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FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
 Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
 Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
 Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
 Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
 Dean Burch

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
 Leadership Meeting

January 11, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford, Jr.,
Leader
 Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
 John W. Byrnes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
 Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
 Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
 Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

When defeat comes to a major political party in this country invariably there are outcries for revolutionary changes in party structure, party leadership and party policies. The Republican defeat of 1964 has produced these manifestations of uncertainty, unrest and uneasiness. Many suggestions, both formal and informal, for action pour from numerous sources.

We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, are fully cognizant of the situation. There is no doubt in our minds that action is indicated and We are taking it. In our conversations since the November defeat we have discussed, among ourselves and with other recognized party leaders, numerous paths that might be followed. Always, certain basic facts have emerged:

First, that the only elected Republican officials of the Federal Establishment are the 32 Republican members of the United States Senate and the 140 members of the House of Representatives. Obviously and beyond dispute, they will guide Republican Party policy at the national level, in the absence of a Republican President and Vice President, by the record they write in the Congress. It is their responsibility.

Second, that an additional repository of advice and counsel on party policy exists in former Presidents and nominees for President, in our present elected Governors, in the members of the Republican National Committee and the State Chairmen of our several states, and, of course, in active Republican advocates at all other levels of the party structure. Their wisdom must be channeled into party policy formulation.

In the conviction that the Republican Party for a century has been and is an essential element in this nation's forward progress, and with the firm belief that all Republicans must join the effort, we, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, have on this day initiated a proposed mechanism to achieve a broad consensus on vital objectives for our country and our party. It is an honor to introduce my colleague, the new Republican Leader of the House, Jerry Ford, to provide the details of the proposal.

(Ford statement - page 2)

January 11, 1965

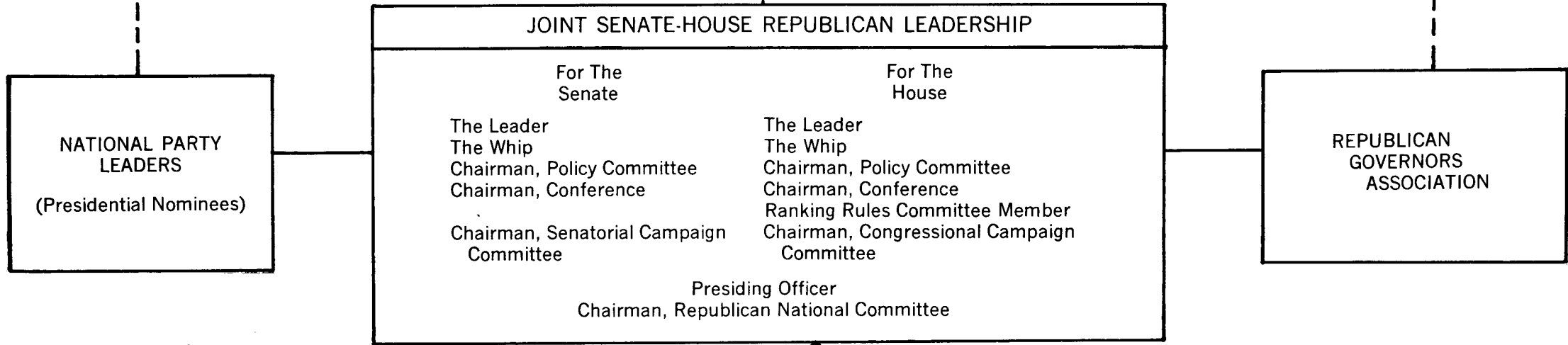
We propose to give the Republican Party a unified leadership. As a chart we are making public will show, we are inviting the five living Republican nominees for President -- one of whom, Dwight D. Eisenhower, served two terms in that office -- and representatives of the Republican Governors Association to join with us in the establishment of a Republican Coordinating Committee to continuously examine party policy and party operations.

We have asked the Presiding Officer of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, the Republican National Chairman, Mr. Dean Burch, to serve as Presiding and Administrative Officer of the new Republican Coordinating Committee, and through the Republican National Committee to provide such staff assistance and funds as may be necessary. As Mr. Burch, himself, suggested, we regard this role an implicit responsibility for him or whoever may occupy his office in the future.

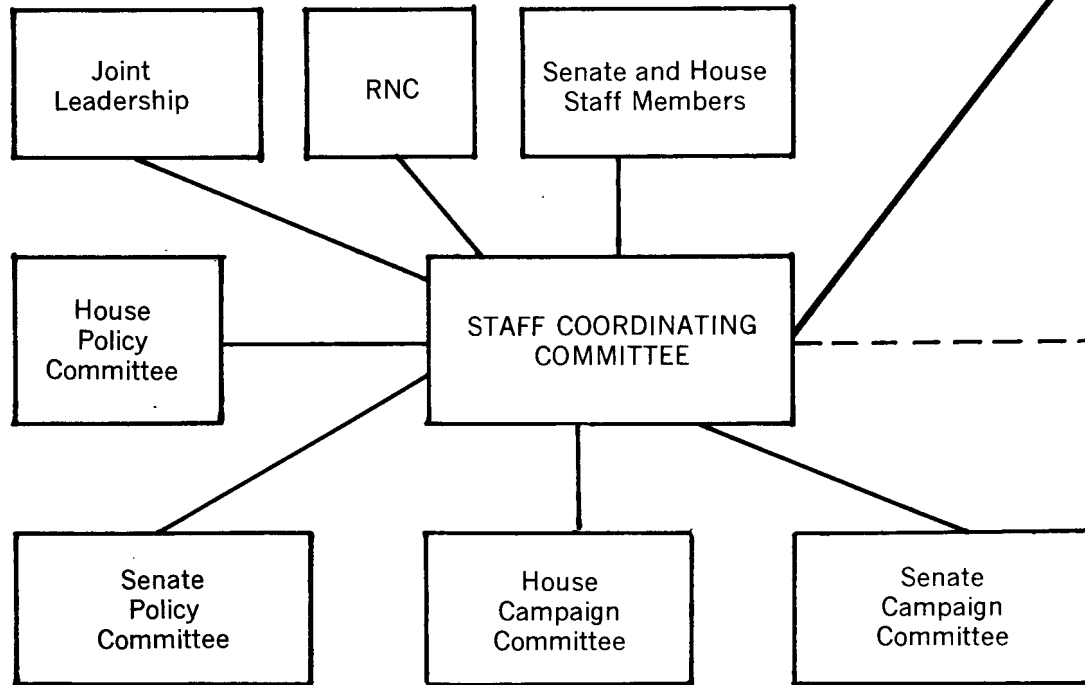
It will be the function of the Republican Coordinating Committee, composed of the eleven members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, the five living Republican nominees for President, and five representatives of the Republican Governors Association to facilitate the broadest party representation and the establishment of task forces for the study and examination of major national problems and issues. The recruiting sources for these task forces, which would report to the Joint Leadership, are clearly delineated on the organization chart which we are making public.

For the Joint Leadership, I have been asked to add these two pertinent points: First, the Republican National Chairman has been requested to immediately invite the other participants to join us in forming the Republican Coordinating Committee. Second, we are convinced that the Republican Party is not only a great force in the American way of life, but it is the only living political instrument which can make the American Dream a reality, not a mere collection of words and promises. Our only goal is results and we intend to achieve them.

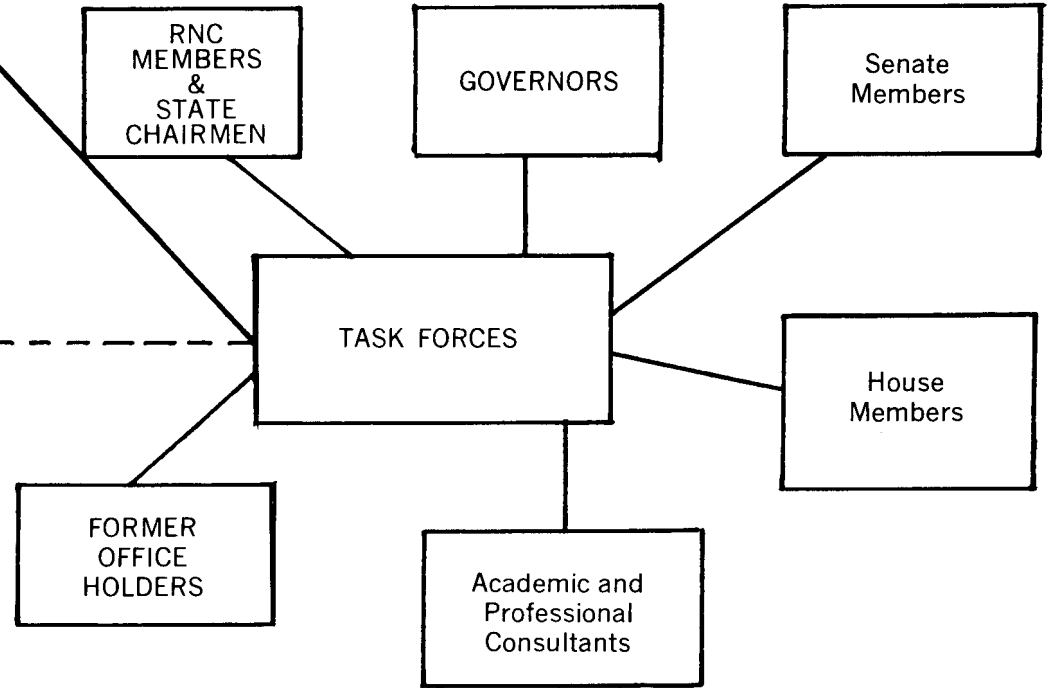
REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE



CONTRIBUTING SOURCES FOR STAFF PERSONNEL



CONTRIBUTING SOURCES FOR TASK FORCE PERSONNEL



QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON GOP COORDINATING COMMITTEE

- Q. Does the establishment of the Republican Coordinating Committee mean that the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership is surrendering its role as a policy-making body?
- A. No, policy formulation, when the Party does not occupy the White House, still resides in Republican members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and their elected leaders, but the Coordinating Committee will provide a communications center for the exchange of ideas on policy with other important party leaders and elected officials; also the establishment of task forces will be an implementing feature.
- Q. Who will appoint the task forces?
- A. The Republican National Chairman as the Presiding Officer of the Coordinating Committee will appoint the task forces with the advice of the Joint Leadership and, when appropriate, in consultation with the former Presidential nominees and representatives of the Governors Association. In all cases the Presiding Officer will circulate his lists of task force appointees in advance to all the participating members of the Coordinating Committee.
- Q. Who will direct the staff operation which will assist both the Coordinating Committee and the task forces?
- A. The Presiding Officer will designate a Staff Coordinator, presumably from the staff of the Republican National Committee. It will be the Staff Coordinator's responsibility to assemble volunteer research help from the sources indicated on the chart.
- Q. What about representation on the task forces for organized groups representing agriculture, labor, veterans, etc., etc.?
- A. It is the hope of the Coordinating Committee the task forces will have help from all the major organizations in our society and such help will be sought.
- Q. How often will the Coordinating Committee meet and when will the first meeting be?
- A. The date of the first meeting will be fixed to suit the convenience of the maximum number of the Committee's members. This will be explored by the Presiding Officer. The continuity of Committee meetings will be established at the first session.
- Q. How will the Coordinating Committee be financed?
- A. By the Republican National Committee.
- Q. Has this type of committee ever been set up before?
- A. As near as can be determined neither major political party has ever attempted to establish a coordinating body such as the Republican Coordinating Committee. It is an innovation.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE
February 17, 1965

STATEMENT BY THE

JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Senator Dirksen	Representative Ford
Senator Kuchel	Representative Arends
Senator Hickenlooper	Representative Byrnes
Senator Saltonstall	Representative Laird
Senator Morton	Representative Brown
	Representative Wilson

It is undoubtedly difficult for the Communist capitals of Moscow, Peking and Hanoi -- where disagreement is not tolerated -- to understand that because Americans may differ on means to assure the complete independence of South Vietnam, there is no difference among us on the objective.

We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, want to make it clear we support President Johnson's recent order for strikes against Communist supply bases in North Vietnam. If we have any difference with the President in this respect, it is the belief these measure might have been used more frequently since the Bay of Tonkin decision last August and an even stronger policy formulated in the meantime.

These Communist-proclaimed "wars of liberation" are nothing more than a verbal cover for naked aggression. The Communists unmask this aggression when they "stage" mob demonstrations against American embassies as Free World resistance to their terrorist tactics in an independent nation is stepped up.

We suggest that so long as there is Communist-promoted infiltration of South Vietnam in violation of the 1954 and 1962 Geneva agreements, there can be no negotiations on the Vietnamese question, and we urge the President to make this unmistakably clear to the world. Agreements can only fail when the Communists negotiate only for domination and we negotiate only for peace.

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THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

SENATOR DIRKSEN - REPRESENTATIVE FORD

March 4, 1965

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, Good morning everybody! We're glad to see you.

In days past, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership have expressed support for a stiffened American military position in South Vietnam. At the very time we spoke, the Soviet and Red Chinese regimes were warning the United States against such action and promising the North Vietnamese increased military assistance. In many nations throughout the world, Communist agents were organizing riots and demonstrations against American diplomatic establishments in an all-out propaganda drive against the United States.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk has stated, as American policy, that there can be no negotiations on the Vietnamese issue so long as the Communist nations promote aggression against South Vietnam. We believe this is worthy policy. And in fact, we advocated it.

We suggest that logic would have the United States carry this policy one step farther.

The Soviet Union has been espousing a policy of "peaceful co-existence." This policy was welcomed by the Kennedy and Johnson



Administrations and numerous moves were made to demonstrate American readiness to respond, particularly in the field of trade, communications, and diplomatic relations.

Yet the fact remains that the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have not diminished, but in fact have stepped up their promotion of subversion in the neutral and free-world countries. South Vietnam is only the most glaring example. The continued supplying of Cuba, the subversion of South America, notably Venezuela, and in Africa, notably the Congo, and the ceaseless agitation throughout Southeast Asia, are quite typical.

The only thing peaceful about "peaceful co-existence" is the title. In any relaxed relations, it is the United States that is supposed to do the relaxing. The Communist nations continuously outrage the rights of other nations! Too long, have we heard the trumpet of retreat from those who seem to favor another Munich.

If we are not going to negotiate the Vietnamese question until the aggression against Vietnam ceases, an equally necessary step would be to stop entertaining the overtures of Communist nations for broader trade and diplomatic relations and also to intensify our efforts to persuade our friends abroad to do the same, until the Communists have demonstrated their good faith in areas where not only freedom but life and death are at stake.



STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD: First, let me say it's wonderful to see you back here and to see you in such good fighting trim this morning, and I'm sure for the months ahead.

During the past three years the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have, under the so-called "peaceful co-existence" policy, made measurable gains in trade and diplomatic concessions from the United States while offering little in return. Let me cite some examples:

An agreement has been initialed for the establishment of a New York-Moscow air route which the Soviet Union long sought.

An American-Soviet treaty has been negotiated, which now awaits ^{Senate} ~~Senate~~ approval, that would give the Soviets consular offices they want in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, in exchange for similar American consulates in Russia which would avail us very little and only give the Communists more targets for mob violence.

Having purchased \$140 million worth of badly-needed U.S. wheat on which the American taxpayer paid \$44 million in subsidies so the Soviet Union could buy it far below our domestic price, Russia has now bought \$11 million in soybeans which the New York Times speculated might be going to Cuba.

In response to Communist bloc overtures for expanded trade, President Johnson has named a committee to explore stepped-up trade, and the Commerce Department's issuance of export licenses for sales to Communist nations has been increasing steadily.

Even more significant, our government last month backed down completely on its widely-publicised call for the Soviet Union to pay up



its assessments to the United Nations, and then compounded this loss of face by lifting a three-month freeze on voluntary contributions to the U.N. out of the U.S. Treasury.

From a standpoint of bargaining, we constantly give much and get little or nothing in deals with the Communist nations. We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, urge a "no concession-no deal" policy, meaning that the Communists must be ready to make concessions as the price of agreements with the United States. Until we and our allies arrive at such a policy, we can only expect more Koreas and ^{more} Vietnams and an ever-widening circle of Communist subversion around the earth.



QUESTION: Congressman Ford, do you think it would be wise and fruitful for President Johnson to confer with the Premier (?) of the Soviet Union?

MR. FORD: At this point, I do not. I think that until the United States strengthens its position in South Vietnam and other places throughout the world, it would be unwise at this time.

QUESTION: Congressman, what form (?)... would be agreeable to you?

MR. FORD: Well, I think you have to take them on an individual, case by case, basis. Certainly in the instance of the United Nations, we got nothing by making these contributions which were voluntary on our part, we got no agreement whatsoever from the Soviet Union that they would pay up any part under any circumstances their overdue assessment to the United Nations.

QUESTION: Mr. Ford, France is in arrears, too. What would you do about France?

MR. FORD: Well, I think that our relations with France today could be greatly improved.

QUESTION: Well, Nationalist China has been in arrears, too... what would you do about our relations -

MR. FORD: I don't think we can treat them any differently than we do France or the Soviet Union.

QUESTION: Senator Dirksen... on your last paragraph here, are you saying ... "to stop aggression in Vietnam, we should not



entertain overtures to broader trade with Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia or any other Communist nations?"

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I'm just saying, if you're going to put them all in one bloc, so to speak, and you have to deal with them on that basis, I'm sure, because you're dealing with an ideology. Now then, of course, you get someone like Rumania, let us say, who doesn't send a delegation to Moscow, but that doesn't alter the fact for one moment that you're still dealing with an ideology that refuses to make any concessions if it can get out of it. And following up that line and in response to your question:

It seems to me that we can insist upon some concession with respect to the Congo and make them keep their hands off if they want to do business with us.

QUESTION: Senator, they're not dealing with themselves - how can we put them all in one bloc?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Who is not dealing with themselves?

QUESTION: Albania...

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, the concessions go mainly to the Soviet Union, as you so well know. And so we'll just pick them out as Number One and make that a test case and see where we go. That would be true of the so-called "Moscow-New York" Treaty and the Consular Treaty. It would be true of Vietnam, it would be true as a matter of fact of Cuba. The whole question is a general one: To what extent do we continue to give in and to give in and to give in and to make concessions and get exactly nothing in return that is conducive to the



peace of the world and to repairing all those holes that have been made in the fabric of freedom in the world?

QUESTION: Would you be against our going through with the air route between Moscow and New York so long as aggression continues in Vietnam?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I believe I would, as a matter of fact. If we can't get any understanding, if they're not going to stop these aggressive moves, we're going to be taking out of one pocket and spending it out there - and then out of the other pocket in order to help the Soviet Union. Now where is the logic in a position of that kind?

QUESTION: ... might drive the Soviet Union and China closer together than they are now...

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, first, that is sheer speculation and, secondly, there isn't a single evidentiary fact to indicate - in view of this ideological split - that that is going to bring them together, because that rift is infinitely deeper and goes to the very heart of Marxism.

QUESTION: Senator, if the President asked you to accompany him to Moscow on a visit to the Russian leaders, would you agree to go along?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Andy, I don't like high altitudes.

(LAUGHTER)

QUESTION: ... in regard to trade, would you apply the same strictures to the East European countries as you would to the Soviet Union?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: I think you have to play it a little by ear as you deal first with one country and then another. But in every case where we've run up against that ideological barricade, I think you're going to have to deal with it in pretty nearly the same fashion. I don't mean to say you just lay out a broad pattern and say you don't change a period or a comm... We're just trying to make the point that there ought to be some concessions that are in furtherance of the objectives that we have so freely announced to the world over so long a period of time.

QUESTION: Senator, you want an Administration policy that there be no negotiation over Vietnam as long as the Communists promote aggression there. Well, isn't this realistic since the aim of negotiation is to stop this aggression?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I don't quite get your question...

QUESTION: Well, you deplore (?) Administration policy in Vietnam... saying we say there will be no negotiations there as long as Communist nations promote aggression in South Vietnam. But isn't the aim of negotiations to stop this aggression?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I just followed the line of the Secretary of State here. How do you negotiate when aggression continues? The overture has to come from the other side, and there has to be some manifestation of good faith, because all we have to do is to go back to the accord of 1954, or the Convention of 1963, and say you haven't kept faith on either one of them. What reason is there to believe that if we start another series of negotiations that we'll come out any better than we did eleven years ago, or three years ago?



QUESTION: ... in your most recent conversation with the President?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Not in this detail, but I have certainly stood in his corner and gave him reason to believe that I fully supported the position that he takes out there and likewise the position of the Secretary of State.

QUESTION: What's his feeling about your conditions...

SENATOR DIRKSEN: The very same thing. Well, I think the President, of course, shares the Secretary's belief, as evidenced not only by the statement he made a week or ten days ago, and also, of course, in the White Paper that was issued.

QUESTION: Is he doing anything more to keep you people informed?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I must say that I had a three-hour session with the President about two weeks ago. I spent an hour and thirty minutes with him Tuesday night and in that time you can talk about a good many things.

QUESTION: Like what? (LAUGHTER)

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, Roger, shall I give you the old standard legal answer: "On sum at the moment the deponent sayeth not because it might be just a little anticipatory." (LAUGHTER)

QUESTION: Senator... (EVERYONE STILL LAUGHING... and Senator Dirksen says: "Was that the right answer?") Senator, under the Eisenhower Administration... Mr. Dillon was then Under-Secretary of Vietnam Affairs(?)... said we were quite willing to have trade with the



Soviet Union provided they had things they wanted to sell that we wanted to buy. Do you think that was a mistake of the Eisenhower Administration?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, they thought, I believe, there would be some improvement in relations and there would be some concessions from time to time. I'm afraid in that field we have been frustrated so far as any real sweet fruit is concerned.

QUESTION: Senator, your statement seems to assume that the Soviet Union has control over the situation in North Vietnam... other people have some question whether the Soviet Union or the Chinese have control of the situation. Do you have any information to indicate that the Soviet Union does, in fact, have control?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: It doesn't assume control at all. You look at the White Paper and what do you discover? Arms, weapons... made in Czechoslovakia... weapons that have come from the Soviet Union, weapons that have come from Red China... so you don't have to make any assumption, they're in there supplying and aiding the cause of aggression, and if the White Paper means anything, it simply documents that fact, so there is no assumption on my part...

QUESTION: ... the mob of so-called "students" who plastered our Embassy in Moscow... what can we do in a practical way about that?

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, first of all, I have counselled some caution when you're dealing with those demonstrations because students, for example, in other countries have quite a different role in the political life than they do in the United States. Secondly,



the constabulary, or the police, cannot always control a spontaneous student demonstration. And third, we've had an occasional demonstration in our own country and I name no state, and I name no particular institution when I say it. But... when you get these constant flare-ups and they continue, it becomes quite a different matter. But I have nothing to say HOW they shall be controlled, because that is a policing matter within the power of the country where it takes place.

QUESTION: The police let them - for ten minutes - break windows, throw ink and everything... then they tried to drive them back...

SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, I just point out, of course, that never has a stone gone through the window of the Soviet Embassy on 16th Street. Now, it does seem to me, that by adequate policing they can do something about it, but I don't go so far as to invade the authority of the country and the exercise of its domestic police power.

QUESTION: Mr. Ford... providing no agreement is reached by which the Soviet Union can pay up ... and refuses to do so... would you have the United States leave the United Nations on that ground?

REP. FORD: I would put it on the other basis. The United Nations and the General Assembly ought to have the character and fortitude to take the necessary action IN the United Nations to preclude those nations who were in arrears from exercising their vote. What happens if a majority doesn't take this proper stand, we'll have to wait and see for the future.

QUESTION: (Not clear... asks something about negotiations..)



SENATOR DIRKSEN: Well, we have no expression that negotiations are in progress at the present time. If they are in progress, then, of course, the country hasn't been advised on that score. But if you take Dean Rusk's statement at face value, when he speaks of aggression and the impossibility of even entertaining overtures for negotiation, you'd have to assume no negotiations were in progress unless the "Hot Line" is being used... and on that subject I'm not informed, momentarily at least.

QUESTION: Thank you.



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Secretary of State Dean Rusk has stated, as American policy, that there can be no negotiations on the Vietnamese issue so long as the Communist nations promote aggression against South Vietnam. We believe this a worthy policy. In fact, we advocated it.

We suggest that logic would have the United States carry this policy one step farther.

The Soviet Union has been espousing a policy of "peaceful co-existence." This policy was welcomed by the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and numerous moves were made to demonstrate American readiness to respond, particularly in the fields of trade, communications, and diplomatic relations.

Yet the fact remains that the Soviet Union and the other Communist nations have not diminished, but stepped up, their promotion of subversion in the neutral and free-world countries. South Vietnam is only the most glaring example. The continued supplying of Cuba, the subversion in South America, notably Venezuela, and in Africa, notably the Congo, and the ceaseless agitation throughout Southeast Asia, are typical.

The only thing peaceful about "peaceful co-existence" is the title. In any relaxed relations, it is the United States that is supposed to do the relaxing. The Communist nations continuously outrage the rights of other nations. Too long, have we heard the trumpet of retreat from those who seem to favor another Munich.

If we are not going to negotiate the Vietnamese question until the aggression against South Vietnam ceases, an equally necessary step would be to stop entertaining the overtures of the Communist nations for broader trade and diplomatic relations and to intensify our efforts to persuade our friends abroad to do the same, until the Communists have demonstrated their good faith in areas where not only freedom but life and death are at stake.

Room S-124, U.S. Capitol - Capitol 4-3121 - Ex 3700

STAFF CONSULTANT: Robert Humphreys

March 4, 1965

During the past three years the Soviet Union and other Communist nations have, under the so-called "peaceful co-existence" policy, made measurable gains in trade and diplomatic concessions from the United States while offering little in return. Here are some examples:

An agreement has been initialed for the establishment of a New York-Moscow air route which the Soviet Union has long sought.

An American-Soviet treaty has been negotiated, which now awaits Soviet approval, that would give the Soviets consular offices they want in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco in exchange for similar American consulates in Russia which would avail us little and only give the Communists more targets for mob violence.

Having purchased \$140 million worth of badly-needed U.S. wheat on which the American taxpayer paid \$44 million in subsidies so the Soviet could buy it far below our domestic price, Russia has now bought \$11 million in soybeans which the New York Times speculated might be going to Cuba.

In response to Communist bloc overtures for expanded trade, President Johnson has named a committee to explore stepped-up sales, and the Commerce Department's issuance of export licenses for sales to Communist nations has been increasing steadily.

Even more significant, our government last month backed down completely on its widely-publicized call for the Soviet Union to pay up its assessments to the United Nations, and then compounded this loss of face by lifting a three-month freeze on voluntary contributions to the U.N. out of the U.S. Treasury.

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Having purchased \$140 million worth of badly-needed U.S. wheat on which the American taxpayer paid \$44 million in subsidies so the Soviets could buy it far below our domestic price, Russia has now bought \$11 million in soybeans which the New York Times speculated might be going to Cuba.

In response to Communist bloc overtures for expanded trade, President Johnson has named a committee to explore stepped-up sales, and the Commerce Department's issuance of export licenses for sales to Communist nations has been increasing steadily.

Even more significant, our government last month backed down completely on its widely-publicized call for the Soviet Union to pay up its assessments to the United Nations, and then compounded this loss of face by lifting a three-month freeze on voluntary contributions to the U.N. out of the U.S. Treasury.

From a standpoint of bargaining, we constantly give much and get little or nothing in deals with the Communist nations. We, the members of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, urge a "no concession-no deal" policy, meaning that the Communists must be ready to make concessions as the price of agreements with the United States. Until we and our allies arrive at such a policy, we can only expect more Koreas and Vietnams and an ever-widening circle of Communist subversion around the earth.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:
The Republican
National Chairman
Dean Burch

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

March 18, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford, Jr.,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY REP. FORD:

In a series of messages to Congress that are almost encyclopedic in the listing of problems purportedly to be solved by the Federal government, President Johnson proposes enactment of laws and the appropriation of funds that will place the Federal foot in the door of every important function now reserved to the states and local communities.

The formula is ingenious. The future needs of every local community for the next 10 to 20 years are fed, computer-like, into the Federal maw to arrive at a gigantic nationwide figure calculated to stagger the imagination and reduce the citizen to a feeling of utter helplessness. The heroic answer is of course the one now being set forth almost daily by the Johnson Administration: Only the Federal government can handle the problem.

Had our founding fathers examined the problems confronting them on the same basis, this country probably would have remained a British colony with the Crown handling everything. The fact that the states and local communities have been meeting these problems in their relatively simple locales for nearly two centuries of unequalled progress is ignored.

Federalized schools, text books, and teachers, Federalized zoning building codes, health centers, and transportation, Federalized libraries, laboratories, auditoriums and theaters -- all these and much more are now in prospect for our states and local communities. In time our state and local governments can only be reduced to resident agents for the huge central authority in Washington.

Perhaps the American people want to abandon a proven system that has worked as no other on earth. We do not believe it. The Johnson program has been so disguised by platitudes and Madison Avenue adjectives that its real aim has not been recognized. We are told we are approaching the "Great Society."

We deem it our obligation to provide our citizens with full knowledge of the direction in which their Federal administration is heading our nation. The end of this road is complete Federal control.

(Dirksen statement - pg. 2)

March 18, 1965

The unveiling of President Johnson's "Great Society" makes it starkly clear that the Federal government has only begun to grow in size, power and cost.

The central thesis of the "Great Society" is that bigger and bigger government means better and better health, better and better education, better and better transportation and better and better environment. It resembles political "perpetual motion."

How big is big government today? The answer is: It's enormous.

Here are some samples of the combined impact of Federal, state and local governments: Taxes and other government levies now consume 35 percent of total national income. One out of every six workers in the United States is a government employee. One out of every five dollars spent in the United States for goods and services is spent by government. One dollar out of every four dollars and a half of personal income in the United States is accounted for by direct government payments.

The impact of the Federal government alone is startling: Federal aid to State and local governments has risen from \$3.8 billion in 1956 to \$13.6 billion for 1966 -- an increase of nearly 260 percent. Federal funds now amount to 14 percent of total state-local revenue.

These figures give some idea of the size of government today. Right now the Federal government has more civilian employees in 30 of the 50 states than do state governments themselves, including the five biggest in the Union -- California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio.

To all this we are now going to add President Johnson's "Great Society." There is no conceivable way to estimate its future cost. The sky's the limit.

The President has already told us that balancing the budget "too quickly" can be "self-defeating." Thus the Congress and the nation have been put on notice that the "Great Society" will be financed by ever-increasing Federal deficits and, although not predicted by the President, these deficits could break all records, wartime or peacetime, if the "Great Society" expands as projected. It is time all Americans took a look at the hard facts.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

May 20, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

From the time the President announced to Congressional leaders that he had sent forces into the Dominican Republic to protect lives and to thwart the danger of a Communist take-over in that country, the Republicans in the Congress have given him their support.

Support of the President's action in the circumstances does not, however, imply blanket approval of Administration policy toward Latin America.

The Administration has been slow to recognize danger signals in Latin America. It has permitted problems to grow to crisis proportions before acting. It has been reluctant to provide leadership to make the Organization of American States an effective agency for the defense and development of the Western Hemisphere.

Even now, in its reaction to events in the Dominican Republic, the Administration is not manifesting awareness of the extent and the danger of Castro - exported Communist subversion in at least half a dozen other American nations. In the past three years, many thousand citizens of other Latin American countries have received paramilitary and ideological training in Cuba and have been sent home to carry on subversion, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare in Central and South America. Since the end of November 1964, there has been renewed emphasis by Cuba on the use of violence to attain political power, particularly in Venezuela, Colombia, and Guatemala. In Guatemala, the activities of 500 terrorists and guerrillas led to the establishment of a state of siege in February of this year. Haiti, Panama, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Honduras are all announced targets of Communist violence.

It is regrettable that the Administration did not move to head off the new outbreak of subversion and violence when it was planned at the Havana meeting of Latin American Communist leaders in November, 1964.

Clearly there is need now for vigorous and effective action by the Organization of American States and by the individual American nations to put an end to the current Castro offensive.

We urge the Administration to present such a plan of action to the O.A.S. before the tragic drama of the Dominican Republic is replayed in other Latin American nations.

Today is the 63rd anniversary of Cuban independence. On May 20, 1902, Cuba assumed the status of an independent Republic with the inauguration of its first president.

On this anniversary, we call for the reestablishment of Cuba's independence. Since late 1960 the present government of Cuba has been a military, economic, and political vassal of the Soviet Union. Today thousands of foreign Communist military personnel remain on Cuban soil. Cuba's rulers continue to serve the purposes of an alien system by carrying on a campaign of terrorism, sabotage, subversion, and sporadic warfare against their neighbors, disturbing the peace of the hemisphere and threatening the security of all American nations.

The policy objective of the present administration toward the Communist government of Cuba has been ambiguous. At times it has been described as "to get rid of the Castro regime and of Soviet Communist influence in Cuba." So Mr. Johnson declared at Midland, Texas, on September 30, 1962. At other times it has been described as "to isolate Cuba...to frustrate its efforts to destroy free governments and to expose the weakness of Communism so that all can see." So it was formulated by President Johnson on April 20, 1964.

The melancholy events in the Dominican Republic are a forceful reminder that neither objective has been attained. Cuba has not been isolated, nor is it rid of Castro and Soviet Communist influence. Cuba is the breeding ground for Communist subversion throughout this hemisphere.

President Johnson's recent statement that we "cannot permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere" clouds the purposes of Administration policy toward Cuba still further.

The Administration should fix clearly so that all can see the objective of its policy toward Cuba. The isolation of the Castro regime and the prevention of the export of Communism from Cuba should be pursued more vigorously as an immediate policy objective. But the ultimate objective can be nothing less than the elimination of the Communist government of Cuba and the restoration of independence under a government freely chosen by the Cuban people.

This objective is dictated by policies subscribed to by all the

(More)

Rep. Ford (Continued)

nations of the hemisphere at Caracas in 1954. The Caracas Declaration stated, "...the domination or control of the political institutions of any American State by the international communist movement, extending to this Hemisphere the political system of an extracontinental power, would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American States, endangering the peace of America..."

In compliance with this doctrine, President Eisenhower said on July 9, 1960, "...Nor will the United States in conformity with its treaty obligations, permit the establishment of a regime dominated by international Communism in the Western Hemisphere."

It is time to reaffirm this as our national purpose and the purpose of the other American nations.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
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John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
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Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

June 24, 1965

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE AND ON THE SENATE FLOOR

It is now clear that the United States has lost its fight to keep Article 19 of the United Nations Charter alive. The fight was waged with neither skill nor vigor.

No sophistry can mask the fact that the United Nations has been weakened and that the present Administration has suffered a serious defeat.

Article 19 prescribes the penalty of loss of voting rights in the General Assembly for any Member nation in arrears by two years or more in the payment of its contributions to the United Nations.

A decision of the World Court in 1962, ratified overwhelmingly by the General Assembly, removed any doubt that the Soviet Union and some other nations are now subject to the penalty of Article 19.

The Administration at first loudly announced its intention to insist on the application of Article 19. It even threatened to withhold its contributions for some U.N. activities if the Soviet Union failed to pay up.

Because of the issue raised by Article 19, the last session of the General Assembly was a tragic farce with no voting at all until February 18. In effect, the delinquent members of the United Nations deprived the nations that had lived up to their obligations (including the United States) of their right to vote.

On February 18, a vote was taken. The acquiescence of the representative of the United States in that action constituted an abandonment of the position which he had taken until that time. On that day the position of the Administration was exposed as a bluff, and a staggering blow was dealt to the structure of the United Nations.

We regret the backdown of last February. Further action to make Article 19 a dead letter will further weaken the United Nations.

Until the nations that are in arrears in their payments to the United Nations manifest interest in preserving the international organization by moving to make up their deficit, the United States should make no voluntary additional contribution. Once this nation embarks on a policy of paying the debts of other countries to the United Nations, there will be no end to the process. It will help neither the world organization nor the cause of peace.

Room S-124 U.S. Capitol—Capitol 4-3121 - Ex 3700

STAFF CONSULTANT: Robert Humphreys

More --

We salute the United Nations with a mixture of satisfaction and apprehension on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary.

Republicans (notably the late Senator Arthur Vandenberg) helped to bring this organization into being. They have loyally supported its every effort to attain the noble goals set forth in its Charter.

There is some encouragement in its accomplishments in keeping the peace in certain troubled areas and there is reason for satisfaction in its social, economic, and humanitarian activities.

Yet the United Nations today is in difficult straits. It is bankrupt. It has been used as nothing more than a propaganda forum by many nations. It has violated its Charter. The General Assembly was unable to take a vote on any substantive issue in its last session.

The survival of the Organization as an effective agency is in doubt.

To save it, the United States and its other leading members must move to deal with its problems instead of permitting them to fester and grow.

One problem is posed by the separation of power and responsibility. A two-thirds majority of the 114 Members of the General Assembly can be put together by nations representing 10 per cent of the population of U.N. Members and 5 per cent of the contributions to the U.N. budget. Clearly, these small states cannot enforce big decisions, and situations can easily arise in which big states will be unwilling to follow the orders of smaller Members.

Another problem is the relationship of the United Nations to regional organizations such as the Organization of American States. In the Dominican Republic representatives of the U.N. have in fact worked at cross purposes with the representatives of the inter-American organization.

Finally, there is the problem of finance. For more than 3 years, the U.N. has teetered on the brink of bankruptcy. At present it is \$108 million in the red.

The problems are formidable. Solving them calls for determined action on the part of the Administration.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
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John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

July 1, 1965

STATEMENT BY SENATOR BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The health of the economy has become a matter of concern and debate since William McChesney Martin pointed out some similarities between present conditions and those of 1929. The President and other Administration spokesmen, emphasizing the bright spots in the economic picture, have suggested that anything wrong in the economy results from fright caused by Mr. Martin's speech.

We find it hard to understand how an Administration that has been talking constantly of the poverty in the United States can blame Mr. Martin's qualified warning for weakening confidence in the economic system.

A balanced appraisal of the performance of the economy should begin with a recognition of the fact that the period since World War II has been one of steady and sustained economic growth. Downturns have been few, short, and moderate. We should not expect only guaranteed and sustained rises in economic activity for the future, but the attitude that "things are so good they can't continue" is probably too nearsighted.

Nevertheless, there are danger signals in some economic indicators. To ignore them, to sweep them under the rug, or to denounce those who point them out is shortsighted.

The international financial situation is one of the most ominous clouds on the economic horizon. The Administration's program of "voluntary coercion" in the balance of payments area is based on the same principle of political expediency as so much of its domestic economic wheeling and dealing. In the process of instituting short-run remedies, the President is following a practice of giving glib and pat answers to serious and involved questions. In imposing more and more controls over international trade and capital flows, the Administration is abandoning the principle of liberalized multilateral trade embodied in the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and supported by the United States throughout the Eisenhower years, in the face of adversity encountered by almost all of our trading partners. If this series of shortsighted treatments for the symptoms in our balance of payments produces serious dislocations in major foreign economies, the United States will not remain unscathed.

We believe that an International Monetary Conference should be called to deal with the basic structural shortcomings of our international monetary system. The problem is one which cannot be further neglected.

Room S-124 U.S. Capitol—Capitol 4-3121 - Ex 3700

STAFF CONSULTANT: Robert Humphreys

PRESS RELEASE ISSUED FOLLOWING A LEADERSHIP MEETING

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

- 2 -

July 1, 1965

Certain strategic imbalances have developed in the domestic economy. Although more than $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ of our labor force remains unemployed, distinct inflationary pressures are evident. Indeed, we are greatly concerned about eroding price increases in view of the employment situation. In particular, nothing seems to succeed in helping young labor force participants -- the teenager jobless rate remains close to 15%. Yet in May 1965 the Consumer Price Index stood at 109.6 of its 1957-1959 base, which was an increase of 0.3% for the month of May. If the rate of increase for April and May is maintained for the next 12 months, the Consumer Price Index would rise 3.6%, which is inflation in anybody's book. Even more important, the Wholesale Price Index rose by 2.0% from May 1964 to May 1965 and this index had been standing still from 1957 to 1964. We note that a number of recent labor contracts have provided about 4% in yearly wage increases -- substantially above the guide lines set by the Administration. These may well lead to cost-of-living increases during 1965 and future years.

We are entering the sixth fiscal year of continuous deficits. They have averaged over 6 billion dollars a year for the past five fiscal years. The deficit for fiscal 1965 is somewhat below four billion dollars, and this is being hailed as a great accomplishment. We deplore the doctrine of "permanent fiscal irresponsibility" coupled with a politically pressured easy money policy. The continuous use of fiscal "pep pills" has serious consequences -- inflationary pressures (so hurtful to the very poor and the elderly retired), a growing interest charge on the public debt, and disruption of international trade as more and more nations lose their faith in the value of our currency. Even more important, Democrats in Congress have lit the fuse on an inflationary "time bomb" by rubber-stamping one expenditure program after another. These extended programs give the Administration greater and greater carry-over authority to spend and spend -- in fact, this carry-over unspent authorization ties the hands of Congress in switching to an anti-inflationary policy.

There are definite signs that the quality of much of the debt has been deteriorating and that its quantity may be growing too fast. The so-called temporary public debt ceiling was just raised from \$324 to \$328 billion. Other debt -- of states, local governments, corporations, and individuals -- has been growing more rapidly. For example, consumer installment payments now stand at 15% of personal income, and total debt of the average family is a staggering 60% of its yearly earnings. Bank credit has been expanding more quickly than in all previous expansions, although some recent changes are apparent here.

It is our view that the Administration may be in great danger of falling from their tightrope. Clearly they are falling off on the side of inflation. It is our view that a balanced economy is important to all. We therefore endorse the suggestion made by Senator Javits and Congressman Curtis, i.e., that the Joint Economic Committee call hearings "at the earliest possible time" in order to explore "the basic issues raised by Mr. Martin" and "the outlook for the economy over the next year."

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

July 15, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

This is an appropriate time to speak of bipartisanship in foreign policy.

Bipartisanship signifies united support by the two major parties for such policy aims and means as are required for the security of the nation.

A bipartisan foreign policy imposes obligations on both the majority and the minority parties. For the majority party, it counsels frequent consultation with the minority as policy is formulated and access for the minority to information needed to determine the wisdom of policy.

For the minority party it imposes an obligation to avoid carping about trivia. The minority should avoid the hypocrisy of complaining about measures which it would favor if it were in the position of policy maker. No administration should be blamed for events beyond its control.

Members of both parties must weigh all the consequences of public criticism. There is an obligation to demonstrate to both friend and foe that the American people are united in time of danger. There is an obligation to avoid furnishing grist for the propaganda mills of an enemy.

But bipartisan foreign policy has never meant a cessation of debate, of criticism, of suggestion. Senator Arthur Vandenberg, who, more than any other public figure in his time, personified bipartisanship, said that bipartisan foreign policy "simply seeks national security ahead of partisan advantage." But, he added immediately, "Every foreign policy must be totally debated . . . and the 'loyal opposition' is under special obligation to see that this occurs."

Debate, then, should be encouraged. Only in the crucible of full and candid debate can the nation forge a foreign policy which will lead to the ends which all Americans seek to attain -- peace, freedom, and security. Only thus can public understanding and acceptance of foreign policy be achieved.

Bipartisanship in foreign policy demands that representatives of both parties give each other a respectful hearing, that both deal in facts, that both discuss genuine issues, that both avoid distortion and misrepresentation.

We pray that the national security decisions of the President may always be wise. If we must disagree with any of those decisions, we shall never question his sincere desire for peace. We expect that responsible spokesmen for his party will credit us with similar motives.

(Ford statement - page 2)

Room S-124 U.S. Capitol—CApitol 4-3121 - Ex 3700

STAFF CONSULTANT: Robert Humphreys

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

July 15, 1965

Today the President is being called on to make fateful decisions. His efforts to end the fighting in Vietnam by negotiation have been spurned. President Johnson has now decided to increase substantially the commitment of American ground forces in the theater of conflict.

As the military commitment grows, the nation must be clear about its objectives, its responsibilities, and the consequences in Vietnam. This objective can only be the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam can live in peace, freedom, and security.

The objective can be attained only when aggression from within or without is brought to a halt.

The establishment of a coalition government with Communist participation in control of South Vietnam is incompatible with this objective.

Evacuation of American troops under an agreement to be policed by a commission including a Communist member with veto power over commission decisions would be incompatible with this objective.

The desire of the government and the people of the United States to negotiate a peace in Vietnam has been established beyond question. But a peace which would turn South Vietnam over to the Communists -- immediately or after some interval -- must be forthrightly rejected.

Any doubt as to the resoluteness of the United States in the pursuit of the objective of maintaining the freedom and independence of South Vietnam that has arisen is due to unfortunate statements of some Democrats.

Although we do not quarrel with the President in his invitation to the aggressors to negotiate without any pre-conditions, we doubt the wisdom of failing to make it clear that the United States is not going to agree to the kind of treaty and truce provisions that have made possible Communist take-overs in the past.

President Johnson has said that the United States will not withdraw from Vietnam under a meaningless agreement. We suggest that the President assure the nation that no agreement will be made which will make a mockery of the sacrifices already suffered by our American fighting men and the soldiers of South Vietnam.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
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Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

July 22, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Next week the Members of the House of Representatives will demonstrate by their votes whether they are members of an independent branch of government or simply yes men responding blindly to the manipulation of the Executive branch.

The issue which the House will face is fair consideration of the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act -- a section which simply preserves to each State some right to regulate labor-management relations.

An attempt will be made as a part of President Johnson's program to force repeal of Section 14(b) through the House under the most stringent of gag rules. I anticipate a proposal that the House act on this important change of policy with only two hours of debate and that no opportunity be given to offer meaningful amendments.

If the House is not to sacrifice its self-respect, it will vote down the proposal that it shut its mouth, plug its ears, close its eyes and swallow the Johnson Administration's prescription without adequate debate and without opportunity to vote on important amendments.

The action expected next week is the latest manifestation of a disturbing tendency to avoid discussion of the subject of the repeal of Section 14(b) on its merits. The Administration has engaged in a cynical type of log-rolling on the subject. It has sought to convince city Congressmen to vote for a bread tax against their convictions in order to get repeal of Section 14(b) and farm Congressmen to vote for repeal of 14(b) against their convictions in order to get a farm bill.

If the coalition which the Administration is ruthlessly trying to put together is successful, how can Congress be considered to act as an independent branch of government?

(Dirksen statement - page 2)

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN

JULY 22, 1965

A strange thing happened to the proposed constitutional amendment on apportionment of State legislatures on its way to the Senate floor. Disputes over the wording of the amendment have recently arisen and produced a deadlock in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

I am confident that the Senate will in time act favorably on an amendment. Recent discussion shows the need for clarification of the effect of the proposal.

There is universal recognition of the need for reform of the system or representation obtaining in most states at the time of several well-known Supreme Court decisions. In fact, in 1955 a presidential commission reported to President Eisenhower that the strengthening of state governments called for adequate representation of the interest of urban areas in state legislative bodies. I welcome the reforms now under way in many states in the belief that they provide more equitable representation and help to invigorate state governments. I do not on the other hand, conclude that mechanical adherence to the "one man, one vote" principle should be imposed on both branches of the legislature of every state by Federal fiat regardless of the desires of the people. Everyone concedes that it is appropriate to require that representation in one house of the legislature of each state be based solely on the factor of population.

The proposed amendment does no more than permit the people of each state to employ factors other than population as the basis of representation in the other house if by periodic referendum a majority of the people in any state so desire.

It would not deny any minority group the opportunity to gain representation. Presumably any system of representation contrived to discriminate against any group would be struck down by the courts as a violation of the 14th Amendment.

Experience shows that the "one man, one vote" principle can be used to exclude minorities out of seats in legislative bodies. This can be accomplished by submerging minorities in large constituencies with at-large elections, as has been done in the State of Virginia to render less likely the election of members of minority groups to the State legislature. It can be accomplished by drawing district lines so as to spread the minority population thinly over a number of districts.

The issue which the proposed amendment presents is this: Shall we allow the people to make the decision about the basis of representation in one house of their state legislature, or shall we impose a decision on them whether they want it or not? We propose to meet this issue and fight every step of the way to preserve our Federal-State system and the historic right of the people of the several states to determine the composition of one branch of their own legislature according to their desires.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
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PRESIDING OFFICER:
The Republican
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Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
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Clarence J. Brown,
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Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

August 5, 1965

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The most recent figures on the cost of living convey disheartening news. For the third month in a row a substantial increase in living costs was registered. The increase to date in 1965 has been four times the increase during the same period of 1964.

The month of June showed the biggest increase in 23 months. Food prices alone rose 2%. The meat, poultry, and fish group was up 10% from a year ago.

Food store prices in the Washington area bring these statistics to life. For instance, in one chain store since June 1964 the cost of smoked ham has risen from 43 cents per pound to 59 cents per pound. At another chain store, the past thirteen months have seen a rise in the cost of rib steaks of 22 cents per pound, while boneless chuck roast has zoomed from 49 cents per pound to 85 cents per pound. Pork chops at another chain store have nearly doubled in price, from 69 cents per pound in June of 1964 to today's price of \$1.19 per pound. The same store in the same period has seen bacon more than double in price, from 49 cents to \$1.05 per pound.

There are signs of continued pressures affecting not only the price of food but also a broad range of commodities and services. Wholesale prices, following a six-year period of stability, have risen 2 per cent in the past year. On top of this, the Labor Department reports that in the first six months of this year the increases granted in wage settlements have averaged 4 per cent -- well above the Administration's guidepost of 3.2 per cent. And that will tend to push prices up even more.

In spite of these disquieting signs, the press reports that "Administration spokesmen . . . said they were not worried by the recent surge in consumer prices." These sentiments are not shared by the American housewife, the wage earner with a family to feed, the poor, the retired, and others who live on fixed incomes. Perhaps the President should be reminded of that portion of his State of the Union Message in which he said, "Our continued prosperity demands continued price stability."

The inflationary trend offsets the billions being expended in the highly publicized war on poverty.

(Ford statement -- page 2)

Room S-124 U.S. Capitol—Capitol 4-3121 - Ex 3700

STAFF CONSULTANT: Robert Humphreys

STATEMENT BY REP. GERALD R. FORD

August 5, 1965

It is now more than four years since the Council of Economic Advisers set an unemployment level of 4 per cent as the "interim goal" of the Administration. It is now more than three years since Hubert Humphrey declared, "I predict that by the end of the coming calendar year -- by December 31, 1962, the problem of unemployment in the United States will be a page in the history book . . ." The year 1962 is long gone. It has been a long interim, and the achievement of the goal is not yet in sight. The unemployment rate has been stuck around the 5 per cent level since early in 1964.

In the four years since 1960 employment in agriculture has declined by one million jobs, or 17 per cent. This is more than double the rate of decrease in farm jobs under the previous Administration.

In spite of the economic upsurge which the nation has experienced, unemployment remains an unsolved problem. Unlike past periods of upswing in economic activity, the current prosperity has not brought with it an automatic reduction of the ranks of the jobless to tolerable levels.

The problem of unemployment is particularly a problem of the young. The rate of joblessness among teenagers hovered between 15 and 17 per cent before schools closed for the summer -- a rate more than three times as high as that for the total working force.

Employment of youth promises to be a more difficult problem within the next few years because of substantial increases in the number entering the labor force. In 1964, 2,700,000 Americans reached their 18th birthday. This year 3,700,000 will reach the age of 18, and on through the 1970's approximately 4,000,000 will attain this age each year.

Spending programs by the score have been offered as panaceas for unemployment. They have not attained the Administration's stated goal.

We see here a repetition of lessons which should have been learned decades ago. A Niagara of Federal spending -- a host of Federal programs -- has never provided a real solution to the problem of unemployment.

The Administration stands indicted by its obvious failure in dealing with this critical problem.

FOOD PRICES IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHAIN STORES

	<u>June 1964</u>	<u>July 1965</u>
<u>CHAIN STORE A</u>		
Fryers, legs (per pound)	\$.37	\$.55
Fryers, breasts (per pound)	.43	.59
Smoked hams, fully cooked (per pound)	.43	.59
Medium fresh shrimp	.69	.89
2 dozen large eggs	.91	.95
<u>CHAIN STORE B</u>		
Chuck roast, boneless (per pound)	.49	.85
Fryers, whole (per pound)	.25	.39
Fryers, cut	.29	.43
Rib steaks, 7 inch cut (per pound)	.57	.79
<u>CHAIN STORE C</u>		
Pork Chops (per pound)	.69	1.19
Bacon (per pound)	.49	1.05
<u>CHAIN STORE D</u>		
Porterhouse steak, USDA choice (per pound)	.95	1.49
Round steak (per pound)	.79	1.35

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Clarence J. Brown,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

FOR RELEASE
FRIDAY, AUGUST 13, 1965

STATEMENT BY THE

JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Senator Dirksen	Representative Ford
Senator Kuchel	Representative Arends
Senator Hickenlooper	Representative Laird
Senator Saltonstall	Representative Rhodes
Senator Morton	Representative Brown
	Representative Wilson

August 13 marks the fourth anniversary of a tragedy in American foreign relations and a tragedy for all mankind - the erection of one of man's most hated and degrading structures, the Berlin Wall. The Wall is an insult to all of mankind. It is an ugly reminder that the communists cannot command the voluntary allegiance of those trapped by terrible circumstance within their borders.

In 1961, the communists violated the Four Power Agreement, a pledge among nations, and they violated man's sense of individual diversity, a pledge among all men, when they constructed their cold cement edifice. Now, four years afterward, the Wall has been warmed many times over by the blood of courageous, imprisoned men who have sought escape from mistrust, compulsion by force, and deadening conformity.

The lust for freedom of the east German people has sent unnumbered hundreds under, through, and over the Wall in quest of this freedom. In order to join with their families and friends in the West and escape the tyranny of communist government, these men have matched bravery and ingenuity against the fiendish traps and obstacles concocted by the communists. Many German people have died by the bullets of communist rifles when they sought to escape.

It is a great irony that man's response to the Wall, the escape, has become one of the most meaningful and important actions to all

freedom-loving men. We feel a common bond with the stifled individuals behind the Wall, and every free man identifies with the individuals who are compelled by conscience and blessed with the opportunity to escape.

Tragically, as more men have escaped and more men have died, the Wall has been fortified and enlarged with cement, wire, and explosives. Yet one remains confident that the bravery and genius of such men will not be defeated by a wall.

The return of freedom and unity to all the German people must remain a major objective of the foreign policy of the United States until the Wall is no more.

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*

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*Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee*

PRESIDING OFFICER:

*The Republican
National Chairman*
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

September 9, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader

Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*

Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference

John J. Rhodes, *Chr.
of the Policy Committee*

H. Allen Smith,
*Ranking Member
Rules Committee*

Bob Wilson,
*Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee*

Charles E. Goodell,
*Chr. Committee on
Planning and Research*

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN

If the President insists on Senate consideration of the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act this year, the present session of Congress will end not with a bang in the fall but with a whimper when the snow falls. Section 14(b) is the provision affirming the right of the states to forbid compulsory unionism.

The Senate will not act speedily on this issue so basic to federal-state relations. Several senators have promised extended discussion of the subject, and clearly the votes for cloture will not be forthcoming.

The Congress has done enough for 1965. There is no emergency, no crisis that requires immediate alteration of a law for which the President once voted and which he never sought to amend in the course of his 12 years of service in the Senate.

Undoubtedly there is room for many improvements in labor's relations with management and management's relations with labor. If the repeal of Section 14(b) is taken up, it is clear that members of the Senate cannot be persuaded to refrain from offering numerous and far-reaching changes in labor-management legislation. It would be far wiser for the Senate to turn to the task of overhauling such laws next year after a respite from the hectic pace of the present session and after consulting the folks back home than to attempt to ram through a single highly controversial change this year.

There are dangers in the indiscriminate use of presidential power to compel action from a reluctant Congress - particularly when the President showed little interest in the legislation until relatively late in the session.

STATEMENT BY REP. FORD

September 9, 1965

The 89th Congress has passed several bills increasing the flow of federal funds available for education. It has added a cut in excise taxes to a reduction of income tax rates in 1964.

Because of Administration opposition, the Congress has not, however, provided tax relief specifically directed toward lightening the burden of higher education.

More than 5 million students will settle on the campuses of colleges and universities throughout the United States this month. In the course of the next 5 years, college enrollment is expected to increase by an additional $1\frac{1}{4}$ million students.

The average cost of a year of higher education at a public institution is now \$1560; it is \$2370 at a private institution. These costs will continue to rise in future years. It is estimated that tuition charges will increase by 50 per cent in both public and private institutions in the next decade.

The cost of going to college is a severe strain on the resources of most of the 5 million students now enrolled and on their families. Millions, who on the basis of ability deserve a college education, are deprived of one because of the financial burden.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 will provide federal scholarships for fewer than 3 per cent of the college students immediately and for fewer than 8 per cent eventually. It will make borrowing to defray educational expenses somewhat easier, but these provisions are not enough.

The most effective and direct method of lightening the burden of college expenses for all is to provide for a credit which those who are paying for higher education may take against their federal income tax.

Assistance of this kind has been advocated by Republicans for many years. We shall continue to fight for it.

FOR THE SENATE:

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Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

September 30, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader

Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference

John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
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H. Allen Smith,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee

Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee

Charles E. Goodell,
Chr. Committee on
Planning and Research

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Republicans have long been engaged in a determined and effective campaign to broaden economic opportunity for all Americans and to reduce the numbers of those in the lowest-income brackets.

During the first four years of the Eisenhower Administration the number of families below the \$3,000 income level (in dollars of constant purchasing power at 1962 prices) was reduced at a rate of 400,000 a year. In four years since 1960, the number has been dropping at a rate of 250,000 a year.

When President Eisenhower assumed office, 28 per cent of the families of the United States had incomes below \$3,000. Four years later the percentage was down 5 points to 23 per cent. In four years of the Democratic Administrations which succeeded Eisenhower, the figure has been reduced by 3 percentage points.

Despite the pressagentry of the current war on poverty, progress toward the goal of eliminating this evil has been slower during the past four years than it was during the first term of the last Republican Administration.

The success of the Administration's anti-poverty efforts must be judged in these terms. The crucial question is whether these efforts with their vast increase in federal spending and their sizeable bureaucracy accelerate the rate of reduction of the numbers of those in the lowest-income brackets. This question has become obscured in a paper blizzard of press releases from the White House and the Office of Economic Opportunity which provide some measurement of the effort of the Administration but yield little information about the results.

The public is told how many communities there are in which federal anti-poverty programs have been started, how many job corps camps have been established, how many Vista workers have been recruited, but it is not told how many poor people have increased their income, and by what amounts, because of participation in the anti-poverty program. It is not even told the names of the disadvantaged youths who were given summer employment by the Post Office Department.

It is too early to pass final judgment on the effectiveness of the anti-poverty program. The evidence available at present makes it appear that the program has not yet proved itself.

(Ford statement - page 2)

September 30, 1965

There are several glaring weaknesses in the anti-poverty program.

The Administration of the program is chaotic. It is headed by a part-time director and a top staff of temporary personnel who simultaneously decided to desert as the first skirmishes of the war on poverty were hardly under way. The Office of Economic Opportunity is top heavy with high salaried executives. In this agency, one out of every 18 employees receives a salary in excess of \$19,000. In the Defense Department, by contrast, one of 1,000 employees is paid more than \$19,000.

The program as administered treats elected State and local officials with cavalier disdain. Though Republican protest in the Congress salvaged some semblance of influence in the operation of the program for State governors, neither State nor local officials have an effective voice in the program today. This weakening of the federal system, on top of other centralizing programs of the current administration, is a dangerous trend.

Disregard of State and local governments and their elected officials has made the term "war" an apt title for the poverty program. In too many places it has become a war waged by local officials and competing private groups with each other for control of federal funds and for partisan and personal advantage. The poor are treated as the spoils in this conflict. They do not participate in decisions on what is to be done for them or to them.

Enough evidence has come to light to raise serious doubts about the Job Corps program. Instances of criminal and immoral behavior suggest inadequate selection processes for trainees and a breakdown of discipline. There is a serious question, too, as to whether the training consists too much of work that keeps youth off the streets but does not nurture skills needed in the job market.

The poverty program needs basic reform and a tightening of administrative practices. Whatever benefits that can be realized from this program can be attained less wastefully by clearer definition of objectives, by more careful structuring of programs, by cooperation with State and local governments, and by elimination of considerations of partisan political advantage.

Press Conference: September 30, 1965

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE LEADERSHIP
Transcript of comments on John Birch Society

QUESTION: (Not clear)

DIRKSEN: Well, Bill, let me give you my estimate of the situation. First, and let me emphasize this with as much vigor as I can -- that the John Birch Society is NOT a part of the Republican Party. It never was and I don't suppose it even pretends to be.

Secondly, let me say that in the American political scheme I do not believe there is any place or any room for any organization which operates on a secret basis to achieve political goals. Way back in Lincoln's day, as you remember, they had the "Know Nothings" and if you asked them a question, asked them what they stood for, the answer was: "I know nothing."

Third, let me say that it's rather curious that General Walker, who supposedly is a member of this group, ran for office in Texas -- not on the Republican ticket -- but on the Democrat ticket -- and got 100,000 votes.

Fourth, we have never been encumbered with any group like the Americans for Democratic Action. Now, if you want to talk about extremism, well, you can put your teeth into that. We do not believe in extremism, we got out a moderate platform in 1964, and we stand by it.

And finally, let me say, that insofar as I'm familiar with what the John Birch Society is seeking to do -- and frankly not a single piece of their literature has ever gone across my desk. So I don't know exactly what they do stand for. But I read in the press they're against the United Nations.... the Republican Party isn't; they have demeaned some of the Republican leaders like the late John Foster Dulles, like President Eisenhower and others, and tried to put on them an ideological tag that is at complete variance with a whole tradition of the Republican Party. We EMPHATICALLY reject that sort of thing and we stand on our platform, but I make it abundantly clear that they are NOT a part of the Republican Party. They never have been -- and in my judgment they never will be.

QUESTION: (Not clear)

FORD: I would subscribe wholeheartedly to the observations and comments of Senator Dirksen. I would like to point out in addition, however, that the Republican record in the House and in the Senate on such issues as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- the Republican Party supported those two legislative proposals very substantially. And if I understand correctly, the John Birch Society is opposed to BOTH of those laws that are now on the statute books. The legislative record of the Republican Party in the House and in the Senate is in substantial conflict with the views of the John Birch Society, a monolithic organization that takes its orders from the top and therefore there is no place for that organization in the Republican Party.

Press Conference: September 30, 1965

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FOR THE SENATE:

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Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*

Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr. of the Policy Committee*

Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr. of the Conference*

Thruston B. Morton, *Chr. Republican Senatorial Committee*

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

October 23, 1965

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader

Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*

Melvin R. Laird,

Chr. of the Conference

John J. Rhodes, *Chr. of the Policy Committee*

H. Allen Smith,

Ranking Member

Rules Committee

Bob Wilson,

Chr. Republican

Congressional Committee

Charles E. Goodell,

Chr. Committee on

Planning and Research

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The White House acted wisely in suppressing the motion picture which it had prepared glorifying the 89th Congress. For this session of the Congress would win no Oscar, even in the best supporting role category. From this Congress, we have had an echo, not a choice.

A movie of the 89th Congress would be like an episode of the old-time serial which always ended as the heroine was pushed off a cliff or was about to be ground up by an oncoming locomotive. Not until you see the thrilling episode that will be presented in this theater next year will you know whether 14(b) of Taft-Hartley is ground to bits under the Administration's locomotive or whether the Reapportionment Amendment survives its fall from the cliff.

We would caution those who judge the work of the session which just wheezed to a close to look, not at the quantity of the legislative product, but at its quality. The test should be not how much has the Congress done, but how well has it done.

Always a candid man, the majority leader of the Senate has confessed serious deficiencies in the legislation enacted this year. Senator Mansfield has announced that the second session of the 89th Congress should "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed." He has said the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments . . ." and must rectify "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

It is highly significant that Senator Mansfield, in reviewing the work of this session before the Democratic Conference, could find no adjective to describe it other than the ambiguous word "exceptional."

As a believer in complete candor, I endorse the majority leader's appraisal of the work of this session. I assure him that he will find on the Republican side willing allies in the effort to devote considerable attention during the second session of this Congress to correction of the mistakes of the first session.

(Ford statement -- page 2)

The first session of the 89th Congress clearly demonstrates the evils of one-party dominance of the national government.

When the party that occupies the White House holds a two-to-one majority in the Congress, the Congress ceases to function as a co-equal branch of government, the integrity of state and local governments is undermined, and the public interest is often jeopardized.

The Executive branch unchecked becomes careless and arrogant. Arrogant is a strong word, but there is no other to describe those who attempted to bull through the appointment to the federal judiciary of a man totally devoid of qualifications for this high office. There is no other word for the conduct of an agency that withholds federal funds from a city in defiance of the procedures clearly established by Congress before such action can be taken. There is no other word for the methods used to rush legislation through the Congress without adequate consideration and without adequate opportunity to debate and to amend.

The House had no chance, for example, to consider any meaningful amendment to the bill repealing Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. In the consideration of the Administration bill on elementary and secondary education, no opportunity was granted to the sponsors of 14 amendments for explanation and debate.

Protest has been heard from both sides of the aisle. Democratic Congresswoman Green, of Oregon, early in the session, condemned the "determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement." Many other Democrats have spoken out in similar terms in frustration and futility.

When either House of the Congress acts in this way, it abdicates its responsibility. It ceases to be a deliberative body and becomes a rubber stamp.

State and local governments have suffered because of one-party dominance in this Congress. Congress has enacted far-reaching programs without concern for the views of responsible state and local officials or the effect of federal action on existing state and local programs. Especially significant was the Democratic attempt to deprive governors of any shred of veto power over projects under the poverty program.

Finally, this Congress has been prodigal with taxpayers' money, over and above the military needs of the country. During this year \$119 billion has been appropriated -- \$36 billion more than in the last year of the Eisenhower Administration. For many new programs this year's appropriation is only a small fraction of the annual expenditure that will be inevitable when the programs are fully in operation.

The State of
The Union-
A Republican
Appraisal



FOREWORD

On Monday night, January 17, 1966, the Republican Minority Leaders in the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives — Senator Everett Dirksen of Illinois and Congressman Gerald Ford of Michigan — delivered a Republican message on the State of the Union.

The message, entitled "The State of the Union — A Republican Appraisal," was delivered at the U. S. capitol in the historic chamber formerly occupied by the Supreme Court before Republican members of Congress and their wives and other Party leaders.

The program, televised and broadcast nationally, was the first of its kind by the leaders of a minority party. It was sponsored jointly by the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, and the Republican National Committee.

The remarks of Senator Dirksen on international affairs and by Congressman Ford on domestic policies are published in this pamphlet.



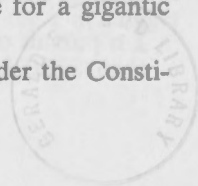
International Affairs

By Senator Everett M. Dirksen

Fellow Citizens:

I am Senator Dirksen of Illinois, Republican Floor Leader in the United States Senate. With me on this program will be Congressman Ford of Michigan, Republican Floor Leader in the United States House of Representatives. Each of us will have about 14 minutes to discuss the State of The Union. That is a short time for a gigantic task.

The President has a mandate under the Consti-



tution to give to the Congress information of the State of the Union, together with his recommendations.

We have no such mandate. We do believe we have a duty as elected Representatives to present our views. Time will permit only a few basic highlights.

We are the legatees of a great, strong land. We received it from those who were here before us.

Reason and Realism

The state of our land is too often measured in material terms — jobs, income, gross product, services and goods. Actually it embraces much more. It includes the national mood, our capacity to live together, and our prestige. It includes our leadership of the Free World, our relations with other lands, our respect for law, our devotion to peace, and our willingness to sacrifice even as others have done before us. It includes reason and realism in a world of tumult and confusion.

We are not only in this world but of it, and we shall be for ages to come.

Our Relations With Other Countries

Consider then our ties and relations with other lands. Twenty-one years ago, we pioneered the United Nations. Since then, we have developed regional groups throughout the world for specific purposes. We believed it would aid the cause of peace and tranquility and freedom.

In pursuit of these high purposes, we spent more than \$120 billion of your money on foreign aid.

We hoped that if we supplied the tools, other nations would supply the men on Freedom's frontier. We fulfilled our pledges. They did so only in part and too often with ill grace.

Where needed, we supplied manpower also. The first feeble cries of "Yanki, go home" have become a chorus. Our prestige on the world thermometer of good will has dropped fast and far. Our billions have gained little respect, and even less appreciation. Every continent has its fevers and turmoil.

Two things are needed. The first is a careful, precise audit to see where our fleeting dollars went and what they really accomplished. The second is a sustained and expert scrutiny of every estimate for foreign aid to determine how the aid requested will be used and whether there will be dividends in the form of good will and real devotion to peace and freedom. To accept less would be an injustice to the charity and sacrificial spirit of the American people.

The Horsemen of Despair

Consider now the horsemen of despair who ride over the world — the population explosion, hunger, and poverty. They constitute a crisis already on our doorstep. We pay farmers to produce less. Industry forever seeks ways to produce more at less cost. Meanwhile, births continue to grow and hunger stalks many areas of the world. Each year, the world gains 65 million persons. The number will grow. So will hunger. Can peace and hunger co-exist?

Ages ago, Isaiah wrote, "And it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God." American agriculture is geared to high production. Better to pay for abundance than for scarcity.

In a few years, Red China will have 800 million people. Leaders can survive only when the urgent needs of the people are met.

The ugly heads of aggression and conquest vanish when there is no need for new domains. Surely, within the genius of American enterprise, the way can be found for the produce of our fruited plains to reach the empty bellies of the world.

The signs of trouble are already written in the firmament and there is no time to lose. This too with its vast potential impact on our future involves the State of the Union.

Vietnam Is Not Our War

Consider now the grim struggle in which we are involved in Asia. Let us be crystal clear. Vietnam is not our war. But we pledged ourselves to help a small nation. Our word was given. We are there to keep our word.

For more than 90 years, Cambodia, Laos and Indo-China were under French tutelage. The Viet Minh — the north half-rebelled. It was a long, bloody struggle. The French were defeated. The conflict ended with an accord signed at Geneva. Laos and Cambodia achieved their independence. Indo-China was divided in half with a non-military zone between.

Millions Spent To Aid French

Our country did not sign that accord. But we had an interest. Hundreds of millions of your money was spent to aid the French. But it also involved our defense perimeter and our security. We pledged ourselves to aid Vietnam in preserving her integrity and independence.

Accordingly we were permitted to keep military advisers there. At first it was but a few hundred. Gradually the number grew into thousands. Today it approaches 200,000. It has become a grim, bloody, and costly business.

It is a war but not of our making. Young men with gay hearts go forth to Vietnam and lifeless young men in wooden boxes return. They fought, bled, and died in the heat and mud of the jungles. All this is 12,000 miles from home. For a long time it seemed remote. But no longer. We became grimly aware that we are fighting a war to help a small land, so many of whose people can neither read nor write.

Joint Resolution

Eighteen months ago, Congress enacted a Joint Resolution, giving support and approval to the President as Commander In Chief to take all necessary steps including the use of force to repel attack on our forces and prevent further aggression. That resolution is still in effect. In both Houses of Congress the vote was 504 to 2. Every Republican present voted for it.

But as complications develop and the choice becomes guns or butter or both, groups and individuals become increasingly vocal. Let's get out.

We must stay in. We must bomb Hanoi. We must not bomb. We must step up. We must hold back. We must negotiate. We must not negotiate.

To retreat and get out would be deemed a confession that we are a paper tiger. What a propaganda weapon that would be in Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

To forsake our pledges would shatter confidence in us and further diminish our prestige.

To negotiate from weakness would mean defeat before we ever reached the negotiation table.

So what? Is there then a rational course to follow? I believe so. Let the peace efforts continue. Who can object to any honorable effort to secure peace where young blood is involved? Let the military effort continue. It demonstrates our determination to keep our word. Let it be intensified if necessary as sound military judgment dictates. There is, after all, no substitute for victory. Let the objective be kept crystal clear at all times, and that is guaranteed freedom and independence for the Vietnamese.

How else could we keep faith with the young dead?

How else do we redeem our word?

How else do we regain our prestige?

How else do we maintain our leadership in the Free World?

All this is part of the State of the Union.

★ ★ ★



Domestic Issues

By Cong. Gerald R. Ford

We are assembled tonight in an historic chamber — a chamber that has echoed the thunderous debate and vigorous dissent of some of our country's greatest leaders.

Daniel Webster here proclaimed the immortal words, "Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

The Torch of Dissent

As a minority party, it is our task to carry the

torch of dissent responsibly and constructively.

Tonight we look forward, not backward. Our people are restless and impatient with problems too long unsolved and too often compounded by bad laws and bureaucratic failings.

The Congress turns in 1966, as in the past, to its part in the always unfinished task of making America united, strong, and free.

These goals in their present setting point particularly to three types of problems in domestic policy: how to increase jobs and output without inflation; how to move ahead toward equality for all citizens; and how to improve government and its services.

Education

While there are courses of action that strike at each of these problems, there is a common remedy that effects all three: Education.

The problem of unemployment is particularly the problem of the young, inexperienced, unskilled person of inadequate schooling. More and better schooling will reduce racial tensions and speed the Negro's economic and social progress.

Improved education will help to solve the problems of government by enlightening both the electors and the elected.

We believe every youth must be encouraged to pursue his education as far as his talents will take him.

Drop-outs must be encouraged to go back to school for an education or training to fit their ability.

Curricula must be enriched.

People already working should be given the chance to retrain and upgrade their skills and earning power.

Vocational Rehabilitation for the handicapped must be expanded.

This cannot, and should not, be done by the Federal government alone. But there is much that the national government can do to promote this effort without the heavy hand of federal control.

For example, the Congress should ease the financial burden of going to college.

The door of education must be opened wide.

Therefore, we propose a federal income tax credit for college students and their parents.

Compassion With Competence

We must liberate the War on Poverty from waste, controversy, and the bad odor of political bossism.

We must combine compassion with competence. This nation can afford what is necessary to help the less fortunate among us to help themselves. The children of the poor must have the highest priority. How many of the poor have actually received any of the twenty-three hundred million taxpayer's dollars from the present War on Poverty? Tragically, very few.

The poor themselves must have an important role in policy decisions at the community level. The States should be partners in this War on Poverty. It is time that the poverty fighters

stopped fighting each other.

Republicans will offer specific proposals to redirect this program to achieve its goals without waste, scandal and bureaucratic infighting. Without such changes, the good will fall with the bad under the fiscal pressures created by Vietnam and the massive new domestic spending programs.

America has long waged the most effective War on Poverty in history through the genius of private enterprise cooperating with government.

We urge the enactment of the Republican proposed Human Investment Act to bring private enterprise more effectively to bear on the problem of creating productive jobs for the poor. Through a 7% tax credit, this measure will encourage business and labor to employ and train people with limited skills and education.

Executive Reform

The Executive Branch of the Federal government needs reform — not Presidential repatching or piecemeal creation of new departments.

The proliferation of Federal programs, compounded by the mass production of laws in the last session of Congress, demands the attention of our people.

There are now 42 separate Federal agencies involved in education programs alone. There are at least 252 welfare programs today, including 52 separate Federal economic aid programs, 57 job training programs and 65 Federal programs to improve

health. In the ten years since the second Hoover Commission made its report, during five Democratic-controlled Congresses, employees on the Federal payroll have increased 175,000 and Federal expenditures have increased by \$57 billion.

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

We urge a new independent bipartisan Commission, patterned after the two distinguished Hoover Commissions, to recommend substantial reforms in the Executive branch of our government.

Cost of Living

To achieve a healthy and steady economic growth there must be price stability. Today this national goal is seriously endangered by the threat of inflation. The Eisenhower dollar is now worth 90 cents.

The cost of living is 2 percent higher than it was a year ago. At the current level of consumer spending, the price rise is the equivalent of a secret sales tax that silently steals some \$8 billion annually from the pockets of the American people.

Inflationary policies of the President have a major impact on the cost of living. This Administration uses a double standard. With one hand it creates upward pressure on prices and with the other bludgeons workers and businessmen for responding to that pressure. The real villain in this piece is the Administration which will increase

the cost of the Federal government by \$26 billion in a two-year period.

The most direct and effective weapon the National Government has to halt inflation is to curb Federal spending. This requires the President and the Congress to set priorities. It is imperative that the President in his budget classify his spending proposals according to necessity and urgency. If he fails to do so, we call upon the Democrats in Congress to join us in eliminating, reducing or deferring low priority items.

We learn now that expenditures in this fiscal year will be at least 8 billion dollars more than we were told a year ago. Congress and the people have not been given a straight-forward and realistic assessment of our Federal budget problems. Republicans intend to give the President's budget a searching examination.

Whatever is needed — really needed — for national security must be provided. Urgent domestic programs that truly help the needy, that contribute to real economic growth, that significantly advance the cause of equal opportunity, need not be sacrificed. Applying these tests, Republicans believe the \$55 billion which the President will propose for non-military spending can be and must be reduced.

Taxes

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With prudent restraint on spending, we believe no new taxes are now needed.

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the load of local taxation, spur solution of vexing problems, and revitalize programs in education, health, and welfare at the local level.

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sand Americans in Vietnam.

And what of the sacrifices of their families at home, who share inequally in the promises of the Great Society? We urge more adequate housing and benefits for our fighting men and their families. We urge a new GI bill of rights of veterans.

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Nor will we sacrifice the future of millions of Americans whose lifetime savings and modest pensions are being nibbled away by inflation.

We are outnumbered two to one in this Congress.

But we will continue to speak out for the things in which we believe. We will not sacrifice the ideals that make us Republicans.

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★ ★ ★



Prepared under the direction of the Republican
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Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

ADDRESS

January 17, 1966

The Minority Leader of the House of Representatives,
Congressman Gerald R. Ford, Republican of Michigan

"The State of the Union - A Republican Appraisal"

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford,
Leader
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
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H. Allen Smith,
Ranking Member
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Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
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Chr. Committee on
Planning and Research

FOR RELEASE
9:00 PM E. S. T.

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Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

March 31, 1966

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford, *Leader*
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
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John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
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H. Allen Smith,
Ranking Member
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Bob Wilson,
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Charles E. Goodell,
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Planning and Research

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

There's no longer a "Credibility GAP" -- it's become a Credibility CANYON! -- and it's widening between the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the American people with every week that goes by.

Dateline, March 15, the New York Times - "Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler indicated today that he believed that there had been excessive alarm in business circles about the boom economy."

Dateline, March 23, the New York Times - "President Johnson, citing some decline in business indicators, made clear today that he was not yet convinced that a tax increase was needed to slow down economic expansion and inflation."

Dateline, March 24, the Baltimore Sun - "In a notable exhibition of Administration teamwork, Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, today reiterated what President Johnson said late yesterday -- there is no reason at the moment to ask for an anti-inflation tax increase."

And yesterday, March 30, following announcement of a .5% nationwide cost of living increase, the front pages of the press across the country reported that the President favors a 5 to 7 per cent tax rise if one is needed. How do you spell "credibility"? What can we believe?

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration must take about 5 billion dollars annually out of the economy if inflation is to be checked and a recession prevented. It does not have the wish nor the wit nor the will to reduce expenditures, hence it must increase taxes.

The checking of inflation could be achieved, as Republicans have long maintained, by a reduction of wholly unwise Federal expenditures and by other essential fiscal, monetary and economic reforms.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has elected the alternative of new taxes.

Dateline, March 30, the Wall Street Journal - "Consumers Boil About Widespread Increases; Many Attempt a Revolt." Whom can we best believe on the high and rising cost of living -- America's homemakers and wage-earners or a Democratic Administration that will not see, will not hear, and will not believe these frightening facts of economic life?

Room S-124 U.S. Capitol--CApitol 4-3121 - Ex 3700

Staff Consultant - John B. Fisher



This debt-propelled Johnson-Humphrey Administration continues, whether knowingly or not, to mislead the American people on matters of the most vital importance to them. Whether this Johnson-Humphrey Administration is misinformed, misguided or simply mystified is hard to determine. It is, in any case, mistaken -- and the cost of its mistakes in human well-being and in dollars is rapidly becoming far more than the American people can -- or will -- pay.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration was grossly mistaken in its budgetary planning, both as regards the cost of the war in Vietnam and expenditures here at home. Fifteen months ago, after proclaiming "an important first step toward a balanced budget" the Administration produced a deficit of over 3 billion dollars. The fiscal 1966 deficit will be at least twice that of the 1965 deficit.

In June of 1965 Representative Laird of Wisconsin predicted that estimates of the cost of the war in Vietnam were low by at least 5 billion dollars, only to be harshly rebuked by the Secretary of Defense. Yet, in a matter of months, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration requested of Congress nearly 13 billion dollars in supplemental appropriations for continued conduct of the war.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has also been 100 per cent mistaken in its estimates of the inflationary forces now stampeding across the country that take the earnings right out of the pocket of the worker -- and this despite the early and unanimous warnings not only of dozens of economists outside government but the equally strong and unanimous warnings of members of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has proposed -- and has tried to impose -- economic guidelines for labor, for management and for the farmer. Democrats are even proposing controls on wages and prices yet the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has made no effort to place guidelines upon its own inflationary excesses.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is obsessed with symptoms rather than causes.

The role of the opposition is one of both searching criticism and constructive proposal of alternatives. I commend to you the 13 positive recommendations for effective action in bringing down the cost of living presented earlier this week to the American people by the Republican Coordinating Committee.

FOR THE SENATE:

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of the Policy Committee*

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PRESIDING OFFICER:

*The Republican
National Chairman*

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THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership meeting
April 21, 1966

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

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Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference

John J. Rhodes, *Chr.
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*Chr. Committee on
Planning and Research*

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The following quotations are excerpts from the Dallas Morning News -- that's the Dallas, Texas Morning News of April 15, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"President Johnson's chief economic adviser revealed (in Austin) Thursday that he doesn't place much stock in the American housewife's judgment on inflation.

"Gardner Ackley, speaking at the University of Texas said he received numerous letters from homemakers blaming him personally for high food prices.

"'But housewives are notoriously poor judges of what's happening to prices except for food,' he quipped during a press conference.

"And Ackley claims that, even on the supermarket level, the housewife is no expert.

"'She notices when the price of a pork chop or a head of lettuce goes up,' he noted, 'but she's not always aware when the price comes down.'"

I just can't believe that any Administration or other Government spokesman could so misjudge or so underrate the American housewife and homemaker!

Who knows better how rapidly inflation is eating away the family income day by day? Who knows better, who feels more painfully, the rising costs of living as, week by week, those costs discourage every American family in its hopes for the future?

Mr. Ackley, from his privileged economic sanctuary, sadly and cruelly underestimates the knowledge and the power of America's women and I hope that he and the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Congress will hear from every American home and hearth on this subject, by letter and by telegram, in the days ahead. I urge every American homemaker to take pen in hand and tell us now -- what you know -- how you feel -- about these terribly harsh, constantly rising costs of living.

(more)



Meanwhile, back at the ranch, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration hesitates, vacillates and procrastinates in taking necessary action to stop these sky-rocketing living costs. Again, Mr. Ackley, in reply to a question as to what will happen if we get into an inflationary period: "It depends on how you define inflation. I wouldn't say we'd had much inflation." Will America's homemakers agree? And the President and his Secretary of the Treasury continue to wonder when or whether to "apply the brakes"! This, despite the report of the Department of Commerce on the Gross National Product increase, released Monday, April 18, and stating that more than one-third of the increase in the dollar total represented higher prices and stating further that "the accelerated price increase in the first quarter is largely attributable to the steep rise in food prices."

There are two major fiscal brakes available -- either a tax increase or a drastic cut in needless spending -- yet the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, with constantly contradictory comments, will not tell the American people truthfully what it proposes or plans.

This, therefore, is our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President, what are you doing
about the rising costs of living?

The Government of the United States is the biggest business in the world. It is the biggest borrower, the biggest lender, the biggest hoarder, the biggest spender, the biggest landlord, the biggest tenant, the biggest employer, and the biggest provider in the history of mankind. Inevitably the biggest business in the world has the biggest budget in the world.

No one can claim, of course, that a family budget is or should be comparable, but no one can deny that every family budget is just as important to the wage earner and the homemaker who control it.

If a family's income is not adequate to meet its expenses, the family has only two alternatives: to increase that income or to reduce those expenditures, yet there seems to be no recognition of this whatever in the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

In a recent appearance before Agriculture Department employees, the President said: "We in government cannot afford the luxury of thinking that nothing so needs reforming as other people's habits. As public servants we know -- at least we ought to know -- that the habits most in need of reform are our own." How very true!

What he actually said, of course, was: don't do as I do, do as I say, for, quite obviously, while the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's spending habits are in need of drastic reform the President is making no evident effort whatever to reform them and he and his colleagues continue to allude repeatedly to a possible tax increase while urging all others, but not themselves, to reduce expenditures.

The President hasn't hesitated to ask business, to ask labor, to ask the housewives of America to reduce their spending. Why hasn't he asked the Congress to do the same? On the contrary, hardly a month goes by without a request from him for more and more and more spending of the people's money for low priority, non-defense projects and programs.

I have said before and I say again that the role of the opposition must be one of both searching criticism and constructive proposal of alternatives. There has now been published for release today the full text of the Republican Coordinating Committee's report entitled

(More)

Senator Dirksen

April 21, 1966

"The Rising Costs of Living -- A Report on the Fiscal Policies of the Federal Government," approved at the Committee's last meeting March twenty-eighth. A summary of the report was released at that time, but the text contains an extensive amount of detail in support of the report's conclusions and recommendations. The report was based on a study made by the Task Force on Federal Fiscal and Monetary Policies of which former Budget Director Maurice H. Stans is Chairman.

I commend this report to your attention and study and I urge you to invite your readers to write to the Members of Congress for copies of it. The role of the opposition of which I speak must not be one of "Me too", nor yet one of "Not me". Rather, it must be one of "Here's how". On the harsh question of inflation, with which every homemaker and wage earner is living so painfully today, "Here's how".

The alternatives, as has been said, are clear -- either higher taxes or a reduction in spending, yet we have no equally clear idea from this Administration as to which path we will be taking.

Therefore, our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President, what are you doing
about the rising costs of living?



FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen, *Leader*
Thomas H. Kuchel, *Whip*
Bourke B. Hickenlooper, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
Leverett Saltonstall, *Chr.*
of the Conference
Thruston B. Morton,
Chr. Republican
Senatorial Committee

PRESIDING OFFICER:

The Republican
National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE JOINT SENATE-HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

June 16, 1966

FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Gerald R. Ford, *Leader*
Leslie C. Arends, *Whip*
Melvin R. Laird,
Chr. of the Conference
John J. Rhodes, *Chr.*
of the Policy Committee
H. Allen Smith,
Ranking Member
Rules Committee
Bob Wilson,
Chr. Republican
Congressional Committee
Charles E. Goodell,
Chr. Committee on
Planning and Research

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

On March 31st last, the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, announced that the prices of farm products had dropped during the preceding weeks and expressed delight in this fact. The press throughout the nation reported his elation in detail and farmers throughout America reacted angrily.

The New York Times began its report on the situation in this way:

"Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman expressed pleasure today with the fact that the prices of farm products had dropped recently.

"It was the first time in the memory of Federal farm officials that a Secretary of Agriculture indicated that he was pleased with a decrease in farm prices. Like Mr. Freeman, the officials were happy to note that consumers would benefit from lower prices by this summer."

Let me repeat that last sentence: "Like Mr. Freeman, the officials were happy to note that consumers would benefit from lower prices by this summer." There is only one flaw in this statement. It simply isn't true. Paradoxically, as farm prices have moved steadily downward, retail food prices have risen even more rapidly and the Department of Labor's cost of living index has continued to climb to record highs.

Secretary Freeman, Economic Advisor Gardner Ackley, and each of the other prominent agriculturists have tried, repeatedly and with zeal, to make the American farmer and his family the whipping boys for the inflation that is steadily taking more and more dollars from the pockets of every American. The housewives of America should be told that 61% of the cost of the food in their market baskets is added after it leaves the farm. I repeat -- the housewives of America should be told that 61% of the cost of the food in their market baskets is added after it leaves the farm.



Representative Ford:

The cold hard fact of the matter is that the rising costs of living in this country can be attributed primarily to the excessive, reckless spending of our people's money for wasteful, too often unnecessary programs conceived by the so-called Great Society planners and concurred in by the great majority of Democrats in Congress.

Secretary Freeman has alleged that during his tenure of office the American farmer has enjoyed a fifty per cent increase in his income. Will all the farmers who have enjoyed a real income increase of fifty per cent please stand up? Or, better yet, let the Administration and the Congress hear from you by letter, wire, or telephone. Farm organizations, farm state newspapers, farm leaders and countless individual farmers from coast to coast are boiling with anger over the policies and practices of this Administration which are driving farm prices swiftly downward and consumer costs harshly upward with each passing day.

Let there be no mistake. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is using and abusing American farmers and ranchers as the scapegoats of inflation. To this statement I attach a listing of specific examples and I invite your attention to it.

When the agricrats of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration impose policies and practices which help no one and harm everyone, the Congress and the American people are fully justified in their anger. The boiling point is near at hand.

Therefore, our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President, are you going to
keep prices down on the farm?

(note attachment)

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is using and abusing American farmers and ranchers as the scapegoats of inflation:

- (1) by domestic fiscal policies which have sharply increased farm production costs;
- (2) by market price manipulations which have decreased prices received by farmers, with the result that the present parity ratio stands at only 79, even including direct subsidies, despite Democratic promises of 100;
- (3) by refusing to admit that increased consumer prices -- increased food costs to the housewife and the wage-earner -- have not been caused by farmers, such consumer prices having risen steadily as farm prices have as steadily decreased;
- (4) by recommending drastic cuts in Congressional appropriations for school milk, school lunches, land grant colleges, and other vital programs;
- (5) by the Secretary of Agriculture's dumping of huge quantities of grain at unrealistic prices upon the domestic market in order to break and depress grain and livestock market prices;
- (6) by the Department of Commerce action of March 7, 1966 imposing restriction on the export of cattle hides, calf and kip skins, such action resulting in lower domestic livestock products,
- (7) by a large and unilateral increase in Cheddar cheese imports, without any attempt being made to secure reciprocal trade concessions from other nations to expand U. S. agricultural exports overseas;
- (8) by a sharp curtailment of purchases of pork and of butter and other dairy products by the Department of Defense;

and, I repeat -

- (9) by the Secretary of Agriculture's expression of pleasure with the fact that prices of farm products have dropped.



June 16, 1966

When farm prices go down and farm production costs rise -- when the taxpayer's living costs rise and his dollar earnings decrease in value -- the American people are experiencing what is known in some circles as "the double whammy". The Johnson-Humphrey Administration's "double whammy" on this nation is now past all endurance.

For the agricroats of this Administration to contend or even to imply that the price of farm products is a cause of inflation is ridiculous. The principal cause of the inflation now upon us throughout America is, rather, the wild, willful and witless spending of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its supporters in countless needless areas.

Inflation is on the move throughout the nation. Should it become rampant -- as it threatens to do -- those who will suffer most will be those in the lowest income brackets. Make no misjudgements about this whatever.

Thus far, this Administration's major attack upon rapidly rising living costs has been directed -- wholly misdirected -- against farm prices. Living costs cannot be reduced significantly by any such action, even though the Administration's economic advisers appear to think so. With farm prices down 13 per cent and retail food prices up 16 per cent between America's wars of 1951 in Korea and 1966 in Viet Nam, it should be clear even to these agricroats that the real villain confronting them is the inflation so steadily promoted by their reckless spending for needless programs and not by the prices down on the farm.

Let it be recorded here and now that our vigorous protest against these policies is neither partisan nor improperly political.

We invite the attention of the Congress, the press and the public to the several resolutions that have been filed from both sides of the aisle in a dedicated effort to meet this problem squarely -- Senate Concurrent Resolution 93 and Senate Concurrent Resolution 88, among others -- and we commend without reservation the fair-minded determination of the Republican and Democratic senators sponsoring them.



Senator Dirksen

Meanwhile, down on the farm, the public anger to which we have referred is finding ever greater expression with each passing day -- and we in the Congress are well aware of it. It has found voice with particular force and eloquence in an editorial that first appeared in the Walsh County Record published at Grafton, North Dakota, on May 19 last, in which these two paragraphs seem to me especially pertinent:

"Mr. President: This is either the fifth or sixth draft of this brief comment. The first, written in instantaneous anger a couple of weeks ago was, after overnight reflection, discarded as just too furious. In the intervening days, there's been a mighty struggle going on to temper our fury down to rage, and then to wrath, and then to indignation. That seems to be as far as the emotion can be distilled.

"When you and your appointed aides announce that you are going to control inflation by making war on farm prices, you've set a grass-fire, Mr. President. For the fact is, war is never waged against an abstraction, like prices. War is waged against people. In this case, us."

We repeat "... against people. In this case, us."

I suggest that we listen now to the men and the women who feed the nation -- taxpayers like all the rest of us. I suggest we stop listening to these agricroats in Washington, far removed from the farmlands and even farther removed from reality.

Therefore, our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President, are you going to
keep prices down on the farm?



FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen
of Illinois
Thomas H. Kuchel
of California
Bourke B. Hickenlooper
of Iowa
Leverett Saltonstall
of Massachusetts
Thruston B. Morton
of Kentucky

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

September 15, 1966

**FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

Gerald R. Ford
of Michigan

Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois

Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin

John J. Rhodes
of Arizona

H. Allen Smith
of California

Bob Wilson
of California

Charles E. Goodell
of New York

SENATOR DIRKSEN:

Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress:

The American people are troubled, confused and terribly uncertain as to the future. Their worry and their uncertainty have their basis in both the actions and the inaction of your Administration, to which they look hopefully for a leadership still sadly lacking.

The most recent of the nation-wide surveys of public opinion confirms this fact, indicating clearly that in six vital areas of domestic concern -- fiscal and monetary policy, civil rights, the war on poverty, the farm problem, the curbing of inflation, and labor-management relations -- less than half of our people have been able to maintain their confidence in you over these many months.

On Thursday last you presented to the Congress and the people a five-point program hopefully designed to cool our nation's growing economic fever and to restore something of the promise a once healthy economy had.

Belatedly acknowledging as "a cruel and unjust tax on all the people" the inflation now raging throughout the country -- inflation created in great part by your actions -- you indicated, first, an intention to cut all Federal expenditures to the fullest extent possible. Inasmuch as this primary and fundamental brake on inflation was recommended to you by Republicans and documented in detail by us nine months ago, why has this announcement of good intent been so long delayed? Specifically how -- specifically where -- and specifically when -- will you order such budget cuts? Will you demand of your Democrat-controlled Congress that it take the action required on the eight appropriation bills still remaining before it? Will you slow down the multi-million dollar Great Society programs already in your hands? Will you, in short, act -- now? Republicans stand ready, as always, to help in such actions.

Second, you recommended that the seven per cent investment tax credit be made temporarily inoperative. Could this have any possible effect on our inflated economy for at least another six months? Is your proposal a breach of good faith with the industrial, small business and farm communities?

Third, you recommended suspension of the use of accelerated depreciation on structures started or transferred after September 1 of this year. Do you believe this a factor of consequence in limiting construction activity and costs? Upon what basis was this remarkable conclusion reached? Even if valid, how soon could it have any beneficial effect -- if it had any at all?

Fourth, you urged the Federal Reserve Board to lower interest rates and so ease the tight money burden. How odd that your Administration and your Democrats in Congress, allegedly so devoted to low interest rates and loose money should for so long have made high interest rates inevitable by your reckless spending policies and programs!

Fifth, you urged deferment of certain Federal borrowing to alleviate credit pressures. Here again you have at long last but much too late endorsed a clear and firm Republican recommendation of many months ago. As a New York Times editorial put it last Tuesday, September 13: "Even more important, the decision is a sign that the Administration may have finally realized that it cannot really be fiscally responsible so long as it indulges in financial gimmickry." Why this delay, Mr. President? Why such uncertainty? Why such fear of the future?

This is exactly that uncertainty -- that growing fear -- that is spreading so rapidly among all our people. They are uncertain, they are bewildered as to the future -- the future of the economy, the future of their jobs, the future of the nation, the future of their children in every aspect of their lives.

Therefore, Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress, most sincerely and respectfully, our Question of the Week: When will the trust and confidence of the people be restored?

REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress:

As these problems multiply at home -- and abroad -- and as the uncertainty among our people grows, we look to the weeks ahead with apprehension and understandably wonder what the future may hold.

As increasing reference is made to a possible adjournment of the Congress by mid-October, Election Day, November 8th, draws closer and we wonder more and more what the immediate period thereafter may bring.

From time to time, for example, you and your Administration and you Democrats in Congress have suggested a tax increase as one of the means available for checking inflation. Mr. President, do you plan to recommend to your Democratic Congress an increase in our already heavy income taxes, after November 8th?

Equally often, spokesmen for this Administration, including yourself, Mr. President, have made reference to wage-and-price controls as an alternative inflation check. Most recently, a Democratic Senate leader urged that authority for standby controls be given you. Do you have in mind the imposition of wage-and-price controls, after November 8th?

In an address to the American Farm Economics Association, a prominent official of your Administration by inference wrote off as uneconomical and needless more than two million of America's small farms and farmers. Is it contemplated that this farm elimination program shall be undertaken by your Democratic Congress, Mr. President, after November 8th?

The rumor persists with each passing day that the anti-poverty program of your Administration, so loudly hailed and so extravagantly administered, is under survey by the Bureau of the Budget, at your order, as the first step toward its dismantlement. Is this, too, something planned for action by your Democratic Congress, Mr. President, after November 8th?

Your Secretary of the Treasury and your Secretary of Commerce, in testifying this week before the House Ways and Means Committee on certain of your proposals identified them as "an essential and

enduring part of our tax structure" Earlier in the year, they said they were opposed to any "tinkering" with these credits for economic purposes. Yet now, apparently under pressure, they blandly endorse such "tinkering". Will this "tinkering" continue, after November 8th?

Our people cannot long endure such uncertainties. They cannot live nor work effectively without trust and confidence. Therefore, Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress, most respectfully and sincerely, our Question-of-the-Week: When will the trust and confidence of the people be restored?

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen
of Illinois
Thomas H. Kuchel
of California
Bourke B. Hickenlooper
of Iowa
Leverett Saltonstall
of Massachusetts
Thruston B. Morton
of Kentucky

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP
OF THE CONGRESS**

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

September 22, 1966

**FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

Gerald R. Ford
of Michigan
Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois
Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin
John J. Rhodes
of Arizona
H. Allen Smith
of California
Bob Wilson
of California
Charles E. Goodell
of New York

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Mr. President, our Question-of-the-Week:

Can We Afford Your Automatic-Democratic Congress?

This may be, in some respects, a push-button world. It may be, in some respects, a computer civilization. It may be, here and there, that the rubber stamp has its proper place and function. But, the push-button, the computer and the rubber stamp wielded in the White House have not yet won the approval of the American people where their Representatives and Senators in the Congress are concerned.

Does the Johnson-Humphrey Administration want not only a blank check but push-button, computerized, rubber stamp voting in the Senate and in the House? This the American people will no longer tolerate.

Proof positive of this Administration's push-button psychology is the voting record of those forty-five freshman Democrats, elected in 1964 from districts formerly Republican, whose automatic responses to the wishes of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration are recorded for all to see.

Item: On reduction of foreign aid (authorization), 1965. This was defeated by 41 votes. 38 of these were automatic-Democratic freshman votes.

Item: On foreign aid authorization (recommittal), 1966. Recommittal failed by 2 votes. 36 of the automatic-Democratic freshmen voted against recommittal.

Item: On anti-poverty program expansion (recommittal). Recommittal was defeated by 49 votes. 39 of these were automatic-Democratic freshman votes.

Item: On the repeal of 14B -- the right to work. The bill passed by 18 votes. 41 votes for it were automatic-Democratic freshman votes.

Item: On rent subsidies (recommittal). The margin was 8 votes. 36 automatic-Democratic freshmen voted to keep this bill alive.

Says Fortune Magazine (September, 1966);

" . . . those forty-five provided the saving margin for a number of the more expansive and expensive Administration programs"

This automatic-Democratic response by new members of the House was echoed by that of the rest of the top-heavy Democratic majority in the House. The push-button, the computer, the rubber stamp wielded by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration were in full force in every instance. The result: a travesty on the legislative process, a gross disservice to the will and the wishes of the American people.

No free society can long survive dominance by an unthinking computer, nor dominance by an unthinking, unrestrained, top-heavy legislative majority. This Democratic Congress, with its 294 to 139 majority in the House and its 67 to 33 majority in the Senate, has lost its independence. It is the tool of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. The Administration and this Democratic Congress must bear full and joint responsibility for the failures and the continuing problems we face. This fact cannot be contradicted. Its simple arithmetic cannot be argued.

In our great tradition, the will of the majority must prevail, yet the will of the minority must both be respected and remain vital if, as has invariably happened in world history, an overwhelming majority, seeking unreasoning power, is not to silence, subdue and then suffocate the essential minority.

We cannot believe for a moment that the American people will any longer accept a push-button Congress or consensus by computer. We believe they agree increasingly that only in a healthy balance of numbers and opinions can this free land survive and prevail.

Therefore, Mr. President: Our Question-of-the-Week:

Can We Afford Your Automatic-Democratic Congress?

Mr. President, our Question-of-the-Week:

Can We Afford Your Automatic-Democratic Congress?

Seldom has the hypocrisy of numbers been better illustrated than in the voting during this past week on the Civil Rights bill. The Republican minority and its Leadership in the Senate have been indicted and damned by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its Democratic majority for having killed the Civil Rights bill. How, conceivably, can men of intelligence and good-will so overlook that same simple arithmetic to which Mr. Ford has just made reference?

There are 67 Democrats in the Senate. There are 33 Republicans. This being so, how under Heaven, can it be concluded that the Republicans defeated Civil Rights? Had the Johnson-Humphrey Administration truly wished it, had the Democrats in the Senate truly sought it, the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 would, without doubt, at this very moment, be the law of the land. As one writer put it in comment on the classic question of "Who killed Cock Robin?" it had to be a Democratic arrow -- not that of the Republican minority.

Happily for the nation's best interest, fortunately for the freedom of the individual, the Republican minority, outnumbered as it was, reflected the will of our people to a degree that made converts of regular Democrats and resulted in a vote that assured the right of every American to preserve the integrity of his own judgment and to determine the future of his own home.

The will of the people in this instance prevailed, but it could never have done so if a determined minority had not made clear the issues involved and in so doing won the respect and the response of many others.

It is unwise, it is dangerous and it can be disastrous, when an overwhelming majority is permitted to prevail without question or hindrance. Only as a majority is repeatedly questioned and checked by a strong minority can the foundations of this Republic be preserved. That we, a present minority, would welcome majority status is undeniable, but until that inevitable day we believe it all-important to the American people that our numbers and our hand be strengthened sufficiently to outlaw forever from Capitol Hill the push-button, the computer, the soulless rubber stamp.

Therefore, Mr. President, our Question-of-the-Week:

Can We Afford Your Automatic-Democratic Congress?

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen
of Illinois
Thomas H. Kuchel
of California
Bourke B. Hickenlooper
of Iowa
Leverett Saltonstall
of Massachusetts
Thruston B. Morton
of Kentucky

**THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP
OF THE CONGRESS**

Press Release

**FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

Gerald R. Ford
of Michigan
Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois
Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin
John J. Rhodes
of Arizona
H. Allen Smith
of California
Bob Wilson
of California
Charles E. Goodell
of New York

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

September 28, 1966

FIVE VITAL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Speculation increases daily in both Government and public circles that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration is making definite preparations for the imposition of wage-and-price controls in the near future.

Administration officials are reported as seeing "no way to avoid wage-and-price controls" in the months ahead. This Administration appears unwilling or unable to stem the high and rising costs of living by the clear and certain means available to it -- a drastic cut in non-essential Federal spending. As a result, nation-wide alarm at this prospect of wage-and-price controls is increasing daily.

These questions, therefore, appear to be fair and proper:

1. Mr. President, are you now making preparations for wage-and-price controls?
2. Mr. President, despite your earlier reported hesitancy about imposing wide-spread wage-and-price controls, are you planning to impose them piecemeal?
3. Mr. President, is it true that a special wage-policy review board is already contemplated?
4. Mr. President, if wage-and-price controls are imposed, will they be imposed "across the board" or will exceptions and exemptions be specified?
5. Mr. President, do you really believe that wage-and-price controls represent the primary brake on inflation now available?

FOR THE SENATE:

Everett M. Dirksen
of Illinois
Thomas H. Kuchel
of California
Bourke B. Hickenlooper
of Iowa
Leverett Saltonstall
of Massachusetts
Thruston B. Morton
of Kentucky

PRESIDING:

The National Chairman
Ray C. Bliss

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

Press Release

Issued following a
Leadership Meeting

October 13, 1966

**FOR THE HOUSE
OF REPRESENTATIVES:**

Gerald R. Ford
of Michigan
Leslie C. Arends
of Illinois
Melvin R. Laird
of Wisconsin
John J. Rhodes
of Arizona
H. Allen Smith
of California
Bob Wilson
of California
Charles E. Goodell
of New York

STATEMENT BY SENATOR DIRKSEN:

The President has referred to the Republican Party as the party of fear, and, moreover, as having no constructive programs to fight inflation, no programs to ease racial tension. He accused us of not knowing what to do about crime in the streets or how to end the war in Viet Nam.

Is the President bewildered? Was he referring to his Administration? His statements actually spell out the most damning self-indictment in modern political history!

There is only one thing wrong with these Presidential statements about the Republican Party. Like so much else voiced by this Administration, they simply are not true.

We do not admit to being a party of fear. An honest reading of history will prove the contrary. But we do admit, as a people, to being concerned about this Administration and the many unwise courses it has chosen to take.

What lies ahead of us in Viet Nam, under this Administration's leadership, we cannot foresee. We are concerned about high and rising living costs, in the face of which this Administration has been helpless. We are concerned -- indeed, we know -- that we are losing our money and our friends abroad. We are concerned -- for it is a fact -- that the "War on Poverty" is being lost, with the poor and the underprivileged receiving little actual help and with millions of the people's dollars being wasted. We are concerned -- for we can prove -- that the farmer and consumer are, calculatngly, being played ruthlessly against one another. We are concerned -- for the proof is undeniable -- that an echo-chamber Democratic Congress, with its steam-roller majorities, will continue, without thought or question, to

carry out the slightest whim and wish of this Administration. We are concerned -- for the signs are frightening -- that we are being led down the road to national bankruptcy. We are concerned that an all-Asian Peace Conference -- a practical first step toward peace in Viet Nam -- has now been summarily rejected as a peace hope. We are concerned -- for we are convinced -- that the American people are not being told the whole truth about their Government and this Administration's plans for them.

Of the charge that the Republican Party has no constructive programs or policies we can only assume that this Administration has from its very first days been blind, deaf and indifferent. To this statement I attach a listing of the specific, positive, constructive recommendations and programs which the Republican Leadership and the Republican Party across the country have presented to the Congress, the Administration and the American people month after month after month. I would remind the leader of the Democratic Party that his Administration has chosen, to our people's detriment, either to ignore or to reject these recommendations, the majority of which would have gone far to correct abuses spawned by the Administration and which would have prevented this onset of confusion and concern.

~~Until~~ ^{When} the President chooses to speak directly and candidly to the American People, the Republican Leadership and the Republican party will be attentive and responsive but when the President chooses to do otherwise, we are indeed apprehensive and concerned. We hope -- we pray -- that in the weeks to come we will witness Administration deeds calculated to inspire faith, not fear, belief, not doubt, confidence, not concern, hope and not despair.

Therefore, our Question-or-the-Week:

Mr. President: At home, and abroad, what now -- what next?

REPUBLICAN PROPOSALS AND PROGRAMS

A Chronology of Constructive Recommendations

Published:

June 1965	United States Foreign Policy in Viet Nam
August 1965	The Balance of Payments
September 1965	Equality in America: a Promise Unfulfilled
December 1965	Viet Nam Policy Statement
December 1965	Toward a Stronger Federal System
December 1965	Toward Fair Elections in America
March 7, 1966	(Economic) Opportunity Crusade Act of 1966
March 1966	The Case for Revenue Sharing
March 1966	Latin America - United States: Progress or Failure?
March 1966	The Human Investment - Job Opportunities
March 1966	The Rising Costs of Living
June 1966	The United Nations
June 1966	Effective Water Management
June 1966	The Challenge of the Modern Metropolis
June 1966	Federal, State, and Local Responsibilities for Problems of Education
June 1966	Transportation in Modern America
June 1966	Housing and Urban Development
June 1966	The Alleviation of Poverty
June 1966	Jobs and People - Job Opportunities
June 1966	The Needs of the Aging

(Note: each of the above was published by the Republican Coordinating Committee with the exception of the Economic Opportunity Crusade Act of 1966, which originated with eight Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee.)

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE FORD:

On the front page of the New York Times on Tuesday, October 4th, in adjoining columns, there appeared the following news reports. The first was headed: "Soviet Announces New Pact for Aid to Hanoi's Regime. Additional program includes assistance for economy and military needs." The second was headed: "Air Talks Revived by U.S. and Soviet . . . Service may be opened next spring."

In the very same week the conflict in Viet Nam became the third largest war America has ever fought. American troop strength in Viet Nam now totals more than 325,000 men, 23,000 more than in the Korean War. The latest U.S. casualty figures report 967 killed and wounded in one week, the highest in any seven-day period so far.

For many months the Russians have supplied -- in ever-increasing volume -- the weapons and ammunition that are killing American boys every day.

As thousands of American boys fight, bleed and die in Viet Nam -- as the Soviet Union -- Communist Russia -- announces an enormous further increase in its economic and military aid to our enemies -- this Administration must stop -- and stop now -- its trafficking with the Russians in ways that can only result in Communist encouragement, growth and enrichment.

And on Friday, October 7th, the President of the United States, in addressing the National Conference of Editorial Writers, proudly proclaimed:

We have just signed a new United States-Soviet cultural agreement.

We intend to press for legislative authority to negotiate trade agreements which would extend most-favored-nation tariff treatment to European Communist states.

We have just concluded an air agreement with the Soviet Union.

And today I am announcing the following new steps:

We will reduce export controls on East-West trade with respect to hundreds of non-strategic items.

I have just today signed a determination that will allow the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits to four additional Eastern European countries - Poland and Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia . . . The Export-Import Bank is prepared to finance exports for the Soviet-Italian Fiat auto plant.

We are negotiating a Civil Air Agreement with the Soviet Union . . .

And with this announcement the President of the United States included the comment: "This is good business and this will help us . . ." If dealing with the enemy -- who are dealing in nothing but death to Americans in Viet Nam -- is good business, then truth and honor have indeed been perverted beyond recall by this Administration.

In 1952, the Eisenhower Administration ended the Korean War and kept the peace without surrender. That Administration's policy: insistence that Communists toe the line in deeds and performance, refusal to accept Communist words and promises.

Until the Communist world convinces us by act, not by word, that it not only seeks peace but will so act as to preserve peace among men, we will not be a party to any deal, any agreement, any arrangement, any treaty with Communists anywhere in the world. Until we -- and our allies -- commit ourselves without qualification to such a policy of strength we can expect only more Koreas, more Viet Nams and an ever-widening spread of Communist subversion, deceit and death-dealing around the globe.

Therefore, Our Question-of-the-Week:

Mr. President: At home and abroad, what now -- what next?

A RECORD OF PRESS CONFERENCE
STATEMENTS

MADE BY

SENATOR EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN

AND

REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD

FOR

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP
OF THE CONGRESS



PRESENTED BY MR. DIRKSEN

OCTOBER 14, 1966.—Ordered to be printed

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A RECORD OF PRESS CONFERENCE
STATEMENTS

THE REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP OF THE CONGRESS

FOR THE SENATE

EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, Leader
THOMAS H. KUCHEL, Whip
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Chairman of
the Policy Committee
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Chairman of the
Conference
THRUSTON B. MORTON, Chairman of the Re-
publican Senatorial Committee

FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

GERALD R. FORD, Leader
LESLIE C. ARENDS, Whip
MELVIN R. LAIRD, Chairman of the Confer-
ence
JOHN J. RHODES, Chairman of the Policy Com-
mittee
H. ALLEN SMITH, Ranking Member, Rules
Committee
BOB WILSON, Chairman, Republican Congres-
sional Committee
CHARLES E. GOODELL, Chairman, Commit-
tee on Planning and Research

PRESIDING OFFICER

RAY C. BLISS, the Republican National Chairman

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FOREWORD

This legislative year marks the sixth year of existence of the Joint Senate-House Republican Leadership, now identified as the Republican Leadership of the Congress, established at the suggestion of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower in January of 1961.

As before, the format of communication from the leadership continues to be the issuance of policy statements on subjects of both foreign and domestic significance. These statements have, on 18 regular occasions since January, taken the form of press conference appearances by Senator Dirksen and Representative Ford. In addition, press releases have been issued separately from these conferences by the Leadership and, from time to time, by individual members of the Leadership.

As has been true of Leadership meetings, Republican National Committee Chairman Ray C. Bliss also presided over the quarterly meetings of the Republican Coordinating Committee, an assembly composed of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, former Republican presidential candidates Alf M. Landon, Richard M. Nixon, and Barry Goldwater, the Republican Leadership of the Congress, and representatives of multiple other Republican organizations.

During this past Congressional session the Coordinating Committee held 3 sessions, maintained 6 task forces and approved and published nationally 13 task force reports. The Republican Coordinating Committee continues as an increasingly positive force in the examination of party policies and party operations. Its proposals and task force recommendations represent strong and consistent evidence of Republican thought and action.

As in previous years, the Leadership statements for 1966 are being published as a Senate document. They appear on the following pages and are indexed as to the issue covered.

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A RECORD OF PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS

March 11, 1956

By Representative Gerald R. Ford
 The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has been less than fully forthcoming in its handling of the budget and the economy and the people must be kept informed of the facts.

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In presenting his budget the President said that despite fighting in Vietnam the war on poverty must also be escalated. For this he asked an increase of \$300 million in anti-poverty funds. And yet on May 8, the anti-poverty Director informed the Congress the poverty war is being curtailed because of the Vietnamese fighting.

The budgets with their yearly deficits have helped breed inflation and yet the Administration talks of inflation. With high taxes, high prices, high spending, high deficits—the Great Society has become the High Society.

It is time for the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to present precise, non-realist figures and candid budgetary estimates to the American people so that they may judge truly how much they are spending to meet the Administration's vast commitments here and abroad.

March 10, 1956

By Senator Dirksen
 The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has failed to reassure the American people and the Congress concerning inflation, the war in Vietnam, and its future tax programs.

A RECORD OF PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENTS

BUDGET

March 10, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has been less than fully candid with the American people and the Congress about its spending programs. Its budget explanations have been far from concise and clear.

For 3 years the budgets have been consistent in two matters—they have contained built-in deficits and they have failed to establish priorities.

During this time the war in Vietnam has escalated but there was little effort through the budget to set priorities for future needs. The result has been a multitude of sizable supplemental appropriations.

This year's budget is \$13 billion higher than the one submitted a year ago. The President says, however, it contains a deficit of "only" \$1.8 billion. What he has failed to tell the American people is that this small deficit is fiscal chicanery. He has cut from this budget some \$200 million in popular programs which he knows the Congress will undoubtedly restore. He has grossly understated the needs of the Defense Department for fiscal 1967. He also fails to mention that \$5.2 billion of his added revenue is a 1-year proposition only. The Government will gain in this 1 year \$1.6 billion from coin clipping by removing silver from our coinage and another \$3.6 billion from the speedup in tax collections.

In presenting his budget the President said that despite fighting in Vietnam the war on poverty must also be escalated. For this he asked an increase of \$300 million in antipoverty funds. And yet, on March 8, his antipoverty Director informed the Congress the poverty war is being curtailed because of the Vietnamese fighting.

The budgets with their yearly deficits have helped breed inflation and yet the Administration scoffs at inflation. With high taxes, high prices, high spending, high deficits—the Great Society has become the High Society.

It is time for the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to present precise, more realistic figure and candid budgetary estimates to the American people so that they may judge truly how much they are spending to meet the Administration's vast commitments here and abroad.

March 10, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has failed to reassure the American people and the Congress concerning inflation, the war in Vietnam, and its future tax programs.

Inflation is mounting at a rapid rate due in large part to fiscal and budgetary policies of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. Prices vary from day to day but continue to move higher and higher. This affects not only the public but the purchase of goods and services by the Government as well.

The war in Vietnam is escalating but the Administration has not informed the American people how big it will get nor how costly it will become.

Excise tax cuts given by Congress a year ago are being rescinded at the request of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. There is continued talk of new tax increases to come later this year.

Perhaps the most dangerous sign of a new Johnson-Humphrey power grab has been the floating of "trial balloons" on standby or emergency powers for the President to raise or lower taxes and perhaps impose direct wage and price controls at will.

Republicans take sharp issue with this proposal. The Congress should not further abdicate its constitutional taxing responsibility. Republicans are unalterably opposed to granting standby taxing powers or standby wage and price control authority to the President.

For these reasons, the Republican Leadership strongly endorses a resolution adopted by the Senate Republican Policy Committee on March 8. That resolution reads in part as follows:

Resolved, In view of the clear language of article I, section 8 of the U.S. Constitution we are unalterably opposed to granting to the President of the United States any standby, emergency, or other authority to raise or lower taxes.

CONGRESS—THE MINORITY ROLE

September 22, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

Mr. President, our Question-of the Week:

Can We Afford Your Automatic-Democratic Congress?

This may be, in some respects, a push-button world. It may be, in some respects, a computer civilization. It may be, here and there, that the rubber stamp has its proper place and function. But, the push-button, the computer and the rubber stamp wielded in the White House have not yet won the approval of the American people where their Representatives and Senators in the Congress are concerned.

Does the Johnson-Humphrey Administration want not only a blank check but push-button, computerized, rubber-stamp voting in the Senate and in the House? This the American people will no longer tolerate.

Proof positive of this Administration's push-button psychology is the voting record of those 45 freshman Democrats, elected in 1964 from districts formerly Republican, whose automatic responses to the wishes of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration are recorded for all to see.

Item: On reduction of foreign aid (authorization), 1965. This was defeated by 41 votes. 38 of these were automatic-Democratic freshman votes.

Item: On foreign aid authorization (recommittal), 1966. Recommittal failed by 2 votes. 36 of the automatic-Democratic freshmen voted against recommittal.

Item: On antipoverty program expansion (recommittal). Recommittal was defeated by 49 votes. 39 of these were automatic-Democratic freshman votes.

Item: On the repeal of 14(b)—the right to work. The bill passed by 18 votes. 41 votes for it were automatic-Democratic freshman votes.

Item: On rent subsidies (recommittal). The margin was eight votes. Thirty-six automatic-Democratic freshmen voted to keep this bill alive.

Says Fortune magazine (September 1966):

* * * those 45 provided the saving margin for a number of the more expansive and expensive Administration programs * * *

This automatic-Democratic response by new Members of the House was echoed by that of the rest of the top-heavy Democratic majority in the House. The push-button, the computer, the rubber-stamp wielded by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration were in full force in every instance. The result: a travesty on the legislative process, a gross disservice to the will and the wishes of the American people.

No free society can long survive dominance by an unthinking computer, nor dominance by an unthinking, unrestrained, top-heavy legislative majority. This Democratic Congress, with its 294 to 139 majority in the House and its 67 to 33 majority in the Senate, has lost its independence. It is the tool of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. The Administration and this Democratic Congress must bear full and joint responsibility for the failures and the continuing problems we face. This fact cannot be contradicted. Its simple arithmetic cannot be argued.

In our great tradition, the will of the majority must prevail, yet the will of the minority must both be respected and remain vital if, as has invariably happened in world history, an overwhelming majority, seeking unreasoning power, is not to silence, subdue, and then suffocate the essential minority.

We cannot believe for a moment that the American people will any longer accept a push-button Congress or consensus by computer. We believe they agree increasingly that only in a healthy balance of numbers and opinions can this free land survive and prevail.

Therefore, Mr. President: Our Question of the Week:

Can we afford your automatic-Democratic Congress?

September 22, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

Mr. President, our Question of the Week:

Can we Afford Your Automatic-Democratic Congress?

Seldom has the hypocrisy of numbers been better illustrated than in the voting during this past week on the civil rights bill. The Republican minority and its Leadership in the Senate have been indicated and damned by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its Democratic majority for having killed the civil rights bill. How, conceivably, can men of intelligence and good will so overlook that same simple arithmetic to which Mr. Ford has just made reference?

There are 67 Democrats in the Senate. There are 33 Republicans. This being so, how under heaven, can it be concluded that the Republicans defeated civil rights? Had the Johnson-Humphrey Administration truly wished it, had the Democrats in the Senate truly sought it, the proposed Civil Rights Act of 1966 would, without doubt, at this very moment, be the law of the land. As one writer put it in comment on the classic question of "Who killed Cock Robin?" it had to be a Democratic arrow—not that of the Republican minority.

Happily for the Nation's best interest, fortunately for the freedom of the individual, the Republican minority, outnumbered as it was, reflected the will of our people to a degree that made converts of regular Democrats and resulted in a vote that assured the right of every American to preserve the integrity of his own judgment and to determine the future of his own home.

The will of the people in this instance prevailed, but it could never have done so if a determined minority had not made clear the issues involved and in so doing won the respect and the response of many others.

It is unwise, it is dangerous and it can be disastrous, when an overwhelming majority is permitted to prevail without question or hindrance. Only as a majority is repeatedly questioned and checked by a strong minority can the foundations of this Republic be preserved. That we, a present minority, would welcome majority status is undeniable, but until that inevitable day we believe it all-important to the American people that our numbers and our hand be strengthened sufficiently to outlaw forever from Capital Hill the push-button, the computer, the soulless rubber-stamp.

Therefore, Mr. President, our Question of the Week:

Can we afford your automatic-Democratic Congress?

THE CREDIBILITY GAP

March 31, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

There's no longer a "credibility gap"—it's become a credibility canyon—and it's widening between the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the American people with every week that goes by.

Dateline, March 15, the New York Times:

Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler indicated today that he believed that there had been excessive alarm in business circles about the boom economy.

Dateline, March 23, the New York Times:

President Johnson, citing some decline in business indicators, made clear today that he was not yet convinced that a tax increase was needed to slow down economic expansion and inflation.

Dateline, March 24, the Baltimore Sun:

In a notable exhibition of Administration teamwork, Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury, today reiterated what President Johnson said late yesterday—there is no reason at the moment to ask for an anti-inflation tax increase.

And yesterday, March 30, following announcement of a 0.5-percent nationwide cost-of-living increase, the front pages of the press across the country reported that the President favors a 5- to 7-percent tax rise if one is needed. How do you spell "credibility"? What can we believe?

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration must take about \$5 billion annually out of the economy if inflation is to be checked and a recession prevented. It does not have the wish, nor the wit, nor the will to reduce expenditures, hence it must increase taxes.

The checking of inflation could be achieved, as Republicans have long maintained, by a reduction of wholly unwise Federal expenditures and by other essential fiscal, monetary, and economic reforms.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has elected the alternative of new taxes.

Dateline, March 30, the Wall Street Journal—"Consumers Boil About Widespread Increases; Many Attempt a Revolt." Whom can we best believe on the high and rising cost of living—America's home-makers and wage earners or a Democratic Administration that will not see, will not hear, and will not believe these frightening facts of economic life?

June 9, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

James Reston in the New York Times on May 17 last, wrote:

What he (L.B.J.) wants is worthy of the faith and confidence of the Nation, but this is precisely what he does not have, because his techniques blur his conviction * * *. He is mixing up news and truth * * *. He is confronted, in short, with a crisis of confidence * * *.

This statement expresses a point of view and a deep regret, both of which we fully share.

On May 25, 1966, 19 distinguished Republican members of the House of Representatives, including the entire leadership, cataloged and summarized on the floor of the House the detailed reasons why this crisis of confidence has resulted. We have seen this in almost every aspect of the domestic scene. It has been revealed in the

President's budget messages and management. It has appeared in the war on poverty. It has emerged relative to the NASA program. It was vivid in wage-price guidepost disputes with labor and with management. It was startling in his action on surplus sales of industrial stockpiles and farm products. It became bewildering in Federal job multiplication figures. It surfaced again in appointments to high level offices. It proved shocking in the President's uncertain assessment of the economy. In all these categories of confidence doubt has developed and the American people have, not at all surprisingly, steadily lost faith in a President who is rapidly losing touch with them. *A consensus of no confidence is coming to pass.*

Constructively, positively, let it be recorded here and now that the Republican opposition wants with all of its heart and energy to support the President of the United States when he is either right or of the right intent. In such cases it will always do so, but the Republicans in the Congress—and, indeed, the Democrats in Congress as well—cannot know what is right or of right intent in the President's policies unless they have the facts upon which to base their judgments. The facts are all too seldom given us by this Administration.

There are those in this Administration who appear to believe that half-a-truth is better than none. We disagree. Where the American people at home are concerned we must have the whole truth. Where the American people in their foreign interests and national security are concerned, we must be given every fact possible consistent with our safety. Given such facts as to domestic and foreign policy, we in Congress will, with all the people, be reassured that the soundest, the sanest, the best possible decisions will be made in the days to come.

As of this date, as the record so clearly proves, we have not been given and are not being given the vital facts of American life by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. We do not charge the Administration with falsehood but we do claim it has failed to reveal the whole truth. This being so, this crisis of confidence is inevitable and the consequent danger to the American people is great.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, What *can* we believe?

CREDIBILITY—PUBLIC TRUST

September 15, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress:

The American people are troubled, confused, and terribly uncertain as to the future. Their worry and their uncertainty have their basis in both the actions and the inaction of your Administration, to which they look hopefully for a leadership still sadly lacking.

The most recent of the nationwide surveys of public opinion confirms this fact, indicating clearly that in six vital areas of domestic concern—fiscal and monetary policy, civil rights, the war on poverty, the farm problem, the curbing of inflation, and labor-management relations—less than half of our people have been able to maintain their confidence in you over these many months.

On Thursday last you presented to the Congress and the people a five-point program hopefully designed to cool our Nation's growing

economic fever and to restore something of the promise a once healthy economy had.

Belatedly acknowledging as "a cruel and unjust tax on all the people" the inflation now raging throughout the country—inflation created in great part by your actions—you indicated, first, an intention to cut all Federal expenditures to the fullest extent possible. Inasmuch as this primary and fundamental brake on inflation was recommended to you by Republicans and documented in detail by us 9 months ago, why has this announcement of good intent been so long delayed? Specifically how—specifically where—and specifically when—will you order such budget cuts? Will you demand of your Democrat-controlled Congress that it take the action required on the eight appropriation bills still remaining before it? Will you slow down the multimillion dollar Great Society programs already in your hands? Will you, in short, act—now? Republicans stand ready, as always, to help in such actions.

Second, you recommended that the 7-percent investment tax credit be made temporarily inoperative. Could this have any possible effect on our inflated economy for at least another 6 months? Is your proposal a breach of good faith with the industrial, small business, and farm communities?

Third, you recommended suspension of the use of accelerated depreciation on structures started or transferred after September 1 of this year. Do you believe this a factor of consequence in limiting construction activity and costs? Upon what basis was this remarkable conclusion reached? Even if valid, how soon could it have any beneficial effect—if it had any at all?

Fourth, you urged the Federal Reserve Board to lower interest rates and so ease the tight money burden. How odd that your Administration and your Democrats in Congress, allegedly so devoted to low interest rates and loose money should for so long have made high interest rates inevitable by your reckless spending policies and programs.

Fifth, you urged deferment of certain Federal borrowing to alleviate credit pressures. Here again you have at long last but much too late endorsed a clear and firm Republican recommendation of many months ago. As a New York Times editorial put it last Tuesday, September 13:

Even more important, the decision is a sign that the administration may have finally realized that it cannot really be fiscally responsible so long as it indulges in financial gimmickry.

Why this delay, Mr. President? Why such uncertainty? Why such fear of the future?

This is exactly that uncertainty—that growing fear—that is spreading so rapidly among all our people. They are uncertain, they are bewildered as to the future—the future of the economy, the future of their jobs, the future of the Nation, the future of their children in every aspect of their lives.

Therefore, Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress, most sincerely and respectfully—

Our Question of the Week:

When will the trust and confidence of the people be restored?

September 15, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress:

As these problems multiply at home—and abroad—and as the uncertainty among our people grows, we look to the weeks ahead with apprehension and understandably wonder what the future may hold.

As increasing reference is made to a possible adjournment of the Congress by mid-October, election day, November 8, draws closer and we wonder more and more what the immediate period thereafter may bring.

From time to time, for example, you and your Administration and you Democrats in Congress have suggested a tax increase as one of the means available for checking inflation. Mr. President, do you plan to recommend to your Democratic Congress an increase in our already heavy income taxes, *after November 8?*

Equally often, spokesmen for this Administration, including yourself, Mr. President, have made reference to wage-and-price controls as an alternative inflation check. Most recently, a Democratic Senate leader urged that authority for standby controls be given you. Do you have in mind the imposition of wage-and-price controls, *after November 8th?*

In an address to the American Farm Economics Association, a prominent official of your Administration by inference wrote off as uneconomical and needless more than 2 million of America's small farms and farmers. Is it contemplated that this farm elimination program shall be undertaken by your Democratic Congress, Mr. President, *after November 8th?*

The rumor persists with each passing day that the antipoverty program of your Administration, so loudly hailed and so extravagantly administered, is under survey by the Bureau of the Budget, at your order, as the first step toward its dismantlement. Is this, too, something planned for action by your Democratic Congress, Mr. President, *after November 8th?*

Your Secretary of the Treasury and your Secretary of Commerce, in testifying this week before the House Ways and Means Committee on certain of your proposals identified them as "an essential and enduring part of our tax structure." Earlier in the year, they said they were opposed to any "tinkering" with these credits for economic purposes. Yet now, apparently under pressure, they blandly endorse such "tinkering." Will this "tinkering" continue, *after November 8th?*

Our people cannot long endure such uncertainties. They cannot live nor work effectively without trust and confidence. Therefore, Mr. President and Democratic Members of the Congress, most respectfully and sincerely,

Our Question of the Week:

When will the trust and confidence of the people be restored?

THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

March 17, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

In its manpower report of last week the Johnson-Humphrey Administration offered a politically attractive but far from complete account of the national economy. The decline in unemployment to 3.7 percent was hailed as a milestone on the road to realization of our full economic potential.

All Americans are pleased that fewer of their countrymen are without jobs. We hope that every American seeking a job finds one at a decent, living wage. Most of all, however, we hope Americans can find full and continuing employment *in a nation at peace.*

A sober examination of figures this manpower report did not include, however, raises a cruelly serious question. Is this bright economic picture due to real prosperity as the Administration claims or is it, rather, due to the bloody facts of war in Vietnam?

The harshest fact is that during the past 12 months over 268,000 Americans were inducted into the Armed Forces. On the surface, one of the most heartening statistics concerns the sharp decline in unemployment among men under 25. The number of unemployed in this age group dropped by 190,000 in the past year. During this same period 264,757 men in this age group were inducted. Obviously, the total decline in unemployment in this group can be accounted for mainly by the draft. This would hardly appear a milestone on the road to national economic health.

Unemployment always declines during wartime. Without blushing, the manpower report states it has been more than 12 years since unemployment was lower than it is now. They chose to emphasize 1953 but failed to mention that the Korean war was still being fought then. They could have cited an even more dramatic figure—the 1.2 percent unemployment rate of 1944, when a global war was still being fought.

This is another glaring example of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's political double standards. They are claiming credit for giving the American people prosperity and what they call record peacetime employment. In this they are playing cruelly cynical politics by disregarding the wartime boom and the wartime draft calls that contribute so significantly to their statistics.

March 17, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

A new game has made its appearance in Washington, and the name of the game is "Statistics." To win, you have to be able to tell everybody everything they'd like to hear—and back it up with figures. Relevancy and accuracy of the figures are not important. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration plays the game of "Statistics" with consummate skill.

For instance, a new program is often justified by saying it will cost less than 1 percent of the gross national product, as though GNP were some vast kitty upon which we could draw to finance these programs. And Democratic Administration cohorts point with pride to a \$47.6 billion growth in the GNP for last year. Blissfully, they

ignore the fact that \$13.5 billion of this growth is due to price increases; in other words, inflation. Although of questionable accuracy, GNP is a useful tool in measuring national production of goods and services, but loses its meaning when used for political purposes.

And the Johnson-Humphrey Administration does conjure with GNP figures for political reasons. Every supposedly productive dollar transaction is dutifully tabulated. Notwithstanding the size of the GNP, every time the price of bread and milk goes up it's a bang in the paycheck. And, of course, GNP goes up, too. Every time rent goes up, it's a bang in the paycheck, and, of course, GNP goes up as well. What's really happening here is that when GNP goes up inflation is tearing off more of your paycheck.

Republicans have mentioned the Johnson-Humphrey sleight-of-hand budget. But how about the national debt? How much does the Nation actually owe? Congress and the public know about the \$323.7 billion statutory debt. But there are no accurate reports on the indirect debt, meaning debt commitments for which no funds have been made available. This includes the \$300 billion owed to the social security fund and the \$40 billion owed to the civil service retirement fund. It also includes \$420 billion in contingent liabilities. In all, they have not accounted for over \$1,000 billion—trillion to you—in such indirect debts. Republicans have repeatedly sought such an accounting without success. Twice bills demanding such reports have passed the Senate.

The game of fiscal and statistical hocus-pocus has become the rule of the day in Washington. The American people know blarney when they see it and know they cannot win.

FARM PRICES

June 16, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

On March 31 last, the Secretary of Agriculture, Orville L. Freeman, announced that the prices of farm products had dropped during the preceding weeks and expressed delight in this fact. The press throughout the Nation reported his elation in detail and farmers throughout America reacted angrily.

The New York Times began its report on the situation in this way:

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman expressed pleasure today with the fact that the prices of farm products had dropped recently.

It was the first time in the memory of Federal farm officials that a Secretary of Agriculture indicated that he was pleased with a decrease in farm prices. Like Mr. Freeman, the officials were happy to note that consumers would benefit from lower prices by this summer.

Let me repeat that last sentence:

Like Mr. Freeman, the officials were happy to note that consumers would benefit from lower prices by this summer.

There is only one flaw in this statement. It simply isn't true. Paradoxically, as farm prices have moved steadily downward, retail food

prices have risen even more rapidly and the Department of Labor's cost-of-living index has continued to climb to record highs.

Secretary Freeman, Economic Adviser Gardner Ackley, and each of the other prominent agrocrats have tried, repeatedly and with zeal, to make the American farmer and his family the whipping boys for the inflation that is steadily taking more and more dollars from the pockets of every American. The housewives of America should be told that 61 percent of the cost of the food in their market baskets is added after it leaves the farm. I repeat—the housewives of America should be told that 61 percent of the cost of the food in their market baskets is added after it leaves the farm.

The cold, hard fact of the matter is that the rising costs of living in this country can be attributed primarily to the excessive, reckless spending of our people's money for wasteful, too often unnecessary programs conceived by the so-called Great Society planners and concurred in by the great majority of Democrats in Congress.

Secretary Freeman has alleged that during his tenure of office the American farmer has enjoyed a 50-percent increase in his income. Will all the farmers who have enjoyed a real income increase of 50 percent please stand up? Or, better yet, let the Administration and the Congress hear from you by letter, wire, or telephone. Farm organizations, farm state newspapers, farm leaders, and countless individual farmers from coast to coast are boiling with anger over the policies and practices of this Administration which are driving farm prices swiftly downward and consumer costs harshly upward with each passing day.

Let there be no mistake. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is using and abusing American farmers and ranchers as the scapegoats of inflation. To this statement I attach a listing of specific examples and I invite your attention to it.

When the agrocrats of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration impose policies and practices which help no one and harm everyone, the Congress and the American people are fully justified in their anger. The boiling point is near at hand.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, are you going to keep prices down on the farm?

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is using and abusing American farmers and ranchers as the scapegoats of inflation:

(1) By domestic fiscal policies which have sharply increased farm production costs;

(2) By market price manipulations which have decreased prices received by farmers, with the result that the present parity ratio stands at only 79, even including direct subsidies, despite Democratic promises of 100;

(3) By refusing to admit that increased consumer prices—increased food costs to the housewife and the wage earner—have not been caused by farmers, such consumer prices having risen steadily as farm prices have as steadily decreased;

(4) By recommending drastic cuts in congressional appropriations for school milk, school lunches, land grant colleges, and other vital programs;

(5) By the Secretary of Agriculture's dumping of huge quantities of grain at unrealistic prices upon the domestic market in order to break and depress grain and livestock market prices;

(6) By the Department of Commerce action of March 7, 1966, imposing restriction on the export of cattle hides, calf and kip skins, such action resulting in lower domestic livestock products;

(7) By a large and unilateral increase in Cheddar cheese imports, without any attempt being made to secure reciprocal trade concessions from other nations to expand U.S. agricultural exports overseas;

(8) By a sharp curtailment of purchases of pork and of butter and other dairy products by the Department of Defense; and, I repeat—

(9) By the Secretary of Agriculture's expression of pleasure with the fact that prices of farm products have dropped.

June 16, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

When farm prices go down and farm production costs rise—when the taxpayer's living costs rise and his dollar earnings decrease in value—the American people are experiencing what is known in some circles as the double whammy. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration's "double whammy" on this Nation is now past all endurance.

For the agricroats of this Administration to contend or even to imply that the price of farm products is a cause of inflation is ridiculous. The principal cause of the inflation now upon us throughout America is, rather, the wild, willful and witless spending of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its supporters in countless needless areas.

Inflation is on the move throughout the Nation. Should it become rampant—as it threatens to do—those who will suffer most will be those in the lowest income brackets. Make no misjudgements about this whatever.

Thus far, this administration's major attack upon rapidly rising living costs has been directed—wholly misdirected—against farm prices. Living costs cannot be reduced significantly by any such action, even though the Administration's economic advisers appear to think so. With farm prices down 13 percent and retail food prices up 16 percent between America's wars of 1951 in Korea and 1966 in Vietnam, it should be clear even to these agricroats that the real villain confronting them is the inflation so steadily promoted by their reckless spending for needless programs and not by the prices down on the farm.

Let it be recorded here and now that our vigorous protest against these policies is neither partisan nor improperly political.

We invite the attention of the Congress, the press, and the public to the several resolutions that have been filed from both sides of the aisle in a dedicated effort to meet this problem squarely—Senate Concurrent Resolution 93 and Senate Concurrent Resolution 88, among others—and we commend without reservation the fairminded determination of the Republican and Democratic Senators sponsoring them.

Meanwhile, down on the farm, the public anger to which we have referred is finding ever greater expression with each passing day—and we in the Congress are well aware of it. It has found voice

with particular force and eloquence in an editorial that first appeared in the Walsh County Record published at Grafton, N. Dak., on May 19 last, in which these two paragraphs seem to me especially pertinent:

Mr. President: This is either the fifth or sixth draft of this brief comment. The first, written in instantaneous anger a couple or weeks ago was, after overnight reflection, discarded as just too furious. In the intervening days, there's been a mighty struggle going on to temper our fury down to rage, and then to wrath, and then to indignation. That seems to be as far as the emotion can be distilled.

When you and your appointed aids announce that you are going to control inflation by making war on farm prices, you've set a grass fire, Mr. President. For the fact is, war is never waged against an abstraction, like prices. War is waged against people. In this case, us.

We repeat " * * * against people. In this case, us."

I suggest that we listen now to the men and the women who feed the Nation—taxpayers like all the rest of us. I suggest we stop listening to these agricroats in Washington, far removed from the farmlands and even further removed from reality.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, are you going to keep prices down on the farm?

August 5, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

Democratic Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, met in Washington last week in a closed session with a number of Democratic candidates for reelection to Congress, to discuss Democratic tactics and techniques of the coming campaign.

A reporter from the Chicago Tribune was present and recorded that Democratic political discussion in detail. Among other things, he wrote:

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has told Democratic congressional candidates at a closed briefing that they must overcome deep resentment in farm areas and should stay away from discussion of inflation. * * *

A candidate from Columbus, Ohio, told Freeman that a poll in his district showed that the major issue was inflation and he sought advice on how to handle questions about the increased cost of living.

"I've been trying to figure out an answer to that question for 6 years," Freeman replied. "Slip, slide, and duck any question of higher consumer prices if you possibly can."

"Don't get caught in a debate over higher prices between housewives and farmers," he cautioned. "If you do, and have to choose a side, take the farmers' side. It's the right side, and besides, housewives aren't nearly as well organized."

These are unbelievable statements by the Democratic Secretary of Agriculture. The American people will find them unbelievable.

America's farmers and America's housewives will find them not only unbelievable but intolerable. A strong reaction to them is both certain and deserved.

The attitude revealed by these statements has consistently characterized the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. Its failure to tell the whole truth about inflation, about Vietnam, about taxation, about the poverty program, about Government employment, about foreign aid, about the budget, has been almost unequaled in our political history.

As the days go by will the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its Democrat-controlled Congress continue to "slip, slide, and duck" the great and crucial issues that confront the Nation? Will the Great Unorganized of the Nation—the housewives, the majority of wage earners, the small businessmen, the independent professional people, parents, and the young people, be increasingly ignored because they do not fit the Freeman formula of "slip, slide, and duck" unless they're organized?

Among the Great Unorganized, too, are our schoolchildren—the very ones whose daily school milk Secretary Freeman and this Administration seek to cut back so drastically.

In further reference to our farm population, the Chicago Tribune story continues:

"There is a reaction far deeper and more bitter than I could ever have anticipated among the Nation's farmers over recent remarks by administration officials concerning farm prices," Freeman told the candidates. "Farmers know what tremendous minority they are and they are very sensitive."

Are we asked to assume from this disparaging reference that our farmers are an unimportant, as well as a sensitive, minority? Are we expected to conclude from this that the great unorganized majority of Americans are to be disregarded by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in the months ahead? Can we expect, that not alone on the issue of inflation, but on every other issue of importance to our people, this wretched philosophy, this unworthy attitude, this shocking Freeman formula, will prevail?

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, will the Democrats "slip, slide, and duck" every issue?

August 5, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

"* * * and besides, housewives aren't nearly as well organized." Thus spake Democratic Secretary Freeman. Must we conclude from this that the age of chivalry is indeed dead? Must we assume that America's housewives are of no consequence in the eyes of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration?

I, for one, do not believe that the age of chivalry has passed. Indeed, I like to believe it is in full flower, despite these Democratic spokesmen. As for Secretary Freeman's indifference to the Nation's

housewives, I can only conclude that he has sadly underestimated the power of America's women.

There is not a single issue of our time that is not of paramount concern to the housewives of America. Foremost among these are the issues of inflation and the war in Vietnam. None know their impact so intimately; none are more willing to make whatever sacrifice may be needed to solve them; none are so undeserving of such official scorn as the women who make the homes and shape the future of the Nation. I hope, indeed I am certain, that this downgrading of America's housewives will bring forth from them a resentment and a reaction that will be fierce and formidable.

During the past several months, we Republicans in loyal opposition have, in addition to the making of positive and constructive proposals for administrative and legislative action, addressed specific questions to the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. Our intentions in this have been honorable. Our objectives have been in the public interest. These questions, making reference to the important issues of the time, have read as follows:

(On the high cost of living):

Mr. President, what are *you* doing about the rising cost of living?

(On poverty):

Mr. President, why is the war on poverty being lost?

(On credibility):

Mr. President, what *can* we believe?

(On farm prices):

Mr. President, are you going to keep prices down on the farm?

(On foreign aid):

Mr. President, why are we losing our money *and* our friends?

(On inflation):

Mr. President, why do you brag about inflation?

To date, in reply to these questions, there has come from the Johnson-Humphrey Administration only a deep and pregnant silence, from which we can only assume that the Freeman formula of "slip, slide, and duck" is of much earlier origin and application than last week. Will the Democratic campaign theme song this year be: "We Will Slip, Slide, and Duck Our Way to Victory"?

In fairness to the Congress and the American people these questions should be answered, these issues must be faced, these problems must be solved. Republicans in Congress and across the country have repeated their willingness and demonstrated their ability to propose, and to cooperate fully with respect to, such solutions but in this great Republic of ours, the public interest requires that the majority show an equal readiness to cooperate, an equal willingness to face the facts squarely and with courage. The Freeman formula of "slip, slide, and duck" indicates quite clearly that the Administration and its overwhelming Democratic congressional majorities have neither the wit nor the wish nor the will to do so.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, will the Democrats "slip, slide, and duck" every issue?

FOREIGN AID

July 22, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The foreign aid debate in the House of Representatives last week and the continuing debate in the Senate reflect increasingly not merely the concern but the anger and the alarm of the American people with regard to this program.

At the time of its inception in June of 1947, when our then Secretary of State, the late General Marshall, stimulated a massive program of financial assistance to war-torn Europe the need for and the merit of the program were clear. It is no longer true in Europe and in countless other nations around the world to whom the American taxpayers' dollars have been funneled year after year after year.

During these past two decades more than \$125 billion of our people's money have been shipped abroad for the announced purpose of stemming Communism, creating economic stability, encouraging representative government, and nourishing so-called underdeveloped nations.

Lately, these objectives have been poorly served. This global dole must be curtailed. The time to start is now.

In my more detailed remarks to this end on the Senate floor I have offered not only what I believe to be a reliable and a responsible criticism in detail with regard to the total foreign aid problem of today but have added, in equal detail, positive and constructive suggestions for immediate and ultimate remedy of many of the program's defects.

Getting dough out of Uncle Sam has become a way of life for the rest of the world—a very happy way of life for many foreign nations but a drain upon America's economic lifeblood that can no longer be tolerated.

Here at home, the General Accounting Office has conducted an almost surgical dissection of the foreign aid program in recent years which, if publicized in detail, would make not only our taxpayers but even the angels weep.

Not only has it required weeks of painstaking effort to learn the true facts about our foreign aid program which I have presented; it is infinitely more difficult—if not impossible—to learn from our alleged friends abroad just how they are spending our money, since in countless instances they will not permit even an elementary auditing of their books. How sharper than a serpent's tooth is an ungrateful friend!

Despite America's extraordinary generosity, Communism continues rampant over half the globe. We make no new friends and we are losing old ones. I am reminded of an old rhyme which reads:

When I had money, I had friends—
I loaned my money to my friends—
I asked my money of my friends—
And I lost my money and my friends.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, why are we losing our money and our friends?

July 22, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

The budget, the President tells us, is in danger—and he calls upon Congress to make drastic cuts in it. He tells us that unless this Democrat-controlled Congress curbs its excessive spending, inflation is inevitable and that he will face the harsh choice of imposing controls or asking for a tax increase.

The recklessly swollen budget which he presented to the Congress is wholly his and his Administration's doing. The excessive spending to which he alludes with alarm can be stopped, overnight, by a word from him to his overwhelming Democratic majority in the Congress. Let me remind the President and his Democratic troops in the Congress that the Republicans have, for 18 months and more, been urging drastic cuts in nonessential Government spending.

The primary cause of the inflation which he now fears but which every other American has felt for months is that excessive Federal spending which from the first days of his Administration has been planned, proposed, and pushed.

The alternatives for checking this current inflation are indeed clear: a tax increase as the President intimated, wage and price controls, or a truly effective reduction in nonessential Federal spending. A reduction in nonessential Federal spending is the most desirable and urgent. The President and his top-heavy congressional majority can do this at once if they have the will to do so. Republicans will continue vigorously to support responsible reductions in nonessential Federal spending.

Senator Dirksen has made crystal clear, as have other Republicans in both the Senate and the House, one wide-open area in which just such a reduction in needless spending can be achieved—that of foreign aid.

Mounting evidence of waste in our foreign aid program in recent years is startling and shocking. It has been pinpointed and dramatized repeatedly not alone by the Republican minority but by the sound recommendations of such highly esteemed and wholly objective private groups as the International Economic Policy Association and the Administration's own bipartisan Advisory Committee on Private Enterprise in Foreign Aid.

1. Emphasis upon private investment projects; 2. Increase in our dollar earnings through Public Law 480; 3. Far more selective allocation of foreign aid; 4. Emphasis on aid to "self-help" nations; 5. A reexamination of the financing activities of the international lending institutions; 6. The imposing of a drastic new discipline upon the Agency for International Development; 7. Development of these foreign nations' own resources; 8. A hardheaded, cold-eyed demand that the nations to which we lend or grant funds meet their obligations to us honorably and in full or be promptly cut off—these are among the available, the very practical steps the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its Democratic majority in Congress can take—and can take now.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, why are we losing our money and our friends?

FOREIGN POLICY—THE ALL-ASIAN CONFERENCE

August 25, 1966

By the Republican Leadership of the Congress:

Never before in American history has this Nation been involved in a war more difficult, more unpopular, and so little understood. Never before has any Administration been so frustrated in its foreign policy or, as it now appears, so uncertain as to the next step to be taken.

As you know, a proposal has been made, initially by the Foreign Minister of Thailand, recommending the convening of an all-Asian conference to work toward a just and peaceful settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Because the securing of a just and honorable peace is the clear desire of every loyal American, we believe that the proposal of an all-Asian peace conference deserves prompt and thorough consideration. To those who remind us needlessly that neither Communist China nor Communist North Vietnam would attend such a conference, we reply that neither would the United States be a participant, but we endorse unhesitatingly such a peace-seeking effort by all other Asian nations. That Asian Communists disapprove or would oppose such a conference should not surprise nor discourage us nor should it impede such an endeavor by men of good will elsewhere in Asia.

To those who recommend a reconvening of the Geneva Conference, we must insist that such an approach is no longer viable nor valid, because the approach must come from the Asian nations themselves. A peaceful and honorable settlement of the conflict in Vietnam cannot now be originated, formulated or influenced by non-Asian interests. Only under Asian skies, under Asian auspices, under Asian responsibility and guidance can such a move now be made with genuine hope of success.

The Republican Leadership emphasizes again its wholehearted support of our Armed Forces in southeast Asia. We reaffirm our determination that Communist aggression in South Vietnam shall be overcome and that peace with freedom shall be reestablished in that troubled land.

Our encouragement and endorsement of the proposal of an all-Asian peace conference represents, in one respect, a new and important Republican foreign policy position. It emphasizes once more, however, our determination that the Republican Party shall continue strongly to maintain its historic and cherished position as the party of peace.

FOREIGN POLICY—RED TRADE

October 13, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

On the front page of the New York Times on Tuesday, October 4, in adjoining columns, there appeared the following news reports. The first was headed: "Soviet Announces New Pact for Aid to Hanoi's Regime. Additional program includes assistance for economy and military needs." The second was headed: "Air Talks Revived by United States and Soviet * * * Service may be opened next spring."

In the very same week the conflict in Vietnam became the third largest war America has ever fought. American troop strength in

Vietnam now totals more than 325,000 men, 23,000 more than in the Korean war. The latest U.S. casualty figures report 967 killed and wounded in 1 week, the highest in any 7-day period so far.

For many months the Russians have supplied—in ever increasing volume—the weapons and ammunition that are killing American boys every day.

As thousands of American boys fight, bleed, and die in Vietnam—as the Soviet Union—Communist Russia—announces an enormous further increase in its economic and military aid to our enemies—this Administration must stop—and stop now—its trafficking with the Russians in ways that can only result in Communist encouragement, growth, and enrichment.

And on Friday, October 7, the President of the United States, in addressing the National Conference of Editorial Writers, proudly proclaimed:

We have just signed a new United States-Soviet cultural agreement.

We intend to press for legislative authority to negotiate trade agreements which would extend most-favored-nation tariff treatment to European Communist states.

We have just concluded an air agreement with the Soviet Union.

And today I am announcing the following new steps:

We will reduce export controls on East-West trade with respect to hundreds of nonstrategic items.

I have just today signed a determination that will allow the Export-Import Bank to guarantee commercial credits to four additional Eastern European countries—Poland and Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia * * *. The Export-Import Bank is prepared to finance exports for the Soviet-Italian Fiat auto plant.

We are negotiating a civil air agreement with the Soviet Union * * *.

And with this announcement the President of the United States included the comment: "This is good business and this will help us * * *." If dealing with the enemy—who are dealing in nothing but death to Americans in Vietnam—is good business, then truth and honor have indeed been perverted beyond recall by this administration.

In 1952, the Eisenhower administration ended the Korean war and kept the peace without surrender. That Administration's policy: insistence that Communists toe the line in deeds and performance, refusal to accept Communist words and promises.

Until the Communist world convinces us by act, not by word, that it not only seeks peace but will so act as to preserve peace among men, we will not be a party to any deal, any agreement, any arrangement, any treaty with Communists anywhere in the world. Until we—and our allies—commit ourselves without qualification to such a policy of strength we can expect only more Koreans, more Vietnams, and an ever widening spread of Communist subversion, deceit, and death dealing around the globe.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President: At home and abroad, what now—what next?

FOREIGN POLICY—VIETNAM

June 9, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

James Madison, fourth President of the United States, at a time when our Nation was imperiled, wrote:

Knowledge will forever govern ignorance, and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with power knowledge gives. A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy or perhaps both.

Our Nation is imperiled now.

On December 13 last, the Republican Coordinating Committee, in a statement unanimously agreed to by its membership, declared its own conviction and position with respect to the conflict in Vietnam. The first two sentences of that declaration were these:

Questions are being raised both at home and abroad as to the devotion of the American people to peace. One cause of this confusion has been the inability of the Johnson Administration to establish a candid and consistently credible statement of our position in Vietnam.

The two words, "candid" and "credible" are those most meaningful and most relevant to the point we make today: The Johnson-Humphrey Administration refuses even yet to be either candid or consistently credible with respect to its policies and our position in Vietnam.

If, this, like Madison's, is a time of clear and present danger, it is essential now, as it was then, that the people be fully informed as to the problems and the perils confronting them and as to the effective steps it is planned to take to solve those problems and protect them from those perils.

All too consistently, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has failed, whether by oversight or intent, to take the Congress and the American people into its proper confidence regarding Vietnam. Such a failure is inexcusable. It could be tragic.

No American, in public office or in private life, wishes or seeks to know the details of any plan or program that must, in the interest of our national security, be kept in executive confidence, but every American does have the right to know where we are going in Vietnam and how far and to what clear purpose. Such information as has been given us by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has been infrequent and incomplete.

For this reason, therefore, I urge again that the President convene immediately a bipartisan leadership conference for a discussion and examination of American policy in Vietnam. I urge this in order that the American people through their elected representatives in the Congress might better understand the shape of things to come. Armed by such understanding, they will be better able to provide that unqualified support so necessary to the winning of a swift, secure, and honorable peace.

Unless, by such means, the people are respected in their right to know we cannot help but ask this Question of the Week—and, indeed, of every week:

Mr. President, what *can* we believe?

INFLATION

February 24, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The American people are involved in a three-front war—in Vietnam, against poverty, and now against inflation. Government directly or indirectly controls the money supply. Inflation has swept in upon us because of policies this Administration has adopted. Every major modern inflation has been aggravated by excessive Government spending. And that has been the deliberate policy of the Democratic administrations for the past 5 years.

This Administration has told us it is promoting inflation as a step toward fuller employment. What they have not told the American people is the extent and cruelty of the burden they have placed on the very poor through this policy of printing money at a rate twice that of our population growth.

The Johnson Administration, now concerned with inflation, prepares to meet it by higher taxes rather than through a prudent budget. This year's budget is \$31 billion higher than the last Eisenhower budget and Democrats have added \$32 billion to the public debt in 5 years. As most American workers know payroll tax increases since January 1 have already more than wiped out those tax cuts of a year ago. And there's more to come, more even than the \$4.8 billion tax increases now before Congress. The Administration is talking in terms of another 5 percent income tax increase and an added 2 percent corporate tax later this year. These increases are over and above the cruel tax of inflation which is already waging war on those with the lowest incomes.

Higher personal income taxes hit hardest those who can least afford them—the young people who are starting a family, building a home and building a future, those in our society on fixed incomes and those who have the least.

There are alternatives. One is to trim the budget which, the President refuses to do except in areas where he knows the cuts will be restored. Another is tighter credit—but when that was tried Democrats wailed in anguish.

This Administration has made its choice: It plans to discipline the American people rather than discipline itself.

February 24, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

Economists talk of inflation in terms of a sharp rise in the amount of money or credit, or both, relative to goods available for purchase. The American housewife has a sharper definition: You pay more for less.

Bacon was \$1.15 a pound at a chainstore here in Washington Monday morning. Eggs were 71 cents a dozen. An American favorite—pork chops—were \$1.35 a pound. Mothers used to be able to save their budgets with hamburger. But that's climbed to 59 cents a pound. And very, very little of this increase has found its way into the farmers' pocket.

Food prices have climbed 3.7 percent in 1 year. And this accounts for a major part in the overall 2 percent rise in the cost of living in

the past 12 months. Republicans on the Joint Economic Committee say it is inevitable that prices will rise by another 2 to 3 percent in 1966. That's a rise of 5 percent in 2 years. This amounts to a 5-percent sales tax on everything you buy. And you'll pay it because of the inflationary policies of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. The housewife's \$10 in 1961 now buys only \$9.14 at the grocery store.

Inflation steals from everybody, but hurts most those 26 million Americans who live on pensions or other fixed incomes. It will also certainly do much to nullify whatever benefits might otherwise accrue from programs now pursued in the antipoverty war.

President Johnson says this Administration has produced an "American economic miracle." Will the American people call it a miracle after they pay their bills and then dig deep enough to pay the big tax increase the Johnson-Humphrey Administration wants?

The National Commission on Food Marketing reports Americans are eating less beef and far less pork now than they did a year ago. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration set out to change America and the American way of life. The Administration seems to be succeeding—and you won't like it.

July 28, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

Higher prices—higher costs—higher interest rates—higher wages—higher rents—higher taxes. Add them all together and they spell inflation, no matter how you look at them from any point in the economy.

No thinking person—no hard-pressed taxpayer—can help but be alarmed by the pace of this inflation which, for many months now, has been taking the tax dollars from his pocket far more rapidly than he can earn them.

Republicans in Congress and across the Nation are of course taking issue with the Johnson-Humphrey Administration in its refusal to take the necessary action to stop these skyrocketing costs of living. But ours is a protest in which millions of Americans of all political faiths and on all economic levels are now joining. The chart on display here today illustrates the facts of inflation vividly. This chart reveals, in clear and simple terms, the rate of increase of consumer prices from June of 1957 to this very month of July 1966.

The increase shown is alarming. The rate of increase indicated is frightening. The refusal of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration to check nonessential Federal spending and to stem this inflation is beyond all understanding.

When the Government's own Bureau of Labor Statistics records the cold, harsh fact that the rate of increase in living costs during the past 6 months was the highest in the past 8 years, the issue is clear for all to see: unless these jet-propelled living costs are checked, the results could spell not just inflation but disaster for every American pocketbook.

If this gravest of economic problems could not be solved, we would feel hopeless and helpless indeed. But it can be—and by a means immediately at hand: the reduction of nonessential Federal spending by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and its Democrat-dominated Congress.

This is the Administration whose leader in a speech in Des Moines, Iowa, on June 30 said:

When these folks start talking to you about inflation, you tell them that is something you only have to worry about in Democratic administrations.

Seldom has such a public confession been heard!

This is the Johnson-Humphrey Administration whose leader urges everyone else to economize—the housewife to select cheaper cuts of meat, the workingman to hold to wage "guideposts," the businessman to review his budget, the manufacturer to restrict his spending. Yet this same leader refuses to urge his overwhelming Democratic majority on Capitol Hill to economize in the only way that has any real meaning for every American family.

Republicans in Congress and throughout the Nation have for many months now not only seen clearly, but have identified accurately, both the causes of and the cure for these costs of living that threaten all our people. The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has, with its head in the economic sand, been either unwilling or unable to admit these harsh facts of domestic life in America today. We wonder why.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, why do you brag about inflation?

July 28, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The President has been gambling with our economy and, despite the warnings of friend and foe over many months, he has been losing steadily. The stakes of the game have been, and are, the well-being of the American people and the point of no concern has long since been passed.

The Republicans in Congress, together with Republicans and millions of worried Americans across the Nation, have been pointing with alarm for more than a year to what was so clearly happening to their pocketbooks and to the Nation's economic welfare. The time of reckoning so long foreseen has arrived.

The late H. G. Wells, in another connection, once remarked:

I am not prophesying now; I am simply running along beside the marching facts and pointing at them.

We have been prophesying also, month after month after month. We have been running along beside the marching facts and pointing at them, with increasing concern and alarm. But we have been doing far more than this. Republicans have offered the solution to inflation and have consistently worked to help achieve that solution by cutting back all nonessential Federal expenditures.

We have, first and foremost, demanded that nonessential Federal expenditures be drastically reduced. We have urged that immediate action be taken to reduce foreign aid. At our insistence—and only with our help—the prospect of a reduction in foreign aid of over \$400 million in this coming year now exists.

We have urged, again and again, that any number of the nonessential, Great Society programs that have been proposed and are being

pushed be delayed, if not curtailed, in order that the cost of living for every American might be reduced. In this we have not yet been given a meaningful hearing nor any cooperation by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

If nonessential Federal expenditures are substantially reduced—and the initiation of new programs slowed down or eliminated—as they clearly can be without the slightest detriment to our peoples' well-being—there would be no need for the wage and price controls to which the President has referred. There would be no need for the higher taxes to which he alludes. There would be no need for the huge inflationary budget deficit which, as an alternative, he foresees.

The way out of this inflationary jungle is clear. The need for taking it is imperative. Because these things are so, we cannot understand, nor can millions upon millions of our people understand, why the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has lost sight of the commonsense forest in its obsession with the Great Society trees.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, why do you brag about inflation?

(And, we might add, what are *you* going to do about it?)

September 1, 1966.

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

Former President Truman had for several years on his desk a motto which read: "The buck stops here!" In this Johnson Administration that motto appears to have been changed to: "Slip, slide, and duck the buck!"

As the recent airline strike continued, the President passed the buck to the Congress.

As labor increases its demands, the President passes the buck in silence.

As industry raises its prices, the President passes the buck to the consumer.

As the cost of food continues to skyrocket in the market, the President passes the buck to the housewife.

As interest rates reach alltime highs and home mortgage money becomes almost impossible to obtain, the President passes the buck to those millions of our people of modest means, both younger and older, who have hoped for years to have a home of their own.

As too long a mistaken reliance on monetary policy alone fails in the slightest to halt inflation, the President passes the buck to us all. For it is the American people, each and all of us, who continue to suffer increasingly from this buckpassing fever of the Johnson Administration.

Inflation—a dollar declining in value—the cost of living in orbit—call it what you will, in simplest terms it means that the American wage earner, the American taxpayer, is being cruelly misled and badly hurt.

This Administration appears totally helpless, and, even worse, hopeless, in its futile threshing about for solutions. When our people are given no help—worse yet, when they are given no hope—it's time for a drastic change.

We repeat—and we shall continue to repeat it until action results—we repeat that the solution to onrushing inflation is at hand—a solution instantly available to this Administration and its topheavy majority in this Democratic Congress. That solution: a drastic cut in nonessential Federal spending. It is these billions of nonessential Federal funds that are being poured into the economy that represent the principal cause of inflation, the principal reason for today's high living costs for every family.

The President has asked housewives to buy cheaper cuts of meat. He has suggested that wage and price guideposts—which he himself has torpedoed—be observed. He has requested Government agencies to economize. He has supported none of these things with any vigor at all. There has been no evidence that he means it.

On the contrary he points with peculiar pride to a wartime economy that inevitably produces high employment.

With nearly 3,100,000 men in uniform not now employable in civilian life—in the face of the known fact that at least 3 men are needed in the labor force at home to provide for each man in uniform—we suggest that the President's boasting has a very hollow ring.

We believe that the time has come for the President of the United States to stop passing the buck with the responsibilities that are his—his responsibilities to labor, to management, to the consumer, to the taxpayer, to all the American people. He can bring about a drastic cut in nonessential Federal expenditures through his huge Democratic majorities in the Congress, if he is willing to do so—if he has the courage to do so.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, When Will You Democrats Stop Passing the Buck?

September 1, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

President Johnson tells us that what America needs is "a strong dose of self-discipline." To which we can only reply: "Physician, heal thyself."

To ask self-discipline of labor, to ask self-discipline of management, to ask self-discipline of Congress, to ask self-discipline of the consumer, is pious and pointless—until the President asks it of his Administration and his heavy Democratic majorities in the Congress. We are, in short, not impressed.

We are not impressed by timid surrender to labor unions. We are not impressed by fearful deference to management. We are not impressed by "guideposts" for wages and prices that are anything but. We are not impressed by his requests for those reductions in appropriations by Congress—such as school milk and school lunch programs—that the President knows cannot be made. We are not impressed by the intriguing fiction of Mr. McNamara's new math, which claims a doubtful savings of billions. We are not impressed by anything, in short, but a clear and courageous demonstration on the part of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration that it has the will and the courage to put the brakes on inflation—to stop the skyrocketing cost of living—by the powerful means it has readily at hand: the drastic, sweeping reduction of nonessential Federal spending.

We have said before and we repeat, that Republicans in Congress and across the country have for months urged such reductions and have shown clearly where they could be made.

When the Congress was given the Johnson-Humphrey budget for 1967, the Republican Leadership and the Republican membership of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees identified, item by item, those programs where nonessential spending could be cut by hundreds of millions of dollars—and this without depriving our fighting forces of a single thing they need!

The President and his Democratic majorities in Congress have refused to make such savings, despite repeated and valiant Republican efforts to achieve them. Even now, at this point in the appropriations calendar, it is still possible to effect a savings—in nonessential spending—of hundreds of millions of dollars if the President and his congressional majorities really want to fight inflation.

These, let me emphasize, represent savings in things that we can do without—just as the housewife is asked to do without, just as the wage earner is asked to do without, just as the would-be homeowner is asked to do without—just as American fighting men are being asked to do without the privileges of peace in the frightful jungles of Asia.

We cannot have both guns and butter. We cannot fight a war in Asia and win the war on inflation at home unless this Government of ours, this Administration, is equally willing to do without and to stop its willful, reckless spending of the people's money on nonessential things.

I am in total and enthusiastic agreement with Jerry Ford that the only effective means available to fight inflation, to stem the high cost of living, is to cut nonessential Federal spending drastically and to do it now. The President and his Democratic congressional majorities have the power so to serve this Nation. We cannot help but wonder why they have been unwilling to do so.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, When Will You Democrats Stop Passing the Buck?

INFLATION—THE RISING COSTS OF LIVING

March 31, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

This debt-propelled Johnson-Humphrey Administration continues, whether knowingly or not, to mislead the American people on matters of the most vital importance to them. Whether this Johnson-Humphrey Administration is misinformed, misguided, or simply mystified is hard to determine. It is, in any case, mistaken—and the cost of its mistakes in human well-being and in dollars is rapidly becoming far more than the American people can—or will—pay.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration was grossly mistaken in its budgetary planning, both as regards the cost of the war in Vietnam and expenditures here at home. Fifteen months ago, after proclaiming “an important first step toward a balanced budget” the Administration produced a deficit of over \$3 billion. The fiscal 1966 deficit will be at least twice that of the 1965 deficit.

In June of 1965 Representative Laird of Wisconsin predicted that estimates of the cost of the war in Vietnam were low by at least \$5 billion, only to be harshly rebuked by the Secretary of Defense. Yet, in a matter of months, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration requested of Congress nearly \$13 billion in supplemental appropriations for continued conduct of the war.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has also been 100 percent mistaken in its estimates of the inflationary forces now stampeding across the country that take the earnings right out of the pocket of the worker—and this despite the early and unanimous warnings not only of dozens of economists outside Government but the equally strong and unanimous warnings of members of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration has proposed—and has tried to impose—economic guidelines for labor, for management, and for the farmer. Democrats are even proposing controls on wages and prices yet the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has made no effort to place guidelines upon its own inflationary excesses.

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is obsessed with symptoms rather than causes.

The role of the opposition is one of both searching criticism and constructive proposal of alternatives. I commend to you the 13 positive recommendations for effective action in bringing down the cost of living presented earlier this week to the American people by the Republican Coordinating Committee.

REPUBLICAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE—THE RISING COSTS OF LIVING

The Republican Party makes the following recommendations:

1. That the Administration prepare and submit promptly to the Congress a new budget for fiscal 1967 which reflects a valid surplus, achieved by postponing or eliminating nondefense expenditures.
2. That the costs of Vietnam be financed within annual balanced budgets by reduction or postponement of domestic programs, not by tax increases.
3. That in times of high-level prosperity and employment, the Administration provide a significant surplus in the Federal budget to reduce inflationary pressures and help protect the dollar.
4. That the Administration pursue prudent fiscal and monetary policies that will make it unnecessary to have the so-called “voluntary” wage and price “guideposts,” which are inconsistent with a free market economy.
5. That the Administration lend support to monetary policies which will hold increases in the supply of money to a pace consistent with inflation-free economic growth.
6. That the Administration respect and defend the role of the Federal Reserve System as an independent agency within Government.
7. That the Congress amend the Employment Act of 1946 to make general price stability an explicit objective of Government policy, along with maximum employment, production and purchasing power.
8. That the Congress remove the unrealistic interest ceiling on Government bonds, to permit noninflationary management of the national debt.

9. That, rather than relying on inflationary monetary and fiscal policies to reduce residual unemployment in a high employment economy, the Administration place emphasis on selective programs of job training, counseling, and placement, as provided in the Republican-sponsored Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, and have the Bureau of the Census undertake a survey of job vacancies and a census of the unemployed at intervals to provide a factual basis for such activities.

10. That the Administration give high priority to developing a solution to the balance-of-payments problem which will be lasting and constructive for the rest of the world as well as for ourselves (see, "The Balance of Payments, The Gold Drain and Your Dollar," a report of the Republican Coordinating Committee, Aug. 30, 1965).

11. That the Administration enhance the integrity and value of the Federal budgeting process by:

(a) The annual dissemination of a 5-year budget projection for all departments and agencies, to assist long-term consideration of the fiscal consequences of new programs.

(b) An annual reporting, as part of the budget, of the unfunded commitments of the Government for future spending which have to be met by the taxpayers.

12. That the Administration consolidate and, where appropriate, eliminate as many as possible of the overlapping and duplicating Government programs and, where practical, take steps to turn their administration over to States and local governmental bodies.

13. That the Congress create, at regular intervals, an independent, bipartisan, adequately staffed "Hoover Commission"-type organization, composed of Members of the Congress and the public, to review the budget, Government programs, and Government organization.

April 21, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

The following quotations are excerpts from the Dallas Morning News—that's the Dallas, Tex., Morning News of April 15, ladies and gentlemen:

President Johnson's chief economic adviser revealed (in Austin) Thursday that he doesn't place much stock in the American housewife's judgment on inflation.

Gardner Ackley, speaking at the University of Texas said he received numerous letters from homemakers blaming him personally for high food prices.

"But housewives are notoriously poor judges of what's happening to prices except for food," he quipped during a press conference.

And Ackley claims that, even on the supermarket level, the housewife is no expert.

"She notices when the price of a pork chop or a head of lettuce goes up," he noted, "but she's not always aware when the price comes down."

I just can't believe that any Administration or other Government spokesman could so misjudge or so underrate the American housewife and homemaker!

Who knows better how rapidly inflation is eating away the family income day by day? Who knows better, who feels more painfully, the rising costs of living as, week by week, those costs discourage every American family in its hopes for the future?

Mr. Ackley, from his privileged economic sanctuary, sadly and cruelly underestimates the knowledge and the power of America's women and I hope that he and the Johnson-Humphrey Administration and the Congress will hear from every American home and hearth on this subject, by letter and by telegram, in the days ahead. I urge every American homemaker to take pen in hand and tell us now—what you know—how you feel—about these terribly harsh, constantly rising costs of living.

Meanwhile, back at the ranch, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration hesitates, vacillates, and procrastinates in taking necessary action to stop these skyrocketing living costs. Again, Mr. Ackley, in reply to a question as to what will happen if we get into an inflationary period: "It depends on how you define inflation. I wouldn't say we'd had much inflation." Will America's homemakers agree? And the President and his Secretary of the Treasury continue to wonder when or whether to "apply the brakes." This, despite the report of the Department of Commerce on the gross national product increase, released Monday, April 18, and stating that more than one-third of the increase in the dollar total represented higher prices and stating further that "the accelerated price increase in the first quarter is largely attributable to the steep rise in food prices."

There are two major fiscal brakes available—either a tax increase or a drastic cut in needless spending—yet the Johnson-Humphrey Administration, with constantly contradictory comments, will not tell the American people truthfully what it proposes or plans.

This, therefore, is our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, what are *you* doing about the rising costs of living?

April 21, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The Government of the United States is the biggest business in the world. It is the biggest borrower, the biggest lender, the biggest hoarder, the biggest spender, the biggest landlord, the biggest tenant, the biggest employer, and the biggest provider in the history of mankind. Inevitably the biggest business in the world has the biggest budget in the world.

No one can claim, of course, that a family budget is or should be comparable, but no one can deny that every family budget is just as important to the wage earner and the homemaker who control it.

If a family's income is not adequate to meet its expenses, the family has only two alternatives: to increase that income or to reduce those expenditures, yet there seems to be no recognition of this whatever in the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

In a recent appearance before Agriculture Department employees, the President said:

We in Government cannot afford the luxury of thinking that nothing so needs reforming as other people's habits.

As public servants we know—at least we ought to know—that the habits most in need of reform are our own.

How very true.

What he actually said, or course, was: don't do as I do, do as I say, for, quite obviously, while the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's spending habits are in need of drastic reform the President is making no evident effort whatever to reform them and he and his colleagues continue to allude repeatedly to a possible tax increase while urging all others, but not themselves, to reduce expenditures.

The President hasn't hesitated to ask business, to ask labor, to ask the housewives of America to reduce their spending. Why hasn't he asked the Congress to do the same? On the contrary, hardly a month goes by without a request from him for more and more and more spending of the people's money for low priority, nondefense projects and programs.

I have said before, and I say again, that the role of the opposition must be one of both searching criticism and constructive proposal of alternatives. There has now been published for release today the full text of the Republican Coordinating Committee's report entitled "The Rising Costs of Living—A Report on the Fiscal Policies of the Federal Government," approved at the committee's last meeting March 28. A summary of the report was released at that time, but the text contains an extensive amount of detail in support of the report's conclusions and recommendations. The report was based on a study made by the Task Force on Federal Fiscal and Monetary Policies of which former Budget Director Maurice H. Stans is chairman.

I commend this report to your attention and study and I urge you to invite your readers to write to the Members of Congress for copies of it. The role of the opposition of which I speak must not be one of "Me, too," nor yet one of "Not me." Rather, it must be one of "Here's how." On the harsh question of inflation, with which every homemaker and wage earner is living so painfully today, "Here's how."

The alternatives, as has been said, are clear—either higher taxes or a reduction in spending, yet we have no equally clear idea from this administration as to which path we will be taking.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, What Are *You* Doing About the Rising Costs of Living?

L.B.J.—PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

October 13, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The President has referred to the Republican Party as the party of fear, and, moreover, as having no constructive programs to fight inflation, no programs to ease racial tension. He accused us of not knowing what to do about crime in the streets or how to end the war in Vietnam.

Is the President bewildered? Was he referring to his Administration? His statements actually spell out the most damning self-indictment in modern political history!

There is only one thing wrong with these Presidential statements about the Republican Party. Like so much else voiced by this Administration, they simply are not true.

We do not admit to being a party of fear. An honest reading of history will prove the contrary. But we do admit as a people, to being concerned about this Administration and the many unwise courses it has chosen to take.

What lies ahead of us in Vietnam, under this Administration's leadership, we cannot foresee. We are concerned about high and rising living costs, in the face of which this Administration has been helpless. We are concerned—indeed, we know—that we are losing our money and our friends abroad. We are concerned—for it is a fact—that the "war on poverty" is being lost, with the poor and the underprivileged receiving little actual help and with millions of the people's dollars being wasted. We are concerned—for we can prove—that the farmer and consumer are, calculatingly, being played ruthlessly against one another. We are concerned—for the proof is undeniable—that an echo-chamber Democratic Congress, with its steam-roller majorities, will continue, without thought or question, to carry out the slightest whim and wish of this Administration. We are concerned—for the signs are frightening—that we are being led down the road to national bankruptcy. We are concerned that an all-Asian Peace Conference—a practical first step toward peace in Vietnam—has now been summarily rejected as a peace hope. We are concerned—for we are convinced—that the American people are not being told the whole truth about their Government and this Administration's plans for them.

Of the charge that the Republican Party has no constructive programs or policies we can only assume that this Administration has from its very first days been blind, deaf, and indifferent. To this statement I attach a listing of the specific, positive, constructive recommendations and programs which the Republican Leadership and the Republican Party across the country have presented to the Congress, the Administration, and the American people month after month after month. I would remind the leader of the Democratic Party that his Administration has chosen, to our people's detriment, either to ignore or to reject these recommendations, the majority of which would have gone far to correct abuses spawned by the Administration and which would have prevented this onset of confusion and concern.

When the President chooses to speak directly and candidly to the American people, the Republican Leadership and the Republican Party will be attentive and responsive but when the President chooses to do otherwise, we are indeed apprehensive and concerned. We hope—we pray—that in the weeks to come we will witness Administration, deeds calculated to inspire faith, not fear, belief, not doubt, confidence, not concern, hope and not despair.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President: At Home and Abroad, What Now—What Next?

REPUBLICAN PROPOSALS AND PROGRAMS

A chronology of constructive recommendations

June 1965	U.S. foreign policy in Vietnam.
August 1965	The balance of payments.
September 1965	Equality in America—a promise unfulfilled.
December 1965	Vietnam policy statement.
December 1965	Toward a stronger Federal system.
December 1965	Toward fair elections in America.
Mar. 7, 1966	(Economic) Opportunity Crusade Act of 1966.
March 1966	The case for revenue sharing.
March 1966	Latin America-United States—progress or failure?
March 1966	The human investment—job opportunities.
March 1966	The rising costs of living.
June 1966	The United Nations.
June 1966	Effective water management.
June 1966	The challenge of the modern metropolis.
June 1966	Federal, State, and local responsibilities for problems of education.
June 1966	Transportation in modern America.
June 1966	Housing and urban development.
June 1966	The alleviation of poverty.
June 1966	Jobs and people—job opportunities.
June 1966	The needs of the aging.

NOTE.—Each of the above was published by the Republican Coordinating Committee with the exception of the Economic Opportunity Crusade Act of 1966, which originated with eight Republican members of the House Education and Labor Committee.

 MEDICARE

March 29, 1966

By the Republican Leadership of the Congress:

The Republican Leadership today introduced medicare legislation to extend through August 31, 1966, the initial enrollment period for coverage under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged.

Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen and Representative Gerald R. Ford announced the filing of identical bills for this purpose in the Senate and House of Representatives in fulfillment of the Republican Coordinating Committee pledge to do so.

The law presently requires registration for these benefits by March 31 but once it became clear that over 5 million older persons would be unable to register by that date, the Republican Leadership took action to prevent the denial of such benefits to these millions of citizens.

The supplemental benefits portion of the law was added to medicare on the insistence of Republican Congressman John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin. Republican congressional agreement and insistence upon extension of the enrollment period is unanimous.

WAR ON POVERTY

March 3, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration by July first will have spent \$2.3 billion on the antipoverty campaign and is asking for \$1.7 billion more. For these vast sums the American people and the poor have gotten a very shabby product. This program is expensive in terms of money and experienced manpower. It has produced many press releases and high professional salaries but little assistance for those who most need it.

The campaign has been marked by political favoritism and too often has become the tool of political machines. What possible excuse is there for putting children of local politicians and high-income families into the Neighborhood Youth Corps designed to keep poor children from dropping out of school?

The program has been marked by political infighting between local Democratic politicians for control of community action program funds. They want the money to build political machines, not to reclaim and dignify human lives.

Mass creation of extravagant Job Corps centers, a lack of discipline and purpose, have resulted in disillusionment, rioting, and vicious gang rule. The Job Corps budget last year averaged \$7,800 for each enrollee for 1 year, almost twice the cost of sending a boy to college. This, it would seem, could have provided at least minimal screening which would have helped turn these camps into the "residential skill centers" long advocated by Republicans.

Scandalous misuse of funds, involving fraud, has led to Justice Department and Congressional inquiries in a number of areas.

These things need not be. They would not be a part of a properly administered program. Those with the lowest incomes in this country cannot benefit from chicanery, fraud, and political misuse of funds.

The antipoverty campaign was launched with a flurry of publicity by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration. It promised much, and raised the hopes of many, but so far has produced little. The needy must have hope and must be involved in developing their own future. They need help in helping themselves—now.

March 3, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

To win a war on poverty low-income families must have better education, a chance at getting decent jobs and help in helping themselves. To accomplish these goals Republicans recommend:

1. Low-income families must become more directly and deeply involved if the campaign is to succeed. Their capable representatives should be elected to serve along with representatives of local officials and social welfare agencies on boards with clearly defined authority. Only through such sound local administration and less intervention from Washington can this program shed the political money grubbing found in so many cities.

2. Operation Headstart, first suggested by Republicans in 1961, has been moderately successful despite administrative bungling but

that program now threatens to grind to a halt. It should be encouraged to reach its maximum potential.

3. Productive jobs in private enterprise are the real keys to success. To provide dignified and permanent employment private industry and labor unions must be given realistic incentives—such as the Republican proposal for a Human Investment Act—to widen their participation.

4. Authority and responsibility of the States must be strengthened and they must be brought in as partners to prevent the antipoverty campaign from becoming more deeply mired in bureaucracy.

5. To eliminate de facto racial segregation in many urban renewal projects adequate housing must be provided for all dispossessed families.

6. Waste, abuse of power, political influence, and big city bossism can be eliminated by applying the Hatch Act at all levels and through preaudits and tighter accounting. A thorough, honest investigation of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration's handling of the antipoverty war is long overdue. To conduct such an inquiry we are today introducing legislation to create a joint Senate-House bipartisan investigating committee.

June 2, 1966

By Senator Dirksen:

The Republican membership of the House Education and Labor Committee have done the Congress and the Nation a signal service in the detailed and vigorous minority report they have issued on the so-called war on poverty program of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

In a speech in the Senate on August 19, 1965, I identified the erratic, costly, and misdirected course this program was then threatening to take. The Republican minority have now confirmed in every detail the most ominous of my predictions where the genuine welfare of the poor and the dreadful costs to the American taxpayer were concerned. This minority report will be printed and available within a day or so and I not only commend it to your attention but strongly urge your careful reading of it. I urge, moreover, that you in turn urge your readers and listeners to write their respective Members of the Congress for copies of it. I have seen nothing in a good number of years that will so alert and alarm our people as to the reckless course the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has now clearly laid out before us.

Constructively and positively, I therefore urge—

1. That the President institute immediately a thorough review and reappraisal of this disastrous poverty program under the Congressional resolutions to this end that have already been filed by me and by Representative Ford and that at the same time he examine objectively and honestly the increasingly harsh impact of the high cost of living upon the American people.

2. The adoption by the Congress and the Administration of the strong clear recommendations of the Opportunity Crusade contained in this superb minority report.

When the Representatives of the American people in Congress are asked to appropriate another \$1½ billion for a poverty program that has already wastefully consumed \$2½ billions, the people are fully

justified in demanding an explanation of this disastrous program and of how it is now proposed to spend still more of their hard-earned and rapidly vanishing income in this wasteful, reckless way.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, Why Is the War on Poverty Being Lost?

June 2, 1966

By Representative Gerald R. Ford:

At the very outset, let me join with Senator Dirksen in urging your readers and your listeners to ask their respective Members of Congress for copies of this historic minority report on the poverty program as soon as the Democrat-controlled committee makes it available. Our people not only have the right to know the harsh facts of that program but, as they now struggle at every income level to make both ends meet, they must be told how frightfully, how disastrously their dollars are being spent in this incredibly mismanaged, almost totally unproductive program of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

A very prominent Democrat has used the phrase "the arrogance of power" with respect to his own Administration's foreign policy. That phrase "arrogance of power" far more aptly describes this poverty program: in the day-to-day administration of that program in countless communities across the country, in the highhanded, steam-rolling of poverty legislation in the House Education and Labor Committee and in the repeated defiance hurled at many of the Governors of our States and mayors of our cities by poverty office bureaucrats.

We Republicans in opposition contend that, in this as on almost every domestic front, the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has regularly substituted promises for performance. When such a policy is applied to the poor it becomes not only harsh, not only cruel, but intolerable and unforgivable.

Let it be clear, however, that this is by no means a partisan political point of view. Repeated statements on the subject by prominent and dedicated Democrats in the Congress have included such poverty program charges and phrases as "disastrous," "Programs now mired in the swamp of mediocrity," "a riot and a runaway of ineffective programs," "The rural areas * * * have * * * been lost in the shuffle," "an awful mess," "grandiose sociological studies and anti-social protest movements." These are the words of Democratic spokesmen for their constituents and to their reactions can be added the detailed article in the May issue of U.S. News & World Report on "The Mess in the Poverty War," a significant poll taken in one of our most populous States, and endless other evidence from public officials and private leaders of all political faiths.

As Senator Dirksen has indicated, we will not be critical only. The Republican minority on the committee has proposed an "Opportunity Crusade"—11 sound and specific recommendations for a total overhaul of the poverty program. They deserve not only a hearing by the Congress and the country—they deserve to be heeded, immediately, by the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

Therefore, our Question of the Week:

Mr. President, Why Is the War on Poverty Being Lost?

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

September 28, 1966

By the Republican Leadership of the Congress:

Speculation increases daily in both Government and public circles that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration is making definite preparations for the imposition of wage and price controls in the near future.

Administration officials are reported as seeing "no way to avoid wage and price controls" in the months ahead. This Administration appears unwilling or unable to stem the high and rising costs of living by the clear and certain means available to it—a drastic cut in non-essential Federal spending. As a result, nationwide alarm at this prospect of wage and price controls is increasing daily.

These questions, therefore, appear to be fair and proper:

1. Mr. President, are you now making preparations for wage and price controls?
2. Mr. President, despite your earlier reported hesitancy about imposing widespread wage and price controls, are you planning to impose them piecemeal?
3. Mr. President, is it true that a special wage-policy review board is already contemplated?
4. Mr. President, if wage and price controls are imposed, will they be imposed "across the board" or will exceptions and exemptions be specified?
5. Mr. President, do you really believe that wage and price controls represent the primary brake on inflation now available?

