered two American diplomats be executed.

Ford said: "Just as I believe capital punishment is the appropriate penalty for first-degree murder in the United States, so, too, I believe the Palestinian terrorists who killed Ambassador Cleo Noel and his deputy should pay the extreme penalty. I am pleased to learn that the Foreign Minister of the Sudan has denied reports of a deal between the terrorists and the Sudanese government guaranteeing them immunity from capital charges.

"If the terrorists are found guilty on murder charges and are executed, it is entirely possible that this may serve to discourage a repetition of such incidents in the future. A heinous crime that goes without proper punishment encourages the commission of more such crimes."

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CONGRESSMAN
GERALD R. FORD
HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER

**NEWS
RELEASE**

--FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE--

Saturday, September 29, 1973

I am deeply disappointed that the Austrian Government would yield to the blackmail practiced by Arab terrorists and end its country's role as a processing center for Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union to Israel. I hope that the Austrian Cabinet will reconsider and will rescind this unfortunate decision.

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